Planned ambitions versus lived realities: an examination of the BSUP scheme in the periphery of Mumbai

Vidya Sagar Pancholi

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Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Faculty of Social Sciences, the University of Sheffield

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Abstract

This research examined the BSUP scheme in the periphery of Mumbai for its effectiveness in creating upward social mobility and social integration amongst the urban poor. The scheme is a part of the neoliberal-era settlement rehousing schemes in India that offer tenure security to the urban poor (A. Roy, 2014).

The examination of the scheme involved investigating the scheme's pre-, during-, and post-implementation phases in Kalyan Dombivli (KD) city – a 1.2 million population sub-city in the Mumbai city region – at a range of spatial scales. The research adopted a qualitative case study approach for its context-sensitivity (Yin, 2014). A longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination of the scheme was based upon and contributed to two sets of literature – the *first* is the human agential and the process-oriented approaches of 'the quiet encroachment of the ordinary' (Bayat, 2004), and that of 'place-making' (Lombard, 2015) and the *second* is the literature on (neoliberal) governmentalities and how these are accomplished and experienced under the everyday settings (Li, 1999; Sharma, 2008; Lemanski, 2011; Charlton, 2014; Charlton & Meth, 2017).

The examination of the case revealed that the scheme affected different social groups among the urban poor in different ways. While for certain *ethnic* minority groups, the scheme created upward social mobility and social integration in their lives, for others including the Dalit *caste* groups, the scheme created further marginalisation and disintegration in their lives. The thesis draws attention to the significance of examining the process of poorer groups' settlement consolidation in understanding the real (spatial-relational) nature of difference (heterogeneity) amongst the poorer groups. This difference, the thesis claims, plays a key role in the way the poorer groups engage with the *accomplishment* of the rehousing schemes and *experience* the rehousing spaces and in turn face exclusions at several junctures within the trajectory of the scheme implementation and post-implementation phase.

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Acronyms

BSUP – Basic Services for the Urban Poor (scheme)

FSI – Floor Space Index

JNNURM – Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

KD – Kalyan Dombivli (city)

KDMC – Kalyan Dombivli Municipal Corporation

PPP – Public-Private Partnership

MHADA – Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority

MLA – Member of (State's) Legislative Assembly

MMRDA – Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority

MoHUPA – Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviations (Now converted to Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs)

PIL – Public Interest Litigation

SRA – Slum Rehabilitation Authority (Mumbai)

SRS – Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (Mumbai)

TDR – Transfer of Development Rights

ULB – Urban Local Body

Chapter 1 Introduction to the thesis

1.1 Introduction

Working in the office of Private Secretary to the Minister of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA), the Government of India, I learned about the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) scheme and its objectives. It is during that time that I came across the views held by the top-level bureaucrats and the Minister on the scheme as well as other reforms in general. As a consultant, I spent six months compiling various statistics on the BSUP scheme which did tell me the numbers, but not the ground reality. I often came across this puzzle – if this is how officials and bureaucracies see the urban development schemes, how are they seen and experienced by their implementers and their end-users? My first proper interaction with the BSUP scheme left me with more questions than answers.

I was later introduced to the Kalyan-Dombivli (KD) city – that is located in the periphery of Mumbai and forms a part of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) – for a research project. The project's focus was to understand how financial decentralisation – a key component of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) of India through which official recognition and (financial, administrative, and political) powers were devolved to the urban local bodies – has unfolded at the scale of urban local bodies. The focus was also on gaining such understanding from the rapidly urbanising peripheries of the metropolitan cities. The experience of working in KD exposed me to the various challenges that the local level bureaucrats face in implementing the centralised policy agendas.

My PhD research allowed me to connect my previous experiences of working with the MoHUPA in New Delhi and with the local state in KD and thus I began my research on the BSUP scheme in KD. My two key academic sources towards the beginning of this research were *Seeing the State* (Corbridge et al., 2005) and *Contesting the Indian City* (Shatkin, 2014a). While the first one made me aware of the fact that the idea of the state could be understood differently by different state managers, the second one exposed me to the changes that are taking place at the local body level in the era of urban reforms.

The BSUP's significance comes from the fact that India is experiencing an urban moment that is unprecedented in its history. At the beginning of the new millennium, the Government of India realised that urbanisation should not unfold on the paralysed postcolonial institutional set-up that is marred with administrative inefficiencies and a lack of funding. Cities were seen as India's 'engines of economic growth' and private sector intervention was sought to power those 'engines' (MGI, 2010). This realisation prompted a new era of urban reforms in India that simultaneously targeted urban infrastructure and institutions, and redevelopment of settlements of the urban poor (A. Roy, 2014).

A key component of these reforms, the redevelopment of settlements of the urban poor – referred under the policy discourse as *slums* and as *informal settlements* within academic discourse – through market interventions, has been considered critical in achieving India's inclusive growth (A. Roy, 2014). It is argued that by involving markets in the redevelopment of settlements of the urban poor, the central state in India not only targets housing delivery for the urban poor, it also creates upward social-mobility amongst the urban poor and opportunities for "bottom-billion-capitalism" – i.e. an extension of "market forces" in the lives of the "world's billion people living under conditions of extreme poverty" (A. Roy, 2014, p.140; c.f. Gilbert, 2004; Salcedo, 2010).

The BSUP scheme was the first amongst the new-era settlement-rehousing schemes and it has the aforementioned objectives. Launched as a part of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) which was the single largest urban sector initiative by the central state in India (Kundu, 2014), the scheme's budget ran from 2005-2012 (continuing until 2017 without additional funding). Through the scheme, the central state in India disbursed vast sums of money for a market-led redevelopment of the urban poor's settlements (ibid.). The scheme was premised upon a time-bound adoption of certain mandatory and optional reforms to address administrative and financial aspects of municipal governance.

In terms of key provisions, the BSUP scheme offered the urban poor an opportunity to capitalise the assets they occupy i.e. the land. This resonates with de Soto's (2000) idea of granting legal identity through property rights to the informally occupied lands by the urban poor. By introducing cost-recovery mechanisms and by devolving responsibilities of maintaining housing and urban services onto the urban poor and their communities, the scheme also sought to transform the welfare policy subjects into 'responsiblised' customer-citizens (Kamath, 2012; Roy, 2014; c.f. Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Gupta & Sharma, 2006).

The provisions within the scheme as well the reforms upon which it rode, interested me in examining the *framing* of the urban marginals and their settlement spaces and the set of relations that are formed in *accomplishing* and in *experiencing* the settlement rehousing programmes. Such an examination matters because if India's inclusive futures are planned to be achieved through a two-pronged strategy of urban sector reforms and redevelopment of settlement spaces of the urban poor, how this strategy frames the issue of urban marginality and how it is accomplished and experienced by the target groups and the other key actors (that include the local state officials) can suggest the impediments to realising inclusive growth, and the strengths and weaknesses of the approach that has been adopted.

A critical examination of the BSUP scheme and its various provisions reveals three key areas of concern that are linked to the way the issue of settlements of the urban poor within cities has been problematised under the scheme (Chapter 3.2). *First*, the scheme, by using terms such as 'slums' and 'slum dwellers', not only conveys a

universal negative image of the urban poor and their settlement spaces but also (mis)understands and (mis)represents the inherent heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups and the organic character of their settlement spaces that supports incremental expansion and multiple occupancy needs of the urban poor (Gilbert, 2007; Datta, 2013; c.f. Holston, 1991; Gordon & Nell, 2006; Benjamin, 2007). Through such essentialist understandings and representations, the scheme offers fixed, standard-sized residential spaces that fail to take into consideration the varied needs and aspirations of different social groups amongst the urban poor. Evidence from across the world reveals that ignoring poorer groups' varied housing needs and aspirations under the guise of 'planned' and 'legal' spaces results in 'beneficiaries' having ambiguous, and at times paradoxical, experiences with the rehousing schemes (Anand & Rademacher, 2011, p.1754; Charlton & Meth, 2017).

Second, granting 'legal' identity to the poorer groups' informally occupied lands through the offer of (private) property rights rests upon a binary distinction between legal and illegal, public and private, formality and informality (c.f. Bromley, 2004). In reality, however, a multiplicity of ownerships and claims prevail within the settlement spaces of the poor that defy these binary divisions (Benjamin, 2007; 2008; c.f. Altrock, 2012; Datta, 2013). A practical issue with the BSUP scheme, therefore, is ensuring that conversion of *de facto* land tenures and claims of the urban poor into private-legal occupancies does not further marginalise the vulnerable groups. Findings point out the key role of various compromises and collaborations in making the development policies real on the ground (Li, 1999; Mosse, 2004; Williams et al., 2015), which can, in turn, re-establish the exiting power asymmetries, inequalities and exclusions faced by the urban poor (Corbridge et al., 2005; Devika & Rajasree, 2012).

Third, the scheme introduces cost-recovery mechanisms and devolves responsibilities of maintenance and common-service provision on to the poorer groups and their communities (Ranganathan, Kamath, & Baindur, 2009; Kamath, 2012), treating the welfare policy subjects as 'responsiblised', 'customer-citizens' (c.f. Ferguson & Gupta; Sharma, 2008). Evidence, however, reveals that devolving responsibilities onto the poorer groups and making customers out of the welfare policy subjects can prove highly unaffordable to certain marginalised the disempowered groups amongst the urban poor (Huchzermeyer, 2004; Gilbert, 2004; c.f. Gilbert, 2007).

This research embarks upon a comprehensive examination of these three key areas of concern in the scheme's pre-, during-, and post-implementation phases at the scale of the city region, community and the scale of the household. A longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination of the BSUP scheme, it is argued, helps in understanding the real nature of the difference (heterogeneity) amongst the poorer groups, their settlement spaces, and their diverse aspirations which are aggregated under the scheme's essentialist provisions. It also foregrounds the complex on-the-ground practices through which such redevelopment exercises are accomplished and the varied and contradictory effects of these on their policy subjects.

Through such a comprehensive examination of the scheme – that reveals the spatial constitution of a range of marginalities and exclusions amongst the poorer groups, and how different marginalised and excluded groups amongst the urban poor accomplish and experience the BSUP scheme – this research aims to ascertain the scheme's overall effectiveness in terms of creation of upward social mobility and social integration amongst the poorer groups (c.f. Salcedo, 2010; Erwin, 2017).

Examining the BSUP scheme in the 'periphery' of Mumbai city was both an academic and a practical choice. Academically, Harris (2012) points out to an over-reliance on a few selected geographies within the existing empirical studies on the settlements of the urban poor in India and suggests exploring other case study locations. In choosing KD, I take the empirical investigations to a periphery of a megacity. Practically, as I had already developed a rapport with some of the local state officials in KD through my previous engagement, I decided to work in KD and make most of my connections in gathering data.

1.2 The research questions and the research approach

1.2.1 Research questions

This research examines the BSUP scheme in Kalyan Dombivli from the perspective of the following three questions which emanate from the three key concerns with the scheme, presented above (and discussed in detail in Chapter 3.2). Together these help in assessing the effectiveness of the scheme in terms of creation of upward social mobility and social integration amongst the poorer groups.

1. How does the BSUP scheme understand and represent the urban poor and their settlement spaces? How do these representations *compare* with the poorer groups' experiences of the process of their settlement consolidation and what do these representations overlook/misrepresent?
2. How was the BSUP scheme *accomplished* in KD? What collaborations and compromises did the local state officials entertain in making the scheme real in KD and how such collaborations and compromises were achieved? How did the marginalised groups contest the local state's authority in making their claims in the scheme? What do the various collaborations and contestations in the BSUP scheme reveal about the nature of policy-practice?
3. How is the BSUP housing *experienced* by the poorer groups in KD? How do these experiences compare with living in poorer groups' settlement spaces? What changes (and continuities) does the BSUP housing bring in the lived-experiences and the identities of the poorer groups and what do these changes (and continuities) suggest about the BSUP's impact on the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration that prevail amongst the poorer groups in KD?

In examining these questions, the research adopts the following analytical strategy and methodological approach.

1.2.2 The analytical strategy

In examining the *comparisons* between the representation of the urban groups/their settlement spaces under the BSUP scheme and the ground realities as well as the *accomplishment* and *experiences* of the scheme in KD, this research makes use of two sets of literature, as discussed below.

The first set of literature that this research deploys is *the human agential and the process-oriented approaches* of 'the quiet encroachment of the ordinary' (Bayat, 2004) and that of 'place-making' (Lombard, 2015). These approaches help in understanding the consolidation of the settlement spaces of the urban poor/BSUP housing and in that process, the constitution of a range of inequalities, marginalities, exclusions and place-identities amongst the urban poor. This set of literature aligns with the existing understanding of the *subaltern*[1] subjects and the nature of subalternity. This set of literature is deployed for examining the first and the third question that is respectively answered in Chapter 6 and Chapter 8 of this research.

The second set of literature that is being deployed under this research *is the literature on governmentalities* and how these are *accomplished* and *experienced* under everyday settings. Governmentality refers to the constitution of the governable subjects by the state/state agencies through the use of various technical/rational tools, techniques, and 'development' interventions (Rose & Miller, 1992; Lemke, 2002; Curtis, 2002). Through 'development' programmes such as the settlement rehousing, the states extend governmentalities and in turn, a project of the rule (Li, 1999). *Accomplishing* governmentalities is, however, a fragile and contingent exercise requiring various compromises and negotiations "in the contingent and compromised space of cultural intimacy" (Li, 1999, p.295; Mosse, 2004; 2005; Williams et al., 2015). Besides, the governmentalities also have unintended results in terms of generating critical practices amongst the target groups (Sharma, 2008). Also, the (rehousing) governmentalities are *experienced* in highly complex and varied ways by the target groups pointing out to the complexity of places that challenge the successful extension of rule (Legg, 2007; Charlton, 2014; Charlton & Meth, 2017).

This set of literature helps in examining the second question of this research that deals with the way the local state agency in KD implements the BSUP scheme in the city and the way the target groups contest their claims in the scheme (Chapter 7). It also helps in examining the third question of this research that deals with the varied ways the target groups – divided along the caste and ethnic lines – experience the BSUP housing and its provisions and how such experiences shape their identities (Chapter

[1] Subaltern is a Gramscian term that is used to refer to those that are adversely incorporated in a set of social and power relations. The notion is discussed in Chapter 2.3.2, in detail. In brief, the existing understanding on subalternity points out a heterogeneous nature of the subaltern subjects, the existence of political agency amongst them, and a constitution of subalternity along multiple axes of power (Spivak, 1985; Green, 2002; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). It is also important to bring out here that the terms such as the urban poor, the marginalised, the settlers, and the subalterns are used interchangeably under this thesis. All these terms are used to refer the target groups under the BSUP scheme.

8). Together these two sets of literature guide this research in examining the effectiveness of the BSUP scheme in KD.

1.2.3 The methodological approach

This research adopts a longitudinal and a multi-scalar approach to evaluating the BSUP scheme in KD. Such an approach extends the investigation beyond the BSUP implementation phase, linking it to a recent history of KD's transformation, and also to how BSUP scheme's 'beneficiaries' experience post-occupancy changes to their sense of 'self' and the 'other' through the scheme-provided housing. This approach allows an understanding of the process of settlement consolidation that also shapes a range of physical, socio-spatial, economic, legal, power asymmetries and exclusions amongst the settler groups (c.f. Tonkiss, 2013). Settler groups engage with the scheme's implementation and experience the BSUP housing from these varied and asymmetric positions. A longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination can highlight the multiple exclusions that the marginalised and the vulnerable groups amongst the urban poor may face during the *process* and with the *outcomes* (i.e. the 'planned-legal' housing) of the redevelopment exercise.

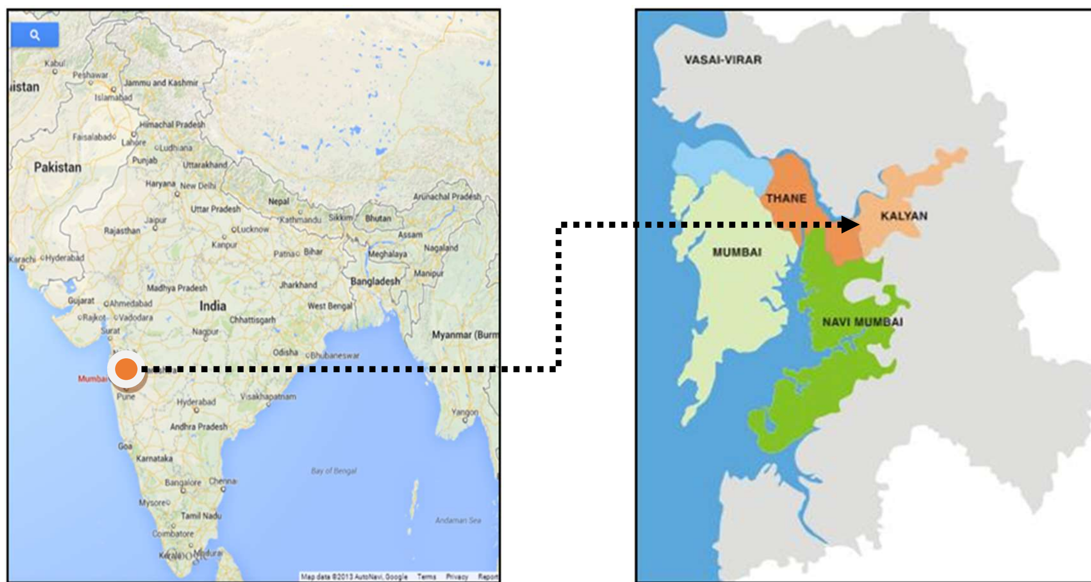

Figure 1-1 Map of India and location of Mumbai, source: Google image, 2015; and Map of Mumbai Metropolitan Region, source: MMRDA's website, 2014

From a methodological point of view, this research adopts a qualitative case study framework and uses qualitative research methods in examining the case. The case study framework aligns with the epistemological grounding of this research that is constructivist-interpretive (c.f. Porta Della and Keating, 2008). The case study framework allows examining complexities and contextualities associated with the case (ibid.). The case for this research is the examination of the effectiveness of the BSUP scheme in Kalyan Dombivli (KD) which is a 1.2 million population city located approximately 50 kilometres north-east of Mumbai, India (Figure 1.1 above). This research primarily relies on semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Following on from this introduction chapter, **Chapter 2** presents a review of the literature that deals with offering a conceptual understanding on the settlement spaces of the urban poor, governmentalities within settlement rehousing schemes and how these are accomplished and experienced under everyday settings. The chapter also presents the postcolonial context (and its implication on the state, state power and state-society relations) of the research settings and a key role of informality in that.

Chapter 3 offers a critical examination of the various provisions under the BSUP scheme. The critical examination shapes the main questions that are examined under this research in the context of the KD city. The chapter also presents an overview of the recent urban history of Mumbai and discusses the changing role of the state in the urban poor's settlements. The discussion also involves an examination of the varied political practices of the poorer groups in Mumbai through which they gain access to urban land and basic services. The chapter points out that Mumbai's urban history and the changing state-poor relations in the city shape urban development dynamics within Mumbai's peripheries that include the KD city.

Chapter 4 presents the methodological approach to examining the three questions of this research. This research adopts a qualitative case study approach for its context-sensitivity. The data, that is collected in this research through a variety of sources that include, interviews, document review and observations, is analysed using the thematic analysis approach. The chapter discusses the various aspects of the case study that include case study description, research methods, data collection and analysis, personal positionality, ethical concerns, and limitations of the methodology.

Chapter 5 presents the urban political context and power settings that prevail in KD. The chapter highlights a key role played by informality in urban development in KD and emphasises upon the important role of *Agaris* i.e. the land-owning community, in the process of informal space production in KD. The chapter reveals that the urban landscape in KD is dominated by the presence of settlement spaces of the poor as well as unauthorised properties and highlights a key role of the local state officials and the Agaris in that. The chapter also reveals a trend of de-municipalisation and de-agrarianisation in KD city and emphasises upon a key role of these trends in the urban development dynamics in the city.

Chapter 6 presents the answer to the second part of the first question of this research and in doing that, presents the spatial transformation of two selected settlements of the urban poor in KD that received the BSUP scheme funding. The chapter compares the imaginaries of 'slum' and 'slum dweller' within the BSUP scheme, examined in Chapter 3.2, with that of the ground realities as experienced and revealed by the settlers. The findings from the chapter challenge the essentiality and embedded principles of [Western] modernity that shape the BSUP scheme's imaginaries of the urban poor's settlement spaces.

Chapter 7 answers the second question of this research and in doing that, reveals that to make the BSUP scheme real in KD, the local state officials make use of a variety of negotiations and deviations. In achieving those negotiations and deviations, the local state officials create openings by controlling the interpretation of the scheme and by decoupling the process of ascertaining demand and supply of housing units within the scheme. The existence of the 'gaps and fissures' between the prescriptions of the State government and those of the central government in the BSUP scheme help in creating such openings for the local state. The chapter also reveals that the marginalised groups contest the local state's extension of rule in the scheme by involving their political/informal sovereigns in their confrontations with the local state. From the perspective of policy-practice, the chapter supports Gupta's (1995) claims of seeing both collaborations and contestations as overlapping and not as separate, exclusive domains. Together, these aspects reveal the complexities and contradictions associated with the policy-practice dialectic.

Chapter 8 answers the third question of this research, and in doing that, presents changes and continuities in the lived experiences of the marginalised groups and their identities in the BSUP housing. The chapter, highlighting the complex and contradictory form of interactions between the BSUP housing and the marginalised groups, reveals that different social identity groups, divided along caste and ethnic lines, experience the BSUP housing in different ways – while the marginalised caste groups (i.e. the Dalits) experience further marginalisation in the BSUP housing, the ethnic minority groups (referred as *Bhadotris* in KD) experience social mobility and integration in the BSUP housing. The chapter reveals that these differences relate to the spatial consolidation of the relations of social hierarchy shaping poorer groups' lived experiences in both their (mostly self-built) settlement spaces and the BSUP housing as well as their efforts in shaping their lived-experiences in the BSUP housing.

Chapter 9 presents a summary of the research findings and the main arguments of this thesis. The chapter, highlighting a prevalence of heterogeneity amongst the urban poor and their settlement spaces, suggests that such heterogeneity is spatial-relationally constituted. Besides, the chapter pointing out the significance of various collaborations & compromises as well as that of contestations in making the project of rule through the settlement rehousing schemes, real on the ground (Li, 1999; Mosse, 2004; Sharma, 2008; Doshi, 2012; 2013), supports Gupta (1995) in highlighting that from the perspective of policy practice, seeing both collaborations and resistances in dichotomous ways may not be useful. Lastly, the chapter, pointing out key distinctions in the lived-experiences of the BSUP housing amongst the settlers divided along caste and ethnic lines (in ways that while the marginalised caste groups experience further marginalisation in the BSUP housing, the ethnic minority groups experience social mobility and integration in the BSUP housing), complicates the available works that suggest "experiences of poverty amongst reciepients reflect a broader pattern of inequality" (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p.111; Salcedo, 2010; Lemanski, 2011).

Chapter 2 Urban poor, their settlements, and rehousing

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a critical examination of the *framing* of the urban marginals and their settlement spaces under the prevalent settlement rehousing programmes (such as the BSUP scheme) that are a part of the ongoing neoliberal transformations. The chapter also presents an examination of the *set of relations* – between and amongst various stakeholders and between the target group and the spaces (places) – that are formed in *accomplishing* and in *experiencing* the settlement rehousing programmes.

Examining the *framing* (discourses) and the *set of relations* (accomplishment and lived-experiences) in the prevalent settlement rehousing programmes helps in investigating the three questions that are analysed under this research in the context of Kalyan Dombivli city. The examination, firstly, helps in understanding the limitations of the prevalent understanding of the urban poor and their settlement spaces within the development discourse and the usefulness of the human agential and process-oriented approach in understanding the same. This, in turn, offers insights for investigating the first research question in the context of KD, which is – how does the BSUP scheme understand and represent the urban poor and their settlement spaces? How do these representations compare with the poorer groups' experiences of the process of their settlement consolidation and what do these representations overlook/misrepresent?

The examination also helps in understanding that the rehousing programmes, that attempt to constitute governable subjects, extend governmentalities that establish state's project of rule through techniques of domination anchored in a certain regime of rationality (Lemke, 2002). The accomplishment of the project of the rule is, however, fragile and requires various forms of compromises in accomplishing it on the ground (Li, 1999; Mosse, 2004). Besides, the examination also points out the unintended results of the governmentalities in terms of generating critical practices amongst the target groups (Sharma, 2008). This understanding helps in examining the second question of this research, which is – how was the BSUP scheme accomplished in KD? What collaborations and compromises did the local state officials entertain in making the scheme real in KD and how such collaborations and compromises were achieved? How did the marginalised groups contest the local state's authority in making their claims in the scheme? What do the various collaborations and contestations in the BSUP scheme reveal about the nature of policy-practice?

Lastly, the examination reveals a "diverse assemblages of benefits and difficulties and practices of citizenship accompanying receipt of the housing benefit" (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p.111). The examination also points out that home-ownership has often not been sufficient in overcoming marginality and disintegration (Salcedo, 2010; Meth et al., 2018). This understanding helps in investigating the third research question, which is – how is the BSUP housing experienced by the poorer groups in KD? How do these experiences compare with living in poorer groups' settlement spaces? What

changes (and continuities) does the BSUP housing bring in the lived-experiences and the identities of the poorer groups and what do these changes (and continuities) suggest about the BSUP's impact on the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration that prevail amongst the poorer groups in KD?

In terms of the internal structure, the chapter firstly presents a brief discussion on the nature of the state, state power, and state-society relations within the postcolonial settings and foregrounds the significance of *informality* in such settings. The discussion offers a necessary alignment, a required footing for this research which, in turn, helps in locating the (right) literature that is being reviewed in detail under the sections that follow. The chapter then presents a discussion on the framing of the poorer groups and their settlement spaces within the prevalent development discourse and foregrounds the usefulness of the human agential and the process-oriented approach in understanding poorer groups' agency, their identity, and their settlement spaces within a single frame of reference. Lastly, the chapter offers a critical engagement with the empirical literature on governmentalities through which the project of the rule is extended. This engagement is structured around two themes – first, accomplishing the project of rule, and second, living and experiencing the rehousing spaces/provisions. These discussions are followed by a concluding section which highlights the significance of the literature reviewed within this chapter in informing my overall approach to this research and the individual research questions.

2.2 Settlement rehousing and the postcolonial settings

A review of the 'development' literature highlights that in the prevalent neoliberal era, the spaces of the urban marginals have come to occupy a central policy focus for the states (Dwivedi, 2007; Satterthwaite, 2008; Batra, 2009; A. Roy, 2014). From usually ignoring the issue of marginalised spaces within cities (Batra, 2009), to adopting a 'high-modernist' approach of settlement clearances (Dwyer, 1975; Perlman, 1979; Scott, 1998; Werlin, 1999; Dwivedi, 2007; Satterthwaite, 2008), and to upgrading such marginalised spaces (Gilbert, 2007; Batra, 2009; Arabindoo, 2011), states, following de Soto (2000) – who propagates formalising the latent capital occupied by the urban marginals for them to serve as a basis for future investments – are now increasingly offering property titles to the urban poor through various rehousing programmes. This shift in the state's focus is a part of a larger project of 'world-classing' of the cities, that is currently going on across the world (Roy & Ong, 2011). The project aims at world-class infrastructure provision, making cities 'slum-free', adoption of a 'planned' approach to urban development by the states, and a greater involvement of the markets in the urban space and governance (A. Roy, 2014; Shatkin & Vidyarthi, 2014).

It is claimed that this shift in state's approach towards urban land and governance has been pushed by the emerging middle-classes – that propagate a notion of 'propertied citizenship' and democratic 'citizen' participation (Fernandes, 2004; Zérah, 2007; 2009) – and by the elites/business pressure groups – that are largely concerned with the favourable (urban land) policy climate, 'planned' urban development, 'world-

class' infrastructure provision, and a greater role for the non-state actors in policymaking and implementation (Benjamin, 2008; Harris, 2012; c.f. Jessop, 2001; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003). More recently, the judiciary has also played a supportive role in the shift in the state's approach (Ramanathan, 2006; Bhan, 2009).

Markets play a significant role in this renewed interest of the states in the settlement spaces of the urban poor. In facilitating the role of markets, states offer a variety of incentives to the private sector. States have also embarked upon a variety of urban sector reforms that foreground an entrepreneurial discourse (Benjamin, 2008). These reforms include reforms in 'planning' regulations and municipal bye-laws, reforms in property laws, rationalisation of the user-charges, and encouraging public-private participation in urban services (Mahadevia, 2011; Kundu, 2014). A crucial element of these reforms is the institutionalisation of community participation in urban development policies and projects (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011; Desai & Sanyal, 2012). Another important feature of these reforms is the offer of secured tenure through 'legal' titles to the occupants of the marginal lands within cities (Roy, 2014).

The ongoing project of 'world-classing' of cities, however, masks the fact that the "cosmopolitan narratives are performed from the perspective of [Western/Euro-American[2] sense of] modernity" (Mignolo, 2000, p.723; Yeoh, 2004). This overlooks "the intense spatial juxtapositions of land use and people; the volatile mix of socioeconomic, cultural and spiritual discourses that animate politics; and the patterns of political contestation rooted in historical, social and cultural particularities" that characterise the postcolonial settings (Shatkin, 2014, p.2-3; c.f. Robinson, 2002; 2003; 2006; King, 2003; Watson, 2011). This section pays attention to the postcolonial context (and its implication on the state, state power and state-society relations) of the cities of the South (such as Kalyan Dombivli) and a key role of informality in that. The section offers a contextual grounding to this research which then heps in examining the discourses, practices, and experiences associated with the rehousing programmes.

2.2.1 The distinctive colonial histories of the cities of the South

The cities of the global South need to be understood from the perspective of a variety of forces and contested meanings that have their roots in their distinctive colonial histories (Legg & Mcfarlane, 2008, p.7; Jazeel & Legg, 2019). A presence of these

[2] Scholar point out that the Euro-American understanding of modernity – a discourse that rests upon a belief that the capitalist development supports improved living standards, expansion of democratic values, and protection of citizenship rights (Rao, 2012; Bjorkman, 2014) – is based upon a limited sense of post-war reconstruction of the cities of the West (Rao, 2012). Modernity in the post colonies, was, however, remade in their new contexts (Harris, 2008). In applying the European discourses of planning and improvement to the colonies, exercises such as town planning had to adapt with the entrenched ideas about what colonial urban development was (Abu-Lughod, 1965; 1980; Legg, 2012). For example, in the case of India, the nationalist elites who took charge from the colonial elites, saw development as a means of decolonisation (Chatterjee, 1998), and created an original *hybrid* between the colonial Indian model of development, the Soviet model and the indigenous models of social change (Watts, 1995).

histories can still be noticed in a variety of spheres in the cities of the global South. These spheres include the knowledge structures that we all inhabit; indigenous class hierarchy (that replaced the colonial hierarchy); racial divisions (that replaced class divisions); the colonial form of spaces and spatial divisions; colonial 'planning' laws and values among the planners; and specific technical and professional rationalities within the 'development' discourse that originate from one part of the world (Chakrabarty, 2000; King, 2003; Watson, 2011; c.f. Dwivedi & Mehrotra, 1995; Perera, 1998). Gandy (2008, p.108) and McFarlane (2004; 2008), for example, reveal how the present-day Mumbai city's dysfunctionalities of water and sanitation infrastructure connect with its colonial histories of government and improvement.

The colonial histories of the cities of the South also shape the sightings of the state (by the state functionaries), the nature of the state power, and state-society relations within these cities. The state – considered as socially embedded and entwined and comprising scales of authority and a plurality of institutions, actors and practices (Gupta, 1995; Fuller & Benei, 2001) – within the postcolonial societies such as India, is seen differently by different levels of state managers (Corbridge et al., 2005; Kaviraj, 2010). While the Western-educated top-level bureaucrats may conceive the state and state functions in a certain way, the local level state agents – that are "mindful not only of the rulebook and their supervisors but also of their need to live and work with their peers and with those they are meant to serve, as well as with their representatives" (Corbridge et al., 2005, p. 35) – may see the state in a completely different way. The potential reinterpretation of the idea of the state at the local level, therefore, has significance for the accomplishment of the 'development' programmes. This significance is further examined in Chapter 2.4 (and investigated in Chapter 7.2) where it is highlighted that the state officials, operating in the local political culture and power relations, reinterpret the 'development' programmes at the local level and create openings for a range of negotiations, deviations, and tie-ups in order to socially sustain such programmes (Li, 1999; Mosse, 2004; 2005).

Besides, scholars point out a continued sense of sovereign powers[3] amongst the postcolonial states (Sidaway, 2003; Tarlo, 2003; Sundar, 2007), which according to Sylvester (2006) is a retained practice from the colonial masters. Therefore, while the 'development' programmes, that attempt to constitute governable subjects, extend what Foucault refers as governmentalities (Li, 1999), in making these programmes real, states may impose their sovereign powers i.e. their "*monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force*" (Weber, 2009, p. 78). State power, from the perspective of the global South, therefore needs to be understood from the point of view of both Foucauldian notion of governmentalities as well as the Weberian notion of the

[3] For instance, Weinstein (2013), in the case of India, points out that although globalisation and liberalisation have transformed the urban politics in India and the way states approach the issue of settlement redevelopment, these shifts have not affected the way states use their sovereign powers in demolishing the settlement spaces of the urban poor. Demolition drives, to her, function as state's one of the 'repertoires of authority' – that are "founded on violence or the threat thereof" (Hansen, 2009, p.170) – through which the state makes its claims of sovereignty over the urban space.

sovereign power that rests with state agencies. Chapter 2.4 discusses both these aspects of the state power with reference to the rehousing schemes, in detail. Chapter 7.3, making use of the learnings from this chapter, discusses the spatialities of domination-resistance within the BSUP scheme implementation and points out to both these aspects of the state power.

Lastly, the colonial histories of the cities of the South also shape the nature of relationships between the state and the societal subjects. Scholars point out to geography of "discontinuous, overlapping sovereignties" within the postcolonial cities which result from a dialectical relationship between disorder and the law within these cities (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2007, p.146). These partial sovereignties have a highly unstable nature of the relationship with the state and require constant renegotiations[4] (Hansen & Stepputat, 2005; Hansen, 2009). This relationship is further examined under this thesis in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 from the perspective of settlement consolidation and the BSUP scheme implementation in Kalyan Dombivli.

The urban poor, in particular, engage with the state through a range of quiet yet gradual encroachment tactics as well as vote-bank politics that thrive upon linkages with the political/informal sovereigns, lower-level bureaucrats, and a range of middle-men (Bayat, 2004; Benjamin, 2008; Chapter 2.3.2; Chapter 6). Poorer groups, however, also engage with the state in both collaborative as well as confrontational ways (Appadurai 2002; Doshi, 2012; 2013). The literature points out a need of seeing the domains of everyday tactics and radical politics in relation and in tandem[5] with one another and not as two separate or dichotomised moments of poorer groups' political action (Gudavarthy, 2012; Sarkar, 2012). The literature also points out a complex and contradictory nature of the relationship between the state and poorer groups suggesting heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups (Doshi, 2012; 2013; c.f. Spivak, 1999). Such an understanding helps in reviewing the literature on the role of various modes political engagements between the poor and the state agents in the poorer groups' settlement

[4] For instance, in the postcolonial cities such as Mumbai where a large number of people live in squatter settlements, "the locus [of] political authority is incarnated in the ubiquitous 'big men' – the tough self-made criminal-strongman-fixer-and politician who increasingly dominate the political life in slums and townships" (Hansen & Stepputat, 2005, p. 30). The relationship between these 'big men' and the state is highly unstable and require constant renegotiations (ibid., Hansen, 2009).

[5] With regards to that, some of the existing works including that of Partha Chatterjee (2004) do not reflect on the interface between the modalities of the 'political society' and those of the 'radical politics' that lie outside of it (Gudavarthy, 2012; Sarkar, 2012). Chatterjee's emphasis on the 'contextual negotiations' mode of politics amongst the poorer groups gives an impression that it has replaced the role of radical politics in the political life of poor. Chatterjee (2004) also sees the poorer groups' political practices in a specific arena (which he refers as 'political society') which is separate from the politics of the other social groups. Scholars however problematise Chatterjee's thesis from the sense of perceived autonomy and purity within the domain of subaltern resistance and politics as falling "outside of the state and market and as uninformed by understandings of state, law, and citizenship or as unmediated by trans/national actors including scholars, activist, NGOs, and representatives of the state" (Nilsen and Roy, 2015, p. 15-16). Baviskar & Sundar (2008, p.88; c.f. Varley, 2013), for instance, claim that "generally, it is the members of the so-called civil society who break laws with impunity and who demand that the rules be waived off for them, whereas members of political society strive to become legal, to gain recognition and entitlements from the state.".

consolidation (Chapter 2.3; Chapter 6), and in their (differential) claims-making in the process of accomplishing the rehousing programmes (Chapter 2.4; Chapter 7).

2.2.2 Informality in a range of processes within the cities of the South

Informality, which is not just the absence or deviation of formality or the law, plays a significant role in the cities of the global South (Roy, 2005; Altrock, 2012). Although the popular discourse ascribes informality with the urban poor, in practice, informality is neither just a preserve of the urban poor nor a phenomenon that is solely associated with the cities of the global South. Informality, instead, encompasses the actions of the state, the poor and the non-poor classes and the business interests across the global divides (Tonkiss, 2013). The formal and informal domains can be understood as "theoretical extremes that are actively and implicitly combined by individual and social practices to form complex arrangements and settings…" (Altrock, 2012, p.186; c.f. McFarlane, 2012a). These domains intersect in material ways in social life as there are rarely clear distinctions between the two (Tonkiss, 2013, p.93; Lombard & Meth, 2016, p.160). These domains, therefore, need to be seen as "a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another" (Roy, 2005, p.148).

Poorer groups, within the cities of the South, usually acquire the urban land through informal means – by squatting, invading of public/private vacant land, or by informally subdividing the land. They also incrementally consolidate their settlements – that involves connecting their settlements with the urban basic services, constructing and transforming their shelters – through self/community-help and through the help of informal linkages with the sovereigns who, in turn, create political clout and influence the local authorities/officials in delivering the basic services to the poor (Lombard & Meth, 2016, c.f. Piliavsky, 2014). Urban poor's informality, however, does not always thrive upon the violation of the law[6] (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2006; Datta, 2013; Varley, 2013). On the contrary, laws and rules often become a 'source of entitlements' to the urban poor, a necessary first step in accessing urban services through every day political interactions and practices (McFarlane & Desai, 2015). In supplementing the tasks of the formal institutions i.e. guaranteeing a decent life for its population, formal and informal domains meet in complex 'hybrid' ways within the urban poor's 'informal' life (Roy & Alsayyad, 2004; McFarlane & Waibel, 2012; Altrock, 2012).

While poorer groups access urban land, resources, and opportunities through informal means, informality is, however, not separable from the state and modern bureaucratic institutions as "informality, and the state of exception that it embodies, is produced by the state" (Roy, 2005, p.155). Informality works as an *organisational device* for the states – a tactic that is being adopted by the state to achieve the goals of territorial flexibility and political control (Roy, 2009b). Through informality, the states produce

[6] The law, in fact, "is not necessarily straightforward arbiter of which urban claims are to be permitted or proscribed. Different urban legalities are produced through systems of law pertaining to property and planning, constitutional, civil or human rights, and these come into conflict in disputes over tenure and territory." (Tonkiss, 2013, p.99).

and manage differential spatial value (Roy, 2011, p.233). Informality, therefore, functions as a mode of "discipline, power, and regulation" for the states (Roy, 2009b, p. 84), as "an organising logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself" (Roy, 2005, p.148). Informality does not "lie beyond the reach of planning; rather it is planning that inscribes the informal by designating some activities as authorized[7] and others as unauthorized[8]" (Roy, 2009c, p.10). Informality as an organisational device points out to the crucial politics of selectivity in formalising certain activities/spaces (Macleod & Jones, 2011).

Notwithstanding these bottom-up and top-down perceptions, important, however, it is to note that informality and formality "constitute the rules of the game, determining the nature of transactions between individuals and institutions and within institutions" (Alsayyad & Roy, 2006, p. 5). Also important is to note that the distinction between the two emerges in practice: "If formality operates through the fixing of value, including the mapping of spatial value, then *informality operates through the constant negotiability of value*" (Roy and Alsayyad, 2004, p.5, emphasis in the original). Therefore, rather than associating informality with a territory or a labour category, informality and formality need to be seen as a *form of practice*.

McFarlane (2012a), examining the causes of and responses to the Mumbai floods of 2005, points out a changing nature of the relationship between informality and formality over time and suggests an open-ended (temporal) and interlinked (non-exclusive) nature of both. He suggests that "the two appear as lines of changing practice and movement, taking place not above or in advance of urban life, but within its unfolding." (McFarlane, 2012a, p.101). He further highlights that the relationship between the two "can shift over time, in a way that is complex, multiple and contingent."….and the two need to be seen "as inextricably related but distinct practices." (McFarlane, 2012a, p.103). He suggests that as the informality-formality regime varies across and within cities, an apriori assumption about 'more' informality in the cities of the global South than in the North would be misleading. Similarly, because different forms of urban compositions involve a different kind of informality, assuming subaltern spaces to be more informal than say the middle-income housing, would be misleading too (ibid.). McFarlane's (2012a, p.105) study reveals that informality and formality "have no pre-given geography or political content, progressive or otherwise. They co-constitute and dissolve spaces, becoming politicised or depoliticised at different moments, and they both enable and restrict urban life.".

In this chapter, the role of informality is further explored under the following two sections in the poorer groups' settlement construction and consolidation and in the politics of making the rehousing schemes, real on the ground. Informality and

[7] For example, Weinstein's (2008) work on Mumbai highlights state's use of real-estate mafia in the construction of Mumbai's shopping malls. Gidwani (2006), likewise highlights the illegalities, facilitated by the planning regime in Delhi, in the farmhouses constructed in the periphery of Delhi.

[8] By for instance criminalising subaltern spaces which then results in brutal eviction campaigns carried out by the state bodies (Weinstein, 2013).

formality are seen in this research as interrelated in a complex, multiple and contingent form of relationship, one that is always open-ended and susceptible to change and that does not have any pre-given geography or political content.

Overall, the section highlighted the significance of postcolonial settings under which the larger project of world-class-city making is being implemented. The distinctive colonial histories of the cities of the South shape the sightings of the state (by the state functionaries), the nature of the state power, and state-society relations within these cities, which, in turn, has an implication on urban form and politics within these cities. The section also discussed the notion of informality and pointed out its significance in a range of processes within the cities of the South.

Following on from this discussion the next section engages with the critical examination of the framing of urban poor and their settlement spaces within the prevalent 'development' discourse and foregrounds the usefulness of a human agential and process-oriented approach in understanding the same.

2.3 Urban poor and their settlement spaces: policy discourses versus ground realities

This section, engaging with the prevalent understanding of the urban poor and their settlement spaces, builds a case for conceptually understanding the two using a process-oriented approach. The process-oriented approach brings the poorer groups' identity, their political agency, and their settlement consolidation under a single frame. The section is organised under two subsections. The first subsection critically engages with the representation of the urban poor and their settlement spaces under the prevalent 'development' discourse. The second subsection, offering the usefulness of the notion of subalternity in understanding the urban poor, presents a human agential and a process-oriented approach in understanding the settlement spaces of the urban poor. In doing that, the subsection draws from the seemingly divergent notions of 'the quiet encroachment of the ordinary' and that of 'place-making'. Learnings from the subsection offer support to the examination carried out under this research in the empirical chapters. Specifically, this section helps in analysing the material and discursive construction of the settlement spaces of the urban poor, the role of the settlers' political agency in that, and the consolidation of a range of inequalities and exclusions amongst the settler groups during that process.

2.3.1 The urban poor, their settlements, and the policy discourse

The settlements of the urban poor – such as favelas, shacks, bustees, jhoppads, chawls, villa miserias, bidonvilles – are geographies that are of immense social and economic importance to the urban poor (Nijman, 2010, p. 4). Alongside offering affordable living spaces, these marginalised spaces also become attractive to the poor migrants for their *economic vibrancy* (Saunders, 2011; JC Turner, 1968; Frankenhoff, 1967). The poor in-migrants are often drawn by the possibilities within the informal sector of

the city that flourishes within these marginalised spaces (Nijman, 2010). The economic function of the settlements of the urban poor is supported by the existence of *social networks* – kinship ties, ethnic connections, networks of solidarity and trust, and networks of reciprocity. One draws such social networks in the times of need (De Souza Briggs, 1998; p. 178). To Nijman (2010), the entrepreneurship within the settlements of the urban poor thrives upon social networks (c.f. McFarlane, 2012b).

The settlements of the urban poor are often located on hazardous lands – for example, swamps, near industries and dumping sites, flood-prone zones, steep slopes, hillsides (Davis, 2007). Their *extremely marginal location* helps the urban poor in constructing their settlements as the authorities are generally less keen on enforcing property rights on such lands (Anand & Rademacher, 2011). Tindall (1982) and Sharma (2004) refer to this as 'urban pioneering' of the poor through which they convert the uninhabitable lands into habitable ones by investing material and financial resources in it.

The settlements of the urban poor are *non-homogenous* spaces. They contain a mixture of housing conditions, a range of tenure regimes, and a wide variety of people. Gruber et al., (2005, p.4) highlight that a variety of structures are associated with the settlements of the poor ranging "from tent settlements, the simplest huts with plants and rubbishes, and asbestos, to permanent well-maintained structures.". Housing characteristics, however, vary both within the settlements of the poor as well as within and across the cities (Appadurai, 2000; Risbud, 2003; Chandrasekhar & Montgomery, 2010; Bird, Montebruno, & Regan, 2017). Besides, the type and status of tenure vary too within and across the settlements of the urban poor (Benjamin, 2007; Benjamin, 2008; Nijman, 2010). While some settlers live in rental accommodation, others may exhibit a range of legalities that cut across private, communal/ traditional property rights (Tonkiss, 2013a).

A wide range of physical characteristics associated with the settlements of the urban poor crucially relates with their recognition, or lack of it, by the state (c.f. Burra, 2005; Nijman, 2010; Anand and Rademacher, 2011). State's recognition often also serves as a crucial first step towards availing municipal services within these settlements (Burra, 2005; McFarlane & Desai, 2015). State's recognition also safeguards these marginalised spaces from often violent demolitions (Arabindoo, 2011).

The settlements of the urban poor are socially diverse and truly *cosmopolitan* spaces (Datta, 2012). They are places where people from a range of social, cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds mix in such ways that the 'other' not only become familiar but also interchangeable with the 'self' (Datta, 2012, p.747). To Datta, "a set of relational constructs between the city and the squatter settlement; between the urban public sphere and the less 'public' neighbourhood sphere and between the city and the left-behind village" shape this openness towards the 'other' within the settlements of the urban poor (ibid., p.747, 760). These constructions are "gendered and intersectional" in nature and despite being "fragile" and "fractured" along multiple fault lines, they are "strategically defended" on an everyday basis by the settlers (ibid., p.747, 760).

However, notwithstanding the social and economic significance of the settlements of the urban poor, their socially diverse and cosmopolitan nature, and the role of settlers' urban pioneering, and state's recognition in the consolidation of these settlement spaces, under the prevalent 'development' discourse, these spaces have come to be understood and represented through a catch-all term 'slums' (Gilbert, 2007). Such a representation accords a new recognition to these subaltern spaces – as 'iconic geography', or a 'recognisable frame' for the 'Third World City' (Davis, 2007; Roy, 2011; Jones & Sanyal, 2015). The use of the term 'slums' however not only establishes a negative universal image of the poor, but it also homogenises the diverse living conditions of the urban poor (Gilbert, 2007).

An association of the word 'slum' with the lack of 'proper' housing and services, with the disease, crime (Gilbert, 2007; Davis, 2007), murder and communal violence (Das, 2007; Chatterji & Mehta, 2007), and with parochiality (Appadurai, 1998) portrays a generally negative, homogeneous, anti-cosmopolitan and therefore 'out of place' image of the settlements of the urban poor (Nandy, 2007; Gilbert, 2007; Datta, 2012). Such representations stabilise a negative stereotype of these settlement spaces, which is deeply problematic (Gilbert, 2007; Roy, 2011; Jones & Sanyal, 2015).

The urban marginalised groups, under the prevalent notions, are seen as a homogenous category and are represented in relation to their territorial forms such as 'the slum dwellers' or 'the squatter settlers'. These understandings and representations, however, generalise the diversity of people who live within the urban marginalised spaces (Nandy, 2007; Gilbert, 2007; Datta, 2012). Besides, the use of terms such as the slum dwellers/squatter settlers not just presents the marginalised groups as those "living in poor housing" but as "people with personal defects" (Gilbert, 2007, p.703), as "peasants in the city" (Datta, 2012, p.755; Nandy, 2007, p. 135) as "people from outside" and therefore not belonging to the city, and as a singular cultural identity group (Datta, 2012, p.754). Such representations stabilise particular narratives about the poorer groups (Roy, 2011; Jones & Sanyal, 2015). These narratives and a universal negative image are usually the key reasons behind the state's strategy of abandonment or brutal evictions[9] of these subaltern spaces (Lombard & Meth, 2016).

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[9] Gilbert (2007) reveals how after the 'cities without slums' initiative – launched by international agencies that include the UNCHS and the Cities Alliance towards the beginning of the new millennium with an objective of improving "the living conditions of the world's most vulnerable and marginalized urban residents" (World Bank/UNCHS [Habitat], 2000) – large-scale demolitions took place in India, Kenya, and Zimbabwe as the unscrupulous politicians made a completely different meaning of the initiative and embarked upon a project of making the cities, free of 'slum' settlements. Bhan (2009), in the case of Delhi, and Mahadevia & Narayanan (2008), in the case of Mumbai, highlight how, the 'world-class' city making ideals, are behind the large-scale demolitions of the settlements of the poor that took place in these two cities during the middle of the 2000s. Various lobbies draw a range of imaginaries – such as that of 'cosmopolitan city', 'world-class' city, and/or the notions of 'propertied citizenship' – and push the administration in clearing the 'aberrant spaces', the 'nuisance' from the cities that are considered to be 'illegal' encroachments upon the urban land (Sandercock, 1998; Baviskar, 2003; Yeoh, 2004; Fernandes, 2006; Zérah, 2007; Baud & Nainan, 2008; Ghertner, 2008; Arabindoo, 2011; Datta, 2012).

In response to such (mis)representations of the urban poor and their settlement spaces within the policy and popular discourse, the academicians, across the world, have started using the term *informal settlements*, which too is not unproblematic. The use of the term *informal settlements* relates to the informally built nature of the settlement spaces of the urban poor (Benjamin, 2008; Lombard & Meth, 2016). Nonetheless, informality is neither an absence or a lack of formality nor is being solely practised by the poorer groups within the cities of the South, as previously highlighted (Alsayyad, 2004; Altrock, 2012; McFarlane, 2012a; Tonkiss, 2013). Referring to the spaces of the urban poor as informal settlements, therefore, also creates a negative stereotype.

In sum, the subsection, highlighting the key characteristics of the settlement spaces of the urban poor, revealed how the usage of terms ‘slums’, ‘informal settlements’, and ‘slum’/‘informal settlement dwellers’ within the prevalent discourse creates a negative stereotype of the settlement spaces of the urban poor and stabilises particular narratives about the poorer groups. The subsection pointed out that it is these narratives and a universal negative image that becomes a subject of exclusionary politics.

The limitations with the prevalent discourse suggest a need for developing a conceptual understanding of the urban marginalised groups and their settlement spaces which can help in understanding their real nature, using a value-neutral terminology. The following subsection engages with this task by seeing the urban poor as *subalterns* and the settlements of the urban poor as an *on-going process*.

2.3.2 Conceptually understanding the urban marginalised groups and their settlement spaces

This subsection specifically engages with the notion of *subalternity* and that of *the quiet encroachment of the ordinary* in offering a conceptual understanding of the urban marginalised groups and their settlement spaces. The section also presents a brief discussion on the place-making approach and its significance in examining the lived-experiences of the settlement rehousing scheme participants. The subsection highlights the role of poorer groups’ political agency in their material and discursive construction of their settlement spaces and their individual and collective identities.

1. **Seeing the urban marginalised groups as subalterns**

In understanding the real nature of urban marginality, this research draws upon the Gramscian notion of the *subaltern*, which he defined as ‘low rank’ person or group of people in a particular society suffering under hegemonic domination of a ruling elite class that denies them the basic rights of participation in the making of local history and culture as active individuals of the same nation. He writes: “Subaltern groups are always subject to the activity of ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up: only ‘permanent’ victory breaks their subordination, and that not immediately. In reality, even when they appear triumphant, the subaltern groups are merely anxious to defend themselves” (Gramsci, 1999 [1971], p. 207). While the initial works within the

subaltern studies domain – comprising that of Guha (1982a; 1982b), amongst others – portrayed an empirical[10], a positive-essentialist[11], and an unmediated-by-discourse[12] nature of the subalterns (Gidwani, 2009), the subsequent works – including that of Spivak (1985) – offered a position of absolute exteriority[13] (Nilsen & Roy, 2015). This research draws upon the works of Green (2002), Sharp et al. (2000), Spivak (1985), and Nilsen & Roy (2015) in understanding the real nature of subalternity.

In particular, Spivak's (1985; 2005) work points out a *heterogeneous* nature of the subaltern groups, implying a prevalence of a range of inequalities and exclusions amongst them. These inequalities and exclusions could be, for instance, seen in the particularly gendered nature of the settlement spaces of the urban poor. Datta (2013, p.521) points out that within these subaltern spaces "different anxieties over bodily transgressions related to access to water and defecation, produce particular gender performances across public and private spaces". She further highlights that gender/sexual relations and disputes within the settlements of the urban poor are particularly constructed as private/familial matters and are therefore confined to the home rather than the community/neighbourhood (Datta, 2012, p.759). Prevalence of a range of inequalities and exclusions amongst the poorer groups implies that different marginalised groups may engage in *accomplishing* and *experiencing* the rehousing programmes, differently (Chapter 7; Chapter 8). This difference and its significance are generally overlooked in the 'development' discourse (c.f. Doshi, 2012).

Besides, Green's (2002) work points out *the existence of political agency* amongst the subaltern groups. Sharp et al. (2000), however, highlight that the subaltern groups' political struggle does not happen in an autonomous domain. It is instead conditioned by and mediated through "the social condensation of hegemony" (Morton, 2007). Haynes & Prakash (1992, p.19), for example, emphasise the entanglement of power and resistance in everyday life in South Asia. These entanglements are thoroughly spatial and inherently geographical (Sharp et al., 2000). This implies that the poorer groups, in the securing/defending urban land, resources and opportunities for themselves, can engage with the state in radical and confrontational ways (Chapter 6; Chapter 7). Their engagements may, however, not change their subaltern status.

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[10] The early subaltern historians' accounts depicted the subaltern as an empirical category, a part of the population that are non-elite i.e. the working classes, peasantry, and the subordinate classes (Guha, 1982a; 1982b). By imagining subaltern as non-elite, these accounts placed the subaltern in a dichotomous relationship with the elite.

[11] Spivak (1985, p.342) points a 'positivist essentialism' in Guha's work as it fails to see the subaltern groups as *heterogeneous*. She foregrounds a gendered nature of subalternity which implies a status of "being removed from all lines of social mobility" (Nilsen & Roy, 2015, p.9; Spivak, 2005).

[12] Guha's work portrayed that subaltern politics can be accessed "unmediated by discourse, representation or experience" (Nilsen and Roy, 2015, p.8). However, to Spivak "subaltern can only be retrieved and represented – be spoken for – in the terms set by dominant or elite ideology, discourse, and politics" (Nilsen & Roy, 2015, p.8; Birla, 2010; Jazeel, 2014; Jazeel & Legg, 2019).

[13] Spivak highlights that one stops being a subaltern through their representational presence, which could be seen as "a position of absolute exteriority in relation to hegemonic formations", as subalternity "cannot be reduced to the politics of representation alone" (Nilsen & Roy, 2015, p.11). Spivak's claims, to S. Roy (2014), negate the possibility of political resistance amongst the subalterns.

Lastly, Nilsen & Roy's (2015) work – pointing out that the constitution of subalternity happens along multiple axes of power whose exact empirical form can only be deciphered in specific empirical settings – highlights the significance of *ethnographic examination* in understanding the real nature of subalternity (Chapter 6).

These three aspects of subalternity and their role in settlement rehousing are further examined in this research. Firstly, by adopting an ethnographic approach, this research examines the role of poorer groups' political agency in their settlement consolidation. The research also pays attention to the constitution of a range of inequalities and exclusion amongst the poorer groups in the process of settlement consolidation (Chapter 6). The role of these inequalities and exclusions is then further investigated in this research from the point of view of settlers' differential engagement with the process of BSUP scheme implementation and its implications (Chapter 7), and in the different ways, they experience the BSUP housing and how that affects their individual and collective identities (Chapter 8).

2. Settlements of the urban poor as *quiet encroachment of the ordinary*

In offering a conceptual understanding of the settlement spaces of the urban poor, this subsection emphasises the significance of examining the process of their material and discursive constitution and consolidation. The section draws upon the work of Asef Bayat, who, in his thesis titled *the quiet encroachment of the ordinary,* foregrounds a particularly *human-agential* and *process* aspect of the subaltern spaces. Bayat (2007, p. 579) suggests that "key to the habitus of the dispossessed" is "informal life, one that is characterized by flexibility, pragmatism, negotiation, as well as a constant struggle for survival and self-development". To Bayat (2013, p.15), the quiet encroachment represents the "protracted mobilization of millions of detached and dispersed individuals and families who strive to enhance their lives in a lifelong collective effort that bears few elements of pivotal leadership, ideology, or structure or organisation". Through discreet and prolonged practices, urban dispossessed groups gain survival and improve their lives in cities (Bayat, 2004).

Through quiet encroachment, the dispossessed groups "quietly impinge on the propertied and powerful, and on society at large" (Bayat, 2013, p.15). These struggles are cumulatively encroaching where actors expand their space and position and therefore not necessarily defensive (Bayat, 2004, p.91). Although largely atomised and seemingly mundane, the political practices of the marginalised also shift into the realm of contentious politics: "a key attribute of quiet encroachment is that while advances are made quietly, individually, and gradually, defence of these gains is often (although not always) collective and audible" (Bayat, 2004, p.92).

Bayat (2004, p.91, 93) rightly captures the fact that as the urban marginalised represent a group in flux – "migrants, refugees, the unemployed, the underemployed, squatters, street vendors, street children, and other marginalised groups" – they operate largely outside the institutional mechanisms of collective demand making and therefore they

resort to quiet direct action. Bayat highlights that the urban marginalised usually "fulfil their needs by themselves, albeit individually and discretely" (ibid., p.93).

Bayat's work establishes that despite being adversely incorporated in a set of socio-historical and geographically entangled power relations, subalterns *do exercise* political agency (c.f. Nilsen and Roy, 2015). The nature of their agency, however, cannot be fully grasped under the domination/resistance framework (c.f. Mosse, 2004; Chatterjee, 2004). Bayat's work, however, has few key shortcomings, which are examined in detail in the following paragraphs.

First, Bayat's thesis presents a particularly homogenous characterisation of the poorer groups which masks the entrenched inequalities that prevail in their lives based on caste, gender, ethnicity and religious differences, as highlighted above (Datta, 2012; Datta, 2013). Bayat's uncritical assumption of poor to be a homogeneous category not only silences but also deepens the existing inequalities and exclusions that prevail in the poor's 'informal life' (c.f. Roy, 2011; Spivak, 1999).

Second, in mentioning *'informal life' as a 'habitus of the dispossessed'*, Bayat obscures the fact that informality is not only a mode of urbanism for the marginals but also "a core means of ordering urban processes at quite different scales of income and urban power" (Tonkiss, 2013, p.111). While for the poorer groups, it is usually a mode of survival and subsistence, for the others, it could be a source of accumulation (Banks, Lombard, & Mitlin, 2020). Informalities of the urban poor, however, play a contradictory role in their lives. It creates "spaces of exception and exclusion" that trap the urban majority (Tonkiss, 2013, p.102). These contradictions are discussed below in detail.

First, by practising self-help in offering services and regulating beyond the capacities of the state, poorer groups tend to reinforce their social abandonment by the state/ formal institutions (Tonkiss, 2013, p.105). As a result, they often fall prey to the 'loan sharks' that operate in the informal economy and work more or less on similar terms, sanctions, and coercions as imposed by the regulated creditors (ibid.).

Second, poorer group's reliance on social networks for accessing resources and for getting things done – getting a job, building shelter, borrowing money, physical safety, acquiring goods – outside the formal institutional framework may allow them latent resources of solidarity, collective action and security (c.f. Bayat, 1997, p.66). The social capital, however, has a 'dark side' (Tonkiss, 2013, p.105). The forms of exclusion, closure, and coercion and the rigid hierarchies that prevail within 'informal' networks tend to severely affect the most vulnerable[14] (ibid.).

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[14] Matthew Gandy (2005, p.46-47), for instance, argues that any serious discussion about the informal economy cannot "ignore its highly hierarchical, often coercive structure" or fail to "differentiate between the mini (or even major) entrepreneurs and traders on its summits and the mass of those barely surviving at its base". The line that distinguishes an informal network with a property or protection racket can be a fine one (Tonkiss, 2013, p.106). Various informal 'entrepreneurs and parasites' (Simone,

Third, while settlements of the urban poor are often recognised for their 'organic' character – i.e. their physically flexible nature in allowing for extension and conversion, their adaptiveness, and their capacity to support different uses (Holston, 1991; Gilbert & Gugler, 1992) – they are also physically permeable and legally vulnerable (Tonkiss, 2013, p.102). Therefore, although the 'supportive shack' needs to be celebrated as opposed to the 'oppressive house' in meeting the needs of the poor (Turner, 1976), the physical, environmental, and legal insecurities of the informal settlements cannot be ignored.

Fourth, informal spaces of the poor, in ordering the social environment, challenge the conventional distinctions between private and public. Informality "expands the range of land, things and resources that may be made commonable – whether through collective occupations of space, shared access to goods or illicit 'de-privatisations' of water, electricity and oil by tapping into formal networks." (Tonkiss, 2013, p.109). However, the contradictions of informality could be seen over here as well. The shared spaces are "vulnerable to various tragedies of the commons" (Tonkiss, 2013, p.109). Besides, the radical commonality of informal spaces compromises basic privacies (Appadurai, 2002, p.37; c.f. Datta, 2013). There is also an "existence of counterposed property claims that are collective in scope" (Blomley, 2008, p.316).

Lastly, informal spaces of the poor are characterised by the complex nature of tenures that defy the binary logics of 'legal' and 'illegal'. As informal spaces of the poor are built incrementally via multiple contestations of land and location (Benjamin, 2007), their multi-dimensional historicity, exhibiting a range of titles and claims over spaces, cannot be easily captured under the prevalent notions of 'legal' property. Therefore, while Hernando de Soto (2000) propagates formalising the latent capital assets – the unrealised value assets due to their informal nature of property rights or the 'dead-capital' that is sunk in the informal economy – for them to serve as a basis for investment by serving as collateral for the loan, his thesis overlooks the fact that the 'informal' is not just the illegality of titles which can be turned into legal/formal by the state (Bromley, 2004, p.277-281). Informal spaces such as settlements of the urban poor, to Benjamin (2008, p.724) contain "diverse types of land settlement processes, each with a politico-legal-administrative history" that could not be easily discerned by the dualities of legal/illegal (c.f. Bromley, 2004; Benjamin, 2007).,

Third, Bayat, by claiming the quiet encroachment of the ordinary to be largely an *individual's act*, Bayat overlooks the fact that a complex network of actors, agents and entities play an important role in the quiet encroachment process. Benjamin's notion of vote-bank politics brings these networks into the light. Vote-bank politics, to Benjamin (2008, p.719), signifies claims-making "via a ground-up process focused on land and economy in return for guaranteed access to voter lists in municipal elections".

2004) and property mafias (Unruh, 2007; Weinstein, 2008) prevail in the informal economy/spaces where people have little or no recourse to 'legal' or police action.

Vote-bank politics highlights poorer groups' understanding of the 'system'[15] (Benjamin, 2008). It reveals how the poor's claims to territory and public resource are facilitated by the "lower-level party workers and astute middle-level municipal bureaucrats" (ibid., p.722). By involving resourceful politicians, the subaltern groups manage to allocate municipal resources that, in effect, strengthen their de-facto territorial claims (ibid.).

In using Bayat's thesis, this research pays attention to the urban poorer groups' discreet and prolonged practices through which they quietly, yet gradually, gain survival and improve their lives in cities (Chapter 6). This research examines how the poorer groups cumulatively encroach and expand their space and position in the city and what role do the social networks play in that (Chapter 6). Besides, this research also examines when and how the subaltern groups' largely atomised struggles and negotiations shift into the realm of contentious politics (Chapter 7.3). This research also pays attention to the three key shortcomings of Bayat's work, as discussed above. In doing that, this thesis makes use of the works of Ayona Datta, Fran Tonkiss, and Solomon Benjamin, that individually point out to the heterogeneous nature the poorer groups, a contradictory role of the poorer groups' informalities in their everyday lives, and to the key role played by vote-bank politics in the process of making claims to territory and public resources. Together, these works help in examining the process of settlement consolidation at the chosen geography.

Bayat's work (together with its critiques), however, has a *limited* purchase when it comes to examining the process of transformation of the BSUP housing and its impact on the settlers' lived experiences and their identity. For that purpose, this research deploys the concept of place-making, as discussed below. The concept of place-making adds to Asef Bayat's quiet encroachment thesis.

3. Settlements of the urban poor /state's rehousing as *Places*

The place-making approach foregrounds the role of human agency in constructing places both as *locations* as well as *sites of meanings* (Lombard, 2015). It allows examining settlers' description of a particular place in a certain way, their claims of belongingness, their legitimisation of certain social practices and relations, and their semiotic practices such as the use of signboards, notices, construction of walls, gates, which in turn help in understanding places as sites of meanings.

[15] The understanding of the system amongst the urban poor marks a key distinction between patron-clientelism – where property dealing is "decisively connected to local thugs, ward-level politicians, and other small-time peddlers of influence" (Appadurai, 2000, p. 639) – and vote-bank politics. Benjamin (2008, p. 724), highlights that the vote-bank politics is not just poorer groups' passivity or exploitation, but rather, "evidence of a popular political consciousness of how to pressure municipal and state administrations. Political consciousness evolves as 'folklore' and includes complex alliances with higher income traders, the lower and middle level municipal licensing department, and the police (Benjamin, 2005a). For politicians, especially aspiring ones, nurturing such popular political consciousness is central.".

A place is a space to which people assign their *meanings* and is defined by a location, locale and sense of place (Cresswell, 2004). Understanding place as meanings/ lived-experiences of the inhabitants, however, requires a consideration of *relations of power* that are associated with places. A place is associated with the simultaneity of social relations that encompass both relations of struggle and domination as well as of solidarity and co-operation (Massey, 1993). The dynamic simultaneity of social relations renders a political character to places (Massey, 1995, 2005; Massey et al., 2013). The place is however not just a product of social relations, it is also often a means of creating, maintaining, and transforming power relations (Cresswell, 2004; Massey, 1992; Massey, 1993). Place's association with the dynamic simultaneity of social relations assigns an always *incomplete nature to places* (Massey, 2003).

An association of the place with meanings, power relations, and continuity reveal that an *ever-shifting identity* is constructed during the process of place-making. A place offers opportunities to people in forging collective identifications around common interests (Wills, 2013). Massey (2005, p. 154, emphasis in original) suggests that "Place…does…as many argue – change us, not through some visceral belonging […] but through the *practising* of place, the negotiation of interesting trajectories; place as an arena where negotiation is forced upon us".

The relationship between place and identity can be understood through the language that the people deploy in the production of spaces. The *language of the place* works "as a resource for rhetorical and ideological action" (ibid., p.40-41). The place identity is produced in the claims of belongingness of people to certain places and their legitimisation of certain social practices and relations (ibid., p.33). Such claims and legitimisation also help in identifying the outsiders (Rose, 1995; c.f. Sack, 1986). Similarly, *boundaries* work as symbolic resources in identity construction (Dixon and Durrheim, 2003, p.10-11). Boundaries not only separate people but work as a mediator of contacts between them (Tester, 1993). Place identity is also constructed in the *meanings*. People make a sense of self (and the other) by assigning meanings to places (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; c.f. Gunn, 2001). Meanings, that people actively give to their lives, to Rose (1995), are a cultural explanation for the sense of place. However, such meanings and boundaries have to be politically negotiated (Manzo, 2003).

People's *semiotic practices* such as the use of signboards, notices, construction of walls, gates, also, reveal social meanings that are attached to such practices (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Signs signify their location in the world. Signs are fundamentally indexical (ibid.). Signs function as a tool of geopolitical power – practices that create and maintain signs/ notices reveal a crucial aspect of the identity of both those who are behind those signs and those for whom they are created (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006a).

In sum, the place-making approach foregrounds the role of human agency in constructing places both as *locations* as well as *sites of meanings* (Lombard, 2015). It also allows an understanding of a spatial-relational construction of identity. Chapter 6 and Chapter 8, that respectively examine the first and third questions of this research,

make use of the learnings from this section in examining the process of settlements/BSUP housing consolidation. Both the chapters pay attention to the material (as locations) and discursive (as meanings) construction of the chosen settlements/BSUP housing by a variety of actors and processes. The chapters also pay attention to the creation of a range of inequalities and exclusions amongst the settler groups in the process of settlement/BSUP housing consolidation. The chapters pay attention to the settlers' description of their settlements/rehousing in certain ways, their claims of belongingness, their legitimisation of certain social practices and relations, and their semiotic practices such as the use of signboards, notices, construction of walls, and gates. This would help in understanding settlements/BSUP housing as sites of meanings and the construction of *place identity* during the process of settlements/BSUP housing transformation.

Following on from learning how particular ways of framing the urban poor and their settlement spaces creates negative stereotypes and the significance of the notion of 'subalternity' and that of 'the quiet encroachment of the ordinary'/ 'place-making' in understanding the real nature of urban marginalised groups and their settlement spaces, the next section presents the notion of governmentalities that the states extend through the settlement rehousing programmes and how such governmentalities are accomplished and experienced on the ground.

2.4 Settlement rehousing and governmentalities

This section presents the notion of governmentalities – that are extended through the rehousing programmes as states' attempt at "self-fashioning and rule" (Li, 1999, p.295) – and highlights the fragile and contingent nature of such governmentalities. In understanding this fragility, the section draws upon the work of Li (1999) and Mosse (2004) and Charlton & Meth (2017), amongst others, that points out the significance of the set of relations – between a range of people, and between the target group(s) and the place(s) – that come into place in *accomplishing* the rehousing schemes and in living/*experiencing* the rehousing spaces. The section is split into two subsections. The first subsection, presenting the notion of governmentalities and highlighting their fragile and contingent nature, discusses the significance of a range of collaborations and contestations in making these governmentalities real on the ground. The second subsection discusses the complex nature of lived experiences of the rehousing spaces and their provisions amongst the programme participants and points out to the complexity with places that emanates from the meanings that are assigned and socially negotiated by a heterogeneous category of the urban poor to such places.

2.4.1 Settlement rehousing, governmentalities, and making them real

Scholars point out that the states' attempts to constitute governable subjects through 'development' programmes, such as rehousing schemes, extends *governmentalities*. Governmentality is a Foucauldian concept and it refers to the "conduct of conduct" (Dean, 1999, p.209), or the governance of the human behaviour (Rose, O'Malley, &

Valverde, 2006). More specifically, governmentalities refer to "mechanisms of linking forms of power to processes of subjectification through techniques of domination anchored in a certain regime of rationality" (Lemke, 2002, p.7, cited in Dhananka, 2016, p.2). The modern states practice governmentality through modern forms of education, welfare provision, and use of techniques such as census, surveys, expeditions that map and measure the populations (Rose & Miller, 1992). Through such measures, states aim to create "new orders of knowledge, new objects of intervention, new forms of subjectivity and…new state forms" (Curtis, 2002, p. 507).

However, through 'development' programmes, the modern states not only extend their presence in the everyday processes and events, but they also attempt at "self-fashioning and rule"[16] (Li, 1999, p.295). Through 'development' programmes, the modern states discursively construct the 'idea of the state' in the public culture (Gupta, 1995; Chopra, 2011). Accomplishing the rule is, however, always fragile and contingent[17] exercise, requiring "practices worked out in the contingent and compromised space of cultural intimacy" (Li, 1999, p.295).

Tania Li (1999, p.315), from her ethnographic examination of Indonesia's official program for the resettlement of isolated people, highlights the significance of the "situated cultural practices and sedimented histories of people and place" in making the 'development' plans/schemes real. She claims that in accomplishing the project of rule, attention is required to be paid to:

> … the cultural framings embedded in the ethnographic details: how objects of planning are defined, selected, and arrayed; the forms of interaction between officials and those they would constitute as clients; the approach taken to deviations from the plan; whether 'the rules' are vigorously enforced or generously, paternalistically ignored to better enmesh, indeed to *compromise*, the objects of planning (Li, 1999, p.314-15, emphasis in original).

Highlighting the significance of various micro-practices that involve compromises in the objects of planning in accomplishing the project of rule, Li clarifies, that such micro-practices/compromises are not planned or preconfigured. They are instead,

> …the unintended outcome of culturally informed action, the result of people's intimate knowledge of their own state system, which includes the knowledge of 'how to go on' in a variety of contexts, including when up against a problematic plan or rule…..it is shared cultural knowledge, reproduced and revised under changing conditions, not simply the ad hoc invention of strategic actors striving to make their own lives and tasks easier (Li, 1999, p. 315).

[16] This self-fashioning and rule are similar to how the West self-fashioned itself through colonisation: "Coloniality, in other words, is the hidden face of modernity and its very condition of possibility….[it is a] constitutive side of modernity" (Walter Mignolo, 2000, p. 722; Robinson, 2004).
[17] Like the West's self-fashioning and rule which was fragile and contingent and required continuous efforts in producing and maintaining the necessary social boundaries (Cooper & Stoler, 1997).

Li's (1999, p. 315) work asks paying attention to how development plans are embedded in the everyday settings via "the gaps and fissures that yield not only room for manoeuvre but the possibility of the culturally intimate – but often uncomfortable – forms of engagement". On the similar lines, David Mosse's (2004) work on Aid policy and practice, also points out to the significance of various 'collaborations and compromises' in making the development policies real on the ground (p.645). His work, clarifying that the bureaucracies have limited operational control over the actual policy practices, suggests the significance of controlling the *interpretation* of practices in producing success in policies. These interpretations, however, need to be 'socially sustained' which requires recruiting 'interpretive communities' i.e. supporting actors with reasons to take part "in the established order as if its representations were reality" (Sayer, 1994, p.374; Mosse, 2004). He adds that "the more interests that are tied up with their particular interpretations, the more stable and dominant development's policy models become" (ibid., p. 646).

In the context of rehousing schemes/programmes, that face challenges of converting the multiplicity of ownerships and occupancies that prevail within the settlements of the urban poor into private-legal properties (Roy, 2014; c.f. Benjamin, 2008), Williams, Devika, & Aandahl, (2015) point out to an 'improvised form of governance' model that comes into place in dealing with the ground level practical challenges. They highlight that "Its scale and the time pressures for its delivery, along with the complexity of the community it interacts with, make informal institutions and improvised governance practices a necessary part of programme implementation." (ibid., p.1114). They claim that instead of considering the presence of a range of informal institutions, individuals, and practices as necessarily parasitic or corruptive, their involvement in policy implementation can help resolve the "contradictions and gaps present within formal governance processes themselves" (ibid., p. 1115). In their findings, a range of officials, elected representatives, informal leaders, fixers, and brokers play their part in the finalisation of the 'beneficiary' lists.

Similarly, rehousing programmes also face practical challenges in introducing cost-recovery mechanisms and models of self/community-based management the basic services and amenities (Ranganathan et al., 2009; Mahadevia et al, 2016; c.f. Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; Sharma, 2008). In making such provisions real on the ground, collaborative, and to an extent, disciplinary efforts of the target groups, their communities or the intermediaries such as the NGOs are required for a culture of rule-governed spatial behaviour to take place (c.f. Benwell & Stokoe, 2006a; Cresswell, 1996). For example, findings from Ahmedabad, India reveal that the local state, to set up Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) at the rehousing sites that would look into the responsibilities of managing services and housing maintenance, engages an NGO named Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (Mahadevia, Bhatia, & Bhatt, 2016). The NGO, through its collaborative, yet painstaking efforts with the communities – that involved "Establishing social stability, and convincing and bringing residents onto one common platform" – helped in setting up the RWAs (ibid., p.305).

However, notwithstanding their important role in policy implementation, the compromises/social sustaining of the policies via the improvised governance practices tend to re-establish a range of dependencies, inequalities, exclusions, and vulnerabilities in the 'informal life' of the urban poor, pointing to the contradictions of accomplishing the project of rule (Corbridge et al., 2005; Devika & Rajasree, 2012; Tonkiss, 2013). Section 2.3.2 discussed these contradictions that are associated with the 'informal life' of the urban poor. Besides, the social sustaining of the governmentalities within rehousing schemes – by limiting the gaze of the urban poor to more immediate issues of inclusion within the scheme as 'beneficiaries' – may also obscure any possibilities of challenging the fundamental issues within such schemes. Bayat, 2004, p.98), for instance, points out how the poorer groups' quiet, yet gradual encroachment – that can be one of the forms social sustaining of the governmentalities – "begets significant social changes in urban structures and processes, in demography, and in public policy.".

The project of rule through neoliberal governmentalities, however, also has what could be called as 'unintended consequences' i.e. opening up of "new vistas and forms of political action" (Sharma, 2008, p. 64). While neoliberal governmentalities redirect the gaze of the poorer groups from the state towards "themselves, their communities, and other civil society bodies", such governmentalities however also result in "producing a critical practice directed at state agencies…in demanding resources-as-rights from government bodies" (Sharma, 2008, p. xxii; c.f. Gupta, 2001). The subaltern groups, in advancing their demands/claims, may "exploit the contradictions in the working of the state institutions, discourses, and governmental technologies" (Nilsen & Roy, 2015, p.40; c.f. Jessop, 2007; 2016). Gupta (1995, p.394) calls these as 'fissures and ruptures' that enable the subaltern groups in creating "possibilities for political action and activism". The fissures and ruptures therefore not only help in socially sustaining the project of rule, as Tania Li points out, but also in opening up possibilities for political action for the subaltern groups in advancing their claims.

Patel (2016), for instance, in the case of settlement rehousing in Ahmedabad, India, examines the imposition of control through tenure security rules by the local state onto the rehousing scheme settlers. Her examination reveals acts of resistance from the settlers' communities to the state's control, highlighting the emergence of 'paralegal' spaces of negotiation to the tenure security rules (ibid.).

Similarly, in the case of market-led resettlement of the subaltern groups in the eastern periphery of Mumbai, Doshi (2012; 2013), points out to the emergence of critical practice amongst the subaltern groups challenging the project of the rule. Importantly, her studies reveal differential subject formation that shapes subaltern groups' political subjectivities and acts of resistance. In one of her case studies of eviction and resettlement, Doshi (2012) examines NGO-mediated participatory resettlement of the poorer groups. The project specifically drew upon a gendered form of participation of women groups where women's social reproductive roles played a central role in

enabling community cooperation in the process of resettlement (Doshi, 2012). Her case study foregrounds how "spatially produced, overlapping, and hierarchical axes of difference – including gender, ethnicity, and class – fundamentally shaped subaltern groups' political subjectivities and governance practices" (ibid., 2012, p. 83). In another case study, Doshi (2013) finds that the settler groups draw upon a discourse of citizenship and rights in protesting their evictions. Besides, the settler groups also involve a radical anti-displacement movement – the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM) – and ally with other displaced groups by drawing upon the notions of class and ethnoreligious marginality (ibid.).

In both the cases, the mediations of the NGOs and radical movements "partially altered desires and modes of engagement of the settlers with the state agencies and other social actors" (Doshi, 2013, p. 862). From both the case studies, she points out that under the neoliberal regime, changing gender, class, ideological and ethnic relations not only shape their dispossession but their political practices of countering it (Doshi, 2013). More importantly, she reveals that a history of land struggle, inequalities and (citizenship and rights) discourses shape the way subalterns make claims (Doshi, 2012, p.83). Her studies challenge the homogeneity of the subaltern groups that is implicitly assumed in the existing literature on resistance.

From the perspective of the politics of making the rehousing governmentalities real on the ground, seeing collaborations and resistances in dichotomous ways would, therefore, be unhelpful (Gupta, 1995; Nilsen & Roy, 2015).

Resistance from the poorer groups, that challenge the project of the rule, extended through neoliberal governmentalities, may, however, be constrained by the state's use of its "*monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force*" (Weber, 2009, p. 78). In claiming its sovereignty – 'the absolute right to govern' (Davis, 2011, p.229) – over the urban space, a particular form or scale of state may make use of 'repertoires of authority' and constrain the critical practices of the contesting groups (Hansen, 2009; Weinstein, 2013). These various repertoires, to Hansen (2009, p.170) are "founded on violence or the threat thereof". While contesting/ resisting groups may employ various political tools at their disposal in making their demands/claims within the rehousing schemes or the way they are implemented, state bodies may invoke their right to use violence, a political tool that is not in the repertoire of the contesters/protesters (Weinstein, 2013, p.292). Hansen & Stepputat's (2005), in highlighting the unstable nature of sovereign power, bring together the Weberian definition of the state with a Foucauldian analysis of disciplinary violence:

> Sovereign power, whether exercised by a state, in the name of a nation, or by local despotic power or community court, is always a tentative and unstable project whose efficiency and legitimacy depend on the repeated performance of violence and a 'will to rule.' These performances are spectacular and public, secret and menacing, and also can appear as scientific/technical rationalities and punishment of bodies (ibid., p. 10).

Such an understanding of the nature of sovereign power falls in line with what Jessop, (1982, p.224) suggests as the 'conjunctural possibilities' and 'structural constraints' in the subalterns' encounters with state power. The subaltern groups may exert pressure from below in challenging the authority of the state, however "a determinate form of state [can be] constituted in such a way as to structurally constrain the advance of subaltern political projects through its institutional ensemble" (Nilsen & Roy 2015, p.45). To adequately grasp the dialectic of 'conjunctural possibilities' and 'structural constraints' attention is required to be paid to both the varied political practices of the subaltern groups as well as to the nature of the state i.e. the 'repertoires of authority' that the state uses in claiming its sovereignty over the urban space.

Overall, the section pointed out a fragile and contingent nature of the project of the rule – that is extended through the 'development' programmes such as the settlement rehousing schemes – requiring various negotiations and deviations in accomplishing the rule (Li, 1999; Mosse, 2004). The section highlighted that this accomplishing of the rule, which happens in an uneven field of power, tends to re-create a range of dependencies, inequalities, and exclusions in the political life of the urban poor (Corbridge, et al., 2005; Devika & Rajasree, 2012). The section also pointed out the 'unintended consequence' of the governmentalities – that extend the states' project of rule – in the form of generating critical practices amongst the target groups (Sharma, 2008). The section revealed a differential nature of subaltern groups' political subjectivities and acts of resistance (Doshi, 2012, p.83; 2013). The section also revealed that the subaltern groups' resistances are subjected to challenges from the above, pointing out to the 'structural constraints' that the subaltern groups face in the challenging the states' sovereignty in 'development'. The section pointed out that the collaborations and resistances, that come to fore in accomplishing the project of rule, should not be seen un dichotomous ways (Gupta, 1995; Nilsen & Roy, 2015).

Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.2.2 & 8.3.2 make use of these learnings in examining the process of making the project of the rule, extended through the BSUP scheme's governmentalities, real. The chapters pay attention to the various ways the provisions under the BSUP scheme – including the provision of converting the *de facto* land rights into private-legal properties (Chapter 7), and the provision of introducing cost-recovery mechanisms and devolving responsibilities of managing basic services and housing maintenance (Chapter 8.2.2 & 8.3.2) – are embedded in the everyday settings via the 'gaps and fissures' within the state institutions, discourses, technologies. The chapters pay attention to the 'improvised model of governance' and to the variety of 'collaborations and compromises' that emerge during the implementation of the BSUP scheme. The chapters also pay attention to the emergence of critical practices amongst the subaltern groups, their political subjectivities and modes of resistances, and to the local state's use of a 'repertoire of authority' in claiming its sovereignty over the urban space. Lastly, the chapters pay attention to the creation of dependencies and vulnerabilities in the everyday life of the poorer groups due to 'compromises' or 'contestations' that thrive upon collaborations with the (informal/political) sovereigns.

Following on from this understanding of the fragile and contingent nature of governmentalities – that the states extend through various ‘development’ programmes – and the significance of various collaborations and contestations in embedding them in the everyday settings, the next section specifically discusses how the rehousing governmentalities are experienced by the target groups. The section points out complexity and contradiction in the lived experiences of the target groups with the rehousing spaces and their provisions.

2.4.2 Experiencing the rehousing governmentalities

A review of the literature points out that through the neoliberal era settlement rehousing programmes, states practice new modes of governmentalities. By devolving risks onto the entrepreneurial individuals and by ‘responsibilisation’ of the subjects who are increasingly ‘empowered’ to discipline themselves, governments achieve their desired sets of results (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002, p.989). Findings from South Africa, Chile, Colombia and India confirm that the rehousing programmes, by turning the urban poor’s gaze away from the state towards “themselves, their communities and other civil society bodies” (Sharma, 2008, p.xxii; c.f. Gupta & Sharma, 2006), aim to convert them into autonomous agents (c.f. Ferguson & Gupta, 2002). Besides, through the provisions of fixed, uniform-sized housing spaces, states extend a project of ‘civic rule’ i.e. instilling a sense of ‘proper’ and ‘acceptable’ behaviour within such rehousing spaces (Roy, 2009a; c.f. Li, 1999; Agnew & Corbridge, 1995; Cresswell, 1996). In most cases, through the rehousing programmes, states introduce cost-recovery principles and mandate financial contributions from the poor (Ranganathan, Kamath, & Baindur, 2009). This could, however, be seen as a kind of conversion of welfare subjects into ‘customer-citizens’.

States’ extension of neoliberal governmentalities through rehousing programmes, however, meet with what Legg (2007, p.15) highlights as the “messy aliveness of place”. According to him, although the notion of governmentality makes explicit “the geometry of power and the striations of social space”, the notion, however, fails to capture the fact that places are complex and the regimes of power-knowledge may not always be successfully extended over places (c.f. Gupta & Sharma, 2006; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002). The complexity of place can be understood from the fact that place is a space to which people assign their meanings – meanings that are socially negotiated in the everyday spatialities of the place users (Cresswell, 2004; 2008).

Empirical studies from the global South reveal the impact of the governmentalities that are conveyed through the state’s rehousing programmes, on the lives of the urban poor. Studies reveal that after living in the redevelopment housing for some time, some of the poorer ‘beneficiaries’ sell their houses as they cannot afford to pay the taxes and service charges (Huchzermeyer, 2004; Gilbert, 2004). A conversion of welfare subjects into ‘customer citizens’ implies that the poorer groups, who mostly relied on subsidised services, now have to pay for these on the market terms (Ranganathan, Kamath, & Baindur, 2009, p.57). In an era of user charges ‘rationalisation’, a policy

of making customers out of welfare subjects can prove highly unaffordable to many amongst the poor (c.f. Gilbert, 2007).

Studies also reveal a 'spectrum of interactions' between the rehousing spaces and the target groups that go beyond a mere acceptance or refusal of the 'civic rule' (Charlton, 2013; 2014). From the context of South Africa, studies reveal a co-constitutive nature of place and identities and highlight "both expected and unexpected consequences of living in state-delivered housing" such as "racial, class and gendered tensions; but importantly also stories of caring, resilience and partnerships that cut across these expected divides in unexpected ways" (Erwin, 2017, p.68, 70). Such findings point out to a "diverse assemblages of benefits and difficulties and practices of citizenship accompanying receipt of the housing benefit" (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p.111). The South African case studies emphasise upon the "ways in which the [state housing] programme serves to include and foster feelings of inclusion yet at the same time how experiences of poverty amongst recipients reflect a broader pattern of inequality which is only partially challenged by the housing programme" (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p.111, c.f. Lemanski, 2011).

Similarly, case study findings from the Chinese-funded Kilamba City in Luanda, Angola point out to "a multi-faceted reality where residents express at the same time pride and preoccupation, satisfaction and uncertainty" (Buire, 2017, p.13). Findings from Kilamba City's incremental appropriation by its residents emphasise upon both 'continuities and ruptures' in the lived experiences of the settlers from their life in the informal settlements.

A similar 'complex and contradictory' set of outcomes can also be seen in the case of Mumbai's Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) where markets play a central role in the rehousing. The 'beneficiaries' of the SRS, on the one hand, reveal their dissatisfaction with the lower quality of housing provision that is inflexible in accommodating "diverse forms of sociality and domestic economy" that prevail in the urban poor's settlements (Anand & Rademacher, 2011, p. 1760). However, on the other, the SRS housing has also been popular amongst the poor in Mumbai because it promises a life in the apartment-style building. More importantly, the poorer groups seek to maximise profits from the market by selling their new SRS homes. In doing that, although certain settlers end up making as much as "10-20 years of their annual income", they nonetheless eventually leave the city, and their source of livelihood (ibid., p.1765).

On similar lines, although Salcedo's (2010) work in Chile reveals the emergence of a "proto-middle-class culture and identity" in the state-subsidised housing for the poor (p.112-113), his work however also clarifies that such a transition is happening only in certain projects – "projects located in socially diverse areas where infrastructure and municipal services are of better quality than in other parts of the city" (ibid., p.113). Salcedo further clarifies that such a transition is not unquestioned by the society at large, implying a continued prevalence of stigma issues. Reflecting on a range of case studies in Chile, Salcedo claims that home-ownership has often not been sufficient in

overcoming marginality and disintegration i.e. there are limits to the notions that home-ownership could work as a vehicle for social mobility and integration. Many of the poor settlers in the state rehousing keep a nostalgic view of the communitarian lifestyle and the time when the state was more present.

Lastly, Meth, Buthelezi, & Rajasekhar's (2018) comparative study of settlement rehousing schemes in India and South Africa, highlights reductions in gender inequalities through 'formal' housing. They, however, also accept that the existence of structural inequalities impedes the overall 'gender' gains from the 'formal' housing.

Overall, the empirical findings reveal a complex set of experiences of the urban poor with the state's rehousing projects pointing out to both the heterogeneous nature of the urban poor – where certain poorer groups could be more marginalised and hence more vulnerable to the state's governmentalities than the others (Datta, 2012) – and to the complexity of the places that challenge the extension of governmentalities (Legg, 2007). A heterogeneous group of poor assign varied meanings to their places – meanings that are socially and politically negotiated in their everyday spatialities. The rehousing governmentalities are, therefore, experienced differently by different groups of the urban poor. Findings also suggest that home-ownership only partially addresses the broader patterns of inequality/marginality that prevail within a (given) society.

Based on these learnings, Chapter 8 critically examines how various social groups in Kalyan Dombivli – divided along caste and ethnic lines – experience the governmentalities that are conveyed through the BSUP housing. The chapter also examines how a change in the lived experiences of a heterogeneous group of urban poor – from their mostly self-made settlement housing to the BSUP housing – affects their individual and collective identities. The chapter, drawing from the place-making approach discussed in the previous section and from the empirical findings presented above, examines both interview accounts of the settlers for the meanings they assign to their place(s), as well as their semiotic practices.

2.5 Conclusion

The chapter set upon the task of critically examining the *framing* of the urban marginals and their settlement spaces under the prevalent rehousing policy discourse, and the *set of relations* that are formed in accomplishing and in experiencing the rehousing programmes. Through such an examination, the chapter aimed to facilitate the investigation of three questions of this research, which are;

1. How does the BSUP scheme understand and represent the urban poor and their settlement spaces? How do these representations compare with the poorer groups' experiences of the process of their settlement consolidation and what do these representations overlook/misrepresent?
2. How was the BSUP scheme accomplished in KD? What collaborations and compromises did the local state officials entertain in making the scheme real

in KD and how such collaborations and compromises were achieved? How did the marginalised groups contest the local state's authority in making their claims in the scheme? What do the various collaborations and contestations in the BSUP scheme reveal about the nature of policy-practice?

3. How is the BSUP housing experienced by the poorer groups in KD? How do these experiences compare with living in poorer groups' settlement spaces? What changes (and continuities) does the BSUP housing bring in the lived-experiences and the identities of the poorer groups and what do these changes (and continuities) suggest about the BSUP's impact on the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration that prevail amongst the poorer groups in KD?

In engaging with the first question of this research, the chapter highlighted that the urban poor's geographies are depicted under the prevalent development discourse through the catch-all-term 'slum'. The word tends to homogenise the inherently heterogeneous as well as the cosmopolitan nature of the urban poor's settlement spaces (Datta, 2012). The word also fails to capture the role of poorer groups' agency in materially and discursively constructing their settlement spaces. At a discursive level, poorer groups associate a variety of meanings with their settlement spaces (c.f. Cresswell, 2004; 2008). Materially, the urban poor's settlement spaces are constituted and consolidated through an ongoing process of quiet/vote-bank form of gradual encroachment (Bayat, 2004; Benjamin, 2008). This process thrives upon various informal practices which tend to play a contradictory role in the lives of the poorer groups (Tonkiss, 2013a).

The chapter also revealed that within the prevalent development discourse, the urban poor is represented through the label of 'slum' dweller. This label not only assigns a 'stereotypical cultural image' to the urban poor and generalises their inherent diversity (Nandy, 2007, p.135; Datta, 2012), it also portrays them in a universally negative image (Gilbert, 2007). The chapter revealed that the poorer groups make sense of 'self' and the 'other' through 'a set of relational constructs' as well as through their informal practices of quiet encroachment. Through these practices, the poorer groups assign various meanings to their places as well as forge various social and political linkages in constructing their settlement spaces. Urban poor's identities, therefore, need to be understood in spatial-relational terms. The chapter revealed that in understanding settlers' identities, the language that they deploy in the production of their spaces as well as their semiotic practices, that include the use of symbols, embodied movements and gestures, needs to be understood (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006a).

Chapter 6 examines the (second half of the) first question and in doing that pays attention to the poorer groups' material and discursive construction of their settlement spaces – to the meanings that the settlers assign to the places and social practices and to the everyday acts that are performed individually or with the help of a range of informal/political sovereigns. The chapter also pays attention to the settlers' claims of belongingness, to their legitimisation of certain social practices and relations through

rhetorical warrants, to the boundaries, to the meanings that the settlers associate with places, and to the settlers' semiotic practices that include the use of signboards, notices, construction of walls and gates. This way, the chapter aims to understand the spatial-relational constitution of various identities of the settlers.

In engaging with the second question, this chapter revealed that the states' settlement rehousing programmes, through a range of provisions, extend governmentalities – the attempt to constitute governable subjects – that aim to establish states' project of rule (Li, 1999). The chapter revealed that accomplishing the rule is however a fragile and a contingent exercise and necessitates a range of 'collaborations and compromises' that help in the embedding the 'development' *plans* in the *everyday* settings via 'the gaps and fissures' within the governmental institutions, discourses, and technologies (Li, 1999, p. 315; Mosse, 2004; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). These collaborations and compromises, operating within the uneven field of power, tend to recreate a variety of dependencies, marginalities, and exclusions in the lives of the poorer groups (Corbridge, et al., 2005; Devika & Rajasree, 2012).

The chapter revealed that the governmentalities have 'unintended consequences' in terms of generating critical practices amongst the subaltern groups that target the state (Sharma, 2008). The poorer groups make use of the 'gaps and fissures' in the governmental institutions, discourses, and technologies in advancing their political claims that include claims of multiple occupancies and complex tenures[18] that prevail in the settlement spaces of the urban poor (Gupta, 1995; Nilsen & Roy, 2015, p.40). The chapter highlighted that a "spatially produced, overlapping and [social] hierarchical axes of difference" shapes political subjectivities and acts of resistance amongst the subaltern groups (Doshi, 2012, p.83). Besides, a history of land struggle amongst the subalterns also shapes their political resistance practices (ibid.). Poorer groups' critical practices, however, face structural constraints in terms of states' use of 'repertoires of authority' in claiming sovereignty over the urban space (Jessop, 1982; Nilsen & Roy, 2015; Hansen, 2009; Weinstein, 2013).

Chapter 7 engages with the second question and pays attention to the range of 'collaborations and compromises' – and to the various micro practics of the local state officials in making such collaborations and compromises possible – that were made in making the BSUP scheme real in Kalyan-Dombivli. The chapter pays attention to the 'gaps and fissures' within the state institutions, discourse, and technologies, that create openings for these collaborations and compromises. The chapter also pays attention to the poorer groups' resistances to the extension of the project of rule through the BSUP scheme. The chapter examines how a "spatially produced, overlapping, and

[18] State rehousing, in offering a secured tenure to the urban poor by 'legalising' their existing titles, conflate informal with illegal. Informality of titles is however not just illegality of titles that could be converted into legal/formal titles through state's instruments. Settlements of the urban poor are built incrementally via multiple contestations of land and location and their multi-dimensional historicity, exhibiting a range of titles and claims over spaces, cannot be easily captured under the prevalent notions of 'legal' property (Benjamin, 2007).

hierarchical axes of difference", and a history of land struggle amongst the poorer groups shapes their political subjectivities and acts of political resistance against the local state (Doshi, 2012, p.83; 2013). The chapter however also pays attention to the variety of dependencies, marginalities, and exclusions that were recreated in the lives of the poorer groups due to such collaborations and resistances. Lastly, the chapter pays attention to how the local state (officials) responds to settlers' resistances in claiming its sovereignty over the urban space in KD. Through such an examination, the chapter explicates the nature of the policy-practice as well as the nature of the state, state power and state-society relations in KD.

In engaging with the last question, this chapter highlighted that the states' extension of governmentalities through the rehousing schemes[19] have a *complex and contradictory* set of impacts on the lived experiences of the poorer groups (Charlton, 2013; 2014; Charlton & Meth, 2017, Erwin, 2017). The chapter suggested that this complexity and contradiction in the nature of the relationship between the poorer groups and the rehousing spaces can be attributable to the complexity of *the place* – space to which people assign their meanings (Cresswell, 2004) – that challenges the extension of governmentalities (Legg, 2007), and to the heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups – where some could be more marginalised than the others (c.f. Spivak, 1985). The chapter also highlighted that home-ownership does not fully address the broader patterns of inequality that prevail in the lives of the poorer groups (Charlton & Meth, 2017; Meth, Buthelezi, & Rajasekhar, 2018).

Chapter 8 engages with the third question and in doing that, pays attention to the varied ways a heterogeneous group of the urban poor in Kalyan Dombivli – divided along caste and ethnic lines – experience the governmentalities that are extended through the BSUP housing. The chapter examines both interview accounts of the settlers and their semiotic practices in understanding the *meanings* – that are socially and politically negotiated – that they assign to their place(s). These meanings shape the lived experiences of the settlers. The chapter also examines how a change in the lived experiences of a heterogeneous group of urban poor – from their mostly self-made housing to the 'formal' housing provided under the BSUP scheme – shapes their individual and collective identities and their sense of belonging.

This thesis empirically engages with the three research questions by examining the BSUP scheme in the periphery of the Mumbai city using a longitudinal and multi-scalar approach. Such an approach involves examining the pre-, during-, and the post-implementation phases of the BSUP scheme while focusing on a range of spatial scales – that include the scale of city and region, of neighbourhood/community, and that of

[19] These provisions include the following: a conversion of welfare policy subjects into customer-citizens; a responsiblisation of the poorer groups by devolving responsibilities of housing and basic services maintenance; and a provision of fixed, standard-sized, residential tenements that goes against the organic character of the settlement spaces of the urban poor and conveys a sense of 'proper' within the rehousing (Ranganathan, Kamath, & Baindur, 2009; Sharma, 2008; Roy, 2009a; Agnew & Corbridge, 1995; Cresswell, 1996).

the household. Answers to these research questions help in assessing the effectiveness of the BSUP scheme in terms of creation of upward social mobility and social integration amongst the poorer groups.

A justification on choosing Mumbai's periphery for this research is that to understand the inherent heterogeneity that prevails in the cities of the global South, it is important to look beyond the "restrictively selective choice of case study locations", such as the megacities of the South (Harris, 2012, p.2961; Robinson, 2006). Mumbai's periphery, therefore, serves as a response to the calls that suggest bringing to fore the diversity, heterogeneity and difference that is true to cities of the South. Peripheries of the metro cities are also key sites of urbanisation in India (Denis, Mukhopadhyay, & Zérah, 2012). Scholars claim that peripheries are highly under-researched (Caldeira, 2009; Caldeira, 2017). This research, therefore, tries to reposition the geographies that are at the periphery of urban analysis (Simone, 2010, p. 14).

Following a review of the literature, the next chapter presents a critical discussion on the BSUP scheme and its various provisions. The chapter also presents a discussion on the urban politics in Mumbai and the state's varied approaches to the settlements of the urban poor. As a part of that discussion, the chapter also highlights the subaltern groups' varied forms of political engagement with the state.

Chapter 3 The BSUP scheme and the Mumbai city region

3.1 Introduction

The chapter presents a critical examination of the BSUP scheme's various provisions and discusses the changing development dynamics of the Mumbai city. The critical examination of the scheme helps in shaping the three questions that are investigated in this research in the context of Kalyan Dombivli (KD). The critical examination also offers the answer to the first part of the first research question, which is, how does the BSUP scheme understand and represent the urban poor and their settlement spaces? The discussion on Mumbai's changing urban politics and the state's approaches to the settlements of the poor offers a useful context for examining the urban development dynamics of KD city (Chapter 5), for investigating the consolidation process of the settlements of the poor in KD (Chapter 6), and for analysing the BSUP implementation process and settlers' resistances to it in KD (Chapter 7).

The chapter reveals certain issues with the BSUP scheme that relate with the way the scheme understands and represents the urban poor, their settlement spaces, and their varied needs and aspirations with rehousing programmes. These issues include the following: a universalist/essentialist understanding of the urban poor and their settlement spaces in the form of 'slums' and 'slum dwellers'; a conflation of 'informality' with 'illegality' in offering legal titles to the urban poor; and a provision of fixed-size, apartment-style residential spaces with an introduction of cost-recovery principles and a devolution of responsibilities of maintenance and common-services upon the poorer groups and their communities.

The chapter also reveals a key role of the following forces in shaping Mumbai's urban development: the decentralisation of the industries towards the peripheries during the 1960s and diversification of the remaining industries towards the late 1980s; a rise of Shiv Sena political party during the 1960s and a shift in its political strategy during the 1990s; the Dalit uprising of the mid-1970s; and the emergence of subaltern spaces as key sites of political contestation post-1990s. The chapter claims that some of these forces also shape the urban development dynamics within Mumbai's peripheries (Chapter 5). Lastly, the chapter reveals a changing role of the state – from clearance to upgradation and recently to market-led redevelopment and resettlement – in the settlements of the urban poor and varied political practices of the urban poor – that include a range of quiet tactics, vote-bank practice, confrontations, and participation in the state's redevelopment programmes. The chapter also reveals the contractions that are associated with the political practices of the urban poor. These changing practices of the state and the poorer groups, the chapter claims, also shape the state-poor relations in Mumbai's peripheries that include Kalyan Dombivli (Chapter 7).

The chapter is organised under two main sections. The first section critically examines the BSUP scheme's various provisions. The second section presents Mumbai's urban development dynamics and points out its significance in understanding the KD city.

3.2 A critical examination of the BSUP scheme

The section, presenting an overview of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) of which the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) scheme is a part, critically discusses the key provisions under the BSUP scheme. A critical examination of the scheme's various provisions reveals the following key issues with the scheme: a homogeneous understanding and representation of the urban poor and their settlement spaces; a conflation of informality with illegality in offering property titles to the urban poor (A. Roy, 2014); a responsibilization of the urban poor and a shift in their treatment from being welfare policy subjects to customer-citizens (Ranganathan et al., 2009; Mahadevia et al., 2016); involvement of the private sector in the scheme that tends to go against the interests of the urban poor (Coelho et al., 2011; A. Roy; 2014); and lastly, the provisions of community participation and the use of technologies of governance – such as the use of biometric surveys – that overlook the limitations/potential reinterpretation of such provisions at the local government level in ways that go against the interest of the marginalised groups (Kamath, 2012). Some of these issues with the scheme helped in shaping the main questions of this research.

The BSUP scheme, which was a part of the JNNURM programme, was operational during the 2005-2017 period (but without any additional funding support from the centre from 2012 to 2017). Through the JNNURM programme, the central government's assistance was offered to a selected number of cities based on the adoption of mandatory and optional reforms in a time-bound manner. With the central government's assistance amounting INR 500 billion (US$7.14 billion @ US$1=INR70), the JNNURM was, by far, the single largest initiative by the Central government (Kundu, 2014). Some of the previous schemes were far limited in scope in comparison with the JNNURM (Batra, 2009).

The JNNURM aimed to "[create] 'economically productive, efficient, equitable and responsive Cities' by a strategy of upgrading the social and economic infrastructure in cities, provision of Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) and [a] wide range of urban sector reforms to strengthen municipal governance in accordance with the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992" (Kundu, 2014, p.617). The mission was implemented under two sub-missions for a selected set of 65 cities in India, which are; the Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG) scheme; and the BSUP scheme.

The JNNURM programme aimed for a market-driven process of urban development which is evident in the following reforms mandated under the mission: repeal of the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act through which private holding of more than 500 square metres of land within Class I cities such as Delhi and Mumbai, was prohibited (Batra, 2009), reforming rent control laws, rationalising stamp duty; use of e-governance; reforming property taxes, levy of user charges; encouraging public-private partnership in project implementation; revision of municipal bye-laws; and reforms that target reduction in the establishment costs (Banerjee-Guha, 2009; Batra,

2009; Mahadevia, 2011; Kundu, 2014; Williams et al., 2018b). The programme thus aimed to make the urban local bodies, efficient and competitive for them to attract private capital that could eventually be used not only for the maintenance of the assets created through the programme funding but also towards benefitting the urban poor (Williams et al., 2018). This way, the programme 'aimed' to rescale the developmental state from the scale of the national state to that of the city. Findings, however, reveal that the rescaling has not happened on the ground beyond the State government level (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011; c.f. Williams et al., 2018a; Pancholi, 2014).

The BSUP scheme, with 35 per cent of the JNNURM funding, targeted an integrated development of the basic services and affordable housing provision for the urban poor (MoHUPA, 2009). The scheme aimed to construct 1.5 million housing units (NRC-SPA, 2009). The scheme rested on a seven-point charter that included "security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation and ensuring delivery through the convergence of other already existing universal services of the Government for education, health and social security" (MoHUPA, 2009, p.2).

To facilitate the mandates of the BSUP scheme, the JNNURM programme suggested certain pro-poor reforms, that included: internal earmarking of funds within the ULBs for the provision of basic services including health, education, and social security to the urban poor; earmarking of 20-25 per cent of developed land in all housing projects for the economically weaker sections (EWS) and low-income groups (LIG) with a system of cross-subsidisation; and provision of basic services to the urban poor including the security of tenure at affordable prices (MoHUPA, 2009, p.16). The BSUP scheme, being a part of the reforms programme, mandated a certain (between 10-12 per cent of the housing unit's cost) percentage of 'beneficiary' contribution from the scheme participants (Batra, 2009; MoHUPA, 2009, p.11).

The scheme had the following key provisions: a provision of secured tenure to the urban poor; a provision of fixed, uniform-sized, apartment space for residential purpose; an introduction of cost-recovery principles and devolution of responsibilities of managing the maintenance of housing and basic services; and a provision of 'community' participation and NGO involvement in the rehousing and asset maintenance; a provision of leveraging the potentialities of the private sector in urban services and housing delivery; and an introduction of various technologies of governance, such as the use of biometric information, in targeting the benefits to the urban poor (Coelho, Kamath, & Vijaybaskar, 2011; Sivaramakrishnan, 2011; Kamath, 2012; Patel, 2013; Kundu, 2014; Mahadevia, Bhatia, & Bhatt, 2016). With these provisions, the scheme sat at a juncture of a *developmental programme* that offered tangible services and assets and a *neoliberal programme* that aimed to responsiblise the welfare-policy subjects thereby making them autonomous, rule-abiding agents rather than being dependent clients of the state (Gupta & Sharma, 2006; Roy, 2009a).

However, the way the urban poor, their settlement spaces, and their housing needs are understood and represented under the scheme is problematic. By using terms such as

'slums' and 'slum dwellers', the scheme homogenises the inherent heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups and their settlement spaces (Chapter 2.3). The term 'slum', that represents different typologies of settlement spaces of the urban poor that prevail across cities, is understood in the BSUP scheme from the poor living conditions and insecurity of tenure, which has its limitations.

The scheme allowed for the local bodies/ State governments in using their definition and statistics on 'slum' settlements[20]. In the case of Maharashtra (and in KD), a 'slum' is any area that "is or maybe a source of danger to the health, safety or convenience of the public of that area or of its neighbourhood, by reason of the area having inadequate or no basic amenities, or being unsanitary, squalid, overcrowded or otherwise" (GoM, 1971). This way of understanding the settlement spaces of the urban poor is, however, problematic. The word 'slum' conveys a universal negative and a parochial image of the settlement spaces of the urban poor (Chapter 2.3.1). Besides, using (static) absolute measures of deprivation, the prevalent understandings overlook the economic, social and politically contested aspects of the settlement spaces of the urban (Nijman, 2010, p. 4; Gruber et al., 2005, p.31; Gordon and Nell, 2006; McFarlane, 2012b; (Yelling, 1986; Richter et al., 2014; c.f. Arabindoo, 2011). These neglected aspects shape their heterogeneity and contribute to their dynamic nature, which the term 'slum' tends to homogenise (c.f. Rao, 2006; Benjamin, 2007).

Likewise, the scheme understands and represents the urban poor by using the term 'slum dwellers' which tends to homogenise the inherent heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups. Chapter 2.3.1 presented a cosmopolitan nature of the settlements of the urban poor and highlighted a prevalence of entrenched inequalities based on caste, gender, and religious differences amongst the poorer groups (Datta, 2012; 2013). An uncritical assumption of the urban poor to be a homogeneous category not only silences but also deepens the existing inequalities and exclusions that prevail in the lives of the urban poor (Roy, 2011; Spivak, 1999).

With regards to the provision of tenure security, the policymakers, both at the central and the State government levels, conflate 'tenure security' with offering 'legal titles' to the properties, much in line with what de Soto (2000) suggested (Kamath, 2012). However, in offering a legal/ private tenure, the BSUP scheme overlooks the fact that the settlements of the urban poor are characterised by the complex nature of occupancies, usages and tenures that defy the binary logics of 'legal' and 'illegal' (c.f.

[20] Across the country, the settlements of the urban poor (referred in the bureaucratic lexicon as 'slums') are either *notified* by the Urban Local Bodies (ULBs)/ States or State representative bodies/ UTs administration under any Statute including a 'Slum Act', or are *recognised* (but not notified) by these administrative bodies. These notifications/recognitions emphasise the poor living conditions and based on certain (restricted) notions of 'proper' living environment, notify/recognise the settlement spaces of the urban poor as 'slum'/ squatter settlements. In practice, however, there are still settlements/ non-settlements (such as pavement dwelling) of the urban poor that neither receive any notification nor recognition from the State governments /Union Territory governments /ULBs. This is due to the politically contested nature of the settlements of the poor. In under-reporting the settlement spaces of the poor within cities, the administrative bodies remain 'officially' not liable to provide housing and basic services and to consider the poor settlers for any 'slum' rehousing programmes.

Bromley, 2004). Settlements of the urban poor are built incrementally via multiple contestations of land and location (Benjamin, 2007). The range of titles and claims that prevail within the settlements of the urban poor may therefore not be easily captured under the 'legal'/ private property framework (A. Roy, 2014).

Besides, the offer of secured tenure under the scheme does not suit the changing needs of the urban poor as the State government of Maharashtra has kept a moratorium period of 10 years from the date of allotment on transferring via sale, gift, exchange, or lease of the allotments made through the housing schemes[21] (Kamath, 2012). The moratorium on transferring the tenure can be particularly problematic as the fixed, uniform size spaces that are offered through the BSUP scheme restrict the possibilities of incremental expansion (c.f. Holston, 1991). Ten years could be a very long period to some people, considering their changing family needs and may provoke them in informally trading their property rights in the market (Kamath, 2012). Besides, the restricted residential use of the BSUP dwelling units segregates the place of residence from the place of occupation/ livelihood and overlook the fact that the urban poor usually make multiple usages of their dwelling spaces (c.f. Gordon and Nell, 2006; Nijman, 2010). The fixed, uniform-sized space that is offered for the residential purpose also extends a project of 'civic rule' i.e. instilling a sense of 'proper' and 'acceptable' behaviour within such residential spaces (Roy, 2009a; c.f. Cresswell, 1996; 2004; 2008).

With regards to the devolution of responsibilities of managing the maintenance of housing and basic services onto the individuals or their committees (Kamath, 2012; Mahadevia et al., 2016; Patel, 2016), the BSUP scheme works on the principle of what Ferguson & Gupta (2002, p.989) call as the "'responsibilisation' of the subjects who are increasingly 'empowered' to discipline themselves" (c.f. Sharma, 2008). This responsibilization works as a new mode of governmentality through which the project of the rule is extended by the state (Curtis, 2002). Likewise, the introduction of cost-recovery principles in the BSUP scheme implies converting the welfare policy subjects into 'customer citizens' who now have to pay for these services on the market terms (Ranganathan, Kamath, & Baindur, 2009). However, an increasing burden of recurring expenses on the poor settlers can make certain families particularly vulnerable to the market forces in gaining control of their property (Payne, 2005; Mahadevia, 2010).

With regards to provisions of public participation, the scheme propagated community participation both during the planning as well as the scheme implementation stages. To facilitate public participation, the scheme introduced a 'Community Participation Fund' and incentivised new forms of local-level activism in cities (Coelho, Kamath, & Vijaybaskar, 2011). It was believed that the fund could facilitate social audits

[21] Section 3E of the Maharashtra Slum Areas Act of 1971 prohibits the transfer of the scheme provided properties "by way of sale, gift, exchange, lease or otherwise for a period of first ten years commencing from the date of allotment of the tenement." (GoM, 1971). The Act also clarifies that after the end of the said tenure, sale or transfer of the scheme allotted properties can only be done after taking permission from the designated authorities.

(Dhananka, 2016). This, to Sivaramakrishnan, (2011, p.140) was a useful departure from the previous, more conservative, views that believed that local level participation should be informal. Findings, however, reveal that as the local governments were expected to deliver outcomes in a relatively short duration, the consultation exercises that took place, during both plan/project preparation and project implementation stages, were of tokenistic nature, implying that the needs of the most-disadvantaged groups were rarely taken into consideration (Kundu, 2014; Burra et al., 2018; Mahadevia, Datey, & Mishra, 2013). This also resulted in adopting a blanket approach of medium-rise apartment-style housing, instead of understanding the incremental needs of the settlers (Patel, 2013).

Kamath (2012) highlights that government officials often lack clarity on what constitutes a community. Usually, 'slum associations' or 'beneficiary committees' are imagined to be representative of the interests of the community (ibid, p.78). In practice, however, a range of asymmetries and inequalities prevail amongst the poorer groups and their association/committees may not be representative of the interest of the most deprived amongst the poor (c.f. Datta, 2012; 2013; Devika & Rajasree, 2012). Findings reveal that the 'Community Participation Fund' within the BSUP scheme was hardly utilised as the eligibility criteria for using the fund was far too restrictive for the urban poor (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011).

With regards to provisions of involvement of the Non-Government Organisation (NGOs) in the scheme implementation, scholars cite real dangers of setting up of parallel patronage systems by the NGOs (Bhuvaneshwari & Benjamin, 2001). Scholars also highlight that instead of representing the interests of the poor, the NGO may only represent the interests of the powerful (ibid.). Scholars point out the problems of co-option of the role of the NGOs within the activities of the local state (Coelho, Kamath, & Vijaybaskar, 2011; Dhananka, 2016).

With regards to the provisions of leveraging the potentialities of the private sector in urban services provision and housing by bringing a shift in the role of the state from being a provider to now largely as a facilitator for the entry of the private sector, scholars highlight that such a shift goes against the interests of the poor (Coelho, Kamath, & Vijaybaskar, 2011; Maringanti, 2012; Gopakumar, 2015). Scholars highlight that the liberalisation of the land and the extension of 'formal' markets to the settlements of the urban poor increases poorer groups' vulnerability (A. Roy, 2014). Besides, these shifts rest on an uncritical assumption that the urban local bodies are already capable of facilitating the role of the private sector in housing and services for the urban poor (Kamath, 2012; Burra et al., 2018).

Lastly, with regards to the introduction of technologies of governance (such as the use of biometric cards), the scheme intends to bring efficiencies in the governance processes including identifying and delivering benefits to the urban poor. Such provisions, however, overlook the political culture and power settings under which the local government officials operate (c.f. Corbridge et al., 2005). For instance, Kamath

(2012), through her case studies of the BSUP scheme implementation in Bangalore, shows that while the local government did make use of the biometric cards to weed out the non-beneficiaries within the redevelopment exercise, the "incentives and pressures" under which the local officials work, meant that these biometric cards did not serve the intended purpose (Kamath, 2012, p.79). Her case studies report discrepancies between the number of dwelling units required (arrived by making use of the biometric system) and the actual number of units built, revealing that the use of technology cannot eliminate "manipulation in the number of houses being built" (ibid, p.84). Besides, the use of technology could also possibly weed out the deserving 'beneficiaries' who lack proper documentation (Mahadevia, 2010).

In summary, a critical discussion of the key provisions under the BSUP scheme revealed that the scheme understands and represents the urban poor and their settlement spaces in homogenous ways, which is problematic. Based on such a homogenous and universally negative understanding, the scheme proposes fixed, standard-sized, apartment-style housing for the poor which has limitations in terms of not considering the varied housing as well as incremental expansion needs of the urban poor. Restricted use of the BSUP housing for residential purpose imposes strict segregation between residential and other usages of the space which is not the case with the self-built housing. The scheme's offer of secured tenure to the poor by converting the *de facto* tenures and occupancies into private-legal properties rests upon a belief that informality is the same as illegality, which is not true (c.f. A. Roy, 2014; Benjamin, 2007; Bromley, 2004). The scheme tends to responsiblise the urban poor and sees the welfare policy subjects as customer citizens. The scheme's provisions of community participation as well as private sector participation, in practice, tend to go against the interests of the marginalised and vulnerable groups (Coelho et al., 2011; Kamath, 2012). Lastly, the scheme's introduction of technologies of governance overlooks the influence of the local political culture and power settings on the workings of the state officials (Kamath, 2012; c.f. Corbridge et al., 2005).

This research argues that some of these key concerns with the BSUP scheme are inherently related to the Western modernist way of scheme's problematisation of the issue of settlements of the urban poor in cities (Chapter 2.2). This is likely to have important implications on the way the *planned ambitions* relate with the *lived realities*. To understand this relationship this research finds a need for examining the process of spatial transformation of the urban poor's settlements that can reveal their real (inherently heterogeneous) nature (Chapter 6). The research also finds a need for examining how the various provisions under the BSUP scheme – including the one on the conversion of the de facto tenures and occupancies that prevail within the settlement spaces of the poor into private-legal properties – are *accomplished* on the ground (Chapter 7). Lastly, this research finds a need for understanding the impact of BSUP housing and its various provisions on the poorer groups' lived *experiences* and their identity(ies) (Chapter 8). Such an examination can reveal how various social groups – divided along caste and ethnic lines – experience the change in *place*.

Such an examination would require investigating the pre-, during-, and the post-implementation phases of the BSUP scheme at a range of spatial scales – that include the scale of the city region, community and the scale of the household – and can help in ascertaining the effectiveness of the BSUP scheme in terms of creation of upward social mobility and social integration amongst the poorer groups. This research argues that the range of the asymmetries and exclusions that prevail in the lives of the urban poor are spatially consolidated in the process of settlement transformation. The poorer groups engage with the process of the BSUP scheme's implementation and experience the BSUP housing and its various provisions from these varied and asymmetric positions. The research claims that a longitudinal and multi-scalar examination of the rehousing schemes can help in locating the vulnerable and the marginalised groups amongst the poor that may likely face multiple exclusions during the process of the scheme implementation and in the state provided 'formal' housing.

Following on from the critical examination of the BSUP scheme, the next section presents a discussion on the Mumbai city's urban development politics and the changing state-poor relations in the city. Such a discussion holds significance to this research from the point of view of interlinkages between Mumbai and its sub-cities.

3.3 Mumbai's urban development dynamics and settlements of the urban poor

This section presents a brief history of urban development in Mumbai. The section also discusses the changing role of the state in the settlement spaces of the urban poor in Mumbai and the political practices of the urban poor through which they make their claims to the city. An examination of the recent history of urban development in Mumbai reveals that over the years, the following factors have played a key role in the urban development dynamics in Mumbai: decentralisation of industries (the 1960s) and diversification of the remaining industries in Mumbai (1990s), the rise of Shiv Sena political party (1960s) and its adoption of a new strategy for its ascendency (1990s), the Dalit caste-identity based movements both within and outside the city (1960s and mid-1970s), and the emergence of subaltern spaces within the city as key sites of political contestation in the post-liberalisation era (1990 onwards).

An examination of the changing role of the state in the settlements of the urban poor and the varied political practices of the poorer groups reveals that over the years, the state' discourse has shifted from clearance/eviction of the subaltern spaces to upgrading and recently to markets driven redevelopment/ resettlement of such spaces in the city. Importantly, this shift has brought certain inclusions as well as exclusions. While this shift has been participatory and inclusive in terms involving NGOs in the process of rehousing and including pavement dwellers as 'beneficiaries' of the state's rehousing efforts, the shift has however also brought a regime of cut-off dates, and exclusion of those who live on 'upper floors' and on a rental basis (Doshi, 2013). The political practices of the urban poor, on the other hand, have evolved from 'quiet

encroachment' tactics involving the vote-bank linkages to collective resistance strategies by involving various social activists, housing rights associations, NGOs, and community-based associations, and more recently to participation in the process of redevelopment/resettlement.

The section is divided into two subsections. The first subsection presents a brief history of urban development in Mumbai and the second engages with the state's role in the settlements of the urban poor and the varied political practices of the poorer groups.

3.3.1 Mumbai's changing urban politics

Bombay, now Mumbai, is not an indigenous city but was established by the British in the year 1665, specifically for maintaining trade links with India (Dwivedi & Mehrotra, 1995. p.8; Tindall, 1982). It was "conceived, in part through comparison, as a hybrid city developed through European discourses of planning and improvement" (Legg & McFarlane, 2008, p.8). The city gradually became one of the largest cities in the world and remains the most important 'global city' in the Indian subcontinent (Gandy, 2008; McFarlane, 2008). The market deregulation and trade liberalisation since the 1980s has led to a growing national and international significance of the city (Gandy, 2008).

Mumbai's growth, since it was founded, has been a subject of a range of colonial and postcolonial histories. These histories include; the colonial government's intentionality of improving urban infrastructure in the city, a reluctance on the part of the Indian majority over funding such plans/designs through increases in taxes or property rates, the colonial government's interests in creating a (legal) system that can arrest "social or cultural resistance to colonial authority", and the efforts of the nationalist elites to decolonise Mumbai by fusing the colonial technocratic visions of the city with "a new kind of modernist synthesis between science, technology, and urban society" (Gandy, 2008, p. 112, 114).

These various histories still resonate in the urban fabric of the present-day Mumbai city (Legg & McFarlane, 2008). Moreover, these histories "resonate over time and space with varied debates on the relations between modernity, development, and diversity of ordinary urban spaces" (ibid., p.8). The fractured geographies of housing and urban services that characterise the present-day Mumbai city crucially link with the diverse histories of the city (Gandy, 2008; McFarlane, 2004; 2008). The present-day city of Mumbai, as a result, is both seen as 'India's most modern city' (Rao, 2006), as well as a city at its limits i.e. the 'Maximum City' (Mehta, 2005).

The city was although set-up as a port city by the British rulers, but by the middle of the 19th Century, it started establishing its production units (Patel, 2005). This attracted migrants to the city. During the inter-world-war period, the industry was diversified from mainly textiles units to food processing, small engineering and chemicals. This diversification resulted in more in-migration to the city. As a result, by the middle of

the 20th century, Mumbai attained a cosmopolitan character. During the successive decades, the industry was further diversified and later decentralised from the core of Mumbai city to its peripheries (Bhagat & Jones, 2013). This shift shaped the spatial organisation of the city and resulted in more in-migration.

During the decade of 1960s, the city witnessed key political-economic shifts. *First* was the rise of the political party Shiv Sena, immediately after the bifurcation of the erstwhile Bombay Province along the ethnolinguistic lines in the year 1960 that resulted in the formation of the Maharashtra State. The rise of Shiv Sena redefined the politics within the city and allowed the Marathi-speaking sections of the political elite to set the political agenda for the city (Patel, 2005). This political shift also made the city more attractive to the Marathi speaking rural population of the state (ibid.). *The second* was the Dalit[22] caste[23] group's uprising that attained its peak (and also its decline) during the mid-1970s. The Dalit-caste groups were engaged in identity-based movements to carve out a political space for themselves and to redefine Dalit emancipatory politics, both within and outside the city (Rodrigues & Gavaskar, 2005). The *last* was the working-class movement that functioned outside the framework of the communist ideology and protested a decline in their real wages. The working-classes were also demanding their freedom in choosing labour unions (Patel, 2005).

The latter two movements were however successfully tamed by the rise of the Shiv Sena party. While the Dalit movement, in particular, fell prey to their internal differences[24] and the manipulations of the bigger political parties, in confronting and taking control of the working-class movement, the Shiv Sena adopted anti-communist propaganda and violent means, which were in line with its style of functioning and its political aspirations (Patel, 2005).

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[22] Dalits are the ex-untouchable communities of India. The word 'Dalit' originated in the political movements of the 1960s & 70s of the ex-untouchable castes (Jodhka and Sirari, 2012, p.2). Since 1990s, it has become a useful way of political self-identification of the diverse ex-untouchable groups (Ibid). Dalit refers to "those who have been broken down by those above them in a deliberate and active way. There is in the word itself an inherent denial of pollution, karma and justified caste hierarchy" (Zelliot, 2005, p. 267).

[23] Caste has although undergone a rapid change in India since the adoption of affirmative policies and measures by the state that target caste-based discriminations, its reality has certainly not disappeared (Jodhka, 2010, 2012, Jodhka and Sirari, 2012; Vora and Palshikar, 2005; Rodrigues and Gavaskar, 2005). To Jodhka (2010), caste is about "domination", and "disparities" and it functions as "an institutionalised system of discrimination and denials" (p.21). Caste has not only served as an institutionalised form of domination that continues to be present in the Indian society, but caste also means disparities in the distribution of resources. For example, occupations such as scavenging that has been traditionally carried out by the Dalits are still, almost exclusively, being carried out by them (Jodhka, 2012, p.95). Lastly, caste functions as a mechanism of group-based discrimination and denials (Jodhka, 2010, p.21).

[24] For instance, the C*harmakar* Dalits who have been traditionally confined to menial jobs, denounced the idea of conversion to Buddhism, which Dr Ambedkar (the most important figure associated with Dalit uprising in India) thought could offer an alternate moral, religious and social world view to the Dalits (Rodrigues & Gavaskar, 2005). This fragmented the Dalit unity as conversions later came to be identified with the *Mahar* Dalits (ibid). Similarly, while Ambedkar sought electoral politics as a future course of Dalit's political struggle, the ruling parties exploited their internal divisions by co-opting the most politically conscious segment among the Dalits (ibid).

Dalit consciousness, however, became radicalised during the 1970s. This was a result of non-improvement in their situation despite the constitutional provisions that mandated their reservations in education, jobs, and in the elected bodies (Jodhka, 2012). The Dalits were also opposing a rise in atrocities against them (Rodrigues & Gavaskar, 2005). They expressed a rebellious outpouring through the *Dalit Panthers* movement (ibid., p.148). The movement used the modern literary forms of free verse and short stories in venting out the Dalit anger (Patel, 2005). The Black literature from the United States also influenced the Dalit literature. The Panthers attracted a large number of youths and gained popularity amongst the Dalit masses (Rodrigues & Gavaskar, 2005). The movement reached its peak, and at the same time, its downfall, during 1974 by-election for the Lok Sabha (Lower house of the Parliament) seat in central Mumbai. Different political factions wanted to use Dalit support for the election (ibid., p.150). However, an incident led to an occurrence of a full-fledged riot in the BDD Chawl[25] in Worli, Mumbai (ibid.). The Shiv Sena party workers, which were supported by the Police, outnumbered the Dalit youth within the chawl as they went on a rampage (ibid.). A series of events following the riots led to the split of the Panthers in late 1974 (ibid.).

In terms of spatial-economic development, around the mid-1960s and the early 70s, the government of Maharashtra worked on the spatial restructuring of the industry to both rebalance industries within the region and also to move polluting industries out of the Mumbai city (Whitehead, 2008). Industrial production, subsequently, moved out to the peripheries of Mumbai and the other cities like Pune and Nashik. The spatial restructuring of the industry fuelled in-migration along the periphery of Mumbai (Bhagat & Jones, 2013). Alongside this, the city also witnessed the closure of many of its unprofitable textile mills which resulted in a mass retrenchment of the mill workers and transfer of functions to the unorganised sector (Patel, 2005). More jobs, as a result, came under the informal and small-scale sector. This led to the political fragmentation of the working-class groups in the city (ibid.).

With the liberalisation of the economy onwards the late 1980s, the service sector started making inroads in the Mumbai city. This gave a fillip to the property market and encouraged setting up of service industries fuelled by corporate capital, while further driving out the production units that were still operating within the city (Chatterjee, 2008; Kundu, 2011).

A spatial reconfiguration of the industries together with its service-sector orientation led to a decline in the working and living conditions of many residents of Mumbai (Patel, 2005). A large population of the city were now engaged in casual and informal work and were mainly living in very poor conditions (ibid). Statistics reveal that between 1971 and mid-80s, the population within the informal settlements of the urban

[25] BDD stands for Bombay Development Department which later became the Municipal Corporation of Mumbai. The word Chawl, a term that is peculiar to Mumbai, stands for a single room tenement housing provided by the industries to their workers.

poor in Mumbai grew roughly 3.5 times from 1.2 million to 4.25 million people comprising approximately half of the total population of that time (Bhagat & Jones, 2013). The spaces of the urban poor – that include bustees, chawls, jhoppadpattis, and pavements – still cater to roughly half of the city's population (Pethe et al., 2012).

Politically, since the 1990s, the politics within the city shifted rightwards (Rodrigues & Gavaskar, 2005). In these changing times, the Shiv Sena party managed to align itself with the rising Hindutva agenda where both the elites and the masses were mobilised in a variety of ways including its campaign of organising Hindu festivals (Patel, 2005). Besides, it also continued its anti-migrant vigilante tactics against the minorities, particularly against the Muslims[26] (ibid.).

In mobilising both the elites and the masses, the Shiv Sena party workers "organised the populace at its point of residence" (Patel, 2005, p.23). They offered support to the male migrants in the city by not only helping them with a place to live but also by facilitating some form of informal employment to them (ibid.). In doing that, they established linkages with the lower-level bureaucrats within the administration by invoking caste and kin affiliations (ibid.; Chapter 5; c.f. Benjamin, 2008). Besides, the Sena also organised its *dadas* – the goons, but also an elder brother to the downtrodden – in illegally capturing the vacant government or private lands, both for the construction of the squatter settlements as well as for selling them later to the builders (ibid.; Chapter 6). The Sena made good use of the mafia gangs for this purpose (Pendse, 2005; Weinstein, 2008). Lastly, it established a *dada culture*[27] where the dada would help facilitate squatter settlement construction and help the underemployed youth with some job opportunities in the informal sector (Patel, 2005; Chapter 6). Its connections with the lower-level bureaucrats turned out to be extremely useful for these activities. The Shiv Sena also makes good use of the local Hindu festivals such as *Ganesh Utsav*[28] in bringing the upper and the lower caste Hindus together.

In the current post-liberalisation era, the settlement spaces of the urban poor have emerged as key sites of political contestation in the city. Various social groups in the city attach different meanings to the settlement spaces of the urban poor and these meanings are politically contested. Some of these social groups include; the urban poor, their informal and political sovereigns, administration/ bureaucracies, the judiciary, media, 'slum' tour-agencies, international development organisations, local and international development NGOs, poor's rights activists/associations, community-

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[26] During the turn of the 1990s, the Shiv Sena started engaging with the Muslim community at different places – the most episodic of all being the 1992-93 Hindu-Muslim riots where more than 900 Muslim people were killed (Mehta, 2005; Hansen, 2000; Hansen, 2001)

[27] My field investigations revealed how each and every poor informal settlement dweller I spoke to, referred to their local councillor or the MLA (Member of State's Legislative Assembly) as the *dada*. All of these elected political leaders were either currently affiliated with the Shiv Sena or have been a part of it during their early years of political career.

[28] Chapter 6.2 reveals how Ganesh Utsav, which is the most important Hindu festival for the Maharashtrians, was at one point in time, jointly organised by the Dalits and the non-Dalits. Facilitated by the Shiv Sena politician(s), it was a bid to dilute the boundaries between the Dalit and the non-Dalit caste groups.

based organisations/ groups, real-estate lobbies and developers, elite business interest groups, and middle-class neighbourhood based activism (c.f. Roy, 2003; Baud & Nainan, 2008; Nijman, 2008; 2010; Benjamin, 2008; Anand & Rademacher, 2011; Bhan, 2009, Bjorkman, 2014; Jones & Sanyal, 2015; Ghertner, 2011; Whitehead, 2008; Shatkin, 2014; Weinstein, 2008; 2013).

The post-liberalisation era urban politics within Mumbai city – that is centred around the settlement spaces of the urban poor – can be understood from the perspective of the following key forces, which are: *various election cycles* – that result in an extension of the cut-off dates for the settlements of the urban poor to be considered under various redevelopment programmes (Risbud, 2003; Björkman, 2014); *pressures from the international development organisation(s)* – organisation such as the World Bank enforcing certain loans conditionalities that require the incorporation of rehabilitation of the project affected communities/ settlers within the Mumbai Urban Transport programme (MUTP) (Doshi, 2013); *pressures from the various 'reform oriented' middle and elite-class civil society* – for instance, middle-class based associations drawing upon the notions of 'propertied citizenship' in demanding 'planned' development in the place of squatter settlements (Benjamin, 2008, p.721; Zérah, 2007; Baud & Nainan, 2008); and *pressures from the real estate and large business lobbies* – for instance, in a bid to make Mumbai a 'world-class' city, the elite/business pressure groups influencing the policy arena such as master planning and lobbying for neoliberal urban reforms (CM's Task Force, 2004; Benjamin, 2008; Mahadevia & Narayanan, 2008; Weinstein & Ren, 2009).

Other forces that characterise post-liberalisation era Mumbai-city's urban political context, include the following: *bureaucratic exercises of service provision* – for example, the transformation of a municipal housing colony into an illegal settlement by the local state by drawing upon the hydrologically-mediated discourse, (Bjorkman, 2014), or denial of services to the poor through deliberate inaction of the city engineers and municipal technocrats (Anand, 2012); *bureaucratic exercises of database creation for redevelopment/resettlement* – for instance data-centric slum-free city planning exercises under which governance of spaces and populations of poor is a priority (A. Roy, 2014; Richter et al., 2014); and *sectarian street politics* – that include violence against targeted ethnic communities (Appadurai, 2000; Hansen, 2001).

The political strategies of the urban poor in Mumbai change with the changing political context. In advancing their claims upon the urban land, the poorer groups may attach different meanings to their settlement spaces under different political contexts (Richter et al., 2014). For example, the residents of the Golibar settlement in Mumbai – a part of the Dharavi settlement which is considered to be one of the largest settlements of the poor in Asia – asked for official recognition of their settlement as a 'slum' from the state agencies to save it from the arbitrary demolition exercise and also to become eligible for the rehousing scheme, about which they were initially very suspicious in terms of its fairness in 'beneficiary' selection and allotment procedure (Arabindoo,

2011). Fearing evictions, the community leaders asked for a 'slum' title, which they otherwise avoid for its associated misrepresentation (c.f. Nijman, 2010). The example validates that the settlements of the poor – which are frequently labelled as 'slums' or 'informal settlements' and understood using absolute measures of deprivation (UN-Habitat, 2003; Gilbert, 2007) – are a relative concept, "a term in the discourse of politics rather than science" (Yelling, 1986, p.1).

In sum, the subsection presented a brief history of urban development in Mumbai. The subsection highlighted the important role of various colonial and postcolonial histories that still resonate in the fractured geographies of housing and urban services of the present-day Mumbai city (Gandy, 2008; McFarlane, 2008). Specifically, in the post-independence era, the decentralisation of the industries towards the peripheries (the 1960s) and the diversification of the remaining industries in the city (1990s), the rise to the power of the Shiv Sena political party (1960s) and its alignment with the Hindutva agenda (1990s), the political mobilisation of the Dalits (1960s till mid-70s), and the emergence of the settlement spaces of the urban poor as key sites of political contestations (1990 onwards), all played a significant role in shaping the overall development politics and the urban landscape of the Mumbai city.

The learnings from this subsection are going to help in examining the impact of the socio-economic-political changes that have taken place over the years in Mumbai on the urban development dynamics in KD. Chapter 5 pays attention to the role of deindustrialisation as well as of the real-estate boom in Mumbai in shaping informal property/urban poorer groups' settlement construction in the KD city. Chapter 6 pays attention to the role that Shiv Sainiks play(ed) in facilitating the construction of settlements of the poor and in establishing a dada culture. Chapter 7, in discussing the political engagement of the Dalit settler in the BSUP scheme in KD, draws a reference to the Dalit uprising that happened in Mumbai during the mid-70s.

Following on from this discussion, the next subsection engages with the changing role of the state in the settlement spaces of the urban poor and the varied political practices of the poorer groups. The section also highlights the contradictory role of these varied political practices – simultaneously enabling and extending a range of inequalities and exclusions – in the everyday lives of the poorer groups.

3.3.2 State-poor relations in Mumbai

With a continuous influx of the migrants and an increased informalisation of the labour due to changes in city's economic base over the years, together with the inability of the state in offering affordable housing options, subaltern spaces such as bustees, jhoppads, chawls, and pavements have become the only housing option to every second resident of Mumbai (Pethe et al., 2012). The Census (2011) reports 5.2 million people living in Mumbai's subaltern spaces, which is nearly half of the total population of the city in 2011. This population is however concentrated on merely 10 to 12 per cent of the total landmass of the city (Nijman, 2008; p. 76).

Mumbai's subaltern spaces such as bustees, jhoppads, chawls, Patra chawls are often referred to as 'slums' in the popular discourse. What is considered as a 'slum' is, however, contextual and deeply political. For example, within Dharavi in Mumbai, which is popularly recognised as a 'slum' in the local parlance, certain residents and their communities object to the tag of the 'slum' (Nijman, 2010; Arabindoo, 2011).

Mumbai's subaltern spaces are spatially and functionally integrated in ways that bring together different realms of life to co-exist (Nijman, 2010, p. 4). Besides, they also play an important economic function (Nijman, 2010, p.13). For instance, in the case of Dharavi settlement, located at the centre of Mumbai, seventy per cent of the settlers are stated to be working within the settlement (Gruber et al., 2005, p.31). Home-based entrepreneurship and production are key to Mumbai's subaltern spaces, and housing is, therefore, used as a productive asset (Gordon & Nell, 2006).

A varying degree of legality prevails within Mumbai's subaltern spaces which also reflects in their physical form (Nijman, 2010). The legality status of Mumbai's subaltern spaces also changes with time, pointing out to the uncertainties that prevail in the informal life of the poor (Bjorkman, 2014). The state-recognised bustees, jhoppads, chawls, Patra chawls usually receive 'entitlement' to the basic services and protection from demolitions (Burra, 2005; McFarlane & Desai, 2015). State's recognition can also safeguard the subaltern spaces from often violent demolitions (Arabindoo, 2011). Very often, the state recognised settlement spaces of the urban poor eventually move on an upward trajectory of improvement. Such may, however, not be the case with those that are not recognised or yet to be recognised by the state. Often such subaltern spaces are considered as encroachments upon the public lands and are frequently subjected to state-led demolition drives (Anand & Rademacher, 2011; Bjorkman, 2014; c.f. Weinstein, 2013).

Owing to their politically contested nature, the official records rarely capture the city's subaltern spaces in a comprehensive manner (Richter et al., 2014). The content of these records i.e. the 'paper proofs' – that include voters' list, 'slum' notifications, Government Regulations with regards to slums, slum photo-passes, utility bills, tax receipts, official letters addressed to the family, amongst others (Banerjee, 2002) – are both reflective of contested meanings and also drive political contestations as they serve different purposes to different groups (Richter et al., 2014).

State's role in the settlement spaces of the urban poor in Mumbai has changed several times since India's independence, broadly reflecting the policy context that was set up by the central government in this regard (c.f. Batra, 2009). State's changing role in the settlement spaces of the urban poor and its impact on the poorer groups' political practices of claims-making can be discussed under three distinct phases, as presented below: the clearance and improvement phase; the upgradation phase; and the markets induced redevelopment/ resettlement phase. This discussion is followed by an examination of the contradictory role of the poorer groups' political practice in their lives that function as "spaces of exception and exclusion" (Tonkiss, 2013, p.102).

1. The clearance and improvement phase (the 1950s-1970s)

In dealing with the issue of settlement spaces of the urban poor, the state agencies in Mumbai came out with a 'Slum' Clearance Plan in the year 1956. Following the enactment of this plan, the Mumbai Municipal Corporation authorised large-scale clearance of the settlement spaces of the poor and subsequent policing of the reclaimed lands (Burra, 2005). However, in the later decades, Mumbai's municipal administration realised that the clearance of the subaltern spaces alone cannot help address Mumbai's housing issues and added 'improvement' and 'redevelopment' amongst the strategies (Anand & Rademacher, 2011). With the Maharashtra 'Slum' Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act of 1971, the government assumed wider powers in *notifying* the settlements of the urban poor and implementing clearance and improvement programs.

Following the passage of the 'Slum' Areas Act, a 'Slum Census' was conducted in 1976 on the public lands and 'photo-passes' were issued to the poor settlers in Mumbai. The state recognised settlements continued receiving water, sanitation, electricity, and other amenities (Burra, 2005). However, those settlements that were not recognised as 'slums' were demolished (Anand & Rademacher, 2011).

The poorer groups, that have been quietly occupying marginal and/or vacant spaces in the city since the colonial times (Anand & Rademacher, 2011; p.1755; c.f. Bayat, 2013), after the passage of the 'Slum' Clearance Plan and an ensuing spate of demolitions, started reoccupying or retaining the vacant lands that were cleared during the demolition exercises. The state agencies lacked proper surveillance mechanisms of the cleared lands and this made it easier for the subaltern groups to re-occupy them or to move to other vacant lands (Burra, 2005). In doing that, the urban poor were helped by the lower-level municipal officials and the local politicians (Chatterjee, 2004; Benjamin, 2008). The vote-bank politics, therefore, played an important role in the poorer groups' quiet (yet gradual) encroachments. The vote-bank politics also played a significant role in bringing a shift in the state's discourse over the years from 'clearance' in the mid-1950s to 'improvement and redevelopment' in the 1970s. It was mainly the political mobilisation of the poorer groups with support from the municipal councillors and some rights activists during 1960s that brought such a change (Anand & Rademacher, 2011).

The 'Slum' Census of 1976, however, brought a dramatic change in the political practices of the urban poor in Mumbai. The demolitions that followed the 'Slum' Census led to a rise of new housing rights associations in the city (Chatterji and Mehta, 2007). Such associations include the Youth for Voluntary Association (YUVA), Nivara Hakk, the Society for the promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), Mahila Milan, and the National Slum Dwellers' Association (NSDF). These organisations lobbied for a participatory discourse in the state's approach to the settlements of the urban poor (ibid., p.156). They also used mass mobilisation and resistance tactics in dealing with the state's coercive practices.

2. **The upgradation phase (the 1980s)**

During the 1980s, the international development agencies played a major role in the policies on urban poor's housing in Mumbai. Through the 'Slum' Upgrading Program (SUP), supported by the World Bank, the state agencies in Mumbai offered a secured tenure in the form of 30 years of renewable land lease to the cooperative societies of the urban poor. Besides, the state agencies also offered basic services on a cost-recovery basis and provided Home Improvement Loans (Burra, 2005; 70). The offer of tenure security was an unprecedented move. However, due to unequal land distribution within the settlements of the poor, and also due to high densities of housing, the scheme could not offer much in terms of reconfiguration and improvement (Burra, 2005).

The central government, through the Pradhan Mantri Grant Project (PMGP), made a special grant of US $20 million for the upgradation and reconstruction of the urban poor's settlements in Mumbai in 1985 (Risbud, 2003). Implemented in the form of redevelopment by offering tenement units of 18 square meter carpet area within high-density tower blocks, the scheme marked a major departure from the prior approaches (ibid). The costs of the tenements were however paid for by the urban poor with the help of loans from the lending institutions. There was a lack of clarity about the procedures, liabilities, and benefits from the scheme (ibid). In certain cases, slumlords[29] created obstacles (ibid).

The World Bank's involvement in settlement upgradation in Mumbai resulted in the active engagement of the community and the NGOs during the preparation of the upgradation programmes. This offered the subaltern groups, opportunities for direct involvement in the projects and using tactics other than direct resistance/contestation in securing housing and basic services for themselves (Burra, 2005).

Sanyal & Mukhija (2001, p.2047), for instance, highlight an active involvement of the community and practices of self-segregation amongst the urban poor in the PMGP scheme. The settlers of the Rajendra Prasad Nagar (RPN), a part of the Dharavi settlement, in availing the PMGP grant benefits, approached the state officials. The RPN was a part of larger *Markandeya* locality which housed 250 families and had a community group that was headed by the popular local politician. To access the PMGP scheme's benefits, the residents divided themselves along the caste lines and formed two separate societies. Nearly 160 households belonging to the *Padmashali caste* formed one co-operative and the remaining castes created another co-operative in the name of Markandeya Cooperative Housing Society (MCHS). In availing the benefits from the scheme and realising that the process of redevelopment was taking longer than it should have, the MCHS, side-lined the NGO that was involved in the redevelopment project. The NGO was involved since the beginning of their struggle

[29] As per the Slum Areas Act of 1971, a slumlord is a person who illegally takes possession of any urban lands or enters into or creates illegal tenancies or leave and licence agreements or any other agreements in respect of such lands (see also, Chapter 6).

over negotiating better returns from the developer as well as in seeking approvals from the PMGP authority. The MCHS signed a deal with a private developer that offered them lucrative returns. The case reveals an active/direct involvement of the community and practices of self-segregation amongst the urban poor along the caste lines in securing housing and basic services for themselves.

3. Markets induced redevelopment/resettlement phase (the 1990s onwards)

The decade of the 1990s marked a significant shift in the state's strategy from welfare distribution to the neo-liberal resettlement practices by involving markets. In the year 1995, the Shiv Sena Party came to the power with a promise of providing *free housing* to 4 million poor settlers (Burra, 2005). To fulfil this promise, the party launched the 'Slum' Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS). The scheme offered incentives to the private builders in the form of additional floor space index (FSI[30]) to be utilised in the settlement of the poor and/or the other areas within the city via the 'transferable development rights' (TDR[31]). Thus, the scheme allowed both off-site and in-situ resettlement, to be financed by the real estate markets (Doshi, 2013).

The involvement of some NGOs in the scheme ensured certain social inclusions such as the inclusion of women to the title and inclusion of pavement dwellers as beneficiaries within the scheme (Doshi, 2013, p.6). However, at the same time, the scheme had certain exclusions too. The first exclusion was the use of the cut-off date[32] criteria for the selection of the 'beneficiaries' under the scheme. Further, those who were living on the 'upper floor(s)' of the existing structures within the settlements of the poor, or living on a 'rental' basis, were not considered eligible under the scheme (Doshi, 2013, p.6). The exclusions under the SRS were deeply entwined with the ethnoreligious violence that erupted during the 1990s (ibid., c.f. Mehta, 2005). The ruling Shiv Sena believed that such exclusions would invoke a symbolic barrier to "an imagined tide of invading outsiders" (Doshi, 2013, p.7).

To regulate the implementation of the SRS, the State government constituted a 'Slum' Rehabilitation Authority (SRA). The authority has representatives from the State government, the private sector and the civil society (Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001). The scheme is open to execution-agencies from private, public, charity-based, and co-operative societies of the slum dwellers (Nijman, 2008). The scheme has brought institutional pluralism in the political landscape of Mumbai with markets, NGOs, community organisations, and the state agencies all working together in the

[30] Floor Space Index (FSI) regulates the total built-up area on a space/ a piece of land which is in proportion to the land area it occupies. For example, a 2.5 FSI would mean that the total floor area that could be constructed on the land could be 2.5 times that of the base area of the land. It is a planning instrument that guides the total occupancy on a piece of land.
[31] TDR is yet another planning instrument that is used in conjunction with the FSI. Through the TDR, the unconsumable FSI on a particular piece of land could be transferred and utilised in some other areas, as per the prescription of the planning authorities.
[32] The cut-off date for the beneficiary selection under the SRS scheme was initially set to be 1st January 1995. This was later extended to 2000.

redevelopment/resettlement of the urban poor's settlements. This, however, also meant new arenas for conflicts and disagreements over the sharing of liabilities and returns. For instance, the role of certain actors including those of the NGOs has now been reoriented (Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001). The poorer groups, instead of involving the NGOs, are now directly bargaining with the developers for better returns from the redevelopment schemes (Nijman, 2008).

There are also a few shortcomings with this scheme (Anand & Rademacher, 2011, p. 1760-65). The first is that those poor settlers who already have a bigger space in their settlements have been reluctant to participate in the Scheme (ibid., c.f. Chapter 7). This results in widespread coercion of the settlers by the developers-politician nexus (Nijman, 2008). Developers are keen on making most of the provisions offered under the scheme as it allows them to avail extra FSI (with or without TDR) that could be sold in the open market for huge profits. The SRS benefits the politicians not only in terms of opportunities of rents from the developers but also in terms of increased vote-bank support to them. Further, the design of the housing is rigid and does not accommodate the diverse social and economic activities that prevail within the settlements of the poor.

In sum, there has been a critical shift in the state's discourse on the settlements of the urban poor in Mumbai during the last 70 years. Over these years, the state's discourse has shifted from clearance to upgrading and to markets driven redevelopment/resettlement (O'Hare, Abott, & Barke, 1998; Mukhija, 2002; Benjamin, 2008). The political practices of the poorer groups in Mumbai have also evolved ever since the passage of the 'Slum' Clearance Plan in 1956, which was followed by a spate of violent settlement demolitions. Over the years, poorer groups' political strategies have shifted from what Bayat (2013) refers as 'quiet encroachment' by making use of the vote-bank linkages (Chatterjee, 2004; Benjamin, 2008), to collective resistance tactics by involving various social activists, housing rights organisations, NGOs, and community-based associations, and more recently to taking up opportunities for participation (Appadurai, 2002; Doshi, 2013).

The examination of the changing state-poor relations in Mumbai from the perspective of state's involvement in the settlements of the urban poor helps in investigating how the local state in KD materialises various provisions under the BSUP scheme and how the poorer groups, drawing upon their understanding of the SRS scheme's implementation in Mumbai, make their claims within the BSUP scheme (Chapter 7).

4. The contradictions of the poorer groups' political practices

The poorer groups' varied forms of the political practices of claims-making in Mumbai, as discussed above, need to be understood from the point of view of a range of social, spatial, environmental, legal contradictions in the lives of the poorer groups. For instance, in practising quiet, clandestine, everyday tactics of making claims upon the city, the urban poor tend to reinforce their social/economic abandonment by the

state institutions (Tonkiss, 2013a). A majority of the informal settlement dwellers work in the informal sector of the city that flourishes within those settlements (Gruber et al., 2005; Gordon & Nell, 2006). Working in the informal sector, the poorer groups often fall prey to the loan sharks and/or the property mafias (Weinstein, 2008). As a result, they often do not have any recourse to 'legal' or police action. The exclusion, closure, coercion and the rigid hierarchies that prevail within the informal networks, therefore, tend to severely affect the most vulnerable amongst the poor.

Besides, poorer groups' quiet, everyday tactics of encroachment, that are performed individually or by involving a range of mediators, also result in 'legal' insecurities and ambiguities in their lives. For example, Björkman (2014) finds that with the changes in the municipal water supply regulations in the prevalent liberalisation-era Mumbai city, a municipal housing colony named Shivajinagar-Bainganwadi was re-labelled as an illegal 'slum' for redevelopment due to its *appearance* like a 'slum' (ibid.). Her study reveals that in the present-day Mumbai city, "almost anything that looks like it could stand to be redeveloped – anything, that is, that does not have the 'world-class' appearance" is labelled as a 'slum' (ibid., p.55). This is because redevelopment of the subaltern spaces in certain areas of the present-day Mumbai city is a highly profitable activity for the real-estate developers/builders for its promise of additional development rights within the city.

Her study reveals that the labelling of Shivajinagar-Bainganwadi as a 'slum' happened during the 1999 'Slum Census' carried out by the Congress government as a part of electoral promise to shift the cut-off date for the eligibility of the SRS to the year 2000 (Björkman, 2014). Her study clarifies that the re-casting of the settlement under the municipal records from a municipal housing colony to a 'slum' happened due to the deterioration of water infrastructure – i.e. "the proliferation of suction pumps, the ongoing innovation in micro-technologies of access (like the "vertical piece" and now the rubber hose attachment) and the constant transferring of connections upstream on the distribution mains" (Björkman, 2014, p.56) – within the settlement.

Popular media reports, glorifying the water department's 'ritualistic' water-raids against the 'water mafia' operating within the settlement, also functioned "as spectacular public affirmations of the neighbourhood's illegality" (ibid., p.56). The case of Shivajinagar-Bainganwadi highlights that the everyday tactics of the urban poor, through which they access basic services and consolidate their settlement spaces, can bring 'legal' ambiguities in their lives.

Similarly, the non-recognition – through State's notification or 'Slum Census' – of certain settlements of the urban poor as 'slums' by the state agencies in Mumbai, often results in their violent demolitions that happen mostly during the election cycles (Mahadevia & Narayanan, 2008; Anand & Rademacher, 2011). These demolitions exemplify the state's control over the urban land (Weinstein, 2013). The 'legal' insecurities and ambiguities that prevail in the political life of the poorer groups, therefore, can result in the loss of their housing and livelihoods.

Another aspect of contradictions in the political lives of the urban poor in Mumbai is their dependence on their political/informal sovereigns. By relying on the vote-bank/patron-client networks in making claims to the city, the poorer groups remain under the perpetual dependence on their political mediators which, in turn, also tends to reinforce the deep inequalities and injustices – based on caste, gender, religious and other differences – that prevail in their lives (Devika & Rajasree, 2012; Datta, 2013, p. 518). These mediators usually "do not work in favour of the 'deeply disempowered' due to strategic reasons as much as due to the fear of transgressing the dominant social-moral codes" (Gudavarthy, 2012, p.16). Besides, by practising quiet, clandestine tactics as well as by relying on the vote-bank networks, the poorer groups' political activities remain confined to the issues of subsistence and survival (Bayat, 2004). Similarly, the involvement of various associations/ NGOs in the poorer groups' political claims-making has largely worked with the "symptoms of poverty rather than the causes" (McFarlane, 2004, p.907; McFarlane, 2008a; c.f. Rao, 2012).

This research pays attention to the range of social, spatial, environmental, and legal contradictions that are associated with the subaltern groups' political practices of claims-making in the city (Chapter 6; Chapter 7).

Following on from the critical examination of the BSUP scheme and of the urban development dynamics and state-poor relations in Mumbai, the following section concludes the main findings from this chapter. In doing so, the section also establishes the significance of those findings for this research.

3.4 Conclusion

The chapter presented a critical examination of the BSUP scheme and discussed the urban development politics in Mumbai. The critical examination of the scheme revealed key areas of concern that relate with the way the scheme understands and represents the urban poor, their settlement spaces, and their varied needs and aspirations with rehousing programmes. These key areas of concern help in shaping the main questions of this research that are examined in the context of the KD city. The critical examination of the scheme also offers the answer to the first part of the first question, which is, how does the BSUP scheme understand and represent the urban poor and their settlement spaces? The chapter also presented an examination of the changing urban development politics and state-poor relations in Mumbai. The examination offers a useful context for understanding the urban development dynamics in KD (Chapter 5), for investigating the consolidation process of the settlement spaces of the urban poor in KD (Chapter 6), and for analysing the BSUP implementation process and settlers' resistances in KD (Chapter 7).

The chapter highlighted that the BSUP scheme was a part of the JNNURM programme that remained operational during the 2005-2012 period (and until March 2017 without any additional funding). The scheme targeted an integrated development of the basic services alongside affordable housing provision for the urban poor (MoHUPA, 2009).

The scheme had the following key provisions: a provision of 'legal' serviced housing; introduction of cost-recovery principles; devolution of responsibilities of managing common services to the settlers' communities; a provision of private sector participation in the delivery of housing and basic services, a provision of 'community' participation in the rehousing and asset maintenance, and a provision for the use of technologies of governance in targeting the benefits to the urban poor (Kamath, 2012).

A critical examination of the scheme's key provisions revealed that the scheme understands the settlements of the urban poor from the point of view of poor living conditions and insecurity of tenure. Such an understanding, however, overlooks the heterogeneous and dynamic nature of the settlement spaces of the urban poor. Besides, scheme's use of the terms 'slums' and 'slum dwellers' portrays a negative stereotype and not only masks but deepens the inequalities, marginalities, vulnerabilities and exclusions that prevail in the lives of the urban poor (c.f. Gilbert, 2007; Roy, 2011; Spivak, 1999). This understanding helps in answering the first part of the first question of this research, which is, how does the BSUP scheme understand and represent the urban poor and their settlement spaces?

In offering private-legal titles to the urban poor, the scheme conflates informality with illegality (A. Roy, 2014). However, the *de facto* tenures and occupancies that prevail in the settlement spaces of the poor are consolidated incrementally via multiple contestations of land and location and therefore informality of titles is much more than just the illegality of titles (Bromley, 2004; Benjamin, 2007; 2008; Blomley, 2008).

Besides, by offering fixed-size, apartment-style residential spaces, the scheme fails to address the incremental expansion and the multiple usability requirements of the poorer groups and extends a project of civic-rule by instilling a sense of proper and acceptable behaviour at such spaces (c.f. Roy, 2009a; Cresswell, 2004; 2008; Kamath, 2012). By introducing cost-recovery principles and devolving responsibilities of maintenance of housing and common-services upon the poorer groups, the scheme not only treats the welfare policy subjects as 'customer-citizens' but also turns their gaze away from the state towards themselves and their communities and 'responsiblises' the urban poor (Ranganathan et al., 2009; Mahadevia et al, 2016; c.f. Sharma, 2008; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002).

This chapter argues that these key concerns with the BSUP scheme are related to the way the scheme problematises the issue of settlement spaces of the urban poor and the varied needs and aspirations of the poorer groups with rehousing programmes. An essentialist understanding of the urban poor and their settlement spaces shape the BSUP scheme's provisions. The findings from the chapter point out that to ascertain the effectiveness of the BSUP scheme there is a need for examining the gap between the scheme's *planned ambitions* and the *lived realities* on the ground. This is done under this research by examining three questions in the context of KD city. Each of these three questions engages with the pre-, during-, and the post-implementation phases of the BSUP scheme in KD.

The chapter further discussed a brief history of urban development in Mumbai and presented the role of various forces that prevailed at different points in time on the political landscape of the city. These range of forces/mechanisms that prevail(ed) in the urban development sphere of Mumbai also shape(d) the urban development dynamics within Mumbai's sub-cities. Chapter 5 examines these interlinkages by ascertaining the key role of the following forces/mechanisms in shaping urban development dynamic within Kalyan Dombivli: the decentralisation of the industries to the peripheries during the 1960s; the involvement of Shiv-Seniks in the construction of settlements of the urban poor and an establishment of a *dada culture* during the 1960s onwards; the real-estate boom of late 1970s onwards; and various planning exercises, policy provisions that aimed to decongest the city of Mumbai.

The chapter revealed that over the years, state's involvement in the settlement spaces of the urban poor in Mumbai changed from clearance to upgradation and recently to markets-led redevelopment and resettlement (Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001; Burra, 2005; Anand & Rademacher, 2011). The chapter also revealed that the poorer groups' political practices have also evolved over the years from a range of quiet, clandestine tactics and making use of the vote-bank linkages, to direct confrontations and recently to participation in the state's redevelopment programmes (Appadurai, 2002; Chatterjee, 2004; Benjamin, 2008; Hansen, 2009; Datta, 2013; Doshi, 2013). The chapter revealed that the varied political practices of the urban poor play a contradictory role in their lives (Weinstein, 2008; Bjorkman, 2014; c.f. Tonkiss, 2013).

These changing strategies of the state and the political practices of the poorer groups, the chapter claims, also shape state-poor relations in Mumbai's peripheries. The chapter's findings help in investigating the role of State government notifications, slum photo-passes, and that of the varied quiet and vote-bank political practices of the poorer groups in consolidating their settlement spaces in KD (Chapter 6). The findings from this chapter also help in understanding the range of inequalities, exclusions, vulnerabilities, and ambiguities in the political lives of the urban poor (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7). The findings from this chapter help in investigating how the changing strategies of state in the settlements of the urban poor in Mumbai such as the introduction of the cut-off date criterion may shape the BSUP scheme implementation in KD (Chapter 7). Besides, the findings from this chapter also help in examining how the poor settlers' engagement with the BSUP scheme implementation process in KD are influenced by the settlers' understanding of the political practices of claims-making of the poorer groups in Mumbai.

In conclusion, the findings from this chapter offer the necessary contextualisation for this research that is required for a fruitful engagement with the research questions in the context of Kalyan Dombivli. While the BSUP scheme's critical examination itself helped in shaping these research questions, the urban political context of Mumbai helps in understanding the urban development dynamics in KD. It is argued that certain aspects of the political context of Mumbai shape the process of consolidation of

settlements of the urban poor as well as the process of the BSUP scheme implementation in KD. Besides, the changing political practices of the settler groups in Mumbai also influence the way the poorer groups in KD engage with the BSUP implementation process as well as the BSUP housing.

Following on from these learnings, the next chapter presents the methodology adopted in this research in examining the three research questions. The chapter also presents the (political) challenges of doing fieldwork that include issues of access, rapport, and gaining depth in the information.

Chapter 4 Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the methodological approach adopted in examining the effectiveness of the BSUP scheme in KD. The chapter reflects on the approach to conducting a longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination of the scheme in the periphery of Mumbai – that involves examining pre-, during-, and post-implementation phases of the scheme at the scale of the city region, community and the scale of the household – taking into consideration practical, ethical and reflexivity concerns. The chapter serves as a bridge between the literature and the empirical findings as what is being investigated, and what is found, crucially depends upon how the examination and the analysis were undertaken.

This research follows a qualitative research framework and a case-study approach to conducting a longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination of the BSUP scheme in KD. The chapter is divided into seven sections. The first presents the research questions, research aim and the philosophical positioning of the research. The second section introduces the research methodology adopted for examining the research problem. Section three introduces the research design by revealing the approach to the enquiry that includes research methods, data collection, and data analysis. The fourth section details the data collection methods and challenges that were confronted during fieldwork that include issues of access, rapport, and gaining depth in the information. Section five presents the approach to data analysis and validation. The research adopts a thematic analysis, which requires building themes upwards from the textual information sourced from the field. The sixth section reflects on the personal positionality of the researcher and the ethical considerations that emerged throughout the research process. And the last section presents the limitations of the methodology adopted within the research.

4.2 Aim, questions, philosophical positioning

To understand the effectiveness of the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) scheme from the perspective of the creation of upward social mobility and social integration of the urban poor, this research examines the pre-, during-, and post-implementation phases of the scheme at a range of spatial scales in the city of Kalyan Dombivli. Such a comprehensive examination also serves the political objective of bringing to light, understanding on the subaltern subjects, their settlement spaces, and their forms of political agency that often remains obscured in the academic accounts due to the prevalence of certain concept-metaphors (c.f. Chakrabarty, 2000; Jazeel, 2014). The existing taken-as-given concept-metaphors such as ‘slums’ not only homogenise the heterogeneous spaces of poverty and assign a particular (mostly negative) universal image to the poor settlers (Gilbert, 2007), its routine deployment also stabilises particular forms of power (Hall, 1986, p.29; c.f. Jazeel, 2014).

The research's objective of engaging with identities, spatialities and forms of agency of the subaltern subjects fits well with the existing gap between the increasing calls for the ethnographic examination of diverse spatialities of the urban poor (Auyero, 2000; Varley, 2010; Arabindoo, 2011) and the interests amongst the scholars in theorising 'slums' (Rao, 2006) or advancing certain epistemological categories (Roy, 2011) that mark "a complete ontological break with the existing understanding of the subaltern subjects" (Arabindoo, 2011, p. 640). Seeing this gap as an opportunity, this research engages in a comprehensive examination of the BSUP scheme in KD. Such a comprehensive examination entails comparing the imaginaries of the 'slum' and 'slum dwellers' within the scheme with the ground realities. It also involves investigating the complex on-the-ground practices through which the scheme is accomplished and the varied and contradictory impacts of the scheme's housing on the policy subject's sense of the 'self' and the 'other'. In achieving the stated objectives, this research makes use of the existing knowledge on the subaltern subjects.

In terms of the specific questions, this research engages with the following three questions:

1. How does the BSUP scheme understand and represent the urban poor and their settlement spaces? How do these representations *compare* with the poorer groups' experiences of the process of their settlement consolidation and what do these representations overlook/misrepresent?
2. How was the BSUP scheme *accomplished* in KD? What collaborations and compromises did the local state officials entertain in making the scheme real in KD and how such collaborations and compromises were achieved? How did the marginalised groups contest the local state's authority in making their claims in the scheme? What do the various collaborations and contestations in the BSUP scheme reveal about the nature of policy-practice?
3. How is the BSUP housing *experienced* by the poorer groups in KD? How do these experiences compare with living in poorer groups' settlement spaces? What changes (and continuities) does the BSUP housing bring in the lived-experiences and the identities of the poorer groups and what do these changes (and continuities) suggest about the BSUP's impact on the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration that prevail amongst the poorer groups in KD?

The principles that guide this research are a constructivist ontology, an interpretivist epistemology, and a qualitative case-study methodology. From a constructivist perspective, theories are only partial ways of understanding social reality and therefore they need to be compared to the real world to test their explanatory power (Kratochwil, 2008). Adopting a constructivist position, I align with claims that highlight that the real world is not just out there to be discovered, rather, researcher 's knowledge of it is filtered through the theories that the researcher adopts (Porta Della and Keating, 2008). Likewise, following an interpretivist epistemology, the research explicates the meanings that the actors attach to their actions. The research gains an understanding

of the social world through the perceptions of the individuals. However, it is likely that the interpretations of the individuals are also influenced by the research and therefore the social relationship that may have existed in the past, may not be found in the future (Hay, 2002; Bevir and Rhodes, 2003).

In terms of methodology, this research adopts a qualitative framework and a case study approach. This research follows Yardley (2000, p.219) who articulates some of the essential qualities of good qualitative research. To her, good qualitative research includes the following aspects: *'sensitivity to context'* (to both physical and theoretical/ literature settings); *'commitment and rigour'* (in-depth engagement with the problem by using appropriate methods, thorough data collection, and in-depth data examination); *'transparency and coherence'* (clarity in arguments, transparency in data presentation, and reflexivity); and *'impact and importance'* (contribution to knowledge, and the practical world). The research adopts a qualitative case study approach for its context-sensitivity. By adopting a case study approach, the research interprets the self-interpretation of situated individuals (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Through a case study approach this research "seeks explanations for social outcomes…from the interpretations of the people's motives for their actions." (Porta Della & Keating, 2008, p.27). The research, in turn, proposes 'refined concepts' which could be further analysed in future case studies (ibid).

4.3 The case

The case in this research is the BSUP scheme and its effectiveness in creating upward social mobility and social integration amongst the urban poor in KD. In examining the BSUP scheme's effectiveness in KD, the research conducts an investigation of the pre-, during-, and post-implementation phases of the scheme at a range of spatial scales in KD. Through a longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination, the research aims to understand the lived experiences of the poorer groups within their settlement spaces, with the scheme implementation and within the BSUP housing. The research also incorporates experiences of the scheme implementers and their supporting actors in making the scheme real in KD.

A longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination, it is argued, can reveal insights on the following issues: the disparities between scheme's imaginaries of 'slums' and 'slum dwellers' and ground realities in KD; gaps between the mandated procedures and those that were adopted in making the scheme real, and the impact of those gaps on the ability of the existing disempowered groups in making their diverse claims in the scheme; and the differences between imagined outcomes of the scheme and the actual lived-experiences of a range of settler groups.

The form that the case study adopts in this thesis is not descriptive, but interpretive – one that is exploratory. This implies that the research uses a set of theoretical notions/frameworks – discussed in Chapter 2 – in explaining the case. Findings from the case however also contribute to these theoretical notions/frameworks in the form

of subtle refinements within these notions. Chapter 9 discusses these contributions to the existing theoretical notions. Presenting the case, the following paragraphs offer background information about the KD city and the selected settlements in KD.

4.3.1 KD city and the institutional settings

Kalyan Dombivli (KD) is a rapidly growing town that is located in the periphery of Mumbai city. According to the last Census of India, it had a population of 1.2 million and comprised an area of 67.65 square Kilometres. KD is popularly known as the dormitory town of Mumbai. The city's significance in the state as a middle-class educated, white-collar township has made this city an important hub of residential, educational and social activities in the region (KDMC, 2007). The twin cities emerged rapidly during the 1980s with the changes in the Metropolitan Regional Development Plan and an increase in the land prices in Mumbai (van Dijk, 2011). In a bid to decongest the city of Mumbai, successive regional plans (1973, 1996), focused on relocating industries and certain economic activities to the newly identified growth centres, that included Kalyan (BMRPB, 1973; MMRDA, 1999). The growth of KD can also be attributed to its transport connectivity (ibid). KD provides the preferred route to connect the northern part of India to southern regions. The City Development Plan (CDP) prepared for the JNNURM programme mentions that roughly 40-44 per cent of the population in KD is "poor" and almost 60 per cent work in the informal sector (KDMC, 2007).

Urban services within KD are provided by the Kalyan Dombivli Municipal Corporation (KDMC) which came into being in 1983 (KMC, 1996). The Municipal Corporation area, at the time of the fieldwork, included the cities of Kalyan, Dombivli, and 25 surrounding villages. The KD city, therefore, exhibits both urban and rural characteristics. For administrative purposes, the KDMC area is divided into 7 administrative wards. The functioning of the KDMC rests upon a general body comprising 107 elected councillors, seven wards committees, and several standing committees. The Municipal Commissioner is the executive head of the corporation.

Besides KDMC, there are currently two specialised (para-state) agencies that have a visible presence in KD's urban landscape. These are – Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA), and Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA). The MMRDA, that came into existence in the year 1974 with a (State) Constitutional Act, is entrusted with the responsibility of preparing regional plans, formulating policies and programmes, implementing projects and helping in directing investments in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMRDA website, 2018). The MHADA, which came into being in the year 1976, is a State government body engaged in the provision of affordable housing within the State of Maharashtra (MHADA website, 2018).

Both of these agencies were also engaged in the monitoring and disbursement of funds to the local bodies under the JNNURM programme. While MMRDA looked into the

Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG) component of the JNNURM that dealt with the issues of empowerment of the local bodies and in upgrading the local infrastructure, MHADA handled the BSUP module of the JNNURM that targeted an integrated development of the settlements of the urban poor.

The BSUP scheme remained operational in KD during the 2005-2017 period. Through the scheme, the KDMC, which had the responsibility of implementing the scheme in KD, offered 269 square feet carpet area tenement units to the eligible beneficiaries under 7 to 10 storey high buildings (tower blocks). A total of 8,188 tenement units were to be constructed under the BSUP scheme in KD out of which 6,713 were constructed by the end of March 2017. The KDMC selected 8 settlement sites within KD out which 4 were re-location sites and the rest were in-situ. At the time of the fieldwork, there were only two in-situ redevelopment sites where beneficiaries were already given an allotment of the tenement units. These two sites were Ambedkar Nagar and Dutta Nagar settlements and were selected as empirical case study sites for this study. A description of these sites is presented in the following section.

4.3.2 The selected settlements

Both Ambedkar Nagar and Dutta Nagar settlements are located in Dombivli East (east of the Mumbai suburban railway track) and fall within a range of one mile from the train station (Figure 4-1 below). The BSUP scheme began at Ambedkar Nagar in 2009 and was completed in September 2012. At Dutta Nagar, the scheme began in 2011 and was completed in February 2014. Both of these sites were developed in an in-situ fashion, which meant that the selected settlers were temporarily displaced from their settlements for the duration of project construction. A considerable portion of the settlement still exists at both the sites. At Ambedkar Nagar, the reason for the existence of a section of the settlement is due to a development plan (DP) reservation on the site and due to existence of a High-Tension power line above the land pocket that restricted the inclusion of a section of the settlement in the scheme. At Dutta Nagar, a sizeable portion of the settlement refused to participate in the scheme.

Both of these settlements date back to the late 1960s at a time when the State government was decentralising industries from the city of Mumbai to its peripheries (Chapter 3.3.1), and Maharashtra State was facing a severe drought. To find gainful employment, poor villagers started migrating towards big cities such as Mumbai and its peripheries (Chapter 6). While Ambedkar Nagar is primarily inhabited by the Dalits (Chapter 3.3), Dutta Nagar has a mixed population with a majority belonging to the State classified ‘Other Backward Caste’ (OBC) categories. The state’s recognition allows the officially recognised Scheduled Castes (that include the Dalits), Scheduled Tribes and OBCs, opportunities to avail Constitutional benefits such as ‘reservations’ within government jobs, education, and the state provided healthcare.

Both the selected sites have similar physical settings such as access to basic services, access to the market, and access to the nearest railways station. Besides, as both the

settlements were notified (in the year 1972), they became entitled to the basic services which are charged monthly and taxed annually. Both the settlements, however, do differ on many accounts that include their physical characteristics, occupants' work profiles, and socio-spatial norms that prevail within the individual settlements. Chapter 6 discusses the characteristics of both the settlements in detail. As per the KDMC database, before the BSUP intervention, Dutta Nagar had approximately 600 households while Ambedkar Nagar had around 450 households. Through the BSUP scheme, tenement units were offered to 189 families at Dutta Nagar and 305 families at Ambedkar Nagar within 7 storey-high tower blocks. The BSUP scheme beneficiaries, during the construction, stayed outside in rental units. The building contractors offered Rs 800 (~US$12) per month rent to the scheme participants for a duration of 18-months. The actual construction, however, happened in approximately 3 years at both the settlement sites.

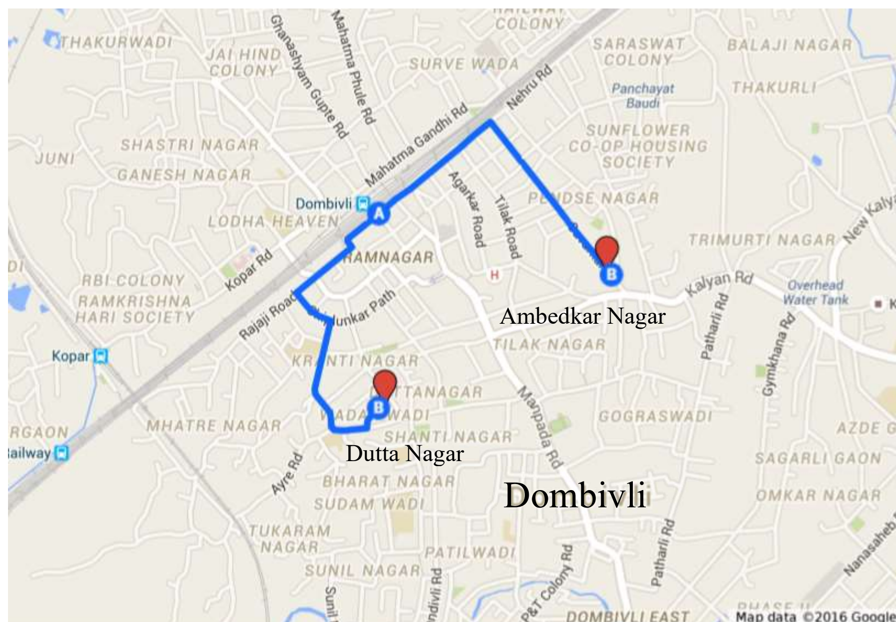

Figure 4-1 Location of Ambedkar Nagar and Dutta Nagar settlements in KD; map not to scale; (source: google maps, 2016)

4.4 Research design

To Yin (2014), the research design offers a link between the data and the research questions. An in-depth empirical investigation necessitates research methods, data collection and analysis to be rigorous and aligned with the research questions that themselves reflect the theoretical background of the research (Flick, 2007). The research relies upon qualitative methods that help in uncovering the complexity of the case (c.f. Porta Della & Keating, 2008). Using a qualitative research framework, the data collection methods involved semi-structured interviews, document analysis, and (non-participant) observations (that included taking notes and pictures).

According to Rule & John (2011, p.72), a good research design requires consideration of factors such as where and how the data is collected, and if the data is adequate in

terms of both quantity and quality in answering the research questions. In conducting a multi-scalar and a longitudinal examination of the BSUP scheme implementation in KD, I interviewed several categories of actors associated with the BSUP scheme at the scale of the region, at the scale of the city, that of the neighbourhood, and lastly at the scale of the household. The interviews not only focused on the interviewees' retrospective accounts but also their current experiences with the scheme. This allowed comparing the interview participants' past experiences with those of the present, and in building a stronger contextual footing for the case study.

Alongside interviews, I also analysed official reports and documents such as development plans, detailed project reports, details of litigations, and JNNURM/BSUP related policy documents. Besides, I also analysed State government rules/ regulations/ laws related to the settlements of the urban poor in the Mumbai region. The data from the documentary analysis is deployed at multiple junctures within the analytical chapters in a bid to attain more depth in the analysis.

Lastly, I remained observant before, during, and after the interviews to thoroughly contextualise the interview data. Ethnographic observations introduced me to the micro-politics within organisations, entities, and communities. I also made non-participant observations of community activities/events such as gatherings outside the tower blocks, community events, and social life in the settlements. The observations made during the fieldwork opened me to the views held by the policy implementers, their supporting actors, and the 'beneficiaries' over the BSUP scheme. I found that these views were radically different from those of the top-level bureaucrats at the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA). Although not surprised over this difference, I learned how meanings are reinterpreted to contextualise them and what mass-housing schemes such as the BSUP, fail to understand about the urban poor and their settlement spaces, at the very first place.

With regards to analysis, I developed themes from the interview data. These themes were supported by data from the documentary analysis and the observations. Development of themes happened in both deductive and inductive fashion (Rule & John, 2011, p.77). While my interview question categories, in part, carried some idea about themes, some themes emerged specifically from the data. The following sections discuss both data collection and analysis in detail.

4.5 Data collection

Data collection for this research was done between September 2015 and March 2016. While a majority of data was gathered during this duration, some of the data was also gathered subsequently over the phone. For example, an update on the progress of the BUSP scheme through the quarterly progress report was gathered over the telephone and the email. Similarly, critical gaps in the information were bridged by conducting follow-up telephonic interviews with the various actors. My data collection strategy was a practical one. First, I gathered as much data as I could from the documents,

reports and the online media. The focus of the data-collection from these secondary sources was not only on the details regarding the implementation of the BSUP scheme in KD but also on KD's urban politics and development dynamics. I also started interviewing state actors (local state officials, State bodies officials) as well as non-state actors (such as public interest litigation experts) to gather information on the city's development dynamics and opinion of the non-state actors on the actual implementation of the BSUP scheme.

I started interviewing the settlement dwellers / BSUP housing settlers (scheme's participants as well as non-participants) around the second half of my fieldwork. I was nonetheless visiting the settlements regularly to establish some rapport with the settlers. During those visits, I also began observing and recording those observations. The reason for delaying the interviews with settlers was that the local corporation held elections during November 2015 and I did not want to be seen as a politically linked person. I, therefore, delayed my interviews with the settlers until the elections were over. The following sections discuss various aspects associated with data collection through interviews, documents, and observations, in detail.

4.5.1 Interviews

In collecting data through semi-structured interviews, I identified several actors who are (or have been) associated with the urban politics in KD, with KD's urban poor's settlements, and with the BSUP scheme implementation and its post-implementation phases. My interviewees fall under four categories: *settlers* that include both scheme's participants as well as non-participants; *state officials* including officials at the local state as well two State government bodies (the MHADA and the MMRDA); *elected political leaders* that include municipal councillors, ex-Mayors, Members of Legislative Assembly (MLA), and a Member of Parliament (MP); and *non-state actors* that include all other actors that either directly influence KD's development dynamics or could inform about it. Many of the actors within these categories came to the fore during the field investigations. For example, the scheme's non-participants, as well as villagers and their leaders, were identified as key actors within the BSUP scheme implementation and overall development dynamics within KD. The following table (Table 4-1) presents the category and number of actors that have been interviewed within this research. In total, I interviewed around 85 people. Although useful, however not all the interviews were cited within this research as not all of them revealed deeper insights on the case.

Table 4-1 The category of interviewees that were interviewed during the fieldwork

Settlers	56
Scheme's participants	43
Scheme's non-participants	13
State officials	10
Local state officials	7

State body officials (MMRDA/ MHADA)	3
Elected political leaders	10
Retd. MP	1
MLAs	2
ex-Mayors	2
councillors/ ex-councillors	5
Non-state Actors	9
Public interest litigation experts	2
Architect/ Planner	1
Villagers / their leaders	5
Social Activist/ NGO	1
Total	**85**

In terms of *settlers*, I interviewed a total of 56 people (Annexure #1) either within their residence or outside their residence, but always within the settlement and the BSUP housing blocks. In particular, I interviewed 43 scheme participants and 13 non-participants, split across both the chosen settlement sites. At Ambedkar Nagar, the number of participants and non-participants were respectively 22 and 4, at Dutta Nagar, this number stood at 21 and 9. The non-participants, in particular, were those who either refused to participate in the scheme (Dutta Nagar) or were not selected in the scheme as there were practical challenges to their inclusion (Ambedkar Nagar), as previously highlighted.

The selection of the interviewees was based upon the following strategies: access through the gatekeepers; snowball sampling; and using randomised sampling.

The gatekeepers were identified within the settlements by establishing a continuous presence within the selected settlements as well as through other actors, including political leaders and local state officials. The gatekeepers who were approached within settlements were the slumlords within the communities, the elected political leaders, veteran politicians from the settlement, old and known figures within the settlements, and the informally created user committee members within the tower blocks (who were often found sitting together outside the tower blocks, and hence the category, group interviews). Section 4.5.4 particularly discusses the politics of access including the politics of gatekeeping.

The snowball sampling was used when the gatekeeper facilitated interviewee category was saturated. Snowball sampling worked well while I was conducting interviews along with a female assistant, which was for the first month of the interviews.

However, during the later stages of interviewing the settlers, I found engagement and recruitment of the interviewees, harder and many people would typically say – 'you can go and ask others, if they are around, they'll speak to you'. I, therefore, chose a random sampling strategy when the snowball approach did not offer much help. For this purpose, I randomly selected certain households and used to give cold-call to

randomly selected households. A shortcoming with randomisation was that it did not work in practice as I encountered a lot of rejections from the interviewees and especially so, from the households where men weren't present at the time of the interviews. To address that issue, I started interviewing people during the evenings when men are either present outside the tower blocks, socialising with others, or present in their homes.

In terms of actual questions that were asked to this particular category of actors, interviews generally began by introducing the research and its objectives. This was followed by the collection of the basic profile of the settlers that included questions such as the duration of residence in the settlement, number of family members, occupation of the household head, caste of the interviewee, place of origin/ethnicity of the interviewee, and age of the respondent. These basic profile questions were sometimes asked at the very end of the interview as well. These were situations where the interviewees were very keen on answering the main questions after listening to the objectives of the research.

The main questions that were asked to the scheme participants (a sub-group within the settler category) were aimed to investigate the process of the BSUP scheme implementation through their engagement with the scheme and their lived experiences in the scheme housing in comparison to the lived experiences in their previous settlement. Questioning the settlers, therefore, revolved around understanding the way the communication was passed on to them with regards to the rehousing process, what documents were considered under the eligibility criteria, what was the experience like with the scheme implementation, how long did they live outside and where did they go during the transit, what were the challenges in the transit duration, and what challenges they faced in gaining the BSUP housing allotments (in-time)?

With regards to understanding the lived-experiences of the settlers in the scheme housing, scheme participants were asked questions around their experiences with the following: space provided – that include questions around size, amenities such as toilets within the house, proper ventilation/light; common services – such as access, lift/ramps; equipment and fittings; and quality of construction. They were further asked questions regarding organisation/management of the common services. These questions aimed at understanding ways of organising common services within the BSUP housing vis-à-vis the (self-built) settlements, the kind of issues that they deal with regards to the organisation of common services and how such issues are resolved.

Besides, the scheme participants were also asked questions regarding their experiences with the following: the social life – that includes aspects related with daily interaction, social activities, festivals, networks of trust, social control – in the scheme housing; with the tenure security – if they have received property title, in what form, how they feel about it; and changes in perception of the self and others – if there is any change in their status/standard/stigma associated with life in jhoppad/chawl, has there been any change in others as well.

The scheme non-participants (Annexure #1), on the other hand, were mainly asked about the reasons behind their non-participation within the scheme and their engagement with the process of BSUP scheme implementation in their settlement. They were nonetheless also asked about: their length of stay in the settlement; their place of origin; their existing tenure arrangement (rented/owned/paagadi); the way they access the basic services, and the way issues around those services are addressed.

The second category of actors i.e. the *state officials* (Annexure #2) was interviewed in their offices. At the local body level, a total of seven officials were interviewed but one key (junior) official was interviewed four times. Out of these seven officials, interview data from six officials is used in this research. The one that is not used is due to lack of detail shared in the interview. Out of these six officials, the planning officer, as well as the Junior engineer, were not directly involved with the BSUP scheme's implementation. They nonetheless revealed insights on issues such as unauthorised construction within KD (Chapter 5.3).

Interviews were also conducted with the officials from the MHADA and the MMRDA. In the case of MHADA, a group interview was preferred by the Chief Engineer. The group comprised, including himself, two of his colleagues. In the case of MMRDA, at two separate occasions, Chief Planners from two different divisions were interviewed for this study. The MHADA officials were approached by cold-calling after checking the details of the relevant division within the MHADA, in the case of MMRDA, one of the Chief Planners was referred during an alumnus meeting of my previous institution, and the other was approached through cold calling. The state officials were relatively easy to access as I found that my affiliation with the University of Sheffield as a PhD student allowed me easy access. However, gaining useful insights, at least in the case of local state officials was not an easy task. I discuss some of the challenges around gaining deeper insights in section 4.5.4.

In terms of actual questions, the local state officials were asked about the process of the BSUP implementation and the current updates on the scheme. To properly understand the actual implementation process, a Junior BSUP officer was interviewed four times and each time, different aspects of the scheme implementation were shared. Each stage of the scheme implementation was probed in detail by raising questions related to such stages, that include, asking for elaborating the processes involved in each step, knowing who were the key actors involved in that particular stage, what were the documents (asked and or/produced) related to that particular stage, what were the main issues /challenges that surfaced during that stage, who were the key actors that posed challenges, and how those challenges were resolved.

The junior officials were also asked regarding their overall opinion of the scheme and the way it was implemented in KD. The junior officials were approached for the documentation (Annexure #5) associated with the scheme that includes documents validating the eligibility of the beneficiaries, contracts and agreements that were signed between the KDMC, the project contractors, and the scheme beneficiaries, documents

associated with the process of beneficiary selection such as the General Body resolutions, documents associated with the allotment of the BSUP housing, documents/notifications related with the scheme from the State government, documents shared with the State and the central government as progress reports, and the documents prepared at the beginning of the scheme that include the city development plan (CDP), and the detailed project reports (DPRs).

The senior officials, on the other hand, were asked about the various details associated with the scheme. These details include the following: various provisions within the scheme that were followed in KD; beneficiary selection criteria that were adopted in KD; information sharing mechanism between the KDMC and the potential beneficiaries; the step-by-step process of scheme implementation in KD and actors that assumed the key role at each step, challenges/opposition at various stages of the scheme implementation and the key actors/network of actors that posed those challenges, overall interpretation of the scheme, and key achievement and shortcoming with the scheme in KD. The senior officials were also specifically asked about the tenure security aspect of the schemes and KDMC's stand on tenure security. Lastly, the officials were asked about other schemes that used to prevail before the BSUP and their interpretation of those schemes.

The third category of interviewees were the elected political leaders from KD (Annexure #3). This category includes local, State as well as central government politicians. In total, 10 elected political leaders were interviewed, of which five were councillors, two ex-Mayors of the corporation, two Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) and one retired Member of the Parliament (MP). Amongst the councillors/ex-councillors that I interviewed, one was from Kalyan, with the rest from two settlement sites – Dutta Nagar and Indira Nagar in Dombivli. The elected political leaders were a targeted category as I wanted to incorporate their experiences within the scheme. Three out of the five councillors (one from Kalyan, two from Indira Nagar Dombivli) were identified as key actors only during the fieldwork. Likewise, the retired MP was found to be associated with the consolidation of the settlements of poor in Dombivli and therefore he was also interviewed.

Accessing these political leaders was also not very difficult when I expressed my interests in understanding the BSUP scheme within KD. Most of them were surprised to see someone interested in a small town like KD and not the city of Mumbai. My enrolment at the University of Sheffield helped in gaining easy access to the councillors. However, interviewing the MLAs turned out to be a long wait for me because of their busy schedules. One of them asked me to join him in his car whilst he was on his way to attending a social gathering. As a result, I interviewed him in his car. Another MLA first engaged and shared some insights over the telephone and later agreed to meet me in person, only after my repeated requests.

In terms of the actual questions asked, the local political leaders were interviewed in their offices or their homes and were asked about their involvement with the scheme

and their understanding of the process of implementation. The local political leaders were specifically asked to elaborate on the process/ways of selecting the settlement localities for the scheme implementation, communicating information about the scheme to the settlers, the step-by-step process of the scheme implementation in their constituency, and challenges that came to the fore at each step of the scheme implementation. A specific emphasis was maintained on understanding how the local political leaders understood the process of scheme implementation in their locality and the whole city of KD. Similar questions were asked to the representatives of the State and the central government.

The last category of actors that were interviewed (although interviewed mostly towards the beginning of the fieldwork), were the non-state actors (Annexure #4) that include the public interest ligation (PIL) experts, an architect and planner, people from the surrounding villages and their leaders, and a social activist who is active within settlements of the urban poor in Kalyan. These actors were specifically identified for their value gaining insights on the urban development dynamics in KD. While the Architect and the PIL actors were a targeted set of actors, the social activist, the villagers and their leader were only identified during the fieldwork. Accessing the Architect and the PIL experts was not difficult as there is only one leading architect in the town and there are only two well-known PIL experts in the town. I have already met both the PIL experts during my previous research work in KD.

In terms of the actual questions that were asked to this set of actors, the Architect and the PIL actors were asked questions related with the state of development planning and its implementation, the extent of unauthorised construction in KD and the actors that are involved in such activities. This set of actors were also asked questions related to their understanding of the BSUP scheme in KD and issues with the scheme.

Regarding the villagers and their leaders, their politics came to the fore during the elections within the KDMC that took place in November 2015. A few months before the elections, 27 villages, that were separated from KD in 2002, were included again the KDMC limits. This became a big political controversy and it drew my attention. I gathered details of some of the leaders of the villagers from the KDMC’s ‘E’ ward office and arranged for an interview. These interviews were mainly centred around villagers’ and their leaders’ issues with the inclusion of the villages in the KDMC limits and their perception of the local development issues.

In terms of specific questions, the villagers and their leaders were asked questions related with the (de)municipalisation of the city including questions such as reasons behind de-municipalisation and the state of basic services within their villages since the first de-municipalisation happened. The villagers and their leaders were also asked questions related to the ongoing issues and concerns associated with the re-municipalisation of their villages. In identifying the villagers, I made use of my contacts of an old acquaintance in Dombivli. Through her contacts, I interviewed three villagers from ‘Bhal’ village which falls within the Ambernath Tehsil (Village

Council). These interviewees revealed mostly similar information regarding the rapid growth of real estate that is currently taking place within the villages surrounding KD and its implications on KD's urban development politics (Chapter 5).

Finally, the social activist, who is active in the settlements of the urban poor in Kalyan, was also found through another acquaintance in the town. The person interviewed has recently established an NGO named 'Jai Malhar' that is mainly active in providing free education to the kids. I interviewed the social activist at his residence in Kalyan. Thereafter, I also joined him, on a later date, to a visit to the settlement where he works with some of his colleagues. The activist was asked question associated with the life in poor's settlements and the overall politics of urban development in KD. The activist was also asked questions related to the scheme implementation. However, as his area of interest was in education, he had less information about the BSUP scheme. His inputs were mainly on the overall state of affairs within the settlement where he was teaching the settlers' kids and the general politics within KD city and the role played by Agaris in that politics.

4.5.2 Policy documents/reports

Data gathering from the policy documents, reports, and media articles happened right since the conception of the idea of further investigating KD from the point of view of settlement redevelopment. Within this category, a majority of the data was secured during the fieldwork (Annexure #5). Some data was gathered in soft form (online version) while the rest in hard copies. My previous contacts within KDMC as well as the contacts established during my fieldwork helped in securing data related to the BSUP scheme as well as data that is associated with the overall urban development within KD city. With regards to the latter, data was also secured from the MMDRA and the PIL experts. Within this data category, media articles were also accessed and the following keywords were used in searching – unauthorised construction/ properties in KD, elections in KD, and BSUP/ JNNURM scheme/ programme in KD.

The documentary data (including the media articles) has been used as a secondary data source and played a key role in contextualising and opening up various dimensions of the case under investigation. Interviews, with State actors as well as non-state actors, were, in most instances, guided by the documentary data.

4.5.3 Observation and note-taking

Observations and note-taking were an ongoing activity during the whole of the fieldwork duration. I was observing and taking notes during all the interviews not only about the content of the talk but about how the content is shared – emotions and expressions associated with the talk. This helped in reading my interview transcriptions together with my fieldwork notes which in turn helped deriving meanings from the interpretations shared by the interviewees. Ethnographic observations were done at both the selected settlement sites. Such observations

revealed a prevalence of social control in the settlements/BSUP housing. I found that behaviours were routinized and coded in such a way that the presence of outsiders like me, was easily identified. Only when I spent a substantial amount of time at the selected settlements/BSUP housing and was visible to the settlers, my entry to these sites became unrestricted. Whenever I waited for my interviewees outside the housing blocks, I was observing and taking notes about the social dynamics. Similarly, within existing portions of the settlements, whenever I interviewed the settlers outside their houses, I had opportunities of observing the community dynamics.

4.5.4 Practical choices during the fieldwork

During the entire phase of my fieldwork, I made practical choices in dealing with a variety of situations and made reflexive observations about them which are being presented in this section. I arrange my reflections around the following two critical, yet indistinguishable stages of my research fieldwork – gaining access and relationship building, and sustaining a deeper understanding. Within both of these stages, I dealt with the micro-politics within the organisation(s) as well as within the community(ies). These two stages are explained below in detail.

1. **Gaining access and relationship building**

The challenge and experience of gaining access at various levels within different settings – be it in the community or within an organisation – revealed insights about the 'embedded power relationships' (Cunliffe & da Silveira, 2016). During my fieldwork, I discovered that access has a temporal nature – to gain more information, I had to cultivate relationships that required establishing rapport and trust.

Gaining access within various settings also meant dealing with conflicting interests between the researcher and the researched. This required reflexivity towards the "politics of knowledge production" which meant acknowledging intricacies of negotiating, "remaining sensitive towards what's going around", "recognising challenges and political and ethical implications of negotiating access and building relationships with the research participants" (ibid., p.4). I find that politics is embedded throughout the research in terms of choice about: who to interview, what questions to ask, and what data to include or not include in the research account. The researcher-researched relationship itself can be viewed as political.

Gaining access within field settings meant gaining acceptance, credibility and trust of the research participants. However, social, moral and political dilemmas arose that were often resolved in the moment and the context in which they emerged. In particular, establishing trust was very important in researching the poor settlers from the settlements. In gaining their trust, I involved a female resident of the town who not only helped me from the perspective of my gender identity but also assisted me with speaking to the community members in the local Marathi language. Trust was also conditional upon me establishing commitment towards my research and also my

visibility within the settlements. A first few steps towards obtaining access at different levels and type of relationships that were needed to be built in the fieldwork were knowing who knows what about my research, dealing with the politics of gatekeeping, and building researcher-research participant relationships.

During the initial few months of my fieldwork, I found out that the gatekeepers of the organisations/ communities are not always the ones who held the information about my research. It was, therefore, important to identify those, who knew about my research. To illustrate this with an example, although the Commissioner of the KDMC facilitated my access to the various departmental heads within the KDMC, however, interviewing a few senior officials, I found out that I was only introduced to the 'official line' adopted by the KDMC. The ground realities, about which I was getting some exposure through other interviews within KD, were not coming out from the interviews of the senior officials at the KDMC. Therefore, even though I had access in principle, I didn't have access to deeper insights. I, therefore, tried to identify others within the Corporation who may know about the scheme. This took me to the junior officers with whom I could establish a relationship that wasn't possible with the senior officials as I had unrestricted access to the former.

The politics of gatekeeping meant determining who has the power to grant access, smoothen the entry process and facilitate the type of relationship required for data collection. For instance, even though I had unrestricted entry to the junior level local state officials, I still needed to make use of the 'power of the senior officials' to grant me access to the required individuals and information. This not only helped me in gaining what I needed but also facilitated the kind of relationship required to be built for the uninterrupted flow of knowledge. A phone call from the senior official not only facilitated my access to the information from the junior officer but it also balanced the power equation between me and the officials.

In the case of settlements, finding (formal) authority structures was not particularly easy as power relations are often embedded and the individual who appears to be powerful, may not be privy to the information that is most useful for the research. Therefore, besides meeting the elected representatives from the community, I also met with ex-politicians, slumlords, and the elderly people within the settlements. Similarly, in the case of BSUP housing, I interviewed the representatives of the (informally formed) user committees that look into housing maintenance and services. These gatekeepers facilitated access to the other settlers.

In interviewing the gatekeepers, I made sure that none of my questions targeted anyone without they themselves revealing the controversies within the scheme and people involved within those controversies. It was very important to get through these gatekeepers to get accepted in the community. However, gaining access through them meant that I had to clarify my position every time I spoke to the settlers/BSUP housing dwellers as I did not want to be seen as the gatekeeper's agent. Understanding the

politics of gatekeeping was therefore very important in examining the micro-politics within the local state and the communities.

Building a deeper relationship of trust between myself and the research participants (especially the settlers) required engaging in 'commitment acts' – acts that require building trust without necessarily expecting any gain (Cunliffe & da Silveira, 2016). It was particularly important at the beginning but also needed at continuous intervals. For instance, before starting my actual data collection, I tried to participate in various cultural and social events. This not only made my presence felt but also helped in establishing my commitment towards the research.

Building a deep relationship between the researcher and the participants also required being reflexive about my identity and positionality and my insider-outsider status. In terms of positioning, my knowledge, my values and my beliefs played a key role in the way I was perceived and even trusted by the KDMC officials, elected political leaders, and the settlers. I found that sometimes, a difference in opinion from the one held by the key gatekeeper or the research participant helped in building a stronger relationship. Making the research participant know that the person they are talking to, holds an opinion, enriched the discussions.

My insider-outsider status helped me in building an appropriate relationship with my research participants. Wherever I had a chance of presenting myself, I was treated well by everyone. This was due to my dual identity – an Indian (insider) who lives and studies in the UK, but one who cannot speak/understand Marathi language (outsider). However, not being able to understand the Marathi language was also challenging at times. Even during the advanced stages of my fieldwork, I used to feel conscious of my non-Marathi speaking 'male' identity while interviewing the settlers. It, however, turned out to be a state of self-perceived powerlessness as I found out that I was generally accepted amongst the settler communities. This was due to my presence in the settlements/BSUP housing for a longer duration. My male identity and my middle-class appearance were also helpful in building the desired relationship with the *male* research participants within the settlements and the BSUP housing. I observed that groups of male residents liked sitting outside on the benches during the evenings to relax after the day's hard work. I made most of such settings and conducted interviews with many male settlers.

2. **Building and sustaining a deeper understanding**

Initial access within the KDMC as well as within the chosen settlements largely revealed what the gatekeepers within those settings wanted me to see, a discourse that was largely a 'formal type' which could be a result of a fear of exposure, lack of trust, or the need to protect the image of the Corporation (or self). Knowing that "there is always an inside further inside to the inside" (Ortner, 2010; p. 215), I discovered that gaining primary access does not necessarily reveal the whole story. To build and sustain deeper access to the knowledge, I was required to show alertness to the ongoing

politics within the corporation and the communities. I was also required to gain access to the "lived experiences…where rich, in-depth data lies" (Cunliffe & da Silveira, 2016, p.28). There were, however, political concerns related to such deep access, as discussed below.

In terms of access to the actual lived experiences, it required submission to the company of research participants – i.e. the junior level KDMC officials as well as the settlers at both the settlements as well as the BSUP housing – over "the daily round of petty contingencies to which they were subjected to" (Goffman, 1961, p. ix). It both required a certain amount of trust to start with, but also helped increasing trust between the two (researcher and the researched), over some time. I needed to balance the needs of continued access to deeper information with the issues of emotional stress, clashes with personal values, and the potential consequences of disclosure of findings. In dealing with emotional stress, I made sure that I take breaks from the fieldwork at regular intervals and meet my friends who lived outside the city.

In gaining and sustaining deeper access, I did not face issues of personal safety as I was progressing from one level of trust to the other. Nonetheless, issues of personal opinion and disclosure of findings did stress me during the fieldwork.

Interacting with both bureaucrats and with the slumlords and politicians, I had a few instances where my personal opinion, based on the fact-finding, differed radically from theirs. In such instances, I decided not to contradict them as it could have resulted in negative consequences such as non-cooperation of the interviewees in the study, or even restrictions on my further access to the communities.

Similarly, while interacting with a slumlord, I was pressed for making the research findings available to him, as soon as I complete my research. I was a little concerned with that as even though the interviewees are anonymised and the identities of residents are protected in the analysis if the slumlord somehow manages to find that his and his political master's role in the scheme has been mentioned in a 'negative' way, I might face troubles later on. For instance, I may not be able to do a follow up of this study at the chosen settlements as the slumlord may restrict my entry to the settlement. I nonetheless had to take some risk. I was aware of such risks even before my fieldwork. In addressing this issue, to an extent it could be addressed, I have made sure that all my interviewees are anonymised and that instead of emphasising on the irregularities or corruption, I focus on the intentionality, meaning, and interpretation of meanings by the local powerful actors.

In summary, the section reveals the process of collecting data from the field is not a politically neutral act. Politics and ethical considerations are embedded throughout the research process in terms of methodological choices about who to interview, what questions to ask, and what data to include or exclude within the writing up. My experience of fieldwork suggests the need to graduate from initial access to deeper access. At the same time, to elicit the desired information for the research, there is also

a need to develop a rich understanding of the daily round of petty contingencies that are experienced by research participants. To sustain deeper access, one has to establish trust, prove commitment, but also identify who knows what, how to deal with the politics of gate-keeping and, crucially, to adopt a critically reflexive stance about identity and positionality and insider-outsider status.

4.6 Data analysis and validation

Data collected, through various sources, was analysed by using 'thematic analysis', which "is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). It is a systematic approach to the organisation of data in accordance with the emerging themes that are found in the analysis of the dataset. A theme "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set." (ibid., p.82, emphasis in original). However, what counts as a theme depends on the judgement and the interpretation of the researcher.

In using thematic analysis, a focus was maintained on capturing the diversity in the responses of the interviewees, rather than identifying majority views. The process of developing themes from the interview data (Table 4-2), which was supported with data from documents and reports as well observations, required reading and re-reading the data multiple times to derive analytical codes from the initial descriptive ones. The data coding, however, did not happen in "an epistemological vacuum" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.84). Therefore, the process of developing themes – i.e. developing a higher level of abstraction of the descriptive codes and connecting several higher-level codes – was as much inductive, as it was a deductive one (c.f. Rule & John, 2011, p.77). Themes were therefore actively sought out within the dataset informed by the research questions and the theoretical framework.

Table 4-2 An example of coding practice followed in this research

Interview 2nd March, Duttawadi, Ambedkar Nagar	Code	Higher-level code	Theme
He: There is no security man, there is no lift man, there is no watchman, there is no guard here. They [the committee members] just spend the collected money in something that is not visible to us.	Security and other services are not provided from the money, that is charged… Money spending on something that is not visible	Expenditure by the committee unaccountable	Everyday political realities in tower blocks
[Me: How was your social life when you were in the jhoppad?] He: Had a very good social life. Had very good friends…when we went outside it all got disturbed. I'll tell you if we had any thief in the jhoppad, everyone used to come collectively. Everyone was	Had a good social life which got disturbed, everyone was collective, but no longer now…now it's you yourself and me	**People were collective that time**; it's no longer the same	Social life in settlement v/s the BSUP housing

collective. They all used to beat the thief. It's no longer the same. Everyone was collective at that time, but no longer now. Now it's you yourself and me myself. Now even if you die, they aren't bothered about you.	myself…no one is bothered now, even if you die		

In coding the interview data, specific focus was maintained on the information that can directly help achieve the main objectives of this research – understanding the historical constitution of the settlements of the poor, examining the process of implementation of the scheme in KD city and within the chosen settlements, and understanding the lived experiences of the scheme's 'beneficiaries' in the BSUP housing. In maintaining the research focus, the information that did not directly or indirectly help in achieving these objectives was not considered for coding. This includes settlers' accounts of their lived experiences during the time of transit. The significance of this information is although recognised as it reveals important insights into the real costs of being in transit for the 'beneficiaries', the information is, however, tangential to the specific questions of this thesis. A multiple re-reading of the material (from documents, observations/notes, and the interviews) helped in understanding how the information gathered relates to the research questions.

The presentation of the analysis of the data progresses from direct use of quotations taken from the respondents' talk to the interpretation of the thematic data by building up the significance and meanings that it conveys, in light of the available literature. Therefore, much of the analytical work happens in writing down the themes and in discussing the thematic data. Figure 4-2 (below) presents a snapshot of the thematic data for the theme of *social life*. The highlighted row is part of the thematic data that was derived from the process of coding. In writing, what is discussed is the *thematic data* which is being supported by direct quotations from the interviews. The intention that guides the analysis within the process of writing is to investigate the role that socio-political context and structural conditions play in shaping interviewees' meanings and perspectives within their accounts.

Within the process of thematic data analysis, patterns – such as repeated references of certain words, experiences, assumed causes and effects, and connections – also came to the fore. These patterns were found across the interviews but also sometimes *within* a single interview. Taylor (2010) refers to these patterns as a "common sense of the society…as part of the shared resources for people's talk and understandings of their world and themselves" (p.12). An example of such a common-sense narrative that was found during the process of coding is the repeated reference about *a 'feeling of the family'* [for the community] in the (self-built) settlement where people '*never locked their doors'*. Another example of the common-sense narrative, that was found at Dutta Nagar where a repeated reference about the physical condition of the settlement was discerned in mentioning that *'the lanes were so narrow that even a dead body cannot pass'*. The analysis, therefore, was interpretative but also narrative in the sense that features and patterns of speech and conversations were closely analysed.

Ambedkar Nagar	Thematic data
slum v/s tower block	**Had a very good social life. Everyone was collective, it's no longer the same.**
slum	we were like a family in the slum, we have never locked our houses. We were also in touch during the transit
slum v/s tower block	old house was better, here everyone goes into their houses. Earliers we used to see everyone quite often. Here, once you go up, you wouldn't want to keep terms with others who live on different floor. Earlier we all used to collect over here in the evening.
slum v/s tower block	unlike middle-class apartments, people over here do come for help. We've not become complete strangers
slum v/s tower block	even earlier, social circle wasn't strong. We rarely used to talk to many people.
slum v/s tower block	the scheme disintegrated large families. Some, who were lucky managed to get houses within the scheme, others have to pick and choose amongst the family members.
slum v/s tower block	Social circle has been affected a lot. When we used to walk across the chawl, we used to interact with people, e from the door, saying – hey! What's up! Now. We have grown some distances now. Now we only meet around festivals or in case if we are together in the lift or someone's sitting outside, then we meet.
slum v/s tower block	Our neighbous have all gone to live at different floors/ different block. there is, however, no problem with the social circle. We meet them here and there within the block.
slum v/s tower block	there is a change in social life compared to before. Ealier we used to meet everyone informally, now everyone h their separate houses. This is not convinient to some
Dutta Nagar	Thematic data
	no one locked their houses in the slum.we never locked our houses.
	unlike tower block, we don't live behind the closed doors. The only thing is that we have to come down to meet everyone. This is the only difference
	everyone has gone into their lives now. Earlier we used to speak to everyone, now everyone is in their houses. Ealier in chawl, we had a lot of fun, we used to ask whereabouts of others, now when people move into buiding they thing about their image. They feel like now we are living in a building. [behavioural changes]
	social circle has broken now. No one meets others on time, earlier.....its no longer the case now.
	as such there is no change with regards to the social circle. We are still in touch with everyone. We do interact w

material conditions | everyday political realities | perception of self and others | **Social capital** | tenure security

Figure 4-2 A description of thematic data where the tabs of the excel sheet are the themes

The validation of the analysis was done by triangulating interview data with data from the other sources that are used for data collection within this research i.e. data from documents/ reports and observations.

4.7 Personal positionality and ethical considerations

During my fieldwork, I was reflexive about my identity, my positionality and my insider-outsider status in terms of constantly challenging and questioning my imposition within the settlements studied. A middle-class male identity, and the one who does not understand the local language had a bearing on access to research settings as well as in establishing the desired relationship between the researcher and research participants. Therefore, for interviewing the settler category, I initiated the help of a local Marathi speaking female for my initial round of fieldwork. Engaging a female research assistant proved to be an excellent strategy in accessing the settlers given gendered norms as well as the language barrier.

In terms of my positioning, being a critical researcher sometimes proved helpful in building deeper access to the research settings. For example, officials from the local state as well as the State government agencies were quite interested in speaking to me, knowing that I do have an opinion on developmental issues in India. However, while writing my research, I was wary of "over-critique" (Kilminster, 2013), and the potential for overlooking more positive relations and experiences within the data.

With regards to ethical concerns, I accept that I have built upon my previously established contacts with some of the state and the non-state actors, which has enabled a privileged perspective from both “above” and “below”. Although the subject of inquiry has been different in this research compared to my previous research exercise, I nonetheless had an advantage in terms of my familiarity with certain actors in KD. Having established some contacts also helped in gaining access to other groups of actors. For example, I sought help from my acquaintance in Dombivli in interviewing villagers outside the KD city.

4.8 Limitations of the methodology

Any research methodology adopted for a particular line of inquiry also has certain shortcomings, and my experience is no different. Firstly, interviewing a large number of actors meant that I had less time during the fieldwork in critically (interpretively) reflecting on the conversations as well as transcribing them. I was however simultaneously taking notes and because I established a good rapport with most of my research participants, I had a chance of following up on my previous interviews over the telephone. Therefore, interviewing a large number of research participants does have a negative bearing on the quality of information gathered, which needs to be addressed by for example simultaneous notetaking and establishing a good rapport with the research participants so that any shortfall in the data could be covered up at the later stages of the research.

In terms of sampling strategy, I cannot claim to have achieved a wholly representative sample. Accessing the settler category through gatekeepers and using snowball sampling may have resulted in sampling bias – for example, some residents refusing to be interviewed or speaking to me even informally, and many respondents revealing similar types of information. However, it should also be noted that while my access in the communities was facilitated by the gatekeepers and snowballing did help initially in locating other research participants, a majority of my interviewees (settlers) were selected randomly – both in the poor’s settlements and in the BSUP housing blocks. Therefore, even though the interview data may have certain biases, as the objective of the analysis was to bring out complexities associated with the case, the data from the randomised sampled interviewees helped in achieving that objective.

4.9 Conclusion

The chapter presented and reflected on the methodology adopted in this research. The research adopts a qualitative case study approach for its context-sensitivity. The case that is made in this research is that of BSUP scheme and its effectiveness in creating upward social mobility and social integration amongst the urban poor in KD. In examining the case, the research conducts a longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination of the BSUP scheme in KD. The data for this research was collected through interviews, documents/ reports, and observation and note-taking. The chapter highlighted that a practical and pragmatic strategy for data collection was adopted

during the fieldwork which meant avoiding the potentially negative impacts of the local elections in interviewing the settler category of the interviewees by interviewing them at a later stage of the fieldwork. The strategy also turned out to be helpful in capturing the topical issues and themes that add more complexity to the case study.

The chapter revealed that the analysis of the data, that was collected for this research, is done using a thematic analytical technique. The technique requires coding and developing themes upwards from the analytical codes. In developing themes, both a deductive and inductive strategy is being used. The validation of the analysis is done under this research by triangulating the data from various sources.

Lastly, the chapter revealed issues of positionality, ethics and limitations with the methodology and these were dealt while maintaining an objective and critically reflexive stance throughout the research process.

Chapter 5 The local political context and power settings in Kalyan Dombivli

5.1 Introduction

The chapter offers a background to the empirical examination that is being presented in the following chapters. The chapter presents the local political context and the power settings that prevail in the city of Kalyan Dombivli (KD). The chapter draws from the interview data and a review of documents, reports, databases, and media articles.

The chapter is structured under two main sections. The first section presents a history of urban growth in KD and emphasises upon its linkages with the urban growth in Mumbai. The section also highlights an emerging trend of de-agrarianisation in KD that is facilitated by the sovereign planning instruments such as Special Township Projects (now Integrated Township Projects) launched by the State government of Maharashtra. Through such instruments, the State government has created by-pass urbanism that goes beyond the ambit of existing spatial (regional/city) planning regulations and fuels a commodification of (agricultural) lands and speculative investments in the region (Krishnankutty, 2018; Gururani and Dasgupta, 2018). Through the process of de-agrarianisation and speculative urbanism, the section reveals how a local land-owning ethnic category, the *Agaris*, in KD has been at the helm of KD's urban development processes (Balakrishnan, 2018).

The second section presents the institutions and political culture that prevails in KD and shape its urban landscape. The section highlights a key role played by informality in urban development in KD and emphasises upon the important role of *Agaris* in the process of informal space production in KD. The section also presents a culture of de-municipalisation in KD and the role that it plays in the informalities in urban space production in KD. These two sections are followed by a conclusion section where it is emphasised that it is important to study the urban, together with its constitutive outside (c.f. Abu-Lughod, 1964; Balakrishnan, 2018).

5.2 Kalyan Dombivli city and a history of its urban growth

The section presents the socio-economic history of twin-cities named Kalyan-Dombivli. The section also presents the social characteristics and the prevalent urban form within the twin-cities.

Kalyan Dombivli is a million-plus city that is located 50 km North-East of Mumbai. It is recognised as a 'middle-class township' in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region and a dormitory town to the city of Mumbai (KDMC, 2007). Such a status of the twin-cities can be attributed to a variety of factors including the industrialisation policy of the State government, proposals under the metropolitan region plans, and a boom in the property prices in the city of Mumbai.

Findings from the interviews as well as written documentation on KD, that include city development plan (KDMC, 2007; KDMC, 2012) and Master Plan (KMC, 1996), reveal that both the twin-cities have a different urban history. While Kalyan is a historical city, Dombivli grew during the last century with much of its growth happening post-1970s.

Kalyan served as a thriving port, much before Mumbai was established. It is currently an important trading hub in the sub-region (KDMC, 2007). Dombivli, on the other hand, grew as a dormitory town during the first half of the 20th century and by the end of it, attained a cosmopolitan character (Kamal, 5 October 2015). In terms of industrial development in the Kalyan region, it was the newly formed State government of Maharashtra (formed on 1 May 1960), that, through its ambitious industrialisation policy, established industries within the cities and satellite towns of Mumbai that include KD (Whitehead, 2008; Bhagat and Jones, 2013). The industrialisation along the periphery of Mumbai was also an attempt towards discouraging and restricting further growth of industries in the city of Mumbai (BMRPB, 1973b; Chapter 3.3).

The Kalyan sub-region that comprises Bhiwandi, Dombivli, Kalyan, Ulhasnagar, Ambernath, and Badlapur towns, offered most of factory and office sector jobs during the 1960s (BMRPB, 1973b). The industrial complex that was situated outside the Kalyan municipal limits produced rayon, dyes, and other chemicals (ibid., p. 26). There was also an automotive industry around Kalyan. Similarly, in the case of Dombivli, the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC), set up in 1962 for the promotion and development of industries in the state, established an (MIDC) industrial complex outside the municipal limits of the town (Waghela, 2013). The industrial complex has currently more than 800 small-scale industrial units that produce a variety of goods including textiles, and chemicals (ibid.). Likewise, Ambernath, a neighbouring town to Kalyan-Dombivli, also served as a big industrial hub during much of the 1960s and the 70s.

As a result of the rapid industrial growth in the Kalyan sub-region, the population of the municipal towns of Kalyan, Dombivli and Ambernath that were later (in 1983) merged to form a municipal corporation – i.e. Kalyan Municipal Corporation (KMC), increased at an unprecedented rate. The population of the KMC area grew from 1.25 lakhs (0.125 million) in 1961 to 8.2 lakhs (0.82 million) in 1991 (figure 5-1) (BMRPB, 1973; KDMC, 2012). Much of this population growth has however happened organically (MMRDA, 1999). The rise in population within the KMC area was mainly due to the migration of the working-class (including those who work in the informal sector) people to the city and its surroundings. The working class was however not only engaged in the factories, but also in the service sector that grew rapidly in the city of Thane, Dombivli and Ulhasngar (BMRPB, 1973). At the same time, there was a considerable amount of employment in the informal sector. A gradual transformation of the working-class population over the successive decades has accorded KD, a middle-class township status.

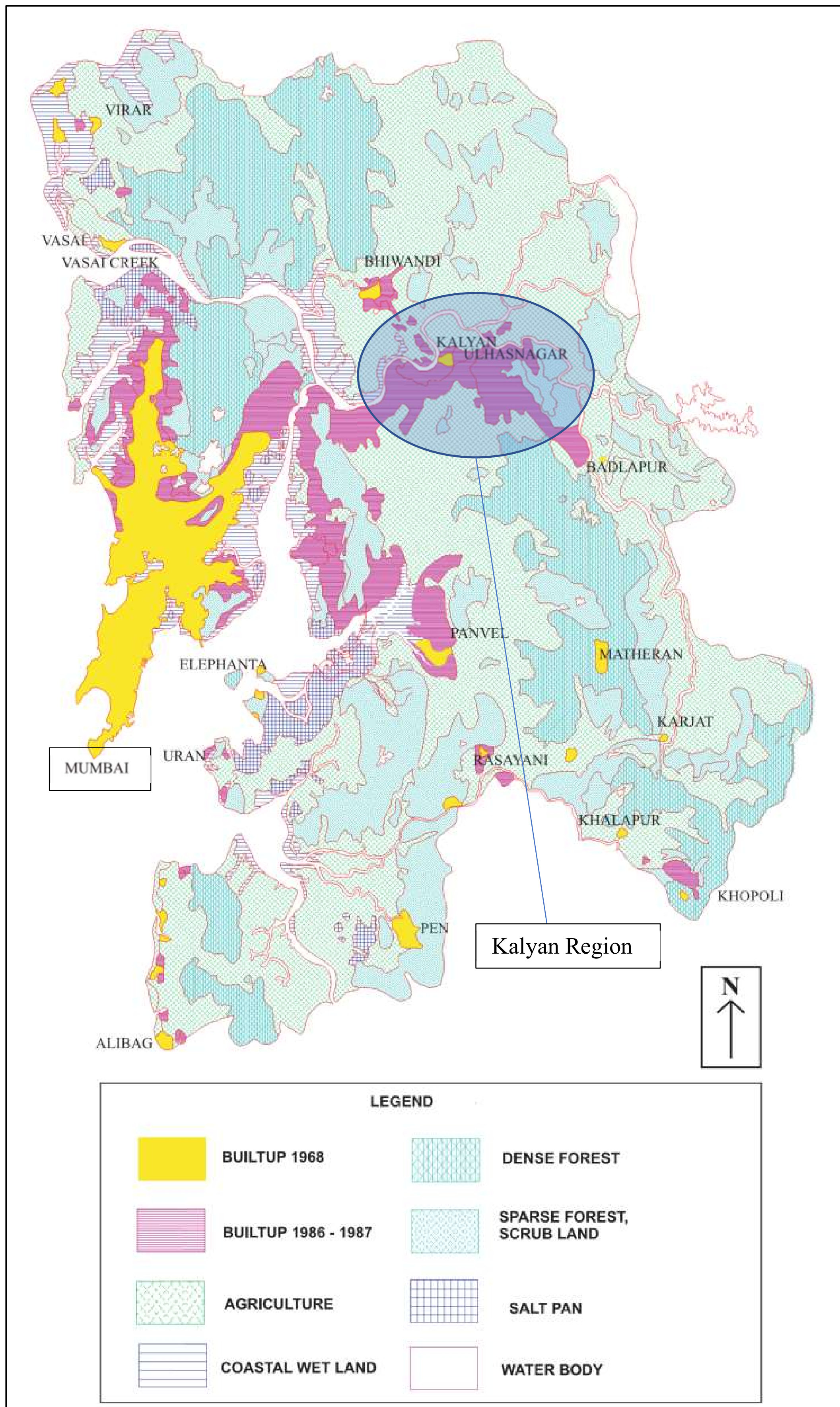

Figure 5-1 Map showing urban sprawl in the year 1996; Source: MMRDA (1999; p.21)

Another important factor that contributed towards the rapid growth of Kalyan-Dombivli has been the proposals under the Mumbai Metropolitan Region plans. The first regional plan, to decongest the city of Mumbai and to restructure region's mono-centric growth pattern, proposed creation of a new city (which was named as Navi-Mumbai) that can act as a counter-magnet to Greater Mumbai (BMRPB, 1973). The plan also proposed the creation of new growth centres, such as the Bandra-Kurla Complex and Kalyan Complex (ibid.). The actualisation of these proposals although could not happen within the plan period, however, it fuelled speculative investments within Kalyan Region which triggered the growth of real estate sector. The second regional plan (1996-2016) specifically mentions about an emerging pattern of population growth along the transport corridors such as Thane, Kalyan, Mira-Bhayandar, due to slower growth in the proposed growth centres (MMRDA, 1996). Good transport connectivity between Kalyan and Mumbai and other parts of the metro region helped in the rapid growth of population in KD (Baud et al., 2013).

A third factor in the growth of Kalyan-Dombivli has been a surge in the property prices in Mumbai since the 1960s. The de-industrialisation of Mumbai happened with a simultaneous rise in the services and commercial activities within the city (Whitehead, 2008; Chapter 3.3). The liberalisation of the economy since the late 1980s witnessed the penetration of market forces and growth in the real-estate sector. The second regional plan (1996-2016), that emphasised upon the revival of office sector jobs within the city of Mumbai, furthered the speculative motives of the real-estate sector in the city (MMRDA, 1996). A combined effect of the rising commerce and services and the strengthening of market forces in Mumbai was a steep rise in the property rates within the city. For a brief period between the mid-1990s and 2000, Mumbai had the most expensive property rates within the world (Patel, 2005). The real-estate property boom in Mumbai resulted in the gentrification of its property-owning residents as well as its squatter settlers (MP from KD, 7 October 2016). The satellite town of Dombivli, Mira-Bhayandar and Navi-Mumbai became preferred destinations for such people (van Dijk, 2011).

Even though the twin cities grew rapidly during the second half of the 20th century, their socio-economic composition significantly differs from each other. Officially considered as one city, the residents of Kalyan-Dombivli self-identify themselves from either Kalyan or Dombivli (van Dijk 2011, p.305). Kalyan is dominated by a land-owning 'Agari' community, and fishermen 'Koli' community (ibid). The Agaris made huge gains during the rapid industrialisation of the 1960s and the property boom of the 1990s-onwards by selling their lands to industries and later to the real-estate builders. Some Agaris themselves became property developers. Dombivli, on the other hand, is dominated by middle-class Brahmins employed mainly in the office sector (van Dijk, 2011). Kalyan, being an old city, is an important trading hub in the region and offers employment to a majority of its settlers (KDMC, 2007). Dombivli has many small- and large-scale industries. Most of the Dombivli residents commute daily to Thane, Navi-Mumbai and Mumbai for work (KDMC, 2007).

My interview accounts reveal that the Shiv Sena has been a dominant political party in the region since the 1960s. However, since a shift towards Hindutva politics in the 1990s, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) has gained its foothold in the region. The Shiv Sena's growth in the region was premised upon its use of violent tactics against the Muslims in Kalyan, its appeal amongst the Agaris, its popularity amongst Brahmins in Dombivli, and its presence in the settlements of the poor where it established a *dada*[33] *culture* (Chapter 3.3.1). The Sena also sponsors Hindu festivals in KD which are inarguably aimed at showcasing the strength and unity of the Hindus.

The relationship between Sena and the Agaris is worth expanding upon. The Agari community, after making surplus profits from the sale of lands, started joining Shiv-Sena, perhaps due to the Sena's growing appeal in the region. Being a majority (Hindu) caste in Kalyan, Agaris soon managed to gain prominent positions in the local politics. A leading local Architect mentions that about 80 per cent of the local politicians are Agaris (Local Architect, 14 October 2015). To increase their voter-base, Agaris invite other Agaris from the interiors of Maharashtra to come and settle down in KD. These movements happen mostly during the election cycles (van Dijk 2011, p. 305).

Interestingly, over the last 10 years, the popularity of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) has been on the rise. This has, however, not eclipsed the fame and the appeal of the Shiv-Sena in the twin cities. This comes out clearly from the result of the last two municipal elections. While in 2010 election, Sena had 31 (out of 107) seats and the BJP had only 9, in the 2015 election, Sena's tally jumped to 52 while BJP's tally grew-up to 42. A rise in BJP's popularity was made possible with its massive appeal amongst the educated class and due to the rising Hindutva agenda, that they champion. A growing Hindutva agenda has however eclipsed certain political factions such as the Republican Party of India (RPI), that used to offer a voice to the marginalised social identity groups such as the Dalits, as well Congress (I) which has also been very popular amongst the poor (Kamal, 12 March 2016).

The socio-economic transformation of the city over the years brought a rapid change in the twin city's urban form. The twin-cities showcase the following broad categories of spatial formations: authorised buildings that follow some planning-norms, unauthorised buildings that fail to comply with most/all of the planning norms, urban villages/organic settlements, and the settlements of the poor (van Dijk, 2011; 2014).

There are, a very few authorised buildings in KD and these buildings have come up only in recent years (Town Planning officer KDMC, 5 October 2015). As per one of the public interest litigation (PIL) experts, "only 10,000 building permissions were given between 1983-2007, however, in reality, the physical growth of the town has happened on an unprecedented scale' (Kamal, 5 October 2015). Many of these 'authorised' buildings, however, themselves flout certain planning norms and their

[33] Dada is an elder brother who helps with a place for abode construction and helps in finding a job in the informal sector

legal status could be questioned based upon the method of land acquisition and the history of land development (c.f. van Dijk, 2011; 2014). On the other hand, a recent newspaper article, citing information furnished by a civil rights activist in Dombivli, brings out that while in 1990 there were 3,600 unauthorised properties, as of 2017, these properties have grown up to more than 2.5 lakhs (Nambiar, 2017).

Alongside unauthorised buildings, there are urban villages which are organic settlements that gradually became surrounded by the new development. A resident of Dutta Nagar comments about the urban villages in the town. To him, most of these urban villages have encroached upon agricultural lands or the lands that were reserved for pastures (Ravi, 7 November 2015). There are however other urban villages as well that fall along the periphery of Kalyan and Dombivli city and are often subjected to the politics of municipal boundaries, discussed in detail in the following section.

Lastly, there are settlements of the urban poor in KD that are addressed by a variety of names such as *jhoppad, chawl, and vasahat*. These informally constructed settlements house more than half of the total population of the twin-cities (KDMC, 2007). *Jhoppads* are referred to those settlements that house a majority of kutcha – non-durable – structures. *Chawls*, on the other hand, within KD, are visibly distinct from the jhoppads. They could, however, be called as upgraded versions of jhoppads. Some of these chawls attained their distinction from jhoppads as a result of the State government's 'slum' notification[34]. Most of the settlements of poor in KD exist since the 1960s, the time when industries were de-centring from the city of Mumbai (Whitehead, 2008; Chapter 3.3). Owing to the growth of industries in the peripheries of Mumbai, together with lax rules that governed the urban space, and the electoral advantage seeking politicians, formation and proliferation of the settlements of the poor, seemed unavoidable. Such activities were at their peak in KD during the early 1970s when Maharashtra faced a severe drought which led to a heavy influx of the rural migrants in the Mumbai city region.

Settlements of the urban poor are found in KD particularly under the high-tension lines and along the hills and hill slopes, government lands and near the industries (KMC, 1996). There were, as of the early 1990s, 80 settlements with 16,923 poor households (having a population of 86,783) in the city (ibid.). As per 2011, there were more than 91,488 households of the urban poor that lived within 124 settlement within KD (KDMC database, 2015). While most of the settlements of the poor in KD house a mix of ethnicities, there are a few that belong specifically to people from a particular religion, caste and ethnic background. Settlements of the poor within KD, as in other cities in India, have a thriving rental market. These rental units are often controlled by

[34] The Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act of 1971 offers wider powers to the State government in notifying 'slums' throughout the state. The notification offers the settlers of the notified settlements, provisions of protection from the state's arbitrary demolition drives. The notification also makes the settlers eligible for receiving basic services including water supply, sanitation, electricity (Burra, 2005). The notification makes the notified 'slums' eligible for future improvement and redevelopment programs (ibid.).

the slumlords (Chapter 6.2). These slumlords, in KD, are found to be closely connected to the politicians (ibid). My fieldwork in KD revealed that at many settlements of the poor, slumlords belonged to the Agari community – the community that also dominates the local politics in KD.

Interestingly, while during the 1960s and 70s, settlements of the urban poor alone dominated the landscape of KD, since the late 1970s, it's both the settlements of the urban poor and the unauthorised buildings that dominate the urban space in KD. Interview accounts reveal how during the 1960s, the original settlers within the sub-region – the Agaris – invested in settling the settlements for the urban poor on the State government lands. However, since the mid-1970s when the real estate market picked up in Mumbai, the Agaris, who are also numerically strong in the region, started investing in unauthorised property construction within KD. They constructed and sold properties that, although appeared to be 'authorised', such properties never followed any planning norms.

Since the last decade and a half, there has been an intense de-agrarianisation along the boundaries of the KD city. There has been a real estate boom in the region since 2005 (Town Planning officer KDMC, 5 October 2015). While the city itself has witnessed growth in the real estate sector towards its northern side[35] (ibid), the peripheries have become a site for land banking, speculative investment, and recently for special township projects (which are now called as Integrated Townships). In the post-2005 era, the State government, through its sovereign interventions such as Special Townships Policy[36] (STP) announced in 2007 (which has recently been converted into Integrated Township Project in 2015) as well as Non-Agricultural (NA)[37] conversion policy of 2017 (GoM, 2017), has transformed urbanisation within and around KD.

In the post-2005 era, the agricultural lands are increasingly seen as commodities through which surplus values can be appropriated and distributed as rents between a diverse set of actors including state officials and the investors (c.f. Gururani & Dasgupta, 2018). A greater degree of penetration of markets forces that is facilitated by State's sovereign interventions has surfaced a variety of contestations.

One of the projects, that has been at the forefront of local politics in KD, is the Palava city by Lodha group. Palava, that spread across 4500 acres of land, is a greenfield

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[35] According to the Town Planner, KDMC, "new construction is mainly happening in the North of KD. In particular, Ambivli, Mohili, Titwala, Manda areas within ward (A) are growing rapidly. In the case of ward (F), it is Kandhare gaon, ward (H), Shivaji Nagar and Ward (B) it is Birla College road to the creek i.e. the Khakadpada area…the main builders that are active in KD are; Lodha, Vadhwa, Tharwani Builders, Godrej, and Happy home constructions" (Town Planning officer KDMC, 5 October 2015).

[36] The Special Township Policy allows integrated development of projects on a minimum of 100 acres of land surrounding major towns by the private players. The policy offers 1.7-2 FSI. The policy mandates developers to follow the Central Government's Smart City project norms.

[37] The amendment to the Land Revenue Code now renders any agricultural land automatically urbanisable if falling under the urbanisable zone within the regional plan which includes the KD region (Krishnankutty, 2018).

project that began in 2010. It is located 6 kilometres away from Dombivli in the direction of Navi Mumbai (along the Shil Road). It aims to become one of the top 50 Smart Cities in India (Narayanswamy, 2017). By 2025, it aims to house around half a million people in the city (ibid.). Initiated as part of the Special Township Policy (STP) of Maharashtra that allows the developers to develop the land-based on certain norms prescribed under the policy, Palava is shaping the urban development politics in KD. The mega-scale property development has created an unprecedented amount of rents and revenues for the Agaris and their political networks (c.f. Balakrishnan, 2018), and because of this, they are more politically active, than ever, in contesting their inclusion in the municipal limits, as discussed in the next section in detail.

In summary, the twin cities of Kalyan-Dombivli grew after the Maharashtra government's de-industrialisation and the re-distribution of industries from the city of Mumbai (Chapter 3.3). The real estate property boom in Mumbai gave a further fillip to the growth of the twin cities. While the agricultural land-owning caste is dominant in Kalyan, Dombivli is dominated by the Brahmins. Kalyan serves as an important trading hub within the sub-region and a place of both formal and informal employment to many. Dombivli, on the other hand, is surrounded by industries and offices. The local politics in KD is dominated by Hindu nationalist parties – Shiv-Sena and the BJP.

The socio-economic transformation of the twin-cities is also apparent in its urban form. There could broadly be four categories of urban settlements within the town: authorised structures, unauthorised structures, urban villages, and settlements of the urban poor (van Dijk, 2011; 2014). While a majority of the properties in KD are unauthorised, around half of its population lives in the settlements of the poor (KDMC, 2007). Agaris as well as their networks that involve local state officials, and politicians, are the key actors in both unauthorised property development as well as in the proliferation of the poor's settlements. Since 2005, there has been a real estate boom in the town. There has also been a rapid de-agrarianisation in the peripheries of KD due to the State's sovereign interventions. This has again brought Agaris at the forefront of urban politics in KD.

Following on from this discussion on the socio-economic transformation of the KD city over the years and the associated changes in the twin city's urban form, the next section presents the twin city's institutional context and the political culture associated with the urban space in the twin city.

5.3 Institutional context and the political culture associated with the urban space in KD

This section, presenting the institutional and political context that prevails in KD, brings out the key role of informal processes in the urban development dynamics.

The field investigations, as well as the analysis of data from the secondary sources, reveal that the 'formal' state institutions that are associated with the urban space

production in KD are mainly the local state agency – i.e. the Kalyan Dombivli Municipal Corporation (KDMC) – and certain State government bodies – which are, the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA) and Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA). These institutions are concerned with land, urban planning, and housing issues within the entire State. However, the Central government, through its urban development schemes – such as the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) programme or the Smart Cities Mission – and policy guidelines also shapes urban development dynamics in KD. Besides, there are voluntary associations and self-help groups that are associated with the urban space within KD.

The local state agency, i.e. the KDMC prescribes urban development procedures through Master Plans that are prepared for a horizon period of 20 years. These master plans are prepared by the State government appointed planners/technocrats and have to be approved by the State government. The KDMC also provides basic civic amenities in the town that include water supply, sanitation, and solid waste management. Besides, the KDMC also provides local transport services through its Kalyan Dombivli Municipal Transport wing. The provision of services in the town is based upon user charges which are subsidised for the urban poor (Junior BSUP official, 7 November 2015).

At the regional scale, the MMRDA, through its regional plans and development control regulations, determines the spatial form and the character of urban space within and outside the twin-cities. Since its inception in 1975, the MMRDA has published three regional plans and all of them have played an important role in the growth of the twin cities, as explained previously. The MMRDA also played the role of a nodal agency for the Urban Improvement and Governance (UIG) component of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). As a nodal agency, MMRDA distributed grants and appraised projects for the ULBs.

The MHADA is another State government body that is entrusted with the housing planning and delivery in the State of Maharashtra (MHADA website, 2018). After it came into being in 1977, the MHADA has supplied more than 200,000 housing units in the entire state of Maharashtra (ibid). However, statistics reveal that MHADA has disproportionately favoured the city of Mumbai over other cities in the region by supplying more than 60 per cent of the annual 6,059 dwellings to Mumbai alone. Specifically, in the District of Thane (where the KD city falls), the MHADA has supplied only 3311 units during all these years averaging 93 dwelling units annually (Yeshwantrao, 2011). The MHADA also performed the role of a nodal agency for the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) module of the JNNURM programme. In a conversation with a Chief Engineer, the MHADA, the role of the agency in the BSUP scheme was clarified.

> So, we did funding monitoring. What we do is…we help with technical guidelines, we monitor their [local bodies'] schemes, their monthly progress

reports (MPRs), we make funds available to them, and we review the utilisation certificate and forward it to the State government…whatever the expenditure that has been incurred under the scheme, we check that and submit to the government and then release the money to the ULB. In short, we are a nodal agency. The government didn't have faith in the local bodies saying if they release money directly to them, would they even work? You know how ULBs work! [pointing out the socially-entwined/informal nature of the local state agencies] That is why they chose the MHADA and channelised funding through us (MHADA officials, 7th January 2016).

In practice, however, a fragmented sphere of political authority prevails in KD where none of the state bodies has the absolute right to govern the urban space. This is similar to what Comaroff & Comaroff (2007) highlight in their study. The local state agency in KD, in particular, lacks enforcement capacity which is a result of non-devolution of powers from the state government (c.f. Sami, 2013; van Dijk, 2014). The aforementioned account from the MHADA officials points out to the fears amongst the State government functionaries with regards to the functioning of the local state agencies. According to them, the local state agencies entertain informalities and therefore the State government agencies must retain control in matters related to urban development.

Alongside the state authorities, there is also a visible presence of middle-class based activism that is concerned with criminalising all the illegal encroachments on the land and propagating the rights of the 'propertied' citizens[38]. Interviewing one of the 'Public' Interest Litigation (PIL) experts from Dombivli, it was revealed that "there is currently no open space left in the town, there are no gardens…all the open space has been illegally encroached" (Kamal, 5 October 2015). On a similar note, another litigation expert in the town claimed that "all the reservations sites – gardens, playgrounds, etc. – have been encroached…these are also the maximum sites of unauthorised construction" (Sri, 8 October 2015). Local state officials, during their interviews, appeared to be offering support to such form of activism.

There are also voluntary, Non-Government Associations in KD that work in diverse sectors such as creating environmental awareness, health awareness, supporting education, and helping the underprivileged with some vocation. In a conversation with a few of them, it was found that these associations operate where the reach of the KDMC is minimal (Pancholi, 2014, p.124). There are also women's self-help groups (SHGs) in KD which are particularly active within the settlements of the urban poor. These SHGs receive financial assistance from the KDMC. There are more than 700 of them in the city. These SHGs receive subsidised loans for various types of vocational training and asset creation. However, there are no urban poor's housing rights activists or any Non-Government Organisations in KD that voice concerns of the poorer groups

[38] Chapter 3.3.1 pointed out to a similar form of middle-class based activism in Mumbai (Fernandes, 2004; Zérah, 2007; Singh & Parthasarathy, 2010; Singh, 2012).

in the city related to housing and urban services. This is quite in contrast with the Mumbai city which is known for its history of civic activism around urban poor's housing (c.f. Appadurai, 2000; Anand & Rademacher, 2011; Chapter 3.3.2).

Nonetheless, despite a prevalence of 'formal' rules and regulations and activism that propagates rights of the propertied citizens, urban development in the twin-cities of Kalyan-Dombivli rarely subscribes to the 'formal' rules and procedures. The local state in KD, itself, spatialises its powers through an informal mode of urbanisation that manifests in a simultaneous presence of 'legal' and 'illegal' structures on the urban landscape (c.f. Roy, 2003, 2009b, 2011; van Dijk, 2014). As a result, the urban landscape of KD is dominated both by unauthorised buildings – structures that flout many or all of the local development norms – and the settlements of the urban poor that are referred, in the local parlance, as *jhoppads* and *chawls*. According to a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) expert:

> Roughly 90-95 per cent of the political people in the town are related to unauthorised construction…there is a nexus that operates between the electricity department, water department, revenue department, the municipal corporation, police department, developers and the buyers. (Sri, 16 November 2015).

A practising architect in the town supports these assertions by stating that "around 80 percent of the municipal councillors themselves have unauthorised construction…they construct illegally and then sell their buildings at a lower price" (Architect in KD, 14 October 2015). According to another PIL expert in the town, unauthorised structures existed even before the formation of the Kalyan Municipal Corporation in 1983.

> …it was during the 70s when politicians and local officials started misusing their power and authority in allowing unauthorised construction on the land reserved for the public amenities and by manipulating the maximum allowable area for buildings…Dombivli was the hotspot for such illegal construction activities (Kamal, 5 October 2015).

The settlements of the urban poor i.e. *jhoppad* or a *chawl*, on the other hand, are usually found on the State government lands (Ravi, 7 November 2015). These lands are informally occupied by the politicians or the slumlords and offered to the poor migrants in the form of long-term lease or rentals (Chapter 6). The local state agency's lower-level bureaucrats help the politicians/slumlords in that process. An interview account of a settler of a *chawl* in Dombivli informs, how, alongside the growth of their settlements, the land surrounding their Chawl, which originally belonged to the State government, was encroached by the local Agaris and was transferred in their names sometime during the 1980s.

> This whole land belongs to the State government. This place and surroundings, everything. Sometime during the 1980s, the local villagers did

> some underhand dealings with the District Collector and encroached 2 *guntha*, 3 *guntha* [1guntha =1/40th of an acre] and converted to their name. We didn't convert this land into our name as others did. We just paid the Corporation's service charges. We paid taxes. We paid water bills. That's it. We never thought of converting the title in our names (Rajneesh, 13 August 2017).

Reading this conversation in juxtaposition with the media articles (c.f. Singh, 2013; Jappi, 2007; Verghase, 2006; Thomas, 2014; Khapre, 2006) and official reports (c.f. BMRDA, 1988) that highlight informal construction activities within the Kalyan sub-region, reveals that the state machinery has been used by the individuals and their political networks, time and again in gaining official recognition to the *de-facto* claims on land titles and their existing usages.

For instance, findings from a report chaired by the then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Region Development Authority reveals how local politicians at the Dombivli Council colluded with the property developers (the Agaris) and illegally (without any sanctioning from the State government) changed the Floor Space Index (from 1 to 1.5) and other development norms to mass-produce housing which turned-out to be a highly lucrative business for the developers owing to a growing demand for residential space in the Mumbai region (BMRDA, 1988).

The report also mentions how politicians at the State government level later, through a Government Regulation (GR), announced regularisation of all the unauthorised properties after taking certain minimum charges from the property developers. A proliferation of unauthorised property construction business offered rents and surplus to the developers, lower-level bureaucrats, and politicians (van Dijk, 2009; 2011).

Local state's conflicting position with regards to informal development in KD, where, in rhetoric, it opposes such activities, however in practice, it regularises services provision, further supports the aforementioned claims. For instance, interviewing one of the local state officials who is a Junior Engineer (JE) in the water supply department at the KDMC, it was revealed that the "Service provision within unauthorised construction, which previously used to be through illegal tapping of the service mains, has been allowed to be formalised from the 1 April 2014 by paying 2.5 times the usual monthly charges" (JE-KDMC, 13 November 2015).

According to a Mumbai-based scholar Amita Bhide (2014), the regularisation of unauthorised structures in the small and medium towns of Maharashtra[39] "is an attempt to create a constant state of exception" (p.92). According to her, this offloads the responsibilities of the state in creating affordable public housing over to the privileged communities of private player (Bhide, 2014). By regularising informal development, state nurtures "a polarised development where every social group uses means at their disposal to pursue their spatial interests" (Ibid, p.100). Informality, therefore, plays an

[39] For instance, in 2006, the State government passed an ordinance for regularising unauthorised structures in KD till the cut-off date of 1st January 2004 (Jappi, 2007).

important role in urban development dynamics in KD. Findings reveal that this informality is state promoted.

Lastly, it needs to be brought out that there is also a culture of (de) municipalisation in KD. The KDMC, until the last municipal elections in 2015, included 25 such villages. At the time of its formation, there were 61 villages within its limits, besides 4 municipal councils (KMC, 1996). In the year 1992, a municipal council and 20 villages were separated from the KDMC limits (ibid.). Later, two more councils were omitted (ibid.). In 2002, the MIDC industrial area and 27 villages were removed from the corporation's jurisdiction (KDMC, 2012). Just before the last municipal elections in 2015, these 27 villages were again added within the municipal limits. In a conversation with one of the members of the front that is resisting this inclusion, it was revealed;

> …there are many reasons for us to stay outside [of the KDMC limits]. There are many of them. You see, the Corporation doesn't have any land for the landfill site/dumping ground. We have the land over here. The Bombay High Court has ordered the Corporation that until they find an alternative dumping site, till then, they can't give permission for new construction within the town. There are no building permissions since the last 6-8 months. You see within the Corporation, even until now, the kind of roads one wants for driving vehicles, are still not there. People divide water from the tanker supplies and survive on it. Even then, not everyone gets water in the end. Regarding (property) tax, in our villages, the tax is very less in comparison to that. (Sangharsh Samittee leader-2, 22 March 2016).

The discussion also revealed some reasons for leaving the corporation in 2002.

> There were many more problems besides what I told you. Take for instance construction permission. We have our lands…and on these lands, if we want to construct any building, say a house, we need to have permission from the government. It takes even more than 4 years and requires so much money to be paid [bribe], but they still don't give us permissions. So, there are so many problems…They all know it but there are many big people involved in that. They have stakes in it. Some people say [keep these villages] inside, others say keep them outside (Sangharsh Samittee leader-2, 22 March 2016)

Another leader of the resistance front [Sangharsh Samittee] revealed that "since we have come out of the corporation last time, our people have some vocation now. They have made *chawls* that help poor workers with affordable tenancy options. Staying out of the corporation has offered them earning potentials…also, construction bye-laws are quite relaxed here" (Sangharsh Samitee leader-1, 2 October 2015).

The land politics become quite evident from these interview excerpts. Those who resist the inclusion of the urban villages in the corporation benefit from lax town planning norms practised within these villages. If merged, their authority, power, and potentials

to appropriate surplus values through land commodification and property building would not remain the same. An interview with a villager supports such claims. Upon asking him, what were the main reasons behind coming out of the corporation limits during 2002, he stated that “people were brainwashed by the politicians…the reality is that these politicians want to make most from the illegal construction business” (Rajesh, 8 October 2015).

The process of large-scale de-agrarianisation (as discussed before) through sovereign state interventions, has further fuelled the land politics around KD that is crucially linked to the urban politics in KD. The recent inclusion of the villages under the municipal limits was actively contested by the villagers and their political communities and it remained a key political topic during the municipal election of 2015. I witnessed the rallies and *dharnas* [demonstrations] of the Sangharsh Samitee [resistance front] members in front of the KDMC. The contesters (mainly the Agaris) not only boycotted the local election of 2015, but they also managed to challenge the State government’s decision of inclusion of the 27 villages in the Municipal Corporation. These villages are now going to be converted into municipal councils (PTI, 2018).

A history of political contestations – that is evident in the successive de-municipalisation of the villages – around the question of rural lands and who gets to decide spatial development of those lands, not only exhibits the Agari caste – villagers and their political communities – power (Balakrishnan, 2018), but also the fact that such contestations are fuelled by a large scale commodification of land (Krishnankutty, 2018). Opportunities for “appropriation and distribution of (surplus) values” through the land conversions drive the local politics in and around KD (Gururani and Dasgupta, 2018, p.43). A history of contestations around rural land, therefore, suggests a material and symbolical coproduction of the agrarian and the urban space (ibid., p.42).

In summary, the section highlighted that despite the presence of formal rules, regulations, procedures, the urban space production in KD rarely happens through formal institutional mechanisms. Instead, informality – a simultaneous existence of legal and illegal land tenure system (Roy, 2003; 2009b) – plays a key role in the urban space in KD. Informality is a dominant mode of both spatial and political practice within KD. A large part of the city exists informally and formal state bodies/mechanisms are either actively or passively involved in it as they either facilitate informal development in certain ways or turn a blind eye to such activities.

The section also revealed that there is a history of de-municipalisation in KD which is although associated with the politics of rural land, yet it is an integral part of the process of urbanisation in the city region. A history of de-municipalisation has led to a creation of a powerful Agari political community that is not only occupied in extracting surplus values from the commodification of the (rural) land, but also in contesting who gets the right to decide spatial development of those lands. In the post-2005 era State’s sovereign interventions has brought a rapid de-agrarianisation of the villages which has further fuelled the land politics around KD.

5.4 Conclusion

The chapter, through a discussion of a history of urban space production in KD and key processes associated with it, presented the local political context and power settings that prevail in the city of Kalyan Dombivli (KD).

A history of urban growth in KD highlighted interlinkages between the urban growth in Mumbai city and KD (c.f. Benjamin, 2017; Chapter 3.3.). The twin cities of KD grew rapidly due to a de-industrialisation and the re-distribution of industries from the city of Mumbai to the Kalyan-sub region. A boom in the real estate property in Mumbai contributed to further growth of the twin cities (van Dijk, 2011).

The rapid socio-economic transformation of the twin-cities reflects in its urban form as well. KD's urban landscape shows a presence of at least four categories of urban spatial forms: authorised structures; unauthorised structures; urban villages; and settlements of the poor (van Dijk, 2011; 2014). A majority of 'properties' in KD are unauthorised (Nambiar, 2017) and around half of its population lives in the settlements of the urban poor (KDMC, 2007). The unauthorised property construction gained momentum in KD due to a property boom in Mumbai since the late 1970s. The construction of the settlements of the urban poor in KD, on the other hand, reached its peak during the early 1970s when a large number of poor people from the interiors of Maharashtra moved to the Mumbai city region as the State faced extreme weather events (Chapter 6).

In terms of institutions and political culture, the chapter revealed that informality plays a dominant role in the urban space production in KD (Roy, 2003; 2009b; 2011; van Dijk, 2014). The simultaneous existence of the settlements of the urban poor as well as the unauthorised properties highlights that informality is state promoted. The interviews, as well as the analysis of documents, reveal that the Agaris and their networks, that involve local state officials, politicians, and slumlords, have been at the forefront of unauthorised property construction as well as poor's settlement formation in KD. The findings also reveal that while poor's informality is often criminalised in the everyday discourse, the informalities of the non-poor are tolerated by regularising their *de-facto* claims to their properties and by 'formalising' urban service provision. Informality in KD, therefore, functions as an *organisational device* for the state (Roy, 2009b; Chapter 2.2). Seeing informality as an organisation device points out to the crucial politics of selectivity in formalising certain activities/ spaces (Mcleod & Jones, 2011). A prevalence of informality in KD also plays a key role in the implementation of the BSUP scheme (Chapter 7.2).

The chapter revealed that while in the pre-2005 era, changes in the regional plan, as well as the property boom in Mumbai, facilitated the rapid growth of the twin-cities, in the post-2005 era, State government's sovereign interventions such as Special Townships Policy (STP) as well as Non-Agricultural (NA) conversion policy, have transformed urbanisation within KD that is now premised upon the de-agrarianisation

of the agricultural lands that surround Kalyan Dombivli (Krishnankutty, 2018). The chapter revealed a history of de-municipalisation of the villages in KD since 1992 which has been a result of a politics that is centred around surplus value extraction from the development/sale of those rural lands. In the post-2005 era, a large scale de-agrarianisation has further fuelled these politics and led to a consolidation of a politically powerful Agari community. An increasing commodification of the rural lands and an associated rise of the Agaris is however materially and symbolically related to the process of urbanisation in KD region (c.f. Gururani & Dasgupta, 2018).

KD's case emphasises a need for understanding urban space through its constitutive outside (c.f. Abu-Lughod, 1964). Be it the property boom of Mumbai that fuelled unauthorised property construction in KD or the rural land politics that has been fuelled by a process of large-scale de-agrarianisation, both the processes have played a crucial role in the urban development in KD. While the former has shaped the urban landscape in KD, the latter has created a commodification of the rural lands. Nonetheless, both of these processes have led to a consolidation of a politically active Agari community in KD. Seeing urban through its constitutive outside, KD's case suggests, helps in establishing the material and symbolic interlinkage between urban development and the processes that operate beyond the municipal limits of a city (Gururani & Dasgupta, 2018).

Chapter 6 BSUP scheme's 'slum' imaginaries versus ground realities: evidence from KD

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the spatial consolidation of two settlements that were chosen for the BSUP scheme in KD. The process of consolidation of these two settlements is understood through the retrospective accounts of their settlers and their community's gatekeepers[40]. Through the examination of consolidation of these settlements, the chapter engages with the first question of this thesis which is how do the BSUP scheme's representations of the urban poor and their settlement spaces compare with the poorer groups' experiences of the process of their settlement consolidation?

The analysis of the BSUP scheme presented in chapter 3.2 reveals that the scheme understands and depicts the settlement spaces of the urban poor using the term 'slum' which conveys a universal negative, homogeneous, and a parochial image of the settlement spaces of the urban poor (c.f. Gilbert, 2007; Datta, 2012; Chapter 2.3.1). The scheme defines 'slums' using static, absolute measures of deprivation. The scheme sees the urban poor as an abstract 'beneficiary' category having a housing, sanitary, infrastructural and tenure security needs.

The chapter reveals a set of findings that challenge the essentiality and embedded principles of [Western] modernity that shape the BSUP scheme's imaginaries of the urban poor and their settlement spaces. Specifically, the chapter reveals that the spatio-temporalities of settlers' caste and ethnicity play a key role in their settlement consolidation process. The everyday spatialities of settlement consolidation, which are of quiet and clandestine nature, also constitute a range of social, economic, spatial, environmental and legal exclusions and vulnerabilities amongst the settler groups (c.f. Tonkiss, 2013). These everyday spatialities of settlement consolidation shape the settlers' individual and collective identities (c.f. Datta, 2012). The findings from this chapter emphasise the importance of seeing the identity of the urban poor in spatial-relational terms, i.e. seeing the poorer groups' identity as completely inseparable from the process of their settlement consolidation. The chapter shows that the urban poor and their settlement spaces are heterogeneous and that such heterogeneity is materially and discursively constituted in the poorer groups' everyday spatialities of the settlement consolidation.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. Both of these sections discuss the process of settlement consolidation at each of the chosen settlements that received the BSUP scheme funding. These discussions are structured around the characteristic features of the process of settlement consolidation and various factors that shape such

[40] These gatekeepers were discovered during the fieldwork in the form of either their long-term association with the settlement (i.e. old /recognised people within the settlement), or their association with power/hierarchy/position held (i.e. slum lord, ex-councillor, head of the community).

a process. These features and factors include; settlers' 'urban pioneering' through which they convert uninhabitable lands into habitable ones (c.f. Sharma, 2004; Tindall, 1982), State government's 'slum' notification that offers provisions of basic services and security from arbitrary demolition exercises, settlers' quiet encroachment tactics and vote-bank politics through which provisions under the State's notification are accomplished (c.f. Anand & Rademacher, 2011), settlers' ability to secure documentary proofs to access services at the individual household level, and the spatio-temporalities of settlers' caste and ethnicity which both consolidate socio-spatial practices/norms as well as a range of inequalities, vulnerabilities, and exclusions in the everyday lives of the poor settlers.

These two sections are followed by a conclusion of the main findings of this chapter that highlights a disjuncture between the imaginaries of the urban poor and their settlement spaces within the BSUP scheme and the ground realities, as experienced and revealed by the urban poor in KD. The section emphasises upon seeing poorer groups' sense of self and the other from the perspective of spatial transformation of their settlement spaces.

6.2 Ambedkar Nagar: from a Municipal dumping ground to a Dalit identity settlement

This section presents the process of spatial transformation of the Ambedkar Nagar settlement by following the evolutionary trajectory of the settlement. In doing that, the section teases out the key factors that shape the settlement's evolution.

The Ambedkar Nagar settlement, before its formation, used to be a dumping ground for the Municipal Council. From being a municipal dumping ground, the settlement emerged in the form of four spatially-segregated communities that were named as *Rohidas Nagar, Ambedkar Nagar, Sanjay Nagar, and Duttawadi*. The evolution of the Ambedkar Nagar settlement from a municipal dumping ground to a vibrant set of communities reveals what Tindall (1982) and Sharma (2004) highlight as a process of 'urban pioneering' where the urban poor spend their material and financial resources in converting uninhabitable, extremely marginal lands into habitable ones.

The growth of these four spatially-segregated communities followed the immigration pattern of the settlers, their caste and ethnic affiliation, and the provisions that were needed to be made for external access to the settlement. This is similar to Nijman's (2010) study of space in Mumbai's settlements of the urban poor. These spatial communities provided the settlers with the networks of trust and reciprocity and acted as venues of social control (c.f. Bourdieu, 1986; Nijman, 2010). Through the exercise of social control, behaviours are routinized, and outsiders are immediately identified. These spatial communities also shaped the settlers' sense of 'self' and the 'other'.

According to a resident of one of the spatial communities, – that is named as *Ambedkar Nagar* – the first community that made the settlement its home was the Rohidas

community (one of the Dalits[41] castes) and they named it *Rohidas Nagar* (Kaka, 9 March 2016). He reveals that it was around the mid-1960s when they came and settled in Dombivli from the Marathwada region within Maharashtra. Kalpesh[42], who now lives in a BSUP apartment but was earlier a resident of *Sanjay Nagar,* reveals that it was the Charmakar Caste people within Dalits – those who have been traditionally associated with menial jobs including the removal of carcases from the streets, cobbling, street sweeping – who were the first ones to settle down.

> Within *Rohidas Nagar* there was someone…. who brought all his relatives and friends from his village and helped them to get a chappal [footwear] shop near the Dombivli station…They gave a letter to the [Municipal] Council that we are from Charmakar caste and we need a place of stay and work? So, what Nagar Parishad [Municipal Council] did was that there was a dumping ground over here where they gave verbal permission to them to make 20-22 houses. It was just verbal permission. That was around 1970s. He also gave that name to the community (Kalpesh, 20 August 2017).

Soon after settling down in Dombivli, the Rohidas Nagar residents formed a union in 1971 in the name of 'Charmakar Sangh' [Association of Charmakar Dalits] that was associated with the Resident's Union of Sant Rohidas Nagar Settlers (Figure 6-1). The formation and registration of the union served what Lynch (1974) highlights as a defensive rather than an offensive form of political mobilisation against the state's demolition tactics. Chapter 3.3.2 revealed how during the 1950s up until 1970s, state agencies in Mumbai relied upon demolitions tactics in dealing with the issue squatter settlements. The main purpose of formation and registration of the union by the Rohidas Nagar residents was, however, revealing the Dalit (political) identity of the settlers, an act that followed Dr Ambedkar's message,

Figure 6-1 A depiction of community identity at the entrance of the Ambedkar Nagar slum (Source: Author's own, 18 January 2017)

[41] Dalits are far from being a homogeneous category (Thorat & Sadana, 2009; Jodhka, 2012). The major Dalit sub-castes within the State of Maharashtra are Mahars, Matangs (Mangs), Charmakars, and Dhors (Census of India, 2001). Amongst all the sub-castes, only Mahar Dalits had a history of relative mobility owing to their involvement in the Military, Dockyards and factories even prior to India's Independence (Zelliot, 2010). Charmakars, on the other hand, continued with their traditional occupations within the cities (Vora & Palshikar, 2005). Mahars have also been associated with Dr Ambedkar's attempt at shedding the Dalit identity by converting Dalits to Buddhism.

[42] Kalpesh is the son of the slum lord and a political party worker of the MLA.

“Educate, Agitate and Organise” and inspired from the Dalit Panthers movement of the late 1960s (c.f. Rodrigues & Gavaskar, 2005; Jodhka & Sirari, 2012).

After the settling of Rohidas Nagar, within a few years, two more communities emerged in Ambedkar Nagar. These were; *Ambedkar Nagar* and *Sanjay Nagar*, both having majority Dalit-caste people. Ambedkar Nagar, which was settled soon after Rohidas Nagar, was primarily dominated by the Mahar Dalits (neo-Buddhists). The emergence of Ambedkar Nagar also followed the similar logic: someone with a particular ethnolinguistic and caste identity came to the site and later brought all his family, friends and acquaintances from his place of origin. Similar to the Rohidas Nagar settlers, the Ambedkar settlers also installed Ambedkar’s statute as well as signboards in displaying their community identity (figure 6-2). *Sanjay Nagar* came into being around the mid-1970s. Kalpesh explains its evolution.

> My father was the leader over here. My father named it after my brother’s name [Sanjay]…. It came into being around mid-1970s…people over here belonged to mixed ethnicities. They were however mostly Dalits. There were people from Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh. Later, when Chamakar people’s families grew, they also shifted to Sanjay Nagar (Kalpesh, 20 August 2017).

Figure 6-2 A depiction of community identity at the entrance of the Ambedkar Nagar slum (Source: Author’s own, 18 January 2017)

The last community to settle down at Ambedkar Nagar was *Duttawadi.* It was around the early 1980s that the Duttawadi began to emerge. It was primarily inhabited by the non-Dalit backward caste Hindus such as the Marathas and the Other Backward Caste (OBC) people who migrated from the Konkan (coastal side) region of Maharashtra. Duttawadi assumed its name from the Lord *Dattatray* who is very popular within the Konkan (coastal) region of Maharashtra. Like the other two communities, the name Duttawadi also exhibits the (non-Dalit) caste identity of the settlers (figure 6-3). The exhibition of caste identity by the setters in their spatial communities depicts the spatio-temporalities of caste practices within the settlement. These depictions/

exhibitions help the Ambedkar Nagar settlers in constructing a sense of 'self' and the 'other' within the settlement (c.f. Datta, 2012).

Figure 6-3 The depiction of community identity at the entrance of Duttawadi (Source: Author's own, 15 January 2017)

The formation of the Ambedkar Nagar settlement was however crucially dependent upon the important role of the local villagers – i.e. the Agaris, who are a land-owning caste in the city region and are also a politically well-connected group. Poor migrants bought/rented a piece of land from the Agaris. Kamal, a litigation expert in the town, explained how after the establishment of industries within the sub-region, the *Agaris*, started building *jhoppads* for the new immigrants. He mentions that:

> All over the sub-region, these Agari caste people started the business of *jhoppad* making. They allotted a parcel of land usually not longer than 10'x 15' to the poor after charging a deposit and letting them construct a single room. Sometimes they constructed a small one-room house and rented that house. They also made *jhoppads* on the government lands. They had connections with both Panchayat officials and the State government politicians. The politicians, in exchange for votes, ensured all the help in getting basic services through the Panchayat officials (Kamal, 8 Jan 2016).

Those who could still remember, attest these claims regarding the role of the Agaris in the transaction of a piece of land, which in many cases, did not even belong to them. Dada, who came from Latur as there was a severe drought situation during that time, mentions: "I bought my *Kholi* [a single room in the settlement] for 30 Rupees [roughly US$ 4] from an Agari slumlord[43] in the year 1971" (Dada, 15 March 2016). Hari (12 March 2016), another resident of Ambedkar Nagar settlement, revealed that the settlers came from all over India to settle down in Ambedkar Nagar. Some came from Bombay

[43] The Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance And Redevelopment) Act, 1971 (second amendment, 2001), defines a *Slumlord* as "a person, who illegally takes possession of any lands (whether belonging to Government, local authority or any other person) or enters into or creates illegal tenancies or leave and licence agreements or any other agreements in respect of such lands, or who constructs unauthorised structures thereon for sale or hire, or gives such lands to any persons on rental or leave and licence basis for construction, or use and occupation, of unauthorised structures, or who knowingly gives financial aid to any persons for taking illegal possession of such lands, or for construction of unauthorised structure thereon, or who collects or attempts to collect from any occupiers of such lands rent, compensation or other charges by criminal intimidation, or who evicts or attempts to evict any such occupiers by force without resorting to the lawful procedure, or who abets in any manner the doing of any of the above-mentioned things" (GoM, 1971).

[Mumbai] as they were now jobless on account of industries being moved to the peripheries, some from the interiors of Maharashtra facing difficult situations such as droughts in their villages, and the rest came from the other parts of India. According to Dada, "they were mostly labourers and came to the city in search of a *dihadi* [daily wage] job. Most of them were unskilled and used to go to a nearby junction in search of a *dihadi* job" (Dada, 15 March 2016). He used to go to the Naka [junction] to look for a daily-wage job.

Hari, who drives an auto-rickshaw for his living, revealed the [current] profile of the people in the settlement. To him "some are auto-rickshaw drivers like me, some sell vegetables, some people are *pheriwalas* [street hawkers] going around the town for selling vegetables, some sit [for selling vegetables] near the station, wherever they find a place to sit, some work as cobblers, some work as masons, some work with the corporation as *safai karamchari* [sanitation workers] … very few have a private [white collar] job and most women in this settlement work as household help" (Hari, 12 March 2016). There are a few within the settlement who run a variety of shops as well as workshops (micro-industry). However, even though, since the past 50 years or so, these settlers now have a variety of vocations, it is noteworthy to see that their current work profiles are closely related with their caste affiliation. While Charmakar men work as cobblers, as municipal sanitation staff, the other Dalits work as auto-rickshaw drivers or labourers. It is mostly the non-Dalits, the Duttawadi settlers, who are in the private sector jobs.

Conversing with a key respondent, Kalpesh, I was made aware of the situation of the settlement before the start of the BSUP scheme.

> It was a *baithee* [only single-storey houses] chawl…the chawli we had, was 10 feet x25feet. There was a row of houses with 10x25, 10x30…and some on that side were even 10x10, 10x15,10x20. Like that, everyone's house was of different size. Within Duttawadi, joint families used to live. They even had 1000 sq.ft. area, but they had 3 to 4 families in one house. These large families had a common kitchen but separate bedrooms (Kalpesh, 6 February 2016).

Suresh, who is a car driver and currently resides in the (non-Dalit) Duttawadi tower block, explains how the city looked, the time he moved in Duttawadi. The time he moved to Dombivli, there were very few buildings in the town. He did not imagine that the city would grow into such proportions.

> We came here when I was born. It was 1974…there was nothing in the town except a few bungalows…apartments came just 20 years ago. Earlier, there were only a few bungalows…. since I started understanding something, I can recollect, people used to fear to go far away that side [showing the direction], as it was all a jungle. The city developed during the 90s…although the city is old, but the development is new…people sold their bungalows to make apartment buildings [it needs to be noted that many of these buildings flout

> local development norms (Chapter 5)]…many people have come and settled here from Mumbai around the 90s (Suresh, 7 March 2016).

While Suresh's account reveals how the city looked during the 70s and in the 90s, statistical accounts show that between 1961, and 1991, the city's population grew more than 5 times from 1,49,894 to 8,20,560 (KMC, 1996). Though most of the development in the city was visible only after the mid-1980s, the settlements of the poor transformed rapidly since they came into being in the mid-1960. The housing condition within settlements of the urban poor in KD improved gradually over the decades from *kutcha* [un-durable structure] to *pakka* [durable structure] houses. One of the interviewees from Ambedkar Nagar revealed how the housing condition within their settlement improved over the years. "In the 1970s, the houses used to be of bamboo and tarpaulin. Slowly and gradually, during the next decade, people used Galvanised Iron (GI) sheets for the houses. After the iron sheet, as and when people had money, they started making pakka houses with bricks and cement concrete…these pakka houses could be seen since the 1990s" (Kaka, 9 March 2016). Upon asking Kalpesh if anyone raised objections to the change in the building structure, he stated that there was no objection from anyone.

> In 1995, we had the first councillor from here…before that it was a council. No one used to object until then. [pause] And there were many pakka houses until that time, so what the public did, they started making G+1 [additional floors] within that. This happened after 1995…meaning whosoever's family had grown, the son got married, a new member has come to the house… slowly and gradually it all started becoming G+1. No one objected. No one used to look into it. Nobody bothered (Kalpesh, 6 Feb 2016).

Besides improving their structures and adding more floors, some people also managed to increase space from what they originally had by purchasing neighbour's property and joining them together. Suresh, from Duttawadi, explained how this worked.

> What happens is that sometimes people have to leave the jhoppad because of some situation. For some necessity such as a wedding or a medical expense, they have to sell their house. Then, the others buy such properties. They buy them in the name of their relatives and rent them to the other…. there were a few people who had three or more properties within the slum. There was one person that side [pointing towards the Ambedkar Nagar sub-community] who had more than 13 properties. He bought them all in the name of his relatives. He was renting these properties. He is a politically well-connected person (Suresh, 7 March 2016).

Alongside the improvement in the dwellings, the settlement also started getting basic services. While water supply improved after the 1980s from public stand-post to group water connection to individual connections, electricity came around the late-80s.

Regarding sanitation, until 2005, the Ambedkar Nagar settlers used to use common toilets. Kaka reveals the transformation that happened in the civic amenities:

> Before 1980, we had 3 [public] stand posts for water. We also used to source water from the neighbouring settlements whosoever had a well in their locality. We used to fetch water from there. Property Tax was charged after the 1980s which were in the range of 650-900 rupees per annum. Water connection was given some time in between 1980-85. This was a group connection shared between 5 to 10 people…the time we got these connections, we had to pay 5,500 in a group towards the cost of the pipe. We paid a water bill [that was levied together with the property tax] every year…regarding sanitation, currently, there are 50 households [out of 150 households in the currently existing Ambedkar Nagar slum] which would have individual toilets, rest use common toilets. The sanitation line was installed sometime in 2006-07 and since then, people had private toilets (Kaka, 9 March 2016).

All these developments happened, only after the State government's 'slum' *notification* in 1972. The Municipal Council in KD, following the Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act of 1971, notified certain settlements of the poor in KD. The State's notification of the settlements of the poor makes them eligible for receiving basic services including water supply, sanitation, electricity and for future improvement and redevelopment programs (Burra, 2005). The notification, however, only offers assurances in theory (Anand and Rademacher, 2011; 1759; c.f. McFarlane & Desai, 2015). In practice, consolidation of such promises happens very slowly and depended crucially on the effectiveness of the local politicians and community's connections with the Municipal officials (ibid.).

Besides notification, the Municipal Corporation (which itself came into being 1983) allotted photo-passes in the year 2001 to the existing notified settlements of the poor. These photo-passes offered the individual households, a form of recognition from the state agency and proved crucial during the BSUP scheme implementation (Chapter 7.2). The idea of such passes came from the 'Slum Rehabilitation Scheme' that was launched in Mumbai in 1995 (Chapter 3.3.2). The photo-passes conveyed the following language: "the owner of such pass shall not have any claims to the land; it is the duty of the government to provide basic minimum facilities to the photo-pass owners; and the height of the structure shall not be permitted more than 14 feet" (Sanjay, 15 January 2016). The height restriction, in particular, meant that only ground floor units were considered as eligible for photo-passes. However, by the time such passes were allotted, many dwelling units within Ambedkar Nagar were already more than single-storey high. As a virtue of the corporation's policy, such dwelling units were not allotted photo-passes.

The transformation of Ambedkar Nagar settlement involving the consolidation of the housing and basic services within the settlement also established a prevalence of social control (and as a result, conflicts amongst the spatial communities) in their settlements.

The leaders of the individual spatial communities at Ambedkar Nagar exercised social control through the cultural forums i.e. the *Mandals* (c.f. Nijman, 2010). A common cultural practice in the state of Maharashtra is that of the celebration of Hindu festivals through the help of *Mandals* or the 'community groups' that take charge of organising such festivals. The settlers' accounts revealed that the four sub-communities within the settlement had their Mandals for organising community festivals. The settlers revealed that the Rohidas Nagar had *Sant Rohidas Mitra Mandal*, Duttawadi had *Bal-Mitra Mandal*, Ambedkar Nagar had *Utsahi Tarun Mitra Mandal* and the Sanjay Nagar had *Samrat Ashok Mitra Mandal* (Figure 6-4).

Figure 6-4 A picture showing the board of *Utsahi Tarun Mitra Mandal* of Ambedkar Nagar (Source: Author's own, 15 January 2016)

The individual Mandals were headed by popular figures from within the sub-communities. These leaders also represented the caste identities of the individual spatial communities. For instance, Ambedkar Nagar's 'Utsahi Tarun Mitra Mandal' was headed by a Mahar Dalit, Sant Rohidas Mitra Mandal was headed by a Charmakar Dalit and so on. These Mandals not only worked as a platform for organising community fests, but they also served as venues of exercising social control. For instance, one of the respondents revealed that soon after one Mandal was created, there were deliberations amongst the other communities for creating their Mandals to both celebrate their own community's festivals/cultural events and to stop their community members from mixing with the others.

> This Mandal should have people from our community and they shouldn't be mixing with the people from the other community. It used to happen and that's why separate *Mandals* were created. Meaning people from that Samaj [community] collectively used to deliberate *'when these people do not come to our programs, why should we go to theirs, we are from the upper caste, why should we go to the lower caste community for cultural events"*. Slowly and gradually this started happening. (Kalpesh, 20 August 2017).

However, having separate Mandals also sometimes led to conflicts amongst the communities, as it comes out in the following conversation. In the state of Maharashtra, *Ganapati* festival is the most popular Hindu festivals and is celebrated with a lot of enthusiasm across the region. Dalits, who were traditionally barred from practising Hindu rituals within villages, upon moving into cities, also started celebrating such festivals. At Ambedkar Nagar, sometime during the 1980s, the three

Dalit sub-communities created a separate Mandal in the name of *Vikrant Mitra Mandal* specifically for the organisation of Ganapati festival. The Bal-Mitra Mandal of Duttawadi and the Vikrant Mitra Mandal from the rest of the community soon started engaging in competition during the Ganapati festivals. However, after a few years, the Dalit community realised that the festivals were turning out to be much more than just a competition. After some years, the Dalit settlers started celebrating the fest within their sub-communities. Satish, a resident of Rohidas Nagar who now lives in the BSUP housing, explains this in the following way;

> …and with that competitive spirit, someone would try and do something to make it look a little better than the other community, all this used to happen. This was the only venue for conflict and competition…. Later, we gave up the idea. We didn't want to escalate. We realised that it was getting a lot more than just a competition. So, now we celebrate Ganapati within our small community (Satish, 13 Feb 2016).

The transformation of Ambedkar Nagar settlement, in essence, followed a sequence. *First*, by complying with the Maharashtra Slum Areas Act of 1971, the Municipal Council enlisted the Ambedkar Nagar settlement and started making *provisions* for basic services such as the public stand posts for settlers' water needs. The politicians then played a crucial role in materialising such provisions. The political leaders and their connections with the lower-level bureaucrats within the corporation helped the poor in securing access to the basic services. For instance, in a conversation with Kaka, it was revealed that: "the time we came here, there used to be an MLA [belonging to Shiv Sena] who later became an MP. He helped us a lot. He helped us with all the facilities – road, water, sanitation, paving. His party workers got stones from the council and made a proper approach road here. Otherwise, we couldn't walk here" (Kaka, 20 March 2016). The conversation points out the significance of vote-bank politics in the process of settlement consolidation for the urban poor in KD (Benjamin, 2008, p.724). The conversation also supports Patel's (2005) claims of the establishment of a *dada culture* (elder brother) by the Shiv Sena party workers in the settlements of the poor within Mumbai region (Chapter 3.3.1). In a bid to establish its presence in the settlements of the urban poor, the Shiv-Sena workers helped the poor settlers in accessing basic services and opportunities for informal work by making use of their connections with lower-level bureaucrats (Patel, 2005).

Second, after getting their names on the voting lists, the settlers used all forms of tactics in securing documentary proofs of residency and identity that include the sale receipt/transfer of ownership agreement, enrolment in the voters' lists, or even an official correspondence addressed to the settler. Settlers' vote-bank politics helped in securing these paper-proofs. These documentary proofs help the poor settlers in gaining legitimacy to their claims to basic services (Banerjee, 2002). Ramesh, who now resides in Ambedkar Nagar [BSUP scheme allotted] tower block explains how the services expanded in the slum.

> Earlier it used to be a Sarvajanik [public/common] stand post for water. Afterwards, we got our voting cards…they enrolled us in the 1991 voters' list. So, using that list as a proof, we got an electricity connection, then, subsequently, we got ration cards. Then, we got a group water connection and slowly and gradually we got the services over here" (Ramesh, 12 Jan 2016).

Third, after gaining access to basic services at the community level, the settlers then used a variety of tactics – ordinary acts, that are exemplified in the common routines, that transform the space without being noticed (de Certeau, 1984) – in extending those services to the individual household level. The documentary proofs of residency and identity proved useful in this process as they offered some form of recognition of the settlers and their structures by the state agencies. A key informant revealed the range of tactics that were used by the settlers in the process of settlement consolidation:

> Our group connection is of 1978…we used to get a group connection amongst 5 people after showing our ration cards. However, we later started using that connection separately. Now imagine, I want to have a separate connection and they are not giving me a separate connection…then 5 people would gather and get a connection and afterwards people put their line to their jhoppad from that group connection…or sometimes people did not even have a group connection. What they used to do was, they punctured the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC) water line and got that diverted by 4-5 people in a group and then used to get a separate connection. There were some cases like that as well. And the rest, they relied on the public tap (Kalpesh, 6 Feb 2016).

The spatio-temporalities of settlers' castes played a key role in the process of consolidation of housing and services within the Ambedkar Nagar settlement. Settlers' caste affiliation shaped their every day (and one-off) interactions with the others, both within and outside[44] the settlement, similar to what Datta (2012) highlights in her work. The spatio-temporalities of settlers' castes established certain socio-spatial and cultural practices, controls and norms during the process of settlement consolidation. The existence of socio-spatial control, the prevalence of cultural groups (i.e. Mandals), and the depiction of the caste identity in ways that include the naming of the settlement, the use of flags, banners, signboards, and the formation of a union all showcase, how, in the consolidation of the settlement, certain practices and norms were also cemented that are an outcome of the spatio-temporality of settlers' caste affiliation.

The process of settlement consolidation at Ambedkar Nagar, however, also resulted in a range of insecurities, vulnerabilities and exclusions in the settlers' lives pointing out to the contradictions of the settlers' 'informal life' as Tonkiss (2013) highlights in his work on informality. A close examination of the Ambedkar Nagar settlers' account

[44] Specifically, with regards to that, I experienced how, a range of people within the twin-cities made a reference of the Ambedkar Nagar settlers by saying Oh, *the Jai Bheem wale!* i.e. the followers of Dr Ambedkar! The Ambedkar Nagar settlers were therefore seen in a specific way in the city.

points out that the settlers experienced economic inequalities which can be seen in their work profiles. The settlers' job profiles closely matched their caste affiliations – while the Dalits worked in menial jobs that include street hawking, cobbling, working as a sanitation worker for the local corporation, the non-Dalits had relatively better formal and informal sector jobs/ vocations including working as a driver, having their auto-rickshaw, or working in a private sector company. This supports Jodhka's (2012) claims that point out that over the years, the Dalit settlers had relatively fewer chances of upward socio-economic mobility compared to the non-Dalits settlers.

The Ambedkar Nagar settlers also experienced power/political inequalities. The existence of the informal sovereigns such as the slumlord and the political party worker of the MLA meant that these sovereigns assumed a key role in the everyday affairs of the settlement, implying a prevalence of power asymmetries amongst the settler groups. The existence of informal sovereigns at Ambedkar Nagar also meant a prevalence of property/protection mafia, similar to what Gandy (2005), Simone (2004), Unruh (2007), and Weinstein (2008), amongst others, point out.

Besides, the Ambedkar Nagar settlers experienced socio-spatial and cultural exclusions. Settlers' accounts reveal a prevalence of caste-based stigma that not only functioned in the everyday interactions amongst the settlers and between them and the others in the city, it also manifested in the way space was organised and put to a variety of usage. For instance, at Ambedkar Nagar, settlers revealed instances of being seen by the non-Dalits within the settlement as belonging to the lower-caste and therefore must be socially, spatially, and culturally segregated in all day-to-day/annual affairs (c.f. Lynch, 1969).

Lastly, the settlers' accounts also suggest a prevalence of 'legal' insecurities within the Ambedkar Nagar settlement. A diversity of tenures and a range of occupancies such as residential, shops, and workshops prevail(ed) in the Ambedkar Nagar. These tenures and occupancies defy the binary logics of legal/illegal properties and as a result were particularly vulnerable to the state's interests in offering a secured tenure that rests upon binary divisions of legal and illegal (Bromley, 2004, p.277-281). Besides many settlers at Ambedkar Nagar did not receive slum photo-passes. This resulted in the prevalence of insecurities amongst the settlers over their eligibility for the state's redevelopment schemes such as the BSUP.

In sum, the Ambedkar Nagar settlers consolidated the settlement via their individual and collective quiet, clandestine tactics, as well as by involving a range of political/informal sovereigns (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Benjamin, 2008). The caste affiliation of the settlers played a key role in the process of settlement consolidation. The process, in turn, also established certain socio-spatial and cultural practices that manifest in the geography of economic, spatial, power/political and socio-spatial, cultural, and legal exclusions and vulnerabilities amongst the settler groups. These geographies of inequalities and exclusions point out to spatial-relationally constituted heterogeneity amongst the settler groups.

Following on from this description and discussion of the consolidation of the Ambedkar Nagar settlement, the next section engages with the case of Dutta Nagar settlement by following its evolutionary trajectory. In doing that, the section teases out the key factors that shape the settlement's evolution.

6.3 Dutta Nagar: from pastures to a sought-after place by the poor migrants

Similar to Ambedkar Nagar, the Dutta Nagar settlement also emerged on marginal land – a site that was used as a cremation ground by the local villagers, the *Agaris*. The Dutta Nagar settlers practised what Tindall (1982) and Sharma (2004) call as 'urban pioneering' and invested their material and financial resources in converting waste, marginal land into habitable land.

Dutta Nagar settlement acquired a Konkan *ethnic identity* as the initial settlers came from the Konkan region of Maharashtra. An exhibition of ethnic identity in the settlement's name suggests a key role of the settlers' ethnicity in the consolidation of the settlement. The settlement emerged during the early 1970s as a cluster of *jhoppadas* on a piece of marshland that was originally reserved for pastures under the state's documentation. It became a *pakka* settlement towards the mid-80s and subsequently a sought-after place for the poor migrants in Dombivli. The settlement is edged by two main-roads which, over the year, have offered the potential for commercial, and home-based small industrial activities. The appearance of the settlement changed dramatically between the 1970s and the 1990s from mostly *kutcha* structures covered by tin/tarpaulin roofs to *pakka* structures. Rajneesh, one of the residents of the settlement, reveals this transformation in the following way.

> We [him and his parents] came from Konkan [region] in [19]72. That time, the Agaris made *chawls* over here. They made 2 rooms, 3 rooms, 5 rooms like that. They gave those rooms on rent to us. After some 5- 6 years, people started buying these chawls from these Agaris. Some of us bought in 15, some in 20, some in 25 [thousand rupees]. So, initially, they were all *jhoppadas*. Only after buying the *chawl*, sometime around the 1980s, people started making them *pakka*. They were all 10x10, 10x12, 10x15 size rooms. Later, someone built one floor, some two floors. Like that, we all started increasing the number of floors afterwards (Rajneesh, 13 August 2017).

The conversation is revealing of the fact that the local villagers, the Agaris, started forming *jhoppad*/*chawls*[45] in the locality and paved a way for the formation of the settlements of the urban poor, as happened in the case of Ambedkar Nagar. The conversation also reveals that the *migrants* who came and settled at Dutta Nagar started

[45] In this statement, the interviewee uses both the terms *jhoppad* and *Chawl* interchangeably. However, in the local parlance, a *Chawl* is another term for the settlements of the urban poor. A key difference between a *jhoppad* and a *chawls* is in terms of physical characteristics. While the former can usually be described as a *kutcha* structure, the latter term is mainly associated with semi-pakka or *pakka* structure.

buying their properties which they initially rented from the local villagers, the Agaris. This happened after the state's (Municipal Council's) consideration of the settlement within the 'slum-notification' of 1972, similar to the case of Ambedkar Nagar. A promise of inclusion in the future redevelopment programs and an offer of service provision from the local state agency paved the way for such a shift. Lastly, the conversation reveals that the physical transformation of the properties from *kutcha* to *pakka* happened only after the residents bought their properties and secured some form of (informal) transaction records/proofs.

The transformation trajectory of Dutta Nagar, therefore, has similarities with Ambedkar Nagar. Post-slum notification, the settlers started buying the properties that they had rented out from the local villagers. After securing some informal transaction receipts, settlers started consolidating their structure and the settlement. This is further discussed in the following accounts. However, unlike Ambedkar Nagar, Dutta Nagar did not have any specific caste identity to the settlement. Instead, the settlers' place of origin, played a key role in the transformation of the settlement. People from Konkan, Malvan, Marathwada, which are specific regions within Maharashtra, also brought their relatives, friends, acquaintances at various intervals of time (c.f. Gruber et al., 2005, p.35).

Speaking to a resident, I was informed about the transformation of the basic services within the settlement. Sanjay, a resident of the Dutta Nagar since 1972 and the first Municipal Councillor from the settlement (tenure 1995-2000), reveals the situation of the settlement between the 1970s and the 80s. He highlights the changes that took place after the settlement received notification.

> I moved here in [19]72. It's been 45 years now…I remember it very well. We got notification sometime around 1972, the year I moved in. We got the first water line in the house around '78. Earlier it used to be a public stand post…but because the water was for free from that public stand post.…the council thought that let's give them water connection in sharing so that people start paying the bill…everyone, who'd have a shared connection would be paying...I remember there were 33 houses where they gave water connection. They charged Rs. 50 per month for water and Rs. 100 for electricity. That's how they connected this settlement with services in '78…. Toilets were made later sometime in the 80s. By that time, there were around 100 or more *jhoppadas* over here. There were still no buildings around. We used to go to the toilet in open until the late 70s (Sanjay, 15 January 2016).

The aforementioned account reveals the changes that took place after the settlement received notification. After receiving notification in 1972, it took 6 years for the settlement to get piped water supply and about 8 years for the toilets. Until then, people were using water from public stand post and practised open defecation. The statement supports what Anand & Rademacher (2011) and McFarlane & Desai (2015) talk about the difference between the *provisions* within the rules/ regulations and *practice*. They

highlight that provisions such as notifications, serve as a necessary first step in accessing urban services. However, such provisions are only materialised in settlers' everyday political negotiations.

The interview accounts further reveal the transformation of the settlement during the 1990s when *pakka* houses emerged. Many people even started making two or three storeys by the mid-90s. By the turn of the millennium, a majority of the structures within the settlement were 2 to 3 storeys high. This happened in response to the demand for affordable space as well as an increase in family size. Besides, the locality itself is a prime location from the point of view of commercial activity, as can be made out from the adjacent picture (Figure 6-5) that shows the road that adjoins the settlement.

Figure 6-5 The road that adjoins the Dutta Nagar Community (Source: Author's own, 19 January 2016)

The addition of more floors to the existing dwelling units was, however, made possible due to the two road-widening projects that happened in the late 90s and the early 2000s. The projects resulted in a loss of properties to some of the settlers. These settlers protested against such road widening projects. In response to these protests, the lower-level state officials informally[46] allowed the settlers to construct additional floors to their existing units. Taking advantage of this, many settlers increased their floors and started renting the additional space (Figure 6-6). For instance, Ravi mentioned:

> Yes. There was a rule. One cannot go beyond 14 feet high. They can make a 'potmala' [mezzanine]. Meaning, one can have 9 feet ceiling and small storage on the top. But when the road widening happened, many houses were demolished…at that time, we were told that because they've demolished yours', you can make whatever height you want to…our Councillor told us that. Whatever houses that were left after road widening, they increased the number of floors to compensate for the area forgone in the widening. Taking that advantage, all those who had money, even on this side of the slum within the interior, they also added floors…thinking it's the right moment…no one is going to ask now…I guess it must be 2001-02 (Ravi, 21 March 2016).

Ravi also describes the appearance of the settlement before the BSUP scheme was implemented. "It [the land] was completely occupied. But there was some open space as well that side [pointing to the section of the slum that participated in the scheme].

[46] Formally, the 'slum' notification, in the State of Maharashtra restricts the settlers of the notified settlements from constructing units that more than 14' high (GoM, 1971).

There was a gym there, there was a school as well, and also there was a lot of open lands. Unlike over this side, that side was not as packed" (Ravi, 21 March 2016). My observations of the existing Dutta Nagar settlement revealed that besides residential uses, the settlement offers public space, commercial use, and home-based industries as shown in figure 6-7.

Figure 6-6 A side view of the settlement highlighting the multiple storeys high and semi-pakka and pakka structures (Source: Author's own, 16 January 2016)

Figure 6-7 A picture showing a home-based industry within one of the houses at the Dutta Nagar settlement (Source: Author's own, 20 March 2016)

At the time of the BSUP scheme, the Dutta Nagar settlement housed more than 600 households. The internal division within the settlement followed provisions of access and settlers' migration pattern (c.f. Nijman, 2010). Although a large population lived in the settlement, however, not all the settlers had 'slum' photo-passes owing to the height restriction criteria of the state. There were, however, a few others who, despite not exceeding the 14 feet height limit, were not allowed to make a photo-pass. This happened as a result of an Agari lady slumlord within the settlement who started lending money to the needy on high-interest rates and upon non-payment of the sum, started confiscating their properties and thereupon not allowing them to register for the photo-pass or any re-development schemes (c.f. Hansen & Stepputat, 2005). The lady slumlord is politically well-connected. A group of settlers reveal insights on the local power dynamics and how it affects the lives of the poor residents within the settlement.

> Imagine someone has an emergency and borrows 20,00 rupees from her. Okay. And she gives him that money. Those who borrow, they don't have

> anything with them for the mortgage. She used to charge 7%, 8% of interest and like that she used to take all their earnings. Now, the other thing was that earlier people weren't that literate. They weren't…So, what they used to do was, if someone has helped them with money, they'd treat that person as God, thinking in my bad times, she helped me with money. She gave me 20,000. She is a God[ess] to me. But afterwards what she did? Saying *'now you're not giving me money. You are neither returning the interest nor the principal. Now you have to vacate the room and I'll put a lock on the room from tomorrow'*. She used to lock their rooms. Saying *'don't come over here'*. Now she says that she has 28 rooms there. So, she used the people. She didn't even let those people make photo-passes. Many people have never taken photo-passes out of fear. And in the records, the house belongs to the owner and not to her. It's his house based on his light bill, water bill, tax receipt. Whatever proof he has got. (Group Interview-2, 1 March 2016).

The aforementioned conversation reveals that the [local] community power dynamics are inherently related to the process settlement consolidation at Dutta Nagar (c.f. Massey, 1993b; Cresswell, 2004). On the one hand, a majority of the settlers are poor migrants that have come from different places within a region. They belong to different caste groups, work at different jobs in the different parts of the city. Their political organisation within the settlement is based on their ethnicity (c.f. Lynch, 1974). The lady slum lord, on the other hand, is a resident of the sub-region and belongs to the Agari-caste that is numerically superior and politically well-connected in the sub-region. Drawing her ethnic power and political connections, she dominates a section of the settlement. The community power dynamics at Dutta Nagar settlement points to its linkages with the wider socio-political dynamics within the subregion.

The power dynamic within the Dutta Nagar settlement can also be seen in the way people are addressed in the settlement. The local Agaris call the migrant settlers as *bhadotri* [tenants/outsider]. Rajneesh, a migrant settler who currently lives in the BSUP housing, reveals this in a conversation. To him, "Those who come from outside like us, they can't do anything. These local people are very powerful…. they are *sthaniks* [local] people. We are still called *bhadotri*. Although we don't live on rent anymore, we are still termed as *bhadotri*" (Vishnu, 13 August 2017). For instance, he mentioned about the people, who borrowed money from the slum lord and later sacrificed their house. He stated that such people couldn't build another unit on the top as the lady slum lord kept their documents. Some of them nonetheless still managed to participate in the scheme with their papers and left behind their houses which are currently in the possession of the lady slum lord. She has now rented them to the others.

While the aforementioned conversation reveals how social practices /power relations shape space, other accounts reveal the role of space in governing the social relations/ community formation. For instance, interviewing a group of settlers, it was revealed that there were chawls within the slum that were made out from joining 6 to 7 houses

together and were made two storeys high. Such spaces emerged particularly after the Agaris sold their properties to the renters or engaged in a *pagadi*[47] arrangement. These interviewees, who were living in the settlement on a *pagadi* system for at least 25 years, revealed that the portion of space occupied by them was converted into separate *mandals* [a group]. There were roughly 5 to 6 *mandals* in the section of the settlement that participated in the scheme. The spatial layout was such that people from two or three chawls organised together to constitute a Mandal, each consisting of approximately 50 to 60 people. Each Mandal used to organise cultural activities in their open space. The conversation, mentioned below, is quite revealing of the effect of space on people's organisation.

> We created a separate *Mandal* of 35 households over here. Like that, our entire area [section] had 5 to 6 mandals. Our Mandal exists for at least 25 years. We used to organise cultural activities collectively within each Mandal…the main criteria for considering households within mandals was the spatial layout. See the main purpose was to organise cultural activities and such activities require open spaces. Depending upon the capacity of the open space and the spatial layout of the chawls within the settlement, mandals were created. We had no more than 10x10 of open space for out Mandal. We couldn't have more households within our Mandal (Group Interview-1, 19 January 2016).

These aforementioned accounts reveal both, how space shapes social organisation as well as how social (ethnic) relations shape the production of space. These accounts confirm Massey's claim regarding space, which to her, is not just a social product, instead of social relations are themselves shaped by space (Massey, 1992). Besides, these accounts also reveal that multiple processes shape the construction of the Dutta Nagar locality. While there are accounts of the formation of collective identities around common interests, there are also narratives that exhibit the dominance of the (local) ethnic identity groups over the space as well as social relations. These accounts exhibit how, what Massey (2005) terms as "contemporaneous plurality", creates the Dutta Nagar community. The transformation of Dutta Nagar settlement also shaped the formation of individual and collective identities of the settlers. The political characteristics of space allow the collective production of space and identities.

An examination of the consolidation of Dutta Nagar reveals the following key aspects associated with settlement consolidation. *First*, the State government's 'slum'

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[47] Under a *pagadi* system, the renter pays the approximate cost of the house which could even be less than 10 percent of the existing market value of the property, in advance as a deposit and keeps paying small rent each month. An incentive to engage in pagadi system instead of rental system is that the ownership becomes joint between the two parties. With a joint ownership, the original owner claims a share in the possible future benefits (for instance through any slum redevelopment scheme). Such benefits are most often shared in the form of cash payment. Therefore, instead of paying the original owner, the current market value of the slum property, the new owner basically promises to pay in cash as and when the slum is entitled to any redevelopment scheme. Pagadi system is popular amongst poor migrants over the rental or sale model. Instead of purchasing the property at the market value, which could be quite expensive, or staying as a tenant, which does not offer the tenant any right to register in the future slum redevelopment schemes, people prefer to engage in pagadi system.

notification towards the beginning of the 1970s radically changed the process of settlement consolidation. The provisions under the notification, however, took more than 6 to 8 years to be materialised, validating what Anand & Rademacher (2011) point out as a provisional nature of the state's notifications necessitating vote-bank practices in materialising them. While the notification helped in consolidating the basic services within the settlement, the physical structure upgradation happened only after the settlers started buying their properties from the Agaris, sometime during the 1980s.

Second, a variety of quiet encroachment tactics, clandestine acts, vote-bank networks, and collective resistance tactics helped the settlers in consolidating their settlement spaces (c.f. de Certeau, 1984; Bayat, 2004; Benjamin, 2008). The settlers also defended their gains – that they made through their everyday acts of quiet encroachment – during the road-widening projects at Dutta Nagar, supporting what Bayat (2004) mentions as a 'social non-movement' type of characteristics of the quiet encroachment tactics. The local councillors' support proved crucial in settlers' construction of multiple storeys on their existing structures (c.f. Benjamin, 2008). Importantly, the spatio-temporalities of settlers' ethnicity – that shaped the settlers' everyday interactions with the others, both within and outside the settlement (Gilroy, 1991; Datta, 2012) – shaped the process of settlement consolidation at Dutta Nagar.

Third, the process of settlement consolidation also established certain socio-spatial (and cultural) practices, controls and norms as exemplified in the settlers' depiction of their ethnic identity in their settlement's name, in the prevalence of socio-spatial control, and in the existence of cultural groups i.e. the Mandals (c.f. Nijman, 2010).

Fourth, the process of settlement consolidation at Dutta Nagar created a range of insecurities, vulnerabilities and exclusions in the lives of the settlers pointing out to what Tonkiss (2013) mentions as the contradictions of the poorer groups' 'informal life'. For instance, the existence of an informal sovereign i.e. the lady slumlord at Dutta Nagar meant a prevalence of power asymmetries amongst the settler groups, and a property/protection racket within the settlement, similar to what Gandy (2005), Simone (2004), Hansen & Stepputat (2005), Unruh (2007), and Weinstein (2008), amongst others, point out in their work. The lady slumlord appropriated many properties of the settlers and excluded them from having official documentation that could validate their ownership of property(ies) in the settlement.

Similarly, settlers experienced the ethnicity-based stigma that played-out in their everyday interactions. Settlers revealed instances of being labelled by the local Agaris (the *sthaniks*) within the settlement as *bhadotris* – which are not only seen as renters but also considered as outsiders and therefore not belonging to the city – despite owning their structures for many years. The sthanik/bhadotri division spatially manifested in the form of two spatially segregated sections within the Dutta Nagar settlement. These segregated spaces also served venues for exercising social and political control.

The settlers also experienced legal insecurities and vulnerabilities as a range of informal tenures prevailed at the settlement – that include *pagadi* system, *rental* agreement, and informal sale transactions – that did not simply comply with the legal/ illegal framework (c.f. Benjamin, 2007; 2008). Amongst these, particularly at risk, from the point of view of rehousing schemes, were those who lived on rentals. Besides, several settlers could not manage to get slum photo-passes for the properties that were more than single-storey high. Therefore, although the 'slum' notification did offer the poor settlers provisional security from the arbitrary demolition drives, the diversity of tenures that prevailed within the settlement made certain settlers insecure about their status vis-à-vis their eligibility for the future redevelopment schemes.

And *last*, but not the least, the space, in the process of settlement consolidation, shaped settlers' cultural association. A formation of Mandals around open space between two or three chawls and organisation of cultural activities within such open spaces highlights the centrality of space in the socio-cultural organisation of the settlers.

In sum, the transformation of Dutta Nagar settlement reveals that the process of settlement consolidation – that is shaped by the settlers' everyday quiet, clandestine, as well as collective resistance tactics which are, in turn, influenced by the settlers' ethnic affiliation – manifests in the geography of power/political, social, and legal exclusion and vulnerabilities amongst the settler groups. These vulnerabilities and exclusions amongst the settler groups – that point out to their heterogeneous nature – shape their sense of 'self' and the 'other'. The examination of Dutta Nagar's case suggests that the identity of the urban poor needs to be seen in spatial-relational terms i.e. completely inseparable from the process of settlement consolidation.

Following on from this examination of the process of settlement consolidation at both the chosen settlements, the next section concludes the key findings of the analysis.

6.4 Conclusion

By examining the spatial transformation of two settlements of the urban poor in KD, the chapter engaged with the first question of this research. The chapter critiques a prevalence of essentialism in the understandings of the urban marginalised groups and their settlement spaces within the BSUP scheme. Chapter 3.2 revealed that the scheme understands and depicts the varied settlement spaces of the urban poor by using the term *slums*. The chapter also revealed that the scheme understands a heterogeneous group of policy subjects as *slum dwellers* and treats them as an abstract 'beneficiary' category having a housing, sanitary, infrastructure and tenure security needs (ibid.).

An examination of the spatial transformation of two settlements in KD suggests that the settlement spaces of the urban poor need to be seen as materially and discursively constructed and consolidated in the settlers' quiet and vote-bank forms of political practices (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Benjamin, 2008). The chapter argues that examining the process of construction and consolidation of the settlements of the urban poor not only

helps in understanding the factors that shape the process of settlement consolidation but also allows understanding the heterogeneous nature of the urban poor and their settlement spaces.

The chapter points out the crucial role of the poorer groups' relations of social hierarchy, that include their caste and ethnic affiliation, in shaping the process of settlement consolidation. The process, in turn, transpires in the form of social, economic, spatial, legal, and power asymmetries, ambiguities, vulnerabilities, and exclusions amongst the poorer groups. These inequalities and exclusions, the chapter argues, determine settlers' interactions with the others, within and outside the settlement, and shape their sense of 'self' and the 'other' (c.f. Datta, 2012). The findings from this chapter call upon seeing the individual and collective identities of the urban poor as completely inseparable from the process of settlement consolidation. The chapter emphasises that understanding the process of poorer groups' settlement space consolidation reveals deeper insights about the degree and the form of heterogeneity – inequalities, vulnerabilities, exclusions, marginalities – that prevails amongst the poorer groups and the role that the informal processes of settlement consolidation play in the constitution of that heterogeneity.

In particular, the spatial transformation of the two chosen settlements of the urban poor in KD revealed the following set of findings.

First, the findings supported Tindall's (1982) and Sharma's (2004) claims that highlight that the settlement spaces of the urban poor usually evolve through a process of 'urban pioneering' which refers to the poor migrants' conversion of the uninhabitable lands into habitable ones by investing material and financial resources in it. The findings revealed that while the Ambedkar Nagar settlement evolved from being a site used as a dumping ground by the Municipal Council, Dutta Nagar evolved from being a site used for cremation activities by the local villagers in KD. The extremely marginal location of these sites helped the poor migrants in constructing their settlements. However, unlike what Sharma (2004) and Tindall (1982) claim, the poor migrants in KD bought/rented their piece of land from the local villagers, i.e. the Agaris. Therefore, even though the settlements emerged on uninhabitable lands, they were *not* essentially no-rent lands as they did fetch rents to the Agaris.

Second, the process of settlement space consolidation was radically changed after both the settlements received the *notification* from the State government towards the beginning of the 1970s. The *provisional* security from demolitions and a provision for the supply of basic services at minimal charges radically transformed the process of settlement consolidation. The notification offered what McFarlane & Desai (2015) mention as a sense of 'entitlement' to the settlers of both the settlements.

The realisation of the provisions under the 'slum' notification, however, involved a complex set of practices including settlers' quiet yet gradual acts of encroachment, collective efforts, and by involving a range of brokers and intermediaries such as the

local political leaders, the informal leaders, and their connections with the lower-level bureaucrats within the corporation (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Benjamin, 2008; Anand & Rademacher, 2011). These practices, the findings reveal, were crucially shaped by the existing relations of social hierarchy and the internal spatial layout of the settlements. These practices, in turn, consolidated socio-spatial and cultural practices, codes, and norms at each of the settlements.

While at Ambedkar Nagar, the spatio-temporalities of settlers' *caste* relations played a central role in their settlement consolidation process, at Dutta Nagar, it was the social/power dynamics between the locals (the *sthaniks*) and the migrant settlers (the *bhadotris*) that shaped the settlement consolidation process. The existence of socio-spatial control, the prevalence of cultural groups i.e. the Mandals, as well as the depiction of caste and ethnic identity in the names of the settlements and through other means such as flags, banners, signboards, all reflect the role of spatio-temporality of settlers' caste and ethnicity in the way the settlement spaces were transformed.

The spatio-temporalities of Dalit and the non-Dalit castes in the process of settlement transformation, for example, meant that the Dalit settlers used varied means – such as affiliation with caste oriented cultural groups, display of flags, banners, signboards, and the formation of a union – of expressing their caste identity. While displaying caste affiliation and its active role in shaping the spatio-temporalities of settlement consolidation did offer the settlers a means of defensive form of political mobilisation and in dealing with the stigma of belonging to the ex-untouchable caste groups on an everyday basis (Lynch, 1974), it however also meant that the Ambedkar Nagar settlers were seen in a particular way (as *Jai Bheem wale!* i.e. the followers of Dr Ambedkar) by the others in the city. Similarly, the spatio-temporality of social/power relations between the *sthaniks* (the locals/Agaris) and the *bhadotris* (migrant tenants) at Dutta Nagar manifested in the form of two spatially-segregated communities – one where the local councillor was the key middleman between the settlers and the local corporation, and the other where the lady slumlord held more command than the councillor. The existence of two dominant ethnic groups (one in quantity while the other in terms of power/ resourcefulness) supported a prevalence of two separate sovereigns in the settlement.

Third, the findings reveal that the process of settlement space consolidation at both the settlements transpired in the form of a range of inequalities, exclusions and vulnerabilities amongst the settler groups (c.f. Tonkiss, 2013). For instance, at both the settlements, a presence of slumlords/ political party workers meant that these informal/political sovereigns influenced the everyday political life of the settlers. Dutta Nagar settlers' account reveals a prevalence of property/ protection racket due to the existence of a lady slumlord (c.f. Gandy, 2005; Hansen & Stepputat, 2005; Weinstein, 2008). Similarly, at Ambedkar Nagar, the existence of a political sovereign who functioned as a middle-man between the settler groups and the councillor turned MLA meant that a group of settlers were dependent upon the political sovereign for day-to-

day affairs (c.f. Benjamin, 2008). Likewise, the settlers at both the settlements experienced caste and/or ethnicity-based stigma on an everyday basis which also manifested in the way space was organised and put to a variety of usage (c.f. Lynch, 1969; 1974). Lastly, settlers at both the settlements experienced 'legal' ambiguities and insecurities due to their range of informal occupancies and tenures that did not simply comply with the public/private, legal/ illegal framework that the state adopts in offering a secured tenure through the redevelopment schemes (c.f. Bromley, 2004; Benjamin, 2008; Tonkiss, 2013).

The examination of the spatial transformation of the urban poor's settlements in KD therefore not only reveals the key factors that shape the process of settlement space construction and consolidation but also offers deeper insights about the degree and form of heterogeneity – inequalities, vulnerabilities, exclusions, marginalities – that prevails amongst the poorer groups and the role of the informal process of settlement consolidation in creating that heterogeneity.

From the spatial transformation of the settlement spaces of the urban poor in KD, the chapter emphasises upon seeing poorer groups' settlement spaces not just as a 'pathway-out-of-poverty' to the urban poor for their key social, affordable housing, and economic function (c.f. World Bank, 2009; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2016), but also as places that are formed and consolidated through a process of the quiet yet gradual encroachment of the poor (Bayat, 2004; 2007; 2013). These acts also shape the individual and collective identities of the urban poor. The chapter reveals that urban poor's identity should be understood in spatial-relational terms.

Findings from this chapter add to Bayat's work on 'the quiet, yet gradual encroachment of the ordinary'. Bayat's thesis propagates a particularly useful way of understanding the subalterns' agency and their settlement spaces within a single frame of 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary'. Bayat's thesis – by highlighting that the poorer groups make advances on an everyday basis and defend those advances in collective and audible ways – also aligns with the existing understandings on subalternity (Chapter 2.3.2). Bayat propagates the idea of social non-movement which makes his thesis applicable to the postcolonial geographies such as India.

However, Bayat, in his work, implicitly assumes poorer groups to be homogenous. This undervalues the role of relations of social hierarchy (including gender, caste, and ethnicity) in shaping the process of settlement consolidation. Bayat also uncritically uses the term 'informal life' as a 'habitus of the dispossessed'. This obscures the fact that informality encompasses the actions of the state, the poor and the non-poor classes, as the findings from Chapter 5 reveal. An association of informality with the poor not only creates a negative stereotype, but it also masks the contradictions of informality – allowing settlement space consolidation on the one hand, and creating a range of spatial, socio-economic, legal, and power asymmetries, vulnerabilities, marginalities, inequalities and exclusions, on the other – in lives of the poorer groups (c.f. Tonkiss, 2013). As these inequalities and exclusions are spatially consolidated,

examining the process of settlement consolidation can help in locating the most excluded and the vulnerable groups amongst the urban poor.

The chapter also supports Doreen Massey's (2005) work that highlights space and identities as products of interrelations. The analysis highlights that identities are formed through the processes of consensus and conflicts amongst the settler groups and space (place-formation) played a key role in surfacing such consensus and conflicts amongst the settler groups. The everyday practices of place-formation at both the settlements resulted in the prevalence of various identity groups such as the Dalit and the non-Dalit groups, *sthaniks* and *bhadotris*, and various cultural groups *(the Mandals)*. Social control and practices of othering – maintenance of in-groups and outgroups – played a key role in holding these identity groups together. Membership of a particular *caste* at Ambedkar Nagar and *ethnicity* at Dutta Nagar saturated the settlement space with meanings and facilitated practices of othering (c.f. Gunn, 2001; p.8; Sibley, 1995).

The chapter however also claims that the transformation of the space, as well as identities, is a never settling process (c.f. Massey, 2003; 2005; Schmid, 2008; Lombard, 2015). A temporal analysis of the consolidation process of the settlements of the urban poor in KD reveals that space is continuously produced and reproduced, and so are identities that engage (and are evolved) in the production of space. Seeing space as a process, always incomplete, never settled helps in reframing the political agency of the subalterns. While the poorer groups perform their quiet acts of encroachment upon the urban land and resources within the constraints of the existing structures, their acts are always open to the possibility of resistance and even disruption of such structures (Bayat, 2004; Friedmann, 2007; Lombard, 2015).

In conclusion, the chapter criticises the approach of the state within the BSUP scheme. The scheme relies upon static and absolute measures of deprivation and represents the settlements of the urban poor in homogeneous-and-universally-negative ways. Similarly, the scheme considers the urban poor as an abstract 'beneficiary' category having a housing, infrastructural and tenure security needs. This way, the scheme does little in understanding the diversity amongst the poorer groups and their settlement spaces. The chapter argues that such diversity can only be understood by examining the process of poorer groups' settlement construction and consolidation.

Chapter 7 Making the BSUP scheme real in KD

7.1 Introduction

This chapter engages with the second question of this research, which is – how was the BSUP scheme accomplished in KD? What collaborations and compromises did the local state officials entertain in making the scheme real in KD and how such collaborations and compromises were achieved? How did the marginalised groups contest the local state's authority in making their claims in the scheme? What do the various collaborations and contestations in the BSUP scheme reveal about the nature of policy-practice?

In answering these questions, the chapter draws upon the interview accounts of the following set of stakeholders: the BSUP participants, the non-participants, the local state officials at KD, the State government officials (from MMRDA/ MHADA), the State government political leaders (MLAs), the ex-Mayors of the local government, the Municipal councillors/ex-councillors, and the Public interest litigation (PIL) experts. The analysis of the interview accounts engages with and contributes to the existing literature centred on development practice that points out the significance of complex on-the-ground practices, collaborations, compromises, deviations in making the development policies real. Significant within this literature is the work of Tania Li (1999) from Indonesia and David Mosse (2004) from India that emphasises upon deviations, compromises, and collaborations in embedding the development schemes in the everyday settings. Also significant is the work of Aradhana Sharma (2008) and Swapna Doshi (2012; 2013) on the resistances within governmentalities that are extended through the development schemes and the role of socio-spatiotemporal nature of the *difference* in the political practices of the poorer groups.

The chapter reveals that in embedding the BSUP scheme's governmentalities in the everyday settings in KD, the local state officials create opportunities for a variety of compromises and negotiations in the scheme by controlling the interpretation of the scheme and involving supporting actors that use a variety of narratives in translating the scheme idea into practice and by decoupling the process of ascertaining the demand and the supply of housing units in the scheme. Besides, the local state officials also maintain fuzziness in the beneficiary selection criteria and beneficiary lists until the actual handover of the housing units. The differences in the prescriptions of the State government and those of the central government in the BSUP scheme create openings for the local state officials in achieving a variety of collaborations and compromises in the scheme. The chapter also reveals unintended consequences of the BSUP governmentalities in the form of critical practices amongst the marginalised groups demanding resources-as-rights from the local state. These critical practices, the chapter reveals, are shaped along a socio-spatiotemporal axis of difference and are subjected to challenges from the above, pointing out to the 'structural constraints' that the subaltern groups face (c.f. Jessop, 1982).

The chapter offers the analysis under two main sections. The first section presents the implementation procedure and the range of strategies that the local state officials adopt in making the BSUP scheme real in KD. The second section reveals the way the marginalised groups resist the BSUP scheme implementation within their settlements and the way the local state officials deal with such resistances. These two sections are followed by a concluding section that points out the significance of bringing together the works of Tania Li (1999) & David Mosse (2004) and those of Sharma (2008) & Doshi (2012; 2013) in understanding the complexity associated with the policy-practice dialectics. The section also highlights the contradictory role of collaborations and contestations within development practice – both enabling the policy implementation and at the same time recreating some the existing dependencies, inequalities, exclusions amongst the poorer groups as well as limiting their critical gaze merely to the immediate policy goals.

7.2 The BSUP scheme implementation in KD

This section presents the BSUP scheme implementation procedure and discusses the range of strategies adopted by the local state in making the BSUP governmentalities real in KD. The discussion includes the way the local state officials address the issue of converting the *de facto* tenures and complex occupancies into legal-private and residential properties. The process of the BSUP scheme implementation and the local state's implementation strategy in KD points out to the politically fragile nature of policy-practice. The section foregrounds the significance of complex on-the-ground practices, compromises, irregularities, negotiations and poorer groups' clandestine acts in embedding the project of the rule extended through the BSUP scheme in the local political culture and power settings that prevail in KD.

The BSUP scheme was implemented in Kalyan Dombivli during 2006-2017 period. The scheme had the following key provisions: integrated development of basic services to the urban poor; provision of security of tenure at affordable prices; convergence of other already existing universal services including education, health and social security; providing housing with due consideration to the livelihoods of the poor; provisions for both asset creation and its maintenance in a self-sustaining way (MoHUPA, 2009; p. 2-3). Besides, as a part of the reforms process, the local bodies were expected to allocate 25 per cent of their budgets for the urban poor and to keep a provision of 20-25 per cent of the developed land for the lower-income groups, within all the large-scale housing projects (Ibid.).

The framers of the scheme prescribed a standard procedure for its implementation which included "selection of the deserving 'slums' and the 'slum' households, preparation of a city development plan (CDP) as well as detailed project reports (DPRs), seeking necessary approvals on the projects, selection of the building contractors, evacuation of 'slums' and shifting of the 'slum dwellers' to transit camps during the housing construction, and handing over of the project to the beneficiaries upon receiving beneficiary contribution" (Senior BSUP officer, 6 January 2016). The

ordering and classification of populations through the scheme, however, extends governmentalities/project of rule through the scheme (c.f. Li, 1999; Chapter 2.4). The scheme also kept provisions for a frequent sharing of information between the local government i.e. the Kalyan Dombivli Municipal Council (KDMC) and the higher levels of government through monthly and quarterly progress reports, which according to Gopakumar (2015) and Williams et al., (2018) served as a mechanism of extending central government's overreach in the scheme. Besides, the scheme also promoted community participation, which at the local level, has been interpreted as stakeholder participation and has usually remained tokenistic in nature (Kundu, 2014; Burra et al., 2018; Mahadevia, Datey, & Mishra, 2013).

The BSUP scheme and its various provisions were interpreted differently by different levels of the state body officials, a phenomenon – differential understanding of the idea of the state among the state functionaries (Corbridge et al., 2005) – that was pointed out in Chapter 2.2. While at the State government level, the officials communicated narratives that support the BSUP scheme's mass-housing approach in addressing the city-wide challenges of housing the urban poor, at the local body level, the officials interpreted the scheme for its *implementability* in the local political culture and power settings[48] that prevail in KD. In order the make the BSUP scheme's various provisions real in KD's everyday settings, the local state officials entertained informalities in the form of a variety of negotiations, deviations, and irregularities in the scheme. These informalities were facilitated by the differences in the central and the State government guidelines over 'beneficiary' selection in the scheme.

For such informalities to take place, the local state officials controlled the interpretation of the scheme and its various provisions, involved a range of supporting actors (that used a variety of narratives in translating the scheme idea into practice), decoupled the process of ascertaining the demand and the supply of housing units in the scheme, and maintained fuzziness in the beneficiary selection criteria and beneficiary lists until the actual handover of the housing units. This way of socially sustaining the BSUP scheme was, however, not planned or preconfigured, but an "unintended outcome of culturally informed action" (Li, 1999, p.315), an 'improvised form of governance' (Williams et al., 2015). The social sustaining of the scheme in KD not only catered to the needs of the marginalised groups but also of the local state officials and the supporting actors that include various political/informal sovereigns, middle-men, brokers, fixers. The rest of this section, presenting the procedure that was adopted by the local state officials in making the BSUP scheme real, discusses these strategies adopted by the KDMC making the scheme real in KD.

[48] Chapter 5 discussed these settings by examining the urban development dynamics in KD since the 1960s and suggested a prevalence of informality as a dominant mode of urban space production in KD (c.f. Roy, 2003; 2009b; 2011; van Dijk, 2014). An informal mode of urban space production in KD is state promoted and connects the seemingly distinct geographies of informal settlements and unauthorised properties in KD. The chapter also highlighted the political prominence of the *Agaris* in the urban development dynamics in KD.

1. The BSUP implementation procedure followed by the KDMC officials

The BSUP implementation procedure that was followed by the local state in KD is presented in Figure 7-1 below. The KDMC prepared the City Development Plan (CDP) for the BSUP scheme in December 2006 through stakeholder consultations. The CDP proposed offering 269 square feet carpet area tenement units to the selected beneficiaries in 7-10 storey-high buildings. The officials selected 8 sites in total under the BSUP scheme out which half were relocation sites and the rest half were chosen for in-situ redevelopment (figure 7-2). The scheme's deliverables were divided under four Detailed Project Report (DPR) documents. These DPRs – that are the most important documents in any construction/ redevelopment project – were prepared by a consultant that was engaged by the KDMC for the BSUP scheme. The DPRs contain minute details of the construction/redevelopment projects that include working-drawings of the housing, number, size, layout out the housing units, various provisions within such housing units, construction quality parameters, and construction schedule.

Key steps followed during the BSUP scheme implementation in KD

1) The CDP was prepared in December 2006 by the Consultant through *stakeholder consultations*.
2) DPRs were prepared based on the 2001-2002 data for the in-situ sites. [The *demand* i.e. the details of the *beneficiaries were not mentioned within the DPRs*. The *supply* i.e. the number of housing units, on the other hand, was ascertained by *maximising the development potential of the sites* using a 2.5 FSI. These units were assembled in 7 to 10 storey high buildings (tower blocks).]
3) DPRs were sent for *sanctioning* from the Central government with a mentioning that the beneficiary statistics is susceptible to revisions.
4) Settlement statistics were updated in parallel with the process of DPR sanctioning. Regarding that a cadastral survey as well as a biometric survey was conducted within the in-situ informal settlements.
5) After receiving sanctioning, contractors were engaged for the projects between 2008-09.
6) At the time of settlement survey, *a tripartite agreement was signed* between the Corporation, the Contractor and the (potential) beneficiary. [The agreement specifically mentioned that *proving eligibility at the time of allotment is a responsibility of the (potential) beneficiary*. The contractor was made responsible for the construction of transit accommodation or payment of monthly rentals to the beneficiaries for the duration of project implementation.]
7) Construction began sometime in 2008 in Ambedkar Nagar and 2010 in Dutta Nagar. [*No transit accommodation* was provided to the settlers. An 18 month of house rent (@Rs. 800 per month) was given to the settlers at the time of tripartite agreement.]
8) The beneficiary list was declared at the time of allotment of the units.
9) A fixed sum of Rs. 30,500 (Rs. 25,333 from the lower caste and disabled category people) was charged as a *beneficiary contribution* at the time of allotments. Besides, a fixed sum of Rs. 7,220 was also charged against 1-year maintenance as well for the formation and registration of settlers' cooperative societies.

Figure 7-1 Key steps followed in the implementation of the BSUP scheme in KD (source: Fieldwork data that include both interviews and documents, 2015-2016)

Within the DPRs, the number of tenement units to be given to the poor were arrived by maximising the development potential of the chosen sites using a 2.5 Floor Space Index (FSI). These DPRs were prepared in the year 2001 by the same consultant for

another scheme which was not implemented in KD (Junior BSUP officer-1, 19 January 2016). The consultant updated the statistics within these DPRs by conducting a fresh round of surveys and thereby ascertaining the increase in the number of households within the informal settlements.

> Actually what they [consultant] did was that there was a survey done around 2001/2002. Within that, all these *jhoppads* were there. It was a total station survey, a plane table survey. From the plane table, all the *jhoppadpatti* details were taken. Based on that, the numbering was done. Upon that, all the details such as name, age, etc. were taken.…Now between 2001 and 2008, there was an increase [in the households] within the jhoppadpatti. Some increased their floor levels; some had put up a partition. So, what he [the consultant] did was, that within the survey, he marked those number by further adding A, B, C, within the existing numbers. What was one, has now become three…This has gone G+1, so below one was marked A and the above as B…That is how he modified within the same plan. (Junior BSUP officer-1, 30 January 2016).

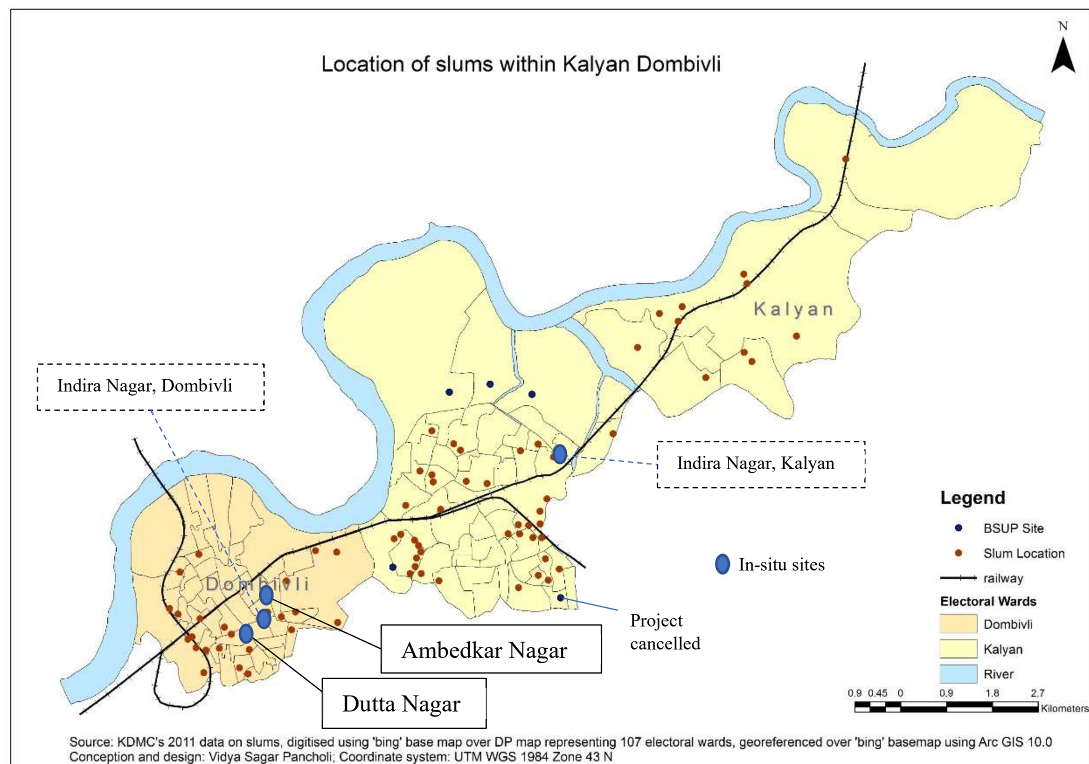


Figure 7-2 Location of selected slums and the BSUP sites within KD (Source: Author's analysis of the KDMC database, 2015)

The updating of the statistics within the DPRs happened in parallel with the process of DPR sanctioning. To obtain sanctioning of the DPRs from the higher-level bodies, the KDMC did not mention the details of the beneficiaries, such as their name and other details. Instead, a condition was mentioned in the DPRs that the 'beneficiary' data is susceptible to further revisions. The use of existing DPRs made sure that an off-the-shelf solution was ready with the KDMC at the time of acceptance of the scheme. With

pressures from the Central government for a rapid take-off of the projects, such off-the-shelf solutions turned out to be highly useful for the KDMC officials (c.f. Burra et al., 2018).

With regards to DPR sanctioning, all the four DPRs were sanctioned between December 2007 and December 2009. Each DPR was approved within one to one-and-half month's duration (Junior BSUP officer-1, 4 March 2016). The approval process was online and this allowed revising the DPR without time delays (ibid.). Although the approval process did not channel the scheme's implementation process in a particular way, a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) activist in the town appealed against the local state's implementation of BSUP projects without taking environmental clearances from the State government (Junior BSUP officer-2, 19 January 2016). This, together with other issues, resulted in the local corporation dropping one of the DPRs altogether. These issues are discussed later in this section.

After receiving approval of all the individual DPRs from the State and Central level bodies, the KDMC awarded contracts to all the construction firms between 2008 and 2009. A *tripartite agreement* was signed between the Corporation, the contractor and the beneficiaries. The setters' biometric information was also taken during the informal settlement surveys. The agreement mentioned the responsibilities of the three parties engaged in the scheme. The KDMC assumed the role of a guarantor within the scheme (Junior BSUP officer-1, 4 March 2016). The contractor was responsible for completing the construction within eighteen (18) months duration and for the payment of rentals to the beneficiaries *or* the construction of transit accommodation (Ibid.). The 'beneficiaries' were required to vacate the settlements within one month after signing the agreement. They were also made responsible for proving their eligibility within the scheme (Junior BSUP officer-1, 4 March 2016). The KDMC officials signed this agreement with each household within the settlement. However, not all the household were able to prove their eligibility in the scheme due to a range of reasons that include a lack of proper documentation, tenure agreement restrictions (such as those on the rentals), and being physically not present during the settlement surveys.

The construction of the projects began sometime in 2008 at Ambedkar Nagar and in 2010 at Dutta Nagar (figure 7-2). At both the settlements, there was no provision for transit accommodation. The contractor instead paid a sum of Rs. 800 for 18 months to the scheme's (potential) beneficiaries. Regarding the small amount that was offered as rentals to the poor settlers, a KDMC official mentioned:

> It was mainly between the beneficiary and the contractor to negotiate. It [transit housing] was the responsibility of the contractor. What they needed [from the KDMC] was a guarantor…meaning this was the contractor's liability and this is why we had an agreement between the three of us. There was one-time rental paid to the beneficiary…. It was their [settlers'] responsibility. They were supposed to negotiate with them [the contractors]. (Junior BSUP officer, 4 March 2016).

The transit duration for both Ambedkar Nagar and Dutta Nagar settlers was approximately four years. A majority of the settlers went to live in similar jhoppads or chawls near to, or farther from their previous homes, depending on their ability to pay for the housing. Settlers' accounts reveal that while most of the Dutta Nagar settlers stayed near to their original settlement (within a radius of 5 kilometres), this was however not the case with a majority of the Ambedkar Nagar settlers. In the case of latter, the settlers reveal that most of them had to look for alternative accommodation in villages or other smaller towns that were well-connected through the commuter rail network. By displacing settlers for about four years, the BSUP scheme disrupted the spatial constitution of the communities (c.f. Dhananka, 2016).

The KDMC allotted the tenement units at Ambedkar Nagar and Dutta Nagar in 2012 and 2014, respectively. The 'beneficiary' lists were finalised at the time of allotments. The finalisation of the lists was done by the key officials at the KDMC and was made public after the General Body's (GB) permission[49] (Senior BSUP officer, 6th January 2016). In a conversation with the Junior BSUP officer, it was revealed that the KDMC officials did not verify the beneficiaries towards the beginning of the project, arguably to delay the politically difficult moment(s) in the scheme's implementation.

> That time… we didn't verify that the forms that they've filled are correct or not. We just did an agreement with those who gave us a filled-up form. We mentioned within the agreement that it's the responsibility of the beneficiary to prove their eligibility (Junior BSUP officer-1, 19 January 2016).

Many householders, however, could not manage to secure a tenement in the BSUP housing. As per the KDMC database, at Ambedkar Nagar, out the 339 applicants (households) seeking a 'beneficiary' status within the scheme, 298 were found to be eligible and 41 were found to be ineligible under the scheme. The selection of these 298 eligible 'beneficiaries' happened in three stages. The KDMC came up the first list of 235 eligible beneficiaries on 25/7/2012. Following that, the KDMC came up with two separate lists containing names of 48 and 15 eligible beneficiaries on 23/9/2013. Out of the 298 selected beneficiaries in the scheme at Ambedkar Nagar, the KDMC database reveals that 7 households opted for a shop in the scheme instead of a tenement unit. In interviewing the MLA (the State government politician) from Ambedkar Nagar, it was revealed that due to delays within the scheme, a choice was offered to the settlers in case they preferred to opt for a shop instead of the tenement unit.

In the case of Dutta Nagar, a total of 668 applicants sought a 'beneficiary' status in the scheme. The DPR document divided these applicants under four sectors – Sector-A: 157 applicants, Sector-B: 356 applicants, Sector-C: 212 applicants, and Sector-D: 100 applicants). This division was based upon the internal layout of the settlement. Out of

[49] It needs to be noted that the finalisation of the beneficiary lists was fraught with political issues and as a result was subjected to various revisions. For instance, in the case of Ambedkar Nagar, I accessed two GB resolutions, passed in August 2012 and September 2013 successively, that validate certain number of 'beneficiaries' in the scheme. The allotments at Ambedkar Nagar happened in Sept' 2012.

these 668 applicants, the applicants from the sector-A refused to take part in the scheme (discussed in section 7.3.1). The KDMC constructed 3 apartment blocks (64 units in each) out of the proposed 9 apartment blocks at Dutta Nagar and allotted housing to 189 'eligible' beneficiaries. Rest 322 (excluding those who refused to participate) applicants are going to be considered (scrutinised) for the remaining 6 apartment blocks at Dutta Nagar (which are less likely to be constructed given that the funding from the BSUP has been stopped). A majority of these settlers are living in the settlement itself. Some of these settlers have however permanently left the settlement. More detail on that this aspect was however not available.

Introducing the BSUP scheme's implementation procedure, the following paragraphs discuss the implementation strategy adopted by the KDMC in the scheme.

2. **The implementation strategy of the KDMC officials in the BSUP scheme**

As presented towards the beginning of this section, in embedding the project of rule extended through the BSUP scheme in the everyday settings at KD, the local state officials socially-sustained the scheme by opening up avenues for a range of negotiations, deviations, irregularities, and clandestine acts in the scheme. KD's case aligns with Li's (1999, p.298) work in Indonesia where she highlights that development plans/schemes "are fragile in practice" and require a range of compromises/deviations and collaborations within the provisions of such plans/schemes. In creating openings for a range of negotiations, deviations, irregularities, and clandestine acts in the scheme, the local state officials adopted the following strategies: controlling the interpretation of the scheme and its various provisions by involving a range of supporting actors (c.f. Sayer, 1994; Mosse, 2004; 2005); decoupling the process of ascertaining the demand and the supply of housing units in the scheme (c.f. Kamath, 2012); and maintaining fuzziness in the beneficiary selection criteria and beneficiary lists until the actual handover of the housing units. These strategies are discussed below in detail.

Important however it is to mention that the social-sustaining of the scheme in KD was made possible due to the gaps between the central government's prescriptions and the State government's guidelines with regards to the selection of 'beneficiaries' in the scheme. While the BSUP scheme conveyed a 'whole-slum' approach – implying that every household within the poor's settlements would be eligible for the scheme – the State government of Maharashtra prescribes a cut-off date criterion – which was, at the time of the start of the BSUP scheme, 1st January 1995 – for the selection of the beneficiaries in redevelopment schemes (Chapter 3.3). The local state officials in KD made most of these 'gaps and fissures' within the state's beneficiary selection guidelines in socially sustaining the BSUP scheme in KD. Li (1999) points out the significance of these 'gaps and fissures' in embedding the development plans in the everyday settings as they "yield not only room for manoeuvre but the possibility of the culturally intimate – but often uncomfortable – forms of engagement" (Li, 1999, p. 315). Findings from KD, therefore, align with Li's (1999) work in Indonesia.

Also important is to point out that the social-sustaining of the scheme in KD was not planned or preconfigured, it was rather an "improvised form of governance" (Williams et al., 2015), an "unintended outcome of culturally informed action" (Li, 1999, p.315). This came out in the interactions with the range of stakeholder that were interviewed for this research. The scale of the scheme was itself unprecedented. The junior BSUP officer at KD made this revelation.

> …first of all, when the scheme was sanctioned, that time no one imagined that we could get that much of fund for slum redevelopment. We didn't expect that we'd be given that big sum and that we'd be able to work on it. We didn't even have that much of budget that time. We received something like 640 Crores for the BSUP alone. We didn't have 640 crores budget at that time. For us, it was such a big thing! After the money came, we got started (Junior BSUP officer-1, 19 January 2016).

In making the BSUP scheme real, the local state officials in KD ***firstly*** controlled the interpretation of the scheme and its implementation procedure by conveying a 'whole-slum' approach. The KDMC officials conveyed that *all* the households within the selected settlements would be considered as 'beneficiaries' within the scheme. The officials, however, did not declare that they would be using various criteria for the selection of the beneficiaries. Besides, they also did not finalise the beneficiary lists towards the beginning of the projects. This way, the local state officials sought to avoid any disruption from the settlers/their representatives within the scheme. Local bureaucracies, according to David Mosse (2004; 2005) have limited operational control over the actual policy practice and therefore in producing policy success, they control the interpretation of the scheme, as happened in KD.

In communicating the whole-slum approach, the KDMC officials involved 'interpretive community' – such as councillors, MLAs, consultant, surveyors, informal sovereigns, and political party workers – i.e. the supporting actors who had reasons to participate in the dominant interpretation of the scheme. These actors used a *variety of narratives* in translating the scheme idea into practice (c.f. Sayer, 1994; Mosse, 2004; 2005). The narratives used by the interpretive community emphasised the better living conditions in the scheme-provided housing.

For instance, the elected political leaders, who were the first point of contact for the settlers, used narratives of *better living conditions within the scheme housing; legality status of scheme housing; the better market value of scheme housing; and a possibility of selling the houses later on*. By communicating such narratives, the elected political leaders tried to convince the poor settlers to participate in the scheme. The following interview account of two family-members from Duttawadi housing block in Ambedkar supports these claims: "He [the elected political leader] told us that *'when you get a room in the tower, you'd have a better value of your room…and you'd have a good life…If you want, you can even sell it later and you'd get a better price for your house*'". (Father and the Son, 20 March 2016).

A scheme non-participant from the Dutta Nagar settlement, on a similar note, revealed that the scheme's consultant conveyed a possibility of *getting more tenement units than one in the scheme*. The consultant and his team, during the settlement surveys, tried to construct an idea of the state where one can get things done through a variety of means/practices. The interviewee revealed that the consultant asked everyone in the settlement to fill as many forms as they want. Some of the settlers were however aware of the limits of the 'porous' nature of the local state (c.f. Gupta, 1995). They knew that the scheme was offering only one tenement unit to each household. This was, in fact, one of the reasons why many settlers, and particularly those that had large families, were reluctant to participate in the scheme.

> He [the consultant] misguided the people and got their thumb impression on the agreement letter…showed them something else and got signed something else [his narratives and the agreement forms were different, and at certain instances, contradictory]…He told us straight away… *'don't get into any trouble, you just take these forms and fill them up for whosoever you want in your family and we'd get you those number of houses….fill these forms in their name and submit them to me'*. We knew that this is practically not possible but many did not understand it and they just got one room in the scheme (Ravi, 21 March 2016).

Secondly, the local state officials used a strategy of decoupling the process of determining the supply of the dwelling units to be handed over to the scheme beneficiaries from that of the demand i.e. actual number of beneficiaries of the scheme in the town. Besides, the officials also maintained a fuzziness in the beneficiary lists until the actual handover of the housing units. This way, the local state officials created scope for negotiating the complex and multiple claims of the marginalised groups as well as individual and political claims of their representatives.

The investigations revealed that the actual supply of the housing units in the scheme did not correlate with the housing demand. In determining the supply of the housing units, the local state officials maximised the site potentials using a 2.5 Floor Space Index (FSI) criteria. A junior BSUP officer revealed this process in the following way.

> We worked out the land available with us and all the possible relaxations we are allowed to use for the construction of a high rise considering a limit of G+7. We didn't prepare to go beyond G+7 that time… And later, we even went beyond G+7. But within the first DPR, we chose G+7…Meaning site's potential was extracted. Whatever that was available…For the BSUP, they suggested us to follow the SRA guidelines…they [the State government] came out with a GR [government regulation] on using 2.5 FSI under the BSUP scheme. (Junior BSUP officer, 4 March 2016)

The determination of the quantity of the housing units that were needed to be given through the scheme was however completely divorced from the actual demand of the

same in the scheme. Although the initial 'beneficiary' surveys did capture the biometric details of the marginalised groups and their 'paper proofs', the actual demand of the housing units within the scheme was ascertained by using a 1995 cut-off date criterion. While in rhetoric, the local state officials in KD followed a 'whole-slum' approach under the scheme, in reality, a two-tier beneficiary list was created where those who could prove that they were living in the settlement as 'owners' before 1st January 1995, were given the first preference in the scheme. As a result, the tenants, as well as those lacking slum-photo-identity cards, were not considered under the first list of the eligible 'beneficiaries' under the scheme. The finalisation of the beneficiary lists happened towards the time of housing allotment.

Kamath (2012), in the case of BSUP scheme implementation in Bangalore, reveals a similar form of discrepancies between the number of dwelling units required (arrived by making use of the biometric system) and the actual number of units built. Her study emphasises the significance of the "incentives and pressures" under which the local officials work which can make the use of technologies such as biometric surveys, ineffective and useless (ibid., p.79).

By controlling the interpretation of the scheme and its various provisions, by decoupling the process of ascertaining the demand and the supply of housing units in the scheme, and by maintaining fuzziness in the beneficiary selection criteria and beneficiary lists, the local state officials in KD created openings for a range of negotiations, deviations, irregularities, and clandestine acts in the scheme. These deviations from the scheme's guidelines and various negotiations helped the local state officials in dealing with the poorer groups' often complex and multiple claims of ownership. These deviations and negotiations, however, also allowed personal and political claims of the politicians/informal sovereigns as well as of the officials themselves. The following paragraphs discuss these deviations in detail.

Firstly, the idea of providing a single tenement unit measuring 269 square feet of carpet area did not work well with those households that had larger families, and/or bigger spaces. Some of these families, made use of their political connections with the powerful/influential actors including the elected representatives, in claiming more tenement units than what their documentation would have allowed. In a focus group interview with the Ambedkar Nagar settlers, it was revealed that *the politically well-connected settlers managed* to receive more tenements within the scheme. "That person [who is the main party worker of the MLA in the settlement] who was talking to you, he has more than 15 rooms within that housing block. [as per the actual documentation] He had only 2 rooms within the scheme. He *managed* [made possible, mostly through informal/illegal ways] everything." (Group Interview-1, 28 February 2016). Such claims were also made by other actors including the litigation expert in the town: "I know of someone who has more than 13-14 flats in his name. His name is X. What he did was, he influenced the biometric survey agency and with its help, got additional documentary proofs" (Kamal, 12 March 2016).

On a similar note, the interaction with the ex-councillor from Ambedkar Nagar points out the role of *settlers' political connections* in claiming a 'beneficiary' status within the BSUP scheme in KD. The interaction reveals how certain settlers, that were considered ineligible under the scheme as they could not prove that they have lived in Ambedkar Nagar before 1st January 1995, made use of their connections with the ex-councillor in negotiating the 1995 cut-off date criterion.

> …those 92 people started coming to my house… I applied for their hearing [i.e. re-examining their documentary evidence and allowing them to submit more evidence] within the Corporation. The officials initially came out with a list of 25, and later 20 settlers…so around 45-50 out of those 92 settlers were later included in the scheme. And those who were left, they didn't have proper documentation or may have been claiming two [units] within the same [one] family (Ex-councillor Ambedkar Nagar, 19 December 2015).

Others highlighted that the KDMC officials asked for *bribes* from those who wanted to include names of their family members in the beneficiary lists. Speaking to one of the BSUP housing residents at Ambedkar Nagar, it was revealed:

> There was this Mr X in the KDMC...he asked 2 lakh rupees [2857 US$ @ 70 Rs =1US$] from everyone who wanted to have houses in their family members' name in the list. He further said *'if there is an official enquiry about the project, then we'll give you urgent calls and you all may have to pay another 1-1.5 lakh rupees to settle it down'* (Mr Natwar,14 March 2016).

Some other actors pointed out to a range of irregularities that took place in the scheme. For instance, speaking to an MLA from Kalyan constituency, it was revealed that the *elected councillors provoked irregularities* within the scheme.

> What happened was that settlers misused the scheme … their local Corporators [Councillors] provoked them for misusing the scheme…the corporators themselves kept some rooms within the scheme. There is this Corporator in Kalyan. He was a Congress [Party's] Corporator. He has a nice house in Kalyan. But despite having a nice house, he claimed stakes in the jhoppad [land]... Within Dutta Nagar as well, there was this local Corporator. He also did the same things (MLA from Kalyan, 21 December 2015).

The ex-Mayor of the KDMC (25 March 2016), a councillor from Kalyan (27 January 2016), as well as the litigation expert within the town (12 March 2016), also supported such claims that highlight a key role of the elected political leaders in provoking irregularities within the scheme. Another form of *irregularity* that surfaced in the scheme was during the time of *settlement surveys*. A settler from Dutta Nagar revealed that: "the survey wasn't done properly… The survey was supposed to be done in front of everyone's [settlers'] house. It, however, didn't happen that way" (Ravi, 21 March 2016). On a similar note, the ex-Mayor of the KDMC revealed that "the consultant

whom we engaged for the surveys, had his names as well within the list" (Ex-Mayor, 25 March 2016).

Lastly, the interview accounts also reveal a mix of tactics/clandestine acts used by the poorer groups in KD in making their complex and multiple claims within the scheme. Bayat (2004; 2013), as well as de Certeau (1984), emphasise upon the everyday quiet encroachment practices/clandestine acts of the ordinary in challenging and disrupting the rationality imposed through laws/ rules. An Ambedkar Nagar settler revealed the mix of tactics people used in claiming more tenement units within the scheme.

> You don't know what all happened. People over here even got tenements in the names of in-laws, who never lived here. They got tenements in the name of kids who are not even married yet. They made several partitions in one room [house], bribed the ration card officer, secured another ration card, and got a separate tenement in the scheme… the period between 2004 and 2008… would be the period when most of the ration cards were made…because, at the time of the survey in 2004, people got to know everything about the scheme…that time, they got the ration cards for themselves…and not only that! We have these neighbours. They had a very big room in the jhoppad…what they did was… they consulted an Advocate who suggested them to get divorced. They followed his suggestion and applied for separate houses in the name of both husband and wife. (Natwar, 14 March 2016).

A litigation expert, on the other hand, claimed that many people claimed more tenements by "clicking 4 photographs in front of 1 door and claiming 4 different occupancies." (Kamal, 8 January 2016). Such a claim was also supported by the ex-Mayor of the corporation as she mentioned:

> …beneficiaries also cheated a lot. What beneficiaries did that if they had just one house, they got everyone clicked in front of all the doors of the house to claim four houses. Even though they could currently live 10 people in one room, but thinking they are getting flats in the scheme, they got greedy. (Ex-Mayor, 25 March 2016).

A similar account was also revealed by the MLA from Kalyan constituency. In his words: "people…got their photo clicked from different doors of their house and used different names, just to get more allotments" (MLA from Kalyan, 21 December 2015).

Overall, the local state officials in KD, in embedding the project of the rule extended through the BSUP scheme in the everyday settings that prevail in KD, socially-sustained the BSUP scheme by opening up avenues for a range of negotiations, deviations, irregularities, and clandestine acts in the scheme. KD's case aligns with Tania Li's (1999) work in Indonesia where she points out the significance of a range of compromises/deviations and collaborations in making the rule, extended through the development schemes, real on the ground.

Collectively understood as informalities, these range of negotiations, deviations, irregularities, and clandestine acts in the scheme were made possible by controlling of the interpretation of the scheme and its various provisions via the help of a range of supporting actors, by decoupling of the process of ascertaining the demand and the supply of housing units in the scheme, and by maintaining fuzziness in the beneficiary selection criteria and beneficiary lists until the actual handover of the housing units. Specifically, with regards to controlling the interpretation of the BSUP scheme in KD, David Mosse (2004; 2005) claims that as bureaucracies have limited operational control over the actual policy practices, they control the *interpretation* of practices in producing success in policies. In doing that, Mosse (2004) highlights, states involve supporting actors with reasons to take part in the established order. KD's case therefore also aligns with Mosse's (2004; 2005) work in India.

KD's case reveals that the social-sustaining of the BSUP scheme was not planned or preconfigured but was an unintended outcome of culturally informed action by the local state. KD's findings support Li's (1999) and Williams et al.'s (2015) claims regarding 'unplanned' and 'improvised' nature of social sustaining of the development schemes on the ground. Lastly, KD's case also highlights the significance of the 'gaps and differences' between the central and the State government guidelines in the scheme in opening up possibilities for social sustaining of the BSUP scheme. These 'gaps and differences', according to Li (1999, p.315), offer the "possibility of the culturally intimate…forms of engagement".

The local state's approach of creating openings for a range of informalities and negotiations in the scheme however also created opportunities for corruption and re-strengthening of the patron-client/vote-bank ties between the poorer groups and their informal/political sovereigns. Besides, the local state's approach in the BSUP scheme created *winners* i.e. the (economically) resourceful and the (politically) well-linked and the *losers* i.e. the not-so-well connected ones or the victims of the vote-bank/patron-client networks. Lastly, a quest for inclusion in the beneficiary lists also meant that the fundamental issues with the scheme as well as the issues of structural hierarchies remained out of the scope of settlers' engagement (c.f. Bayat, 2004).

The social sustaining of the BSUP scheme in KD, therefore, also had contradictions, which Li's (1999) and Mosse's (2004; 2005) work does not emphasise. These contradictions, it is claimed, negatively affect the existing marginalised and the vulnerable groups amongst the urban poor. This particularly comes out in the works of Devika & Rajasree (2012) as well as Corbridge et al. (2005) as they point out that by engaging in various vote-bank/patron-client networks, the agency of the subaltern groups remains in perpetual dependence on their informal/political sovereigns. They also point out the limits of the vote-bank/patron-client form of political engagement of the urban poor to merely 'operating' in the system.

Devika & Rajasree (2012) further suggest that the 'deeply disempowered' amongst the marginalised groups are usually not favoured by their political/informal sovereigns

and are prone to becoming victims of the informal/political practices of these sovereigns. In other cases, these sovereigns/mediators themselves have limited capacities in acting on behalf of the marginalised groups or there may prevail conflicts amongst the various sovereigns/mediators (Corbridge et al., 2005). This, in particular, came out in the case of Ambedkar Nagar where the ex-councillor was able to help only a limited number of settlers. The interview accounts revealed that the MLA and the ex-councillor had conflicts with each other over the control within the BSUP scheme. As the MLA held more powers/command in the scheme over the councillors due to his powerful position and his popularity, the ex-councillor was only able to help a certain number of people in the scheme.

Following on from this discussion on the BSUP scheme's implementation procedure and the strategy adopted by the local state officials in KD, the next section takes the investigation of the scheme's implementation to the scale of communities and discusses the settlers' resistances that emerge during that process.

7.3 The settlers' resistances within the BSUP scheme

This section deals with the settlers' contestations as well as the local state's responses to such contestations that emerged at both the chosen settlements during the BSUP scheme implementation. The section emphasises a differential subject formation and modes of political action amongst the poorer groups. This difference, the section highlights, is shaped along an overlapping axis of social hierarchy, space, and time. The section also highlights that the marginalised groups' face 'structural constraints' in encountering the state power (c.f. Jessop, 1982; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). The section is presented along the lines of description of the contestations that emerged at both the chosen settlements in KD and a discussion of the key findings.

1. The settlers' resistances at both Dutta Nagar and Ambedkar Nagar

This subsection presents an account of the settlers' contestations that emerged during the BSUP scheme implementation and the local state officials' responses to such contestations at both the chosen settlements in KD. A group of settlers, at both Dutta Nagar and Ambedkar Nagar, contested the scheme's provisions adopting a variety of ways. The local state officials responded to these contestations by making use of their 'repertoires of authority' (Hansen, 2009). This subsection describes the dialectics of settlers' contestations and local state's responses at both the chosen settlements.

At ***Dutta Nagar***, an entire section of the settlement refused to participate in the BSUP scheme. Settlers' accounts highlight that they were not convinced by the small, standard-size space offered through the scheme. Besides, their accounts also reveal that they were not convinced by the decision that each family would be allotted only one housing unit within the scheme, regardless of the size of the family. The large families, that were occupying a big space within the settlement, were particularly against such provisions. Many settlers were also opposing the provisions of low transit

rentals within the scheme which were kept at Rs. 800 per month for the 18-month project duration. Settlers pointed out how the SRS scheme participants within Mumbai received a much fairer deal for the transit duration than what was offered under the BSUP scheme. Lastly, some of the settlers were aware of the corrupt practices that would be associated with the beneficiary selection criteria and were, therefore, demanding that the process of implementation should be decentralised to the scale of the community as is the case with the SRS scheme in Mumbai (Chapter 3.3.2; c.f. Nijman, 2008). In the words of one of the settlers of Dutta Nagar:

> Actually, as many as 40 percent of the people could have gone homeless because of the scheme. They wouldn't have qualified as a beneficiary…if you say you have to first vacate the room and later, we'll think about your eligibility, then who would agree to such a condition? Are we mad? …. Even if the papers are not complete, whatever, but one should get a room [tenement] there [in the scheme]. Your scheme's objective is to raise the standards of the poor. Isn't it? So, if you want to raise their standards, then where does the beneficiary / non-beneficiary come from? (Ravi, 21 March 2016).

These settlers, therefore, opposed the BSUP scheme implementation in their settlement by drawing upon their sense of *the right of not being evicted* from their settlement if chosen not to participate in the scheme – a sense that was conveyed through the State government's 'slum' notifications, other 'Government Regulations', and through a history of settlement redevelopment in Mumbai (Chapter 6). The Dutta Nagar settlers' opposition to the BSUP scheme, however, meant that the local state officials struggled to begin the project in the settlement as the State government's settlement redevelopment criteria necessitates acceptance of at least 70 per cent of the settlers in the scheme (UDD, GoM, 2014). In convincing the settlers to participate in the scheme, the local state actors used a variety of tactics that include; police action against certain (politically active) settlers, sending eviction notices to all the settlers that were against the scheme and suspending supplies of basic services.

For instance, in an interview with a resident, it was disclosed that towards the beginning of the scheme, the Corporation stopped their water supply connection – "at that time, our water supply line was damaged and therefore we had to rely on others for water… Sometime later, we contributed some money and got the supply line reinstalled for ourselves" (Jyothi, 18 January 2016). The interviewee further revealed that the Corporation did not look into their complaints with regards to other services. In her words "…. then our gutters [sewerage] used to get full and overflow. They didn't look into that problem…They did all that on purpose, just to scare us to join the scheme." (Jyothi, 18 January 2016). Besides, the interviewee's husband revealed that they [the family] also faced police action. However, they didn't change their mind over participation within the scheme: "We had police officers here…Inspectors came here in our house, took pictures. We told them, we don't want to give our house, we don't like the scheme." (Vijay, 18 January 2016).

Another settler, who was actively involved in raising settlers' concerns with the BSUP scheme, brought out instances of deliberate police action against him: "I was pressurised by the councillor. His party workers charged me with false allegations in the local police and made me run from pillar to post" (Ravi, 15 December 2015). He further revealed that the Nagar Panchayat official [Tehsildar], sent each resident [of the section of the settlement that refused to participate], eviction notices stating illegalities in their occupation of the State government land.

> This is a notice that the Tehsildar sent to us for demolishing our houses…just to scare us. The Corporator [councillor], through the officials, sent us this notice…It reads that *'we are raising objections against you for illegally occupying government land...and that we have a right to demolish your houses from this land as they are illegal'*…it also reads that *'if you are living here before 1995 and have proof of that, then you have to come and show all your documents to the Circle Office. If you do not do that then we'll consider your possession illegal and we will demolish your houses'*. (Ravi, 21 March 2016).

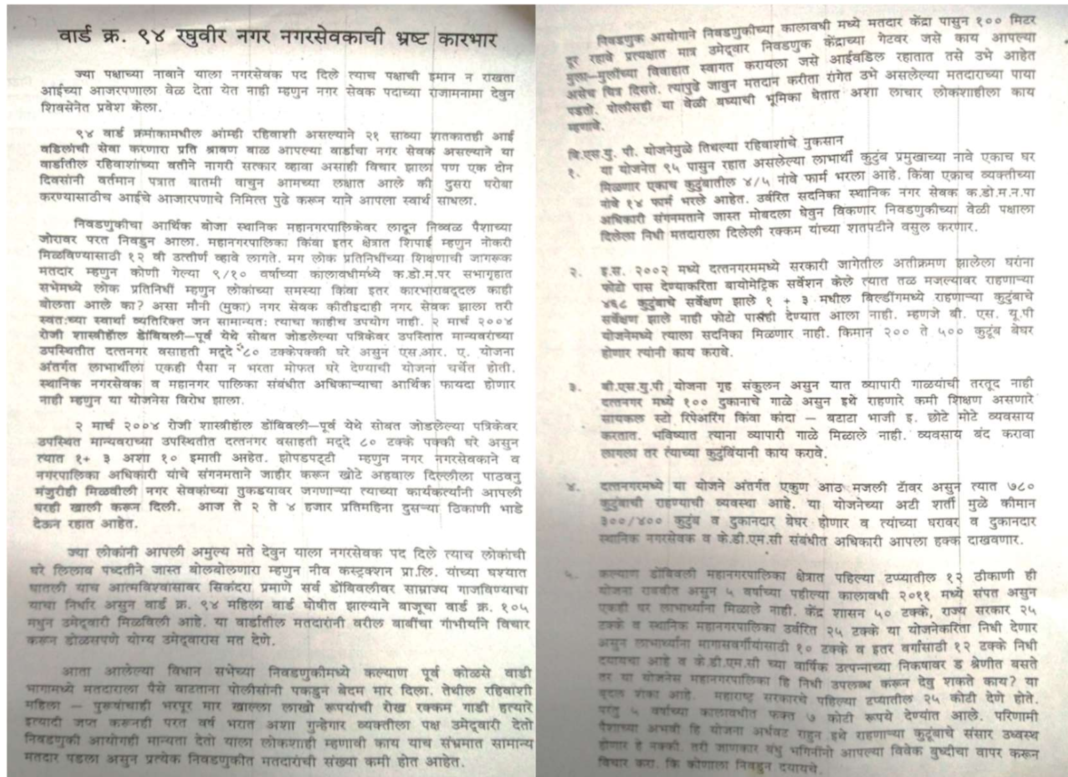
While the local state actors including the municipal councillors used a range of tactics in forcing the Dutta Nagar settlers to participate in the scheme, the dissenters, on the other hand, received the support of their powerful and well-connected *Agari* caste lady slumlord. Chapter 5 reveals the political prominence of the Agari caste community in KD (c.f. Balakrishnan, 2018). As a result, a 'division amongst the political elites' – the local councillor, who wanted a majority of the settlers to participate in the scheme for it to be approved by the State government agencies, and the lady slumlord who supported opposition for the scheme amongst a section of the settlement – emerged that paved the way for a long phase of domination-resistance between the local state actors and the Dutta Nagar settlers (c.f. Koopmans, 2004; Gupta, 1995; Gupta, 2012).

The opponents of the BSUP scheme at Dutta Nagar were united in their opposition. They collectively mobilised and formed a union in the name of Dutta Nagar Janhit Sangh (Dutta Nagar people's welfare union/forum) and registered it later in the year 2010 (registration number - 725/10 Thane). The settlers' forum was supported by approximately 160 households, as revealed by Ravi (29 October 2015), who served as a treasurer cum secretary for the union. The registration of the forum offered some authenticity to their voice when it came to responding (in writing) to various allegations/eviction notices that were made against the settlers by a variety of state agencies. Settlers nonetheless not only responded to the allegation/notices, but they also wrote to several State and Central bodies in a bid to reveal the irregularities that took place in the BSUP scheme (Ravi, 21 March 2016). The contestations between the local state and the settlers remained active from 2007 – 2011 period.

In contesting the scheme's implementation in Dutta Nagar, the forum members first approached the judiciary. It was revealed in a conversation with a BSUP official that the settlers from Dutta Nagar had filed litigations against the scheme. According to the

officer, all those who had large properties within the settlement collectively filed a court case against the BSUP scheme. In his own words;

> They [Dutta Nagar settlers] were opposing the scheme…. They were saying they don't want the scheme as they already had big houses, some had many houses in their name, and they knew it well that they are not going to get these number of houses within the scheme…. So, some from within that community went to the court to get a stay order on the scheme…. But all such cases were resolved. They had to withdraw. (Junior level BSUP officer, 19 January 2016).



वार्ड क्र. ९४ रघुवीर नगर नगरसेवकाची भ्रष्ट कारभार

ज्या पक्षाच्या नावाने याला नगरसेवक पद दिले त्याच पक्षाची इमान न राखता आईच्या आजरपणाला वेळ देता येत नाही म्हणुन नगर सेवक पदाच्या राजामनामा देवुन शिवसेनेत प्रवेश केला.

९४ वार्ड क्रमांकामधील आम्ही रहिवाशी असल्याने २१ साव्या शतकातही आई वडिलांची सेवा करणारा प्रति श्रावण बाळ आपल्या वार्डाचा नगर सेवक असल्याने या वार्डातील रहिवाशांच्या वतीने नागरी सत्कार व्हावा असाही विचार झाला पण एक दोन दिवसांनी वर्तमान पत्रात बातमी वाचुन आमच्या लक्षात आले की दुसरा घरोबा करण्यासाठीच आईचे आजारपणाचे निमित्त पुढे करून याने आपला स्वार्थ साधला.

निवडणुकीचा आर्थिक बोजा स्थानिक महानगरपालिकेवर लादून निव्वळ पैशाच्या जोरावर परत निवडुन आला. महानगरपालिका किंवा इतर क्षेत्रात शिपाई म्हणुन नोकरी मिळविण्यासाठी १२ वी उत्तीर्ण व्हावे लागते. मग लोक प्रतिनिधींच्या शिक्षणाची जागरूक मतदार म्हणुन कोणी गेल्या ९/१० वर्षाच्या कालावधीमध्ये क.डो.म.पर सभागृहात सभेमध्ये लोक प्रतिनिधी म्हणुन लोकांच्या समस्या किंवा इतर कारभाराबद्दल काही बोलता आले का? असा मौनी (मुका) नगर सेवक कीतीइदाही नगर सेवक झाला तरी स्वतःच्या स्वार्था व्यतिरिक्त जन सामान्यतः त्याचा काहीच उपयोग नाही. २ मार्च २००४ रोजी शास्त्रीहॉल डोंबिवली–पूर्व येथे सोबत जोडलेल्या पत्रिकेवर उपस्तित मान्यवरांच्या उपस्थितीत दत्तनगर वसाहती मद्दे ८० टक्केपक्की घरे असुन एस.आर. ए. योजना अंतर्गत लाभार्थीला एकही पैसा न भरता मोफत घरे देण्याची योजना चर्चेत होती. स्थानिक नगरसेवक व महानगर पालिका संबंधीत अधिकाऱ्याचा आर्थिक फायदा होणार नाही म्हणुन या योजनेस विरोध झाला.

२ मार्च २००४ रोजी शास्त्रीहॉल डोंबिवली–पूर्व येथे सोबत जोडलेल्या पत्रिकेवर उपस्थित मान्यवराच्या उपस्थितीत दत्तनगर वसाहती मद्दे ८० टक्के पक्की घरे असुन त्यात १+ ३ अशा १० इमाती अहेत. झोपडपट्टी म्हणुन नगर नगरसेवकाने व नगरपालिका अधिकारी यांचे संगनमताने जाहीर करून खोटे अहवाल दिल्लीला पाठवनु मंजुरीही मिळवीली नगर सेवकांच्या तुकडयावर जगणाऱ्या त्याच्या कार्यकर्त्यांनी आपली घरही खाली करून दिली. आज ते २ ते ४ हजार प्रतिमहिना दुसऱ्या ठिकाणी भाडे देऊन रहात आहेत.

ज्या लोकांनी आपली अमुल्य मते देवुन याला नगरसेवक पद दिले त्याच लोकांची घरे लिलाव पध्दतीने जास्त बोलबोलणारा म्हणुन नीव कस्ट्रक्शन प्रा.लि. यांच्या घश्यात घातली याच आत्मविश्वासावर सिकंदरा प्रमाणे सर्व डोंबिवलीवर साम्राज्य गाजविण्याचा याचा निर्धार असुन वार्ड क्र. ९४ महिला वार्ड घोषीत झाल्याने बाजूचा वार्ड क्र. १०५ मधुन उमेदूवारी मिळविली आहे. या वार्डातील मतदारांनी वरील बाबींचा गांभीर्याने विचार करून डोळसपणे योग्य उमेदूवारास मत देणे.

आता आलेल्या विधान सभेच्या निवडणुकीमध्ये कल्याण पूर्व कोळसे वाडी भागामध्ये मतदाराला पैसे वाटताना पोलीसांनी पकडुन बेदम मार दिला. तेथील रहिवाशी महिला – पुरूषांचाही भरपूर मार खाल्ला लाखो रूपयांची रोख रक्कम गाडी हत्यारे इत्यादी जप्त करूनही परत वर्ष भरात अशा गुन्हेगार व्यक्तीला पक्ष उमेदूवारी देतो निवडणुकी आयोगही मान्यता देतो याला लोकशाही म्हणावी काय याच संभ्रमात सामान्य मतदार पडला असुन प्रत्येक निवडणुकीत मतदारांची संख्या कमी होत आहेत.

निवडणुक आयोगाने निवडणुकीच्या कालावधी मध्ये मतदार केंद्रा पासुन १०० मिटर दूर रहावे प्रत्यक्षात मात्र उमेदूवार निवडणुक केंद्राच्या गेटवर जसे काय आपल्या मुला–मुलींच्या विवाहात स्वागत करायला जसे आईवडिल रहातात तसे उभे आहेत असेच चित्र दिसते. त्यापुढे जावुन मतदान करीता रांगेत उभे असलेल्या मतदाराच्या पाया पडतो. पोलीसही या वेळी बघ्याची भूमिका घेतात अशा लाचार लोकशाहीला काय म्हणावे.

बि.एस.यु. पी. योजनेमुळे तिथल्या रहिवाशांचे नुकसान

१. या योजनेत ९५ पासुन रहात असलेल्या लाभार्थी कुटुंब प्रमुखाच्या नावे एकाच घर मिळणार एकाच कुटुंबातील ४/५ नांवे फार्म भरला आहे. किंवा एकाच व्यक्तीच्या नांवे १४ फार्म भरले आहेत. उर्वरित सदनिका स्थानिक नगर सेवक क.डो.म.न.पा अधिकारी संगनमताने जास्त मोबदला घेवुन विकणार निवडणुकीच्या वेळी पक्षाला दिलेला निधी मतदाराला दिलेली रक्कम यांच्या शतपटीने वसुल करणार.

२. इ.स. २००२ मध्ये दत्तनगरममध्ये सरकारी जागेतील अतीक्रमण झालेला घरांना फोटो पास देण्याकरिता बायोमेट्रिक सर्वेशन केले त्यात तळ मजल्यावर राहणाऱ्या ४६८ कुटुंबाचे सर्वेक्षण झाले १ + ३ मधील बिल्डींगमध्ये राहणाऱ्या कुटुंबाचे सर्वेक्षण झाले नाही फोटो पासही देण्यात आला नाही. म्हणजे बी. एस. यू.पी योजनेमध्ये त्याला सदनिका मिळणार नाही. किमान २०० ते ५०० कुटूंब बेघर होणार त्यांनी काय करावे.

३. बी.एस.यु.पी योजना गृह संकुलन असुन यात व्यापारी गाळयांची तरतूद नाही दत्तनगर मध्ये १०० दुकानाचे गाळे असुन इथे राहणारे कमी शिक्षण असणारे सायकल स्टो रिपेअरिंग किंवा कांदा – बटाटा भाजी इ. छोटे मोटे व्यवसाय करतात. भविष्यात त्याना व्यापारी गाळे मिळाले नाही. व्यवसाय बंद करावा लागला तर त्याच्या कुटुंबियानी काय करावे.

४. दत्तनगरमध्ये या योजने अंतर्गत एकुण आठ मजली टॉवर असुन त्यात ७८० कुटुंबाची राहण्याची व्यवस्था आहे. या योजनेच्या अटी शर्ती मुळे कीमान ३००/४०० कुटुंब व दुकानदार बेघर होणार व त्यांच्या घरावर व दुकानदार स्थानिक नगरसेवक व के.डी.एम.सी संबंधीत अधिकारी आपला हक्क दाखवणार.

५. कल्याण डोंबिवली महानगरपालिका क्षेत्रात पहिल्या टप्प्यातील १२ ठीकाणी ही योजना राबवीत असुन ५ वर्षाच्या पहील्या कालावधी २०११ मध्ये संपत असुन एकही घर लाभार्थ्यांना मिळाले नाही. केंद्र शासन ५० टक्के, राज्य सरकार २५ टक्के व स्थानिक महानगरपालिका उर्वरित २५ टक्के या योजनेकरिता निधी देणार असुन लाभार्थ्यांना मागासवर्गीयांसाठी १० टक्के व इतर वर्गासाठी १२ टक्के निधी द्यायचा आहे व के.डी.एम.सी च्या वार्षिक उत्पन्नाच्या निकषावर ड श्रेणीत बसते तर या योजनेस महानगरपालिका हि निधी उपलब्ध करून देवु शकते काय? या बद्दल शंका आहे. महाराष्ट्र सरकारचे पहिल्या टप्प्यातील २५ कोटी देणे होते. परंतु ५ वर्षाच्या कालावधीत फक्त ७ कोटी रूपये देण्यात आले. परिणामी पैशाच्या अभावी हि योजना अर्धवट राहुन इथे राहणाऱ्या कुटूंबाचे संसार उध्वस्थ होणार हे नक्की. तरी जाणकार बंधु भगिनींनो आपल्या विवेक बुध्दीचा वापर करून विचार करा. कि कोणाला निवडुन दयायचे.

Figure 7-3 A snapshot of the notices that the mobilised community circulated within the community to make each one of them aware of the issues within the scheme[50] (Source: Ravi, 21 March 2016)

The forum members actively pursued other settlers from the settlement through posters/ banners and pamphlet distribution that highlighted issues within the scheme. Above (Figure 7-4) is a snapshot of one of the pamphlets that were circulated by the forum members. It targets the corrupt practices of the municipal councillor of Dutta Nagar. Besides using information spreading tactics, the forum members also undertook demonstrations to counter the local state's coercive action. In an interview,

[50] These pamphlets, that were distributed by the members of the forum highlight the main issues within the BSUP scheme and the corrupt practices of the local councillor within the scheme. The key points within these pamphlets are 1) that the scheme only provides one housing unit per family, 2) those who do not have jhoppadpatti photo-pass (that confirms that the settler has been living within the settlement prior to 1995 cut-off date) shall not get any house in the scheme, 3) No provision of shops/commercial space within the scheme, 4) one has to live in a 8 storey tower block and hence cannot practice their vocation/commercial occupation, and 5) The scheme ends in 2012 and the corporation is not financially sound in order to make its own contributions in completing the projects.

one of the members of the forum revealed: “we protested against the scheme, twice; once in front of the corporation, and later in front of the community as well” (Sarita, 18 January 2016). In the words of the lady slumlord:

> It was in 2011 when we did protests. We were saying don’t demolish our chawl. We sat in front of the corporation for 11 days and nights. We sat there day and night…We were at least 100-150 people who used to sit. All the brothers from this side of the chawl, from this building, from the other one, we all left our work and sat there. There was no electricity, no water for us over there. Some local shopkeepers gave us electricity (Slumlord, 18 December 2015).

However, importantly, the forum members revealed that they received support from the State government politicians in their contestations against the scheme and it was only after their support that the local state officials agreed with them. An independent MLA from Kalyan, who had close ties with the lady slumlord, helped the forum in their demonstrations, and a State Government Minister from the Congress Party helped the forum members in dealing with the police action (Ravi, 21 March 2016). The local government, during that time, was ruled by a coalition of Shiv-Sena and the BJP. The lady slumlord revealed:

> After demonstrating for 11 days, towards the end, there was this MLA from Kalyan who came and helped us break our fast. Otherwise, there was no one from amongst the officials who would like to talk to us. None of the officials said that *‘we won’t demolish your houses, now you should please end your fasting’*. None. When the MLA came and sat with us for fasting, it's only then, these corporation officers came down…He [the MLA] joined us in our protest. We used to go to his house for help (Slumlord, 18 December 2015).

Once the MLA from the Kalyan constituency showed solidarity with the Dutta Nagar Janhit Sangh members, the local state actors agreed to not consider the scheme in one section of the settlement. The agreement however required moving some families from one section of the settlement to the other. In a conversation with Ravi (21 March 2016), it was revealed that 7 families didn’t want to participate in the scheme from the section of Dutta Nagar where people agreed to participate in the scheme. This meant that the Corporation could not begin the construction activity until either these 7 families agreed to participate or moved out of the chawl. A solution was worked out between the Corporation and the 7 households in the form of moving the 7 households to the other side of the settlement that refused to participate in the scheme. The spatial segregation of the scheme participants from those of the non-participants helped the KDMC in fulfilling the 70 percent settler participation criteria and in implementing the scheme at Dutta Nagar.

In the case of ***Ambedkar Nagar settlement***, on the other hand, a contentious political *act* emerged between the local state and the scheme’s ‘beneficiaries’ because of the

delays in the allotment of the ready-to-be-occupied BSUP housing. It was mainly the Dalit settlers who, upon being increasingly burdened due to the mounting costs of living outside their settlement for more than three years, initiated a campaign against the local state. The campaign involved taking updates, both at an individual and collective level, from the local state officials on the allotment of the housing units. However, upon realising the futility of such interactions, a group of settlers, drawing upon a *sense of their right* to receive the completed housing units in a specified time – a sense that was conveyed through the tripartite agreement signed between the local state, the contractor, and the scheme participants – engaged in an *insurgent* mode of political resistance.

Interviewees revealed that a particular ethnolinguistic group – the *Wagari Dalits* who originally belonged to the *Kathiawad* region of Gujarat – mobilised and staged an *insurgent mode of protest* by blocking the movement of vehicles on the road in front of the settlement and later on capturing the un-allotted housing units. In response to the settlers' insurgence, the local state officials mobilised the state machinery – that include bringing Rapid Action Force, fire brigade, and Ambulance – and threatened the protesters of police brutality, if they did not vacate the BSUP housing.

The interview accounts highlight that the local state officials were delaying the allotment process as, according to them, the beneficiary lists needed to be thoroughly checked before the allotment. The local state officials were also not able to arrange dates from the Chief Minister of the State for the project inauguration. In a conversation with the ex-mayor of the Corporation, the circumstances that delayed the process of allotment at Ambedkar Nagar were revealed. She claimed that the Commissioner of the Corporation wanted a complete due-diligence in the beneficiary lists as there were complaints regarding bogus beneficiaries in the scheme. The Commissioner/other bureaucrats are accountable to the state and are at risk due to any discrepancies in the implementation of the development schemes. Besides, the ex-Mayor also revealed that there were delays on the part of the State government as the Chief Minister's dates weren't available.

> The fight was regarding the validity of the beneficiary list. He [the MLA] was saying that the list is valid. The Commissioner was saying that it isn't. Commissioner was saying *'I am not listening to whatever you are saying. You might be somebody. I don't care. You are saying there are these many people there, but these many people are not showing there. Unless I do the due diligence, I am not giving allotments*'. Commissioner could be dragged by anybody in the court. He has a responsible position…Later they agreed about 300 and we allotted 300 tenements… there was also a delay at the time of inauguration as well. The Chief Minister didn't give dates for the inauguration. That further delayed the matters (Ex-Mayor, 25 March 2016).

The elected political leader (i.e. the MLA who was also the councillor from Ambedkar Nagar), on the other hand, was interested in fast-tracking the process of housing

allotment as he feared a loss of credibility to the vote-bank if some/many settlers are rendered ineligible in the scheme due to (a change in) the beneficiary selection criteria. The political leaders within development schemes function as an interface between the state institutions and the policy subjects, and they are particularly at risk from the loss of credibility to their vote-bank if the schemes end-up becoming exclusionary. In words of the MLA:

> In the beginning, it was conveyed that whosoever is found living in the slum at the time of the survey, they would all be considered under the scheme. Based on the given information, people vacated their houses with the hope that they'd all get a tenement in some time. However, what changed in the meantime was the criteria within the scheme. They [the KDMC officials] kept changing the criteria at regular intervals…There needs to have clarity in the criteria. What happened without this clarity was that marginalised groups' savings [that they did in terms of having another house within the settlement] went for a toss. Most of them had around more than 500 sq.ft. + 500 sq.ft. space in their name and what they got after surrendering that was a 269 sq.ft. tenement. Officials should have told clearly that they will give one house [tenement] per family. The contractor offered rents for each surveyed household and you come up with the beneficiary criteria later? This is not as per order. (MLA from Dombivli, 8 March 2016).

The delays in the allotment process had a perverse effect on the Ambedkar Nagar settlers as they were struggling with the increased financial burden on them due to being displaced from their original settlement.

> If we talk about problems, then the first would be travelling from a far distance. Second thing was that they gave us as rental money which was 10,000 rupees [in total]. It went off in one go as a deposit for rental accommodation. And we had to somehow manage the monthly rentals from our income. Now even though we lived far away, there too, we had to find a place in a village. So, travelling from there in a rickshaw to the train station…. from there taking a train to Dombivli station and then an auto-rickshaw to my shop…I used to spend at least 2500-3000 per month at that time. (His wife adds): That too was not enough for us. (Darshil, 14 March 2016).

Because of increased problems of living outside in rental spaces, the settlers collectively mobilised and decided to display their anger against the Municipal Corporation by adopting insurgent tactics. The settlers approached their political leader i.e. the MLA and proposed capturing the housing without the formal process of allotment. The MLA, in a bid to regain his declining political influence as a result of constantly turning the settlers away with (vague) assurances about the scheme completion, agreed to support the group. A conversation with one of the settlers of the Dalit-majority tower block within Ambedkar Nagar, reveals the circumstances that led to staging a strike:

> We used to go to *dada* [the MLA] to ask him when would we get home? Every individual used to go to him. He did all his efforts, these KDMC people were not interested in giving us the tenements. They were saying that they'll do a survey and check all the documents and then do the allotments. But the MLA was with us and supported us saying that '*until when they'll keep paying rent, these are poor people earning daily wages if they pay all their earnings in rent, then what would they eat'*. Because of his support, we did a 'strike' here…. we all forcefully entered the tenements, broke all the locks and occupied them for a day. We did the strike sometime in June [2012] .... we all made a *tharav* [resolution] that we'd go inside these houses, whatever will happen, we'll see to it (Rajesh, 12 January 2016).

Another resident of Ambedkar Nagar settlement who participated in the demonstration narrated the incident of the community's protest. In his own words: "We all collectively decided to approach him [the MLA]. We went with a plan and asked him if we do like this [forcefully entering the building], then what will happen? Sahib said, *'If you want to do it, then do it. I am with you. If everyone wants to do it then I will also come and join you*'…we broke all their locks to went inside those houses." (Alok, 14 March 2016).

Figure 7-4 An image showing the Media coverage of the community protest at Ambedkar Nagar; (Source: DNA Correspondent, 2012; the source of the image is untraceable, the media house is not the source of the image)

The MLA's support shaped the future course of political contention at Ambedkar Nagar. The MLA's support convinced the protesters that they have their elected political leader with them who had not only agreed to their plan of conducting a strike but had also committed to his involvement in the strike. Upon receiving the MLA's support, a group of 100-150 people led by the Wagari Dalits who were the residents of the Rohidas Nagar section within Ambedkar Nagar, staged a protest that lasted for one whole day. The KDMC officials led by the Commissioner, on their part, came along with a lot of *arrangements* for suppressing the protest. One of the protesters talked about those arrangements in the following way: "Officers came. Commissioner

came. He was here for the whole day. He came with all the *bandobast* [arrangements]. He brought a big police van [Rapid Action Force], an Ambulance, and the fire brigade. He came with everything" (Rajesh, 12 January 2016). Another settler described the events that unfolded on the day of the strike, in the following way (figure 7-5).

> These Kathiawari Wagari people led a demonstration over here…. There were [newspaper] reports as well at that time…. They came out on the road. They did a lot of 'Hungama' [demonstration] here. They blocked the road. They went inside each house and occupied them. There was a big protest. Police came. Officers from KDMC also came. It [the demonstration] lasted for 5-6 hours. And because of all that, we received our house allotments quickly (Arjun, 20 March 2016).

The local state officials in KD, therefore, made use of their 'repertoires of authority' – that are "founded on violence or the threat thereof" Hansen (2009, p.170) – in establishing their claims of its sovereignty – 'the absolute right to govern' (Davis, 2011, p.229) – over the urban space. An agreement between the MLA who was representing the settlers' protesters and the Commissioner of the KDMC was made towards the evening. Until then, the Commissioner and his force were calling everyone to vacate the housing units or else face police action. Later, towards the evening, the Commissioner agreed for a timely allotment of the housing units. The MLA and the contesters, on their part, agreed to vacate the housing only to re-capture them if the allotments were not made in time.

Presenting a description of the settler groups' resistances in the BSUP scheme at both the chosen settlements, the following subsection discusses these resistances by engaging with the existing literature.

2. The spatiality of domination-resistance within the BSUP scheme at KD

The spatiality of the domination-resistance, that surfaced during the BSUP scheme implementation at both the chosen settlements reveal the following key aspects.

First, in opposing the BSUP scheme in their settlements, the settlers drew upon their sense of the rights[51]. To Sharma (2008, p. xxii), development schemes' governmentalities have "unintended consequences" in terms of generating critical practices amongst the subaltern groups that target the state bodies in demanding "resources-as-rights". Settlers' opposition to the BSUP scheme at both the settlements in KD support Sharma's (2008) work in India.

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[51] At Dutta Nagar, the marginalised groups' sense of *right not to be evicted if chosen not to participate in the scheme* was informed by the State government's 'slum' notifications and other 'Government Regulations' as well as policy practices related to settlement redevelopment in Mumbai (Chapter 3.3; Chapter 6). At Ambedkar Nagar, on the other hand, settlers *demanded the timely allocation of the housing units as a right.* Such a sense of rights was conveyed to the settlers through the tripartite agreement that was singed during at the beginning of the BSUP scheme in KD.

Second, the settlers capitalised the openings created by the division amongst the political elites. Gupta (1995, p.394, c.f. Koopmans, 2004) calls these openings as 'fissures and rupture' – contradictions in the workings of the state institutions, discourses, and governmental technologies – that "enable subaltern groups to create possibilities for political action and activism".

At Dutta Nagar, while the local state officials and the local councillor were interested in making the BSUP scheme real, the lady slumlord, fearing loss of her properties and political control within the settlement, opposed the scheme implementation. This division amongst the political and the informal sovereigns at Dutta Nagar opened up opportunities for political contention to a group of settlers as they decided to involve the lady slumlord in their opposition to the BSUP scheme. The settlers used a range of means – that include demonstrations, spreading information about the scheme using pamphlets/banners, writing to the various state bodies, and involving State government politicians – in advancing their claims upon the space. The political contentions at Dutta Nagar surfaced a highly unstable nature of the relationship between informal sovereigns and the local state. Hansen & Stepputat (2005), in the context of postcolonial cities such as Mumbai, point out to the tentative and unstable nature of sovereign power that requires constant renegotiations with the state.

At Ambedkar Nagar, on the other hand, a division amongst the political elites surfaced in the form of disagreement between the Commissioner and the MLA over the beneficiary list. An ethnolinguistic, caste identity group – that lived in Sant Rohidas Nagar section of Ambedkar Nagar, but originally belonged to the Kathiawar region – making most of this division, mobilised for an insurgent political act that involved forcefully occupying the unallotted housing (c.f. Holston, 2009).

Third, the local state actors, in claiming their authority over the urban space exercised their right to use coercive tactics in the form of Police action and eviction notices at Dutta Nagar and a threat of police brutality/violence at Ambedkar Nagar. This follows Hansen's (2009, p. 170; c.f. Weinstein's 2013) claims of state bodies' use of 'repertories of authority' – that are "founded on violence or the threat thereof" – as a political tool in defending their sovereignty over the urban space. The settlers at both the settlements, therefore, experienced both *conjunctural possibilities* – in the form of opportunities of political contestation – as well as *structural constraints* – in the form of local state's use of coercive tactics /threats of violence in responding to the settlers' oppositions. Findings from KD, therefore, align with Jessop's (1982) and Nilsen & Roy (2015) claims of both 'conjunctural possibilities' as well as 'structural constraints' in the subaltern groups' encounters with the state power.

Fourth, the dialectics of the conjunctural possibilities and the structural constraints that the settlers experienced during the BSUP scheme implementation in KD point out to a differential nature of the subaltern subject formation – a difference that is shaped along an overlapping axis of space, social hierarchy, and time. Findings from KD support Doshi's (2012; 2013) work in Mumbai where she highlights that the poorer

groups' political subjectivities and acts of resistance in the prevalent neoliberal era rehousing scheme in Mumbai are crucially shaped by "spatially produced, overlapping, and hierarchical axes of difference", by their history of land struggle, and their use of discourse.

Findings reveal that the political subjectivities of the Dutta Nagar settlers were shaped by the physical characteristics of the space that brought certain settlers together (c.f. Massey, 1991). The materiality of space helped the dissenters in forming a political community (c.f. Smith, 1993). The participants of the *Dutta Nagar Janhit Sangh* had certain similarities in terms of the physical characteristics of their settlement space. Most of these settlers had multiple storey houses. Besides, many had commercial/ workshop spaces within their houses. Space therefore also served as a symbol/imaginary for which the dissenters were contesting (c.f. Leitner, Sheppard, & Sziarto, 2008, p.162). The contesters were drawing upon/defending the organic nature of their settlement that allows multiple usages and offers a possibility of incremental expansion which is not the case with the BSUP scheme. Lastly, space also served as a venue for contentious politics (c.f. Bayat, 2013). Public spaces such as the *street* functioned as an arena of expressing discontent for the poorer groups (ibid.).

The political subjectivities of the Dutta Nagar settlers were also shaped by relations of *social hierarchy* – i.e. settlers' ethnicity and their everyday relations with people from other ethnic groups within and outside the settlement. Chapter 6 reveals the social and power dynamics between the local Agaris (the *sthaniks*) and the migrant settlers (the *bhadotris*) at the Dutta Nagar settlement. This ethnic dynamic also played an important role in the way settlers responded to the scheme. The opponents within the scheme from Dutta Nagar were backed by the *sthanik* lady slumlord who was said to be having around 30 houses in the settlement. It was due to her political control over virtually a section of the settlement that many *bhadotris* opposed the scheme. Lastly, the Dutta Nagar settlers' political subjectivities were shaped by *time* i.e. history of settlement redevelopment and settlers' engagement with the state bodies in the Mumbai region (Chapter 3.3). The settlers were opposing the BSUP scheme by using a variety of tactics that include *demonstrations* as they were demanding a decentralised implementation of the BSUP scheme as well as a fairer compensation for the transit duration as happens in the SRS scheme in Mumbai.

At Ambedkar Nagar, the Wagri Dalit settlers, drawing upon their shared ethnic connection to their place of origin and their everyday relations with people from the other ethnic groups within and outside the settlement (c.f. Gilroy, 1991), engaged in insurgent political action. The *spatiality of social relations*, therefore, played a key role in the settlers' political subjectivity and their political action. Similarly, the materiality of the *space* and a *history* of Dalit caste group's political activism[52] within

[52] Chapter 3.3.1 presents a brief history of the Dalit uprising that happened in the city of Mumbai after the formation of the State of Maharashtra in the 1960. Dalits launched the *Dalit Panthers* movement that came to the fore during the 1970s in order to carve out a political space for themselves in the newly formed state of Maharashtra from the erstwhile Bombay Province (Patel, 2005). During the next few

the Mumbai region also shaped the Ambedkar Nagar settlers' insurgent political action (c.f. Massey, 2005). Space, in particular, helped in bringing together the fragmented groups – the Dalits and the non-Dalits – in the form of political community (c.f. Smith, 1993). An existence of 'weak-ties' but also established communication links amongst the Dalits and the non-Dalits were both shaped by the materiality of the space (Chapter 6.4; c.f. Granovetter, 1973; Gamson and Meyer, 1996).

And *fifth*, in dealing with the local state's authority in the scheme, the settlers at both the settlements relied upon a contentious politics of *scale* and a contentious politics of *networks*. By collectively engaging as a 'forum' and by involving the MLA and the State government Minister in their contestations against the local state's use of power, the dissenters at Dutta Nagar 'jumped a scale' and recreated new scales of influence (c.f. Smith, 1992; Smith, 1993; Leitner, Sheppard, & Sziarto, 2008). Their scale jumping was however made possible due to the connections of the lady slumlord with the State government politicians (c.f. Herod and Wright, 2002). A network was thus established between the dissenters' forum and the state level politician(s) to contest the local state's authority within the scheme. Similarly, the Ambedkar Nagar settlers, in challenging the local state's domination within the scheme, *networked*, not only amongst themselves but also with the powerful and the influential State government leader i.e. the MLA. This way, the settlers' political community 'jumped the scale' and created a new *scale* of influence.

The settlers' networking with their informal and political sovereigns, however, also re-established their dependencies on these informal/political sovereigns, supporting Devika & Rajasree's (2012) and Tonkiss' (2013) claims of contradictions of the political practices of poorer groups. The settlers' opposition to the scheme also fixed their gaze onto the immediate policy targets – which was, in the case of Dutta Nagar, the non-eviction of the settlers' upon non-participation in the scheme and in the case of Ambedkar Nagar, a timely allotment of the BSUP housing – obscuring the other, more fundamental issues[53] with scheme from the critical gaze of the poorer groups (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Rao, 2012).

In sum, the contestations within the BSUP scheme point out to the existence of both conjunctural possibilities but also structural constraints in the poorer groups' encounters with the state power (c.f. Jessop, 1982; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). In

decades, the Dalits resorted to violent protests in response to the suppression from the 'upper' caste groups as well as from the State (Rodrigues & Gavaskar, 2005). For example, a fact-finding report investigated by two Human Rights Groups (Lokshahi Hakk Sangathana & CPDR, 1997), brings out the brutality of the State over agitations that surfaced because of desecration of the statue of Dr Ambedkar at Ramabai Chawl, Ghatkopar, Mumbai. The report also highlights an increasing trend of such incidents within Mumbai. These episodes redefined the emancipatory politics for the Dalits in Mumbai. The Dalit protesters at Ambedkar Nagar borrowed from this history of Dalit political activism in the Mumbai region (c.f. Doshi, 2012; 2013).

[53] Such as the provision of fixed, standard size apartment-style residential space, a tokenistic form of participation of the poorer groups within the scheme planning and implementation, the devolution of responsibilities of maintenance of the housing and common services onto the settlers' communities, and abandoning of subsidies on service provision through the scheme.

understanding the dialectics between the two, findings from KD suggest a need for bringing together the works of both Sharma (2008) and Hansen (2009) as highlighted above. The settlers' resistances within the BSUP scheme also reveal a differential nature of subaltern subject formation supporting Doshi's (2012; 2013) work on rehousing schemes in Mumbai. Lastly, the settlers' oppositions to the BSUP scheme implementation support Devika & Rajasree (2012), Tonkiss (2013) and Bayat (2004) in pointing out the contradictions of marginalised groups' contentious politics in the form of re-strengthening of their dependencies on their informal/political sovereigns and obscuring the more significant issues from the critical gaze of the poorer groups.

7.4 Conclusion

The chapter engaged with the second question of this research and discussed the way the BSUP scheme was accomplished in KD. The chapter revealed that various compromises, negotiations, as well as contestations/resistances, play their role in making the BSUP scheme real in KD. Findings from this chapter support the existing literature on development-practice – that include the works of Tania Li (1999) and David Mosse (2004) – in highlighting that 'development' plans/schemes, that order and classify populations, are only secure on the paper but fragile in practice. The findings from this chapter, however, also extend the available set of findings by suggesting that to understand the complexity and contradictions associated with the policy-practice dialectics, it is important to see various negotiations/collaborations and contestations as not two separate/dichotomous domains but as being complementary to each other (c.f. Gupta, 1995). Findings from KD reveal that in embedding the rehousing governmentalities in the everyday settings, several mechanisms, that cut across the binaries of collaboration/contestations, worked at the same time.

The chapter revealed that the local state officials in KD, in embedding the project of the rule – extended through the BSUP scheme – in the KD city's everyday settings[54], entertained a range of negotiations, deviations, irregularities, and quiet clandestine practices of the poorer groups and their representatives. The local state officials achieved these deviations and negotiations by controlling the interpretation of the scheme and its implementation process via the help of a range of supporting actors, by decoupling of the process of ascertaining the demand and the supply of housing units in the scheme, and by maintaining fuzziness in the beneficiary selection criteria and beneficiary lists until the actual handover of the housing units. Findings from KD support Li's (1999) and Mosse's (2004; 2005) work in Indonesia and India that, pointing out to the fragile and contingent nature of development practice, emphasises upon a particularly enabling role of the deviations and negotiations in the development schemes' provisions in embedding such schemes in the everyday settings.

[54] Chapter 5 discussed these everyday settings by pointing out a prevalence of informality as a main mode of operation of the local state in KD (c.f. Roy, 2003; 2009b). The local state's practice of informality connects the seemingly distinct geographies of urban poor's settlements and the unauthorised properties in KD.

Li's (1999, p.315) work points out to the significance of the "situated cultural practices and sedimented histories of people and place" in making the development plans/scheme, real on the ground. She claims that various deviations and compromises are required to be made in accomplishing the project of rule, extended through the development plans/schemes. David Mosse (2004; 2005) claims that in achieving these collaborations and compromises in the development plans/schemes, bureaucracies rely on controlling the interpretation of the governmental practices by involving supporting actors that use a variety of narratives and tie up more interests with a particular interpretation. Findings from KD support these works.

Findings from KD also support Li (1999) and Williams et al. (2015) in highlighting the 'unplanned' or the 'improvised' nature of embedding of the rule, extended through the BSUP scheme, in the everyday settings in KD. Li (1999, p.315) claims that the social-sustaining of the governmentalities, involving a range of compromises to the rule, on-the-ground is an "unintended outcome of culturally informed action, the result of people's intimate knowledge of their own state system". Williams et al., (2015), on the other hand, point out that an 'improvised form of governance' model comes into place in dealing with the ground level practical challenges in the rehousing schemes. They highlight that "Its scale and the time pressures for its delivery, along with the complexity of the community it interacts with, make informal institutions and improvised governance practices a necessary part of programme implementation." (Williams et al., 2015, p.1114). Finding from KD reveal that the implementation of the BSUP scheme in KD – through a range of compromises, deviations, irregularities, and negotiations in the scheme – was not a pre-planned process. The local state officials had no precedents of implementing a rehousing scheme that had a budget more than the overall budget of the Municipal Corporation. They instead relied upon "people's intimate knowledge of their own state system" and complied with the local political culture and power settings that prevail in KD (Li, 1999, p.315).

However, notwithstanding the significance of various collaborations and compromises in embedding the project of the rule in the everyday settings, findings from KD also highlight a key role of the marginalised groups' resistances in the process of making the development policies real on the ground. Findings reveal that the poorer groups in KD contested the BSUP scheme implementation in their settlements by drawing upon their *sense of rights* – the right to receive the completed housing units in a specified time and the right of non-eviction from the settlement upon not participating in the BSUP scheme. This sense of rights, following Sharma (2008, p. xxii), can be seen as an 'unintended result' of the neoliberal governmentalities that end up "producing a critical practice directed at state agencies…in demanding resources-as-rights from government bodies".

In contesting their claims within the scheme, the poorer groups *networked* with the informal/political sovereigns and created new *scales* of influence. Poorer groups' contestations, however, faced challenges from the above. The local state officials, in

claiming the authority of the local state in the scheme, made use of their 'repertories of authority' in the form of Police action and eviction notices at Dutta Nagar and a threat of police brutality/violence at Ambedkar Nagar. The contesting groups lack such 'repertoires of authority' that are "founded on violence or the threat thereof" (Hansen, 2009, p. 170). The marginalised groups, therefore, experienced both 'conjunctural possibilities' as well as 'structural constraints' in encountering the state power (c.f. Jessop, 1982; Nilsen & Roy, 2015).

The dialectics of 'conjunctural possibilities' and 'structural constraints', that the settlers experienced during the BSUP scheme implementation in KD, reveals a differential nature of political subjectivity formation amongst the poorer groups. This difference, the findings reveal, is shaped along an overlapping axis of *space* i.e. the physical characteristics and social attributes of the space that bring certain settlers together, the *spatiality of social hierarchy* i.e. the role of settlers' caste and ethnicity in their everyday relations with others within and outside the settlement (c.f. Gilroy, 1991; Datta, 2012), and *time* i.e. history of political activism amongst the marginalised groups as well as a history of settlement redevelopment in the city region informing the marginalised groups of the policy practices as well as the 'repertoires of authority' used by the state agencies within rehousing schemes.

Findings from KD support Doshi's (2012; 2013) work in Mumbai. From her examination of the market-led resettlement of the marginalised groups in Mumbai, Doshi (2012, p. 83; 2013) claims that the marginalised groups' political subjectivities and their acts of resistance are crucially shaped by a "spatially produced, overlapping, and hierarchical axes of difference", by their history of land struggle, and their use of citizenship discourse. Findings from KD however also point out that both Sharma (2008) and Doshi (2012; 2013) overlook the 'structural constraints' that the poorer groups face in encountering the state power, an aspect which, it is claimed, relates to their understanding of the nature of state power through the notion of governmentalities. The notion is however ill-equipped in explaining the episodes of state violence or the role of class power in shaping the workings of the state in such ways that it reproduces the hegemony of the powerful and at the same time, constrains the political resistance of the subalterns (Bayat, 2004; Baviskar & Sundar, 2008; Weinstein, 2013; Nilsen, 2015; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). Findings from KD, therefore, suggest that it is important to pay attention to the 'structural constraints' that the subaltern groups face in contesting the state power. This requires understanding the state power not only in terms of governmentalities but also in terms of the sovereign power that rests with the state institutions.

This research brings together the notions of collaboration & compromises as conveyed by Li (1999) and Mosse (2004) *and* those of contestations as conveyed by Sharma (2008) and Doshi (2012; 2013) and claims that the two – collaborations and contestations – should not be seen in dichotomous ways. The implementation of the BSUP scheme in KD reveals that both compromises, negotiations, deviations,

irregularities within the scheme's provisions, as well as, settlers' resistances played their role in making the scheme real in KD's everyday settings. The dichotomies of collaborations/resistances, in the case of KD, overlapped in practice. In bringing these seemingly distinct domains together, this research supports Akhil Gupta (1995) work in India that claims that making an absolute distinction between collaborations and resistances may be unsatisfactory. Findings from this research claim that both collaborations and resistances reveal the complexities (and contradictions) associated with the policy-practice dialectic. This thesis claims that in making the rehousing governmentalities real, several mechanisms work at the same time on the ground and these mechanisms cut across the binaries of collaboration/contestations.

In bringing the notions of 'collaborations' and 'contestations' together for understanding the politics of making development plans/scheme real on the ground, this research points out to the significance of 'gaps and differences' between the workings of the state institutions, discourses and governmental technologies in opening up possibilities for both collaborations and contestations within plans/scheme. Gupta (1995) and Li (1999) both highlight the significance of 'gaps and fissures' in opening up possibilities for political action for the subaltern groups and in offering possibilities of culturally intimate forms of engagement within development schemes. This research brings together these two works in claiming that 'gaps and fissures' open up possibilities for both collaborations and contestations within development plans/scheme.

Lastly, in bringing together the works of Li (1999), Mosse (2004), and Sharma (2008) in understanding the complexities associated with policy-practice dialectic, this thesis suggests that it is important to pay attention to the contradictions of both the 'collaborations' and 'contestations' in the lives of the subaltern groups. Findings from KD revealed that both negotiations/deviations in the BSUP scheme's provisions and the settlers' contestations to the scheme's implementation/delays resulted in re-establishing a range of dependencies, inequalities and exclusions in the lives of the poorer groups (c.f. Corbridge et al., 2005; Devika & Rajasree, 2012). Besides, by mainly focusing on immediate policy targets, various 'collaborations' and 'contestations' in the BSUP scheme obscured the possibilities of raising fundamental concerns with the scheme (c.f. Bayat, 2004). Findings from KD point out that these contradictions unevenly affect the marginalised and the vulnerable amongst the poorer groups. Li (1999), Mosse (2004), and Sharma (2008) do not pay attention to these contradictions in their work. This lack of attention, it is claimed, arises from a homogeneous understanding and representation of the marginalised groups which tends to mask a prevalence of a range of inequalities, vulnerabilities, marginalities and exclusions within their lives (Chapter 6.4).

Chapter 8 BSUP housing and the lived-experiences of the urban poor: evidence from KD

8.1 Introduction

The chapter offers the answer to the third question of this research, which is: how is the BSUP housing experienced by the poorer groups in KD? How do these experiences compare with living in poorer groups' settlement spaces? What changes (and continuities) does the BSUP housing bring in the lived-experiences and the identities of the poorer groups and what do these changes (and continuities) suggest about the BSUP's impact on the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration that prevail amongst the poorer groups in KD?

In answering these questions, the chapter draws upon the *interview accounts* and *semiotic practices* – that include the use of signboards, notices, construction of walls, gates, and boundaries – of the BSUP scheme participants, which in turn help in understanding the scheme participants' construction of place as sites of meanings (c.f. Rose, 1995; Dixon and Durrheim, 2003; Scollon & Scollon, 2003). The scheme participants reveal comparative views of life in their settlement spaces (chawls/jhoppads) and BSUP housing. The analysis of these comparative views (and semiotic practices) is done over the following five themes that were derived both inductively and deductively: *lived-experiences related with material conditions* such as experiences with the adequacy of supply of basic services, of the space provided, and the condition of the house and the fittings; *lived-experiences around 'everyday political realities'* that relate with managing the everyday housing and basic services issues on the ground; *lived-experiences with social life* that comprise participation in social activities, experiences around trust and solidarity networks, and around social control; *beliefs around tenure security* i.e. how secured the settlers feel about the title of their homes; and *the perception of the self and the others* that includes perception on status, social/ spatial stigma, and the class of the self and the others.

The findings from this chapter engage with and contribute to the existing empirical literature on the lived experiences of the poorer groups with state rehousing (Chapter 2.4.2). This literature points out a 'spectrum of interactions' between the state provided housing and the housing 'beneficiaries' that goes beyond the mere acceptance and refusal of the state rehousing (Charlton, 2013; 2014). The literature also points out to a "diverse assemblages of benefits and difficulties and practices of citizenship" associated with state rehousing (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p.111). Lastly, the literature emphasises upon the limits of home-ownership in working as a vehicle for social mobility and integration (Salcedo, 2010; Lemanski, 2011; Charlton & Meth, 2017; Meth, Buthelezi, & Rajasekhar, 2018).

Examination of the KD's case suggests a complex and contradictory set of interactions between the urban poor and the BSUP housing. Findings from KD add to the existing

empirical findings by highlighting that not only the poorer groups deal with the various provisions of the BSUP housing in highly complex ways, different social identity groups amongst the poor, divided along caste and ethnic lines, deal with the state's rehousing and its various provisions in contradictory ways. Findings from KD point out that while the Dalits experience further marginalisation in the BSUP housing, the ethnic minority groups experience social mobility in the BSUP housing thus complicating the claims of Charlton & Meth (2017) and Meth, Buthelezi, & Rajasekhar (2018) that highlight broader pattern of inequality reflecting in the lived experiences of the poorer groups within rehousing.

The chapter discusses these findings in two sections – each analysing the comparative accounts of life – between the chawl/jhoppad and the BSUP housing – and semiotic practices of the scheme participants from Ambedkar Nagar and Dutta Nagar. The analysis is followed by a concluding section which points out that different marginalised groups amongst the poor experience the BSUP housing in different ways. These differences, the section points out, are attributable to the spatial consolidation of the existing relations of social hierarchy and the conscious efforts of the settlers in shaping their lived experiences within the BSUP housing.

8.2 Ambedkar Nagar settlers' lived experiences in the BSUP housing

The section examines the experiences of the Ambedkar Nagar settlers with the change in space, its materialities, its (ill)legalities, and associated changes in everyday social and political relations that include socio-spatial stigma and everyday linkages with the city and the local state. The section is organised under five subsections which individually discuss Ambedkar Nagar settlers' lived-experiences with regards to the aforementioned five themes. Settlers reveal comparative accounts of living in their chawl/jhoppad and the BSUP housing. By examining the settlers' comparative accounts, this section establishes the changes (and continuities) that the BSUP housing brings in the lived-experiences and the identities of the poorer groups.

The section reveals a complex set of interactions between the Ambedkar Nagar settlers and the BSUP housing. A majority of the settlers at Ambedkar Nagar express dissatisfaction (and nostalgic views) with material, social, and political aspects of lived experiences in the BSUP housing. The settlers however also reveal accounts that suggest positive changes in their lived-experiences with regards to living standards, social status, and tenure security in the BSUP housing. The following subsections discuss these key findings from Ambedkar Nagar.

1. Settlers' experiences with their material conditions

With regards to Ambedkar Nagar settlers' experience with their material situations, interviewees revealed comparative accounts that illustrate issues or satisfaction related with services including water supply, its storage, adequacy of the space within the

BSUP housing, quality of construction and interior fittings, and quality and functionality of common utilities such as the elevator and water pump. A majority of the interviewees highlight their dissatisfaction with the material realities of the BSUP housing i.e. space provided, services available, quality of construction, fittings, and equipment. There are, however, a sizeable proportion of households for whom the case is otherwise. The following paragraphs discuss both these aspects in detail.

Firstly, with regards to the adequacy of water supply, a majority of the interviewees emphasised problems of water supply shortages within the BSUP housing which wasn't the case with the jhoppad/chawl. For instance, an interviewee (and his father) explains how water-supply cuts, as well as different quantities of water supplies, are experienced in different sections of the BSUP housings.

> See, with regards to water, they [the user committee representatives/ workers] release water for two days in a week on this side of the block and two days on that side. So, what happens is that people from that side come over to this side for fetching water…Now, because of that, the pressure decreases this side…Earlier it was so much better in our *jhoppad*. We had a lot of water, and we were quite happy in that house. That time, we had our private connection so we didn't have this problem. (His Father): Yes. It's painful now. (Father and Son, 20 March 2016)

Interviewees at Ambedkar Nagar also highlighted issues of the limited number of hours of water supply. For instance, according to the following resident, there are only twenty minutes of water supply during the days when water is supplied. Like the aforementioned account, he also states that different sides of the BSUP housing receive differential supplies.

> Yes, supply hours and days are fixed. Now, we don't have the water supply for two days a week. That is on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Rest of the days, water comes, but at a slow speed and for limited time…And, the water problem is such that on the other side of the tower, they get more water than on this side…We get water only for 20 minutes and we have to spend 24 hrs. on that supply (Rajesh, 12 January 2016).

Figure 8-1 A picture depicting means of storing water adopted by a resident of Duttawadi BSUP housing, Ambedkar Nagar (Source: Author's own, 14 March 2016)

According to a resident of Duttawadi BSUP housing in Ambedkar Nagar, the water storage provision – both through common and individual tanks – is quite inadequate. Besides, the plumbing work that has been done by the contractor is faulty. As a result, he has to keep a separate storage tank for

water in his toilet (figure 8-1 above) that helps in coping with everyday water requirements. He revealed:

> The water problem is like they've made the building but the storage that was needed to be provided is not given. We have approximately 90 rooms and 14 shops in this compound. Now the storage that is provided for these rooms is inadequate…A second thing is that the plumbing work has been done in such a way that in some rooms [tenements], there is water and in the others, there isn't…The room [tenement] in the corner, the last one, doesn't even get water at all. Many rooms don't get water. (Alok, 14 March 2016).

Alongside these issues, the Ambedkar Nagar settlers also reveal issues with the quality of construction, quality of fittings, and common services in the BSUP housings. In words of one of the settlers:

Figure 8-2 A picture showing faults in the construction (Source: author's own, 20 March 2016)

> Now if I tell you, they haven't done the work properly. You see, every room has a crack on the wall (refer figures 8-2). Every room…And the tank that they've fit, the water tank! It's not properly levelled. Then we had to do some investment in it later. They haven't done any work properly. Now, you see, there is crack here, there is crack there. See on this wall! There is a crack… You see its only three years since its completion and this is the state now. (Arjun, 20 March 2016).

There is a common concern amongst all the settlers at Ambedkar Nagar with regards to the quality of equipment and utilities such as water pump, lifts, and access ramps in the BSUP housing. Almost all the settlers within the four BSUP towers share their concerns regarding the frequent breakdown of the elevators. Two kinds of issues are related to this problem, as the settlers reveal. One is related to the (inferior) quality of the equipment that was originally provided by the KDMC's contractor and the other is related with (inability of) its regular maintenance.

One of the settlers brings out issues with the elevator in the following way: "now for so many days [in a month], there is no light [power] in the lifts. For an aged person, climbing up and down is not comfortable" (Father and Son, 20 March 2016). Another interviewee mentions issue with regards to the water pump in the following way: "The pump that they put for water…that pump itself we have serviced many times and we've finally replaced it. [Me: The pump they gave?] Yes. That was of the lowest possible quality" (Alok, 14 March 2016). Lastly, one of the interviewees highlighted an absence of a ramp for the physically handicapped in two of the BSUP housings. In her words,

"what they did was in other towers they've put a ramp. They didn't make that in this building…but it's there in the other one. It's in the rest of the two buildings, but not in the first two" (Lalitha, 12 January 2016).

Alongside the aforementioned accounts, some settlers also reveal dissatisfaction with regards to their experience with space. To them, a house in the jhoppad/chawl was a lot better than the tenement in the BSUP housing. In words of one of the settlers:

> If I tell you about our previous house, we had a huge house in the *jhoppadpatti*. One room was way much bigger than this one…Now, this is so small that if you had seen our room in our *jhoppadpatti* this is way lesser than that. [Showing a picture of the old house] This is my house. He is my grandfather. Can you see this; it was such a nice house? And it's no longer there. With all this happened [the scheme], It's all ruined now [with the scheme]. See this is the picture of my house at the time of Ganpati [festival]. We had Ganpati at our house. Everyone came. You see, all my relatives. Uncles, aunts, cousins…Can you see, there are at least 15-20 people in this house. Now you can't even fit even half of them over here (Kirthi, 2 March 2016).

However, to others, a shift from jhoppad/chawl to the BSUP housing means a significant (positive) change. For instance, to one of the settlers, "It's a lot better than earlier one. Yes. Earlier it was a *jhoppad*, now we have our own *pakka* house. [Me: didn't you have a cement/ concrete (c/c) house before?] Yes, it was a c/c house but it was in *jhoppadpatti*. It was all jhoppadpatti" (Suresh, 7 March 2016).

In summary, a majority of the interviewees at Ambedkar Nagar highlight their dissatisfaction with the material realities of the BSUP housing. Their accounts reveal how they construct a sense of self as belonging (or not) to the BSUP housing through their experiences with their everyday material realities.

2. Settlers' experiences with their everyday political realities

Settlers' experiences related to their daily political realities include the ways basic everyday issues are managed on the ground. This aspect crucially relates with settlers' modes of engagement with the state authorities including taking the help of a range of mediators over issues that are (usually) of immediate concern to the settlers.

With regards to the way services are managed, the BSUP housing in KD had provisions of maintenance and upkeep of the BSUP housings for one year, from the side of the local state. The KDMC, at the time of allotment of the BSUP housing, charged a fixed sum of Rs. 6,120 that covered water supply and maintenance services within the BSUP housing. Regarding this, the KDMC sent a provisional offer letter (POL), a few months before the allotment of the housing. The POL mentioned in detail, the various types of sums (including the beneficiary contribution) that the beneficiary is expected to pay at the time of allotments. The fixed sum that was

charged, however, did not cover the electricity consumption within common areas that include lighting in corridors, lifts, and water pumping.

With regards to the maintenance issues, the KDMC kept provisions of services from the contractor for until one year after the occupancy of the BSUP housing. The contractor was made responsible for addressing issues related to construction/equipment and general issues of operation and maintenance. The KDMC also made provisions for the maintenance and management of services after the end of one-year duration by constituting cooperative societies of the settlers. These cooperative societies are formed following the provisions under the Maharashtra cooperative societies Act 1960 (The GoM, 1961). The Act mentions the functions of such societies that include management of common affairs. Regarding the constitution of cooperative societies, the KDMC officials charged a sum of Rs. 1000 from each settler at the time of allotment of the BSUP housing.

This provision has however not materialised as the officials cite issues of pending court cases that restrict the local body from constituting and operationalising societies of the settlers. What has instead taken place at both the settlements is the creation of informal user committees that look after the maintenance and other everyday issues within the BSUP housing. An official confirmed the presence of these informal committees in the following way: “Officially, societies are not formed yet, however, they [the settlers] are running their affairs [maintenance and management issues] through their goodwill networks” (Junior BSUP Officer, 7 November 2015).

In the case of Ambedkar Nagar, the interviewees’ accounts of everyday political realities of living in jhoppad/chawl bring out the important role played by the elected political leader(s) in addressing issues related to basic services within the jhoppad/chawl. Their statements also reveal that they used to approach the local state directly (usually in groups) which has been an outcome of the provisional entitlements offered by the State government notification of 1972. McFarlane & Desai (2015; c.f. Anand & Rademacher, 2011) reveal how the entitlements, that are offered by the state through various notifications/rules, become a necessary first step in accessing urban services through every day political interactions and practices. Lastly, settlers also reveal instances of self-help in addressing the everyday issues in the jhoppad/chawl.

> Earlier, we used to access the Nagar Sewak [the Councillor, who is now become a State government politician, the MLA], the Nagar Palika office [the KDMC] and used to run around to the water tank nearby, if we faced any water shortages. We mostly used to complain to the Nagar Palika office [the KDMC]. We used to go to their Dombivli office, and these people used to act on our complaints. Although they never used to come immediately, they used to resolve our issues within 3-4 days (Suresh, 7 March 2016).

Another settler substantiates the aforementioned claims. She, however, emphasises the role played by the elected political leader in dealing with everyday issues of living in

the jhoppad/chawl. In her words, “I used to approach the Nagar Sewak [the Councillor] for all my problems related to water or other services… He used to help a lot…He also helped us a lot in getting the paper-work done for the [BSUP] scheme” (Lalitha, 12 January 2016).

There has however been a significant change in handling everyday issues in the BSUP housings. As highlighted earlier, after one year of occupancy, the settlers have resorted to collective management of their common affairs through their (informally created) committee/society. As the KDMC has currently not granted the property titles to the settlers, their societies/committees are therefore considered informal.

Settlers explain the functioning of these user committees in the following way. According to them, voluntarily, eight to ten people form a committee and assign specific roles for each one of them in managing the common services. This involves ensuring water supply to the underground and the overhead storage tanks, ensuring cleanliness in and around the BSUP housings, making sure that the lifts, as well as water pumps, are functioning well and in situations of breakdown, there is a technician for the maintenance and repair of the machinery. It also involves collecting monthly contributions from each household: this is currently Rupees 500 (US$ 7.5 @ Rs.65 per 1 US$) for each tenement. There are usually two people who are assigned to the job of collection of the monthly contributions. The committee usually meets once in a month with all the settlers and shares the details of all the expenses made during the previous month and/or discusses targets for the following month.

One of the settlers expressed this shift from relying on the local state to the user committees, through the following statement. highlighting how the state officials distanced themselves from the settlers by bringing out contractual limitations.

> We have given many complaints to the KDMC in writing, in all other ways. We mentioned that *‘we don’t have water supply here’*…But the KDMC people have not resolved these issues. They say *‘our maintenance period is over’*…so we are contributing 500 rupees from each family and resolving our maintenance issues. We collect maintenance [fund] from amongst ourselves. Within that maintenance, we have hired a person for cleaning the building here and he comes and cleans. (Darshil, 14 March 2016).

An interaction with another settler reveals how, even the main elected political leader (the MLA), now seems to be less interested in their everyday problems. Rajesh, a resident of Ambedkar Nagar tower block no.1, revealed that his section of the tower receives less supply of water in comparison to the other. He emphasised that neither any of the user committee members nor the MLA is keen on solving this problem.

> Those people [the committee members] do not take any action on this issue…. We do have representation from our block as well within the committee. But still, they do not take any action…We have also told this to the MLA Chauhan.

> He said we'll see! But it appeared that he is less interested in our problems now. I think he has become busier now (Rajesh, 12 January 2016).

Alongside this shift, the settlers also reveal accounts that exemplify their issues and challenges associated with the collective management of the services. Their accounts reveal one recurring issue in the BSUP housing, which is the monthly maintenance charges. It is mostly in the case of Dalit majority BSUP housing tower blocks where this issue comes to the fore. Nonetheless, the Duttawadi settlers also face issues of delays in settlers' monthly contributions. For instance, a committee member from the tower block no.1, reveals that people do not like the idea of monthly contributions in Ambedkar Nagar. To him, some do not pay and come out with excuses and some do pay but often delay their contributions. In his words;

> They [settlers] don't pay the maintenance. They have to be told a lot many times. And it's not that they can't afford it. They can afford to spend on other things but not on maintenance…Some of them even behave terribly with us, pick up a fight with us saying we can't pay it, we are not getting money, why should we pay maintenance at the first place? They just make some excuse or the other and get rid of the maintenance, or if they pay, they just pay only half…And those who give, often do not give it in time...earlier we used to collect Rs. 400 each month, we now collect Rs. 500. We've increased it now as no one used to give money (Chintan, 28 February 2016).

This highlights that the concept of collective management of services fails to find a proper ground at the Dalit majority section of Ambedkar Nagar. It also suggests an alternative mechanism at work i.e. a system of cross-subsidisation. By increasing the monthly contributions from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500, the user committee members are trying to address the gap between the monthly bills and the collection of maintenance expenses. According to the statement of the user committee member, not all of the setters are contributing their share: those who do cross-subsidise those who do not. Chole Buire (2017) reveals a similar form of the cross-subsidisation mechanism at the state-subsidised housing in Luanda, Angola.

One of the residents from the first BSUP housing shares the plight of the committee members. She supports the claims made by the committee member regarding the monthly contributions. According to her, people do not contribute to maintenance.

> [Me: Yeah? So, are they doing anything about these problems?] They do, but over here, the problem is that when they lived outside, they could even afford to pay Rupees 4000 monthly rent, however, since they've moved here, they don't pay maintenance. Now if you don't pay maintenance, you can't pay the water bill. If you don't pay the water bill, they'll be cutting the water supply. It happened like this a month before. They stopped the water supply for three days. Then we went and requested them a lot and paid the bill and thereafter they restored the supply (Lalitha, 12 January 2016).

On the other hand, a few settlers from Duttawadi mentioned a high-handed behaviour of the committee members over maintenance issues. According to one of the settlers;

> If someone goes and tells about the water issue, they [committee people] do *maramari* [verbal spat] with us. Say if we go and tell the watchman to release water, he goes and tells the maintenance guys something or the other. Then these maintenance people come along with the watchman to fight [verbal] with us. They come and do *maramari* with us. They say this and that and whatnot (Kirthi, 2 March 2016).

Lastly, a committee member from the Dalit majority BSUP tower blocks reveals his expectations from the state with regards to the ongoing problems related to the management of common utilities and services within the BSUP housings. In his words,

> It's the corporations' job, how to handle these affairs. How to manage maintenance? The corporation is only interested in the bills… They [the local state's officials] should come and tell people for depositing the maintenance or otherwise they can stop the supply. Or even if they can't do that, then they should at least make the electricity in the common areas to be free for use. We have to pay for electricity for lighting, lift, and pumping water to the overhead storage tank. Who would pay for all these? We have to pay after collecting from people...What they [the KDMC officials] could do is come and explain people, saying '*now that you've come to live in a building from a jhoppadpatti, there are some rules/norms you have to follow over here'*. They need to explain all the rules in the building and how these rules work, why one has to pay for maintenance, why committees are made, what are the reasons behind framing a committee (Danish, 28th February 2016).

The account not only reveals that the local state officials see the BSUP housing settlers as customer citizens, but it also highlights that responsiblising the settlers – by devolving the responsibilities of dealing with the everyday issues onto the setters and their committees – generates oppositional practices that are aimed at the local state. The settlers increasingly demand that the local state takes the responsibility of bringing a rule-governed spatial behaviour in the BSUP housing. The follow-up interviews with the settlers establish this point very well. The interviewees, on two separate occasions, revealed that the local Corporation had stopped water supply due to the non-payment of the bills more than three times. A group of settlers, in response to that, collectively approached the local state officials in negotiating the pending water bills and in demanding the local state to look after the maintenance of the common services.

This supports what Sharma (2008, p. xxii) points out as the 'unintended consequences' of the neoliberal governmentalities in terms of generating oppositional practices amongst the poor that target the state agencies "in demanding resources-as-rights". Patel (2016), in the case of a rehousing scheme in Ahmedabad, India, reveals similar acts of opposition amongst the settlers that challenge the imposition of the state's

control through tenure security rules. She points out to the emergence of ‘paralegal’ spaces of negotiation to the tenure security rules (ibid.).

In summary, the everyday political realities at Ambedkar Nagar reveal a shift from settlers’ direct engagement with the local state or through their elected political representatives to managing the utilities and common services & spaces via informally created user committees. This shift has however left the settlers at the Dalit majority section with a sense of being abandoned by the state. A majority of the settlers at the Dalit Majority section believe that the local state should take the responsibility of common services provision or, at the very least, instil a culture of rule-governed spatial behaviour amongst the settlers. Settlers’ accounts reveal that at the Dalit majority section of the BSUP housing, there is a system of cross-subsidisation of the expenditure on the common services. On the other hand, at the non-Dalit majority section, settlers’ accounts reveal issues of high-handed behaviour by the committee members pointing out to the reestablishment of the older hierarchies and structures that prevailed in the jhoppad/chawl.

3. Settlers’ perception of the self and the others

This section reveals, through the narratives and practices of the settlers, their beliefs about self and the others in terms of their status, their feelings of (social/spatial) stigma, and class values. Their practices include semiotic practices as well as their practices of *othering* in their talk i.e. how participants saturate space with meanings, with ideas of ‘other’ where (the deviant) other being those who are not like (the normative) ‘us’ (Gunn, 2001; p.8). Such practices were noticed in the way participants construct common-sense assumptions of what is appropriate and what is not at a given space i.e. a culture of a rule-governed spatial behaviour (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006b). Besides, such practices were also seen in the production and maintenance of in-groups and out-groups based on membership of particular ‘caste groups’ (ibid.).

The Ambedkar Nagar settlers reveal the difference in perception of the self when they were living in the jhoppad/chawl and now when they are living in the BSUP housings. Their accounts suggest *a sense of the increased standard of living* within the BSUP housings. Together with a *reduced stigma* associated with living in the jhoppad/chawl, the settlers bring out a positive impact that the BSUP scheme has had on their belief about themselves. Their accounts, however, also reveal expectations of certain behavioural change from their fellow settlers which have currently not happened. Lastly, settlers also show practices of *othering* in their talk.

When interviewees were asked how they felt about moving from *jhoppad* to the BSUP housing, they unanimously stated increased self-confidence and standard of living since in the BSUP housing. For instance, in an interview with a resident of tower number 2, the interviewee reveals that living in the BSUP housing gives an impression to the others that he can now afford to live in an apartment. His statement shows a belief about the increased standard of living.

> [Me: Accha (okay), have you felt a change in status?] Yes, I do feel that. [Me: You do feel that.] Yes. Now I confidently say whenever someone asks, *'I live in flats*. This means that I can buy this much space in the city and live. And over here, the value [cost] of a flat is high and that too we are near to the station. It is just 10-15 minutes' walk from here. (Rajesh, 12 January 2016).

Alongside a positive impact on the belief about self, the Ambedkar Nagar settlers also showed expectations of certain behavioural change from their fellow settlers which have currently not happened. For instance, one of the settlers from Duttawadi BSUP housing reveals that mentality of people is still the same. In his words;

> Although people have moved into the building but have not been thinking about it. They do not behave properly. Their mentality has not changed. It is the same. Meaning, whatever the way it was, it's the same…the only change is that people lock their doors and go hiding…I'll tell you there are these neighbours of ours. What they have done is they have illegally occupied the access ramp on the top floor and have kept their *kabad* [waste] stuff over there. Now, do you think one should do that? It is a place for all and not for just one!" (Arjun, 20th March 2016).

On a similar note, another settler brings out an issue of a [particular] mentality of people regarding the non-payment of the maintenance contributions by some of the residents: "despite being accustomed to this sharing model, they are not contributing [their share]. What can we say? It's their mentality" (Abhinav, 7 March 2016).

Lastly, the settlers at Ambedkar Nagar show *othering* through their talk. For instance, it was understood that a certain common-sense narrative prevails regarding the Dalit section of the Ambedkar Nagar. One of the settlers from the Duttawadi BSUP housing discusses the Dalit majority BSUP housing settlers in the following way.

> What's with us over here is that out here, people are nice, they are mature. They understand that it is our need to contribute towards the [monthly] maintenance. Out there…people say *'I am not giving, what can you do? Do whatever you want to do'*. We don't have such a thing over here…Over there, you'd find *dada* [goon] type, people. They say *'whatever we are getting is from the municipality and the committee has no role in it. These [committee] people raise money and just eat that money' [use it for personal purposes]*. Like that. That's what these people say (Suresh, 7th March 2016).

The elected representative from Ambedkar Nagar, who was involved with the BSUP scheme since its inception, also supported the aforementioned narrative regarding the Dalit section of Ambedkar Nagar by stating:

> The Ambedkar Nagar settlers struggle in dealing with their maintenance issues because those who live in Sanjay Nagar pocket, they were maximum SC/ST

> [Dalit] people. Do you know the scheduled castes? Those people lived there. And at Dutta Nagar, most people belong to Maratha caste…See what happens is that whatever you explain to them [to the Dalits] when you go there, you would notice the statements everywhere on the walls stating 'keep it clean', 'don't spoil it'. I've also put pictures of Gods[55] over there. Even then, it's [Ambedkar Nagar] very dirty and bad. And on the other side [at Dutta Nagar], I haven't done anything, but it's not at all bad there (the MLA from Dombivli, 12th March 2016).

The instances of othering were also revealed by the Dalit settlers themselves. In a conversation with one of the settlers at tower number 2, it was revealed how their lower caste status affects their kids.

> Although our kids still play together, enjoy together, have fun together. They even go their [at the non-Dalit settlers'] homes and enjoy their friend circle. But those who are aged, they're quite stubborn and they have the same thing in their mind, that they used to practise earlier [i.e. untouchability] …recently these kids [kids from both Dalit and non-Dalit BSUP sections] went to Ratnagiri for a picnic. There were kids from Mahar [Dalit] samaj [society] within the gang. What they were told by the others was that *'don't tell anyone over here that you are Jai Bhim wale [Dalits], otherwise our villagers would boycott us'*. Even kids fear these caste hierarchies. (Kailash, 20 August 2017).

In interviewing the same person, it was also revealed that the Dalit settlers faced opposition from the non-Dalit settlers over renovating the Ambedkar's statue outside their BSUP housings.

> Regarding the Baba Saheb's [Ambedkar's] statue, which was there since 1965, what we did was, we renovated it last year. We contributed a little bit amongst ourselves and sought some help from the MLA and got that statue renovated. Earlier it used to be there, but it wasn't that decorated… There was, however, a lot of opposition regarding that. The whole of the Dombivli people took opposition against that. Why make a big statue on the road?... These Duttawadi people used to talk amongst themselves about it. Why are you making it that big? Take it within the compound of your building, why making on the road. (Kailash, 20 August 2017).

In summary, the Ambedkar Nagar settlers reveal accounts of the increased standard of living, but a lack of a culture of rule-governed spatial behaviour. Settlers' accounts reveal narratives of othering by – highlighting a relationship between certain spatial practices and the settlers' caste, by persistent caste-based stigmatisation of the Dalit kids, and by opposing the settlers in matters such as the renovation of Ambedkar's

[55] In the context of India (and presumably at other places too), sacred places are associated with cleanliness and hygiene. Therefore, MLA's statement regarding 'putting pictures of Gods' should be read from the point of view of cleanliness and hygiene.

statue by citing issues of road encroachment. These accounts of othering highlight increased instances of caste-based stigmatisation.

4. Settlers' experiences with tenure (in)security

Offering secured tenure to the 'beneficiaries' through property rights has been one of the main focuses of the BSUP scheme. However, in the case of KD, the local government i.e. the KDMC has only given *allotment slips* instead of property titles which are authorised by the State government of Maharashtra. According to a Senior KDMC official, the KDMC is currently facing litigation and only after this is settled, can they offer titles to the BSUP scheme beneficiaries.

> The tenure is secured because the land has already been transferred to us and in turn, we will transfer the same in the name of the cooperative society formed by the beneficiaries. So that will be ownership flats and they'll maintain it through their cooperative society (City Engineer, 6 Jan 2016).

Settlers' accounts point out the challenges that they face with the allotment slips. They highlight that the allotment slips do not serve as a proof of address as the legality of those slips is questioned by the state machinery itself. Besides, they appear concerned about the time it will take to register their properties. They were concerned because the prevailing legislation within the State prohibits them from transferring their property titles for the next 10 years (Chapter 3.2). The Ambedkar Nagar settlers raised their concerns regarding this regulation. The settlers, however, do believe that the tenement units are more legal compared to their earlier jhoppad/ chawl houses.

With regards to delays in the transfer of property rights by the state, a majority of the setters from Ambedkar Nagar highlighted their concerns related in the following way. "They haven't done the registration yet. We are waiting for it to happen sometime. They haven't transferred it in our name yet… I asked them, but they say they are facing litigation issues in the court at the moment. They say it like that" (Amrish, 20th March 2016). Another settler from Ambedkar Nagar stated: "Right now our houses are not registered anywhere. We've only got a place to live and an allotment slip… we aren't registered yet…There is also no tax liability at the moment" (Rajesh, 12 January 2016).

A few settlers at Ambedkar Nagar also mentioned that they faced troubles in securing a legal proof of address in the BSUP housing because of not having title to their property. For instance, one of such settlers stated that:

> We did not have any proof of address. They were also not giving us the light [electricity] bill in our name. We got that recently changed now. It was in the name of the builder...everything was in the name of the builder. Suppose if I have a newborn in my family, I can't add his name in the ration card because we need proof of our current address. And the paper [the allotment slip] that KDMC gave, the ration card officer used to say no! '*You'd need this, but what*

> *is the main proof of address. You need to get either light bill, water bill, or BSNL* [public sector telecommunications company] *mobile bill*'…where would we get this if we don't have any of these in our names? (Alok, 14th March 2016).

A few settlers at Ambedkar Nagar also voice their concerns over the 10-year moratorium on the transfer of the property titles. This restricts them from selling or renting their properties to others for the next 10 years, which is a long period to them. For instance, Darshil (14 March 2016) stated that "If I talk about further problems…they've put a condition that they will not give registration for the 10 years. Also, you can't sell this property for the next 10 years, which is quite a long period". Another settler echoes similar concerns when he revealed "it is written in this document [the allotment slip] that you cannot sell this house for the next 10 years. Yes, we have this provision. And you cannot even rent this place to others." (Rajesh, 12 January 2016). A 10-year moratorium over the transferring of properties can become more problematic to the settlers considering the fixed-size tenement units that are offered through the BSUP scheme that fail to address the incremental expansion needs of the settlers (Kamath, 2012; c.f. Patel, 2013).

Notwithstanding the aforementioned issues, the settlers also highlight perceived legalities associated with new houses. They reveal that unlike their illegal jhoppadpatti/chawl house, the BSUP scheme houses are legal and safe.

In sum, Ambedkar Nagar settlers' experiences with the tenure security provisions of the BSUP scheme highlight that they are concerned about the delays in the registration of their properties in their name. Their experiences also suggest an increased sense of legality associated with BSUP housing. Although some settlers do mention the restrictions imposed by the KDMC over transferring/ renting their houses to the others, they, however, do not highlight any implication of such provisions.

5. Settlers' experiencing with social networks in the BSUP housing

The section discusses settlers' social lives at the Ambedkar Nagar settlement. However, before doing that, it needs to be highlighted that the settlers reorganised their house allotments by themselves to retain their memberships to their socio-spatial communities. Their cultural organisation nonetheless had to be rearranged after their settling down in the BSUP housing. Such a reorganisation was a result of the change in housing layouts as well as of merging of the Mandals and its activities with the user committees.

At Ambedkar Nagar, the two Dalit sub-communities i.e. Sant Rohidas Nagar and Sanjay Nagar that are settled in BSUP tower blocks 1, 2 and 3, are now culturally organised around the *Vikrant Mitra Mandal* after merging the previously existing two separate Mandals. Housing layout within the Dalit majority section is such that there is a common space (courtyard) in the between the three BSUP housings, which was

one of the reasons behind merging the two Mandals into one. Besides, a merger of Mandals could also be seen as a symbolic act of (political) unification (and strength). The non-Dalit community within Ambedkar Nagar, which lives in the BSUP housing 4, still maintains its cultural organisation in the name of the *Bal Mitra Mandal*.

When asked about social interactions, settlers revealed a common-sense narrative about a feeling of a family [for the community] in the jhoppad/chawl where *people never locked their doors*. For instance, a settler from the Ambedkar Nagar BSUP housing revealed "We never locked our houses in chawl. We used to roam around together. We used to play together. We used to know each other very well since we were born. We became like a family over there" (Abhinav, 7 March 2016).

However, after moving into the BSUP housing, the settlers, in general, find that the BSUP scheme has broken up large/joint families. This has been due to the provisions within the scheme that restrict the beneficiaries from availing housing units for each adult member (and their immediate families) until they present additional documentary proofs of residence in the names of those adults. However, securing such identity proof for an adult living in the same family is not easy and an inherently political and expensive job as the ration card, the most critical of all the documents checked, is only issued in the name of the head of the family (c.f. Banerjee, 2002; Doshi, 2013). Besides, even the jhoppad/chawl photo-passes that were issued by the KDMC in the year 2001 were issued in the name of the head of the family. However, between 2001 and the day settlers moved into BSUP the housing (sometime in 2011/2012), many households had more than one adult needing another housing unit on account of having a separate family. One of the settlers from Ambedkar Nagar brought out how this policy affected his family.

> That time [when the BSUP scheme arrived in KD] we both [brothers] weren't married… the house was in the name of our father, who passed away before the allotment…as a result, they [the KDMC officials] allotted it in my name. Now, if I tell you, me and my brother, both live in different houses because this space is very small for two families…He currently lives outside on rent… we have decided that we'd both swap the house amongst us in 5 years. (Alok, 14 March 2016).

BSUP scheme, and its delayed implementation, therefore, divided the large/joint families into nuclear families. While the policy offers a one-bedroom tenement which is not suitable to many large families, its delayed implementation resulted in families growing into larger sizes (adults getting married and hence requiring a separate bedroom) and hence disintegrating the families. Alongside this, the scheme's housing also affected the social life, social interaction, and solidarity networks of the jhoppad/chawl dwellers. A majority of the interviewees at Ambedkar Nagar bring out certain negative aspects of moving into the BSUP housing that are related to the quality of social life. For instance, some believe that the high-rise apartment living has

affected the frequency and quality of social interactions with one another. In words of one of the settlers:

> The social circle has been affected a lot. Earlier, when we used to walk across the chawl, we used to interact with people, even from the door, saying – hey! What's up! We used to ask each friend *'hey where are you going, what are you up to?'* Now, after coming here, some have gone upstairs, some downstairs, and because of this, distances are growing …Yes, because of the building…But I would say it's [the change] not quite drastic. Now, we meet only around festivals or in case if we are together in the lift or if someone is sitting outside, then we get to see each other. (Darshil, 14 March 2016).

Others too point out that although the nature and frequency of social interaction have changed since moving into the BSUP housing, however, this change is not drastic/radical. For instance, according to one of the settlers, networks of trust and solidarity still exist in the BSUP housing. In his words:

> People over here do come for help; it's not like we've become strangers over here like what you see in other middle-class high-class apartments. If someone comes to know that someone else needs help, then we all go and help that person. We all do come to know what's happening and if there is anyone who needs help. (Suresh, 7 March 2016).

Figure 8-3 Picture displaying community event being organized at the open space provided in between the first three BSUP housings (source: author's own, 16th February 2016)

On a similar note, another interviewee revealed that although moving into BSUP housing has disturbed their neighbourhood, the change has not affected their social circle. He highlights that the common space that is at the centre of the three BSUP housing blocks, facilitates community events such as the organisation of festivals (Figure 8-3). His statement also implies a sense of passing, an appreciation of changing times. In his words:

> Our neighbours in the jhoppad have gone here and there now, at different-different places…They are all here, but they've gone to live on different floors/ in different blocks. But we still see them. We meet outside now. There is no problem like [of lack of interactions] that…No, there is nothing like that. We have a gallery here. We can see each other when we stand in the gallery. It's not a big problem as such. Now, I'll tell you, what happens, as time passes, people keep forgetting a little bit of their past. Yeah. Now we also have open

> space in the front [referring to the courtyard]. We celebrate Ganpati, Dussehra, Navratri all the nine days, over here…Everyone comes together and celebrate here. (Rajesh, 12 January 2016).

In summary, it can be highlighted that the Ambedkar Nagar settlers do feel a change in their social life after moving into the BSUP housing. They however also believe that the change in place has not radically affected their social networks.

Overall, the examination of the Ambedkar Nagar settlers' lived experiences in the BSUP housing point out to a complex set of interactions between the settlers and the BSUP housing. While on the one hand, a majority of the settlers express their dissatisfaction with regards to material, social, and political aspects of lived experiences in the BSUP housing, on the other, the settlers also reveal positive experiences with living standards, social status, and tenure security in the BSUP housing. Findings from Ambedkar Nagar suggest that a change in place from chawl/jhoppad to the BSUP housing has marginalised the Dalit settlers. This is apparent in the expensive nature of (promised) tenure security, increased practices of othering and caste-based stigmatisation, and disenchantment with the material, social, and political aspects of living in the BSUP housing.

Following on from the examination of the comparative accounts of the Ambedkar Nagar settlers' lived experiences in the BSUP housing vis a vis their jhoppad/chawl, the next section engages with a similar examination at Dutta Nagar. The key findings from both these sections are then analysed in the conclusion section.

8.3 Dutta Nagar settlers' lived experiences in the BSUP housing

The section examines the lived experiences of the BSUP scheme 'beneficiaries' at Dutta Nagar settlement. The section reveals that Dutta Nagar settlers experience some continuities but, to a greater extent, ruptures from the life in the jhoppad/chawl. The continuities can be seen within settlers' experiences with social life. A rupture, on the other hand, can be seen in terms of positive changes in their experiences related with material conditions in the BSUP housing, in the way they handle their everyday political issues through their user-committees, in the perceived legal status of their BSUP tenements, and their perception of a change in social status since in the BSUP housing. Similar to the previous section, this section too is organised under following five subsections that individually discuss settlers' experiences with regards to their material realities, everyday political life, perception of the self and others, experiences with tenure (in)securities, and lastly, experiences with their social life.

1. **Settlers' experiences with their material conditions**

Dutta Nagar settlers almost unanimously state that in comparison to their jhoppad/chawl (chawl), they are satisfied with the change in housing, its overall hygiene, and the services that are now available within their homes. For instance, in

the words of one of the interviewees, "We don't have any problem over here. The light comes on time, the water comes on time, everything is alright here. Now, we have all the services in-house. Earlier we had to go and use the common toilet which is outside the settlement, across the road. It wasn't bad though, it wasn't unhygienic" (Asha, 6 March 2016). Similarly, a group of interviewees reveal (see also figure 8-4):

> There is no waste lying anywhere over here…there are no mosquitos here, no issues with gutter [sanitation], no complaints with water supply. They [those remaining in the jhoppad/chawl] have these problems…over there, if someone dies, one cannot even take the dead body out from the narrow lanes. Now we have a lot of space over here. This place is so neat and clean (Group interview-1, 19 Jan 2016).

Figure 8-4 Inside view of one of the tenements within the Dutta Nagar tower blocks (Source: Author's own, 1 March 2016)

Lastly, to one of the interviewees, life in the BSUP housing, from material aspects of living, is much better compared to that in the jhoppad/chawl.

> You see the chawl was quite dirty [unhygienic] and besides our room was made of *Patra* [tin sheets] and was a *kutcha* house. It was quite small. Now we've got a much bigger space over here – a separate bedroom, a hall, a kitchen, a toilet. That time, we had to use the public toilet that is across the road…. it's gone better for us…Although it is small, it's quite comfortable…And the construction is also very good.... meaning there wouldn't be any problem of damage and repair for the next 50-60 years…We had a lot of problems in our room in the chawl. We had rainwater leakage in our house…. It was full of problems. And now, our next generation would get a different experience with this [BSUP housing]. When we were in chawl, it was a different atmosphere [environment]. Comparing this with that, it is so much better for them [the next generation] (Vishnu, 23 March 2016).

Although the settlers do raise certain concerns with the shortage of water supply, however, a majority of them believe that such issues are not specific to their BSUP housing. In words of one of the interviewees, "we have no issue with the services except with water. Currently, there is a shortage in the whole of Maharashtra. That's why we are also facing water cuts over here…I have fixed a Sintex [plastic] tank in the house already, so I don't face any need of going out to someone to complain about water issue" (Mahesh, 23 March 2016). Another settler echoes the same point by

mentioning: "Although we do have some issues with water over here. But that's all over Maharashtra. Therefore, there are issues…however, they haven't gone worse since we have moved into the BSUP housing. Earlier too, we used to have some water problem. And I believe it shall keep happening as and when there is an issue with the monsoon. As such, besides that, there are not many problems here" (Vaman, 23 March 2016).

In summary, the settlers at Dutta Nagar reveal positive experiences of change in place. Their accounts bring out how, in comparison to living in a chawl, their material condition has improved in the BSUP housing. For them, life in the chawls was full of challenges that include sharing toilets, living in an unhygienic environment, having kutcha houses, and being surrounded by narrow lanes. The situation in the BSUP housing has drastically improved. The settlers appreciate the usefulness of the BSUP housing for their next generation. The Dutta Nagar settlers do accept that there are recurring issues with the shortage of water supply, however, they also highlight that the situation has not gone worse since they've moved into the BSUP housing.

2. Settlers' experiences with their everyday political realities

This sub-section discusses Dutta Nagar settlers' experiences with their daily political realities on the ground. Much like Ambedkar Nagar, at Dutta Nagar too, there prevails a collective form of management of common utilities and services through informally created user committees. For instance, one of the user committee members revealed details about the committee and its functions in the following way.

> Over here, we are 64 people within one tower…[and] I am the secretary [of the user committee] for the past two years now…there are no complaints [over here] from anyone…We have 11 members within the committee and we collect 500 rupees each month from everyone…with that [money], we pay for the lift expenses [electricity spent on the elevator], we have a watchman here who also looks into water pumping to for the [overhead] tanks…We have a sweeper for the tower who comes in the morning. (Inder, 1 March 2016).

Dutta Nagar settlers highlight that their increased reliance on the user committees for the management of the day-to-day affairs has led to a decrease in their dependence on their local political leaders for small everyday matters. This is a drastic change as compared to their life in the jhoppad/chawl s where they mostly used to approach their elected political leaders for addressing their everyday issues. A group of settlers describe this change in the following way.

> [Me: Do you still approach your councillor for your everyday issues.] No! Now we solve everything by ourselves. We don't go to him now…for all the small matter, we do not bother him. Only if there is a big matter, a major one, then we approach him. All the small ones, we try and solve it by ourselves. We discuss amongst ourselves…We have even kept a hall on the fifth floor

> for this….and sometimes 5-6 of us sit there and discuss issues and possible solutions. And if there is something that we can't handle by ourselves, then we go there. Only if we are not able to do it by ourselves. For instance, if there is some administrative work, then we have to approach him. What we are capable of doing, we are doing ourselves. (Group interview-2, 1 March 2016).

Besides, several accounts bring out how settlers have adapted to collective management of common affairs since they have started living in the BSUP housing. While a majority of them highlight no issues with this change, there are some settlers for whom the concept of common service/affairs did not exist in the jhoppad/chawl, and have therefore found this transition very difficult. They highlight that the government should not be charging them for the common services.

> …And besides, these [user committee] people have also started this maintenance thing. People had no clue about what maintenance means. No one knew. Now first they started asking 300 [rupees], then later they charged 500 [rupees]. Now those who are literate, have seen some life outside, they can appreciate what maintenance means. Rest of the people say, why maintenance. We never paid maintenance earlier in *chawl*. Why this maintenance thing now? This is the mistake that the government did. They shouldn't have done this. They already charged Rs. 40,000 from us. And now monthly maintenance! (Mahesh, 23 March 2016).

Lastly, one of the user committee members at Dutta Nagar revealed that they had to discipline the settlers for a culture of rule-governed spatial behaviour to take place. Mahadevia, Bhatia, & Bhatt (2016, p.305) in their examination of the devolution of the responsibilities of housing and services maintenance onto the settlers and their associations in Ahmedabad, India point out to the important role of an NGO named Mahila Housing SEWA Trust in "convincing and bringing residents onto one common platform" to set up associations.

> In the beginning, we had lots of problems. We had to organise it a lot…for instance, those who are living behind our tower blocks, these societies and bungalows, they made complaints to the councillor. Our people used to throw all the rubbish from the top to the backyard…Then we guys scolded everyone here. We held meetings twice or thrice regarding that matter…Yes. We called everyone and explained them…we told them that *'we now live here, so, we have to think about it. What to do with the waste, where should we throw, where could we spit, if we drop the waste from above, then people living down will have inconveniences, if we throw water from above, then people will have inconveniences'*. Like this, we discussed everything in the meetings. We meet every month and we talk about it every time…we explain this to everyone each month…Similarly related to the lift, initially, we had problems in managing it, but not now. Now anyone who used the lift takes care of it. Earlier they used to leave the door open, and the lift used to get stuck here and

> there. Now, it's not like that. People now see if the door [which is manual] is properly closed or not. (Group Interviewee-2, 1 March 2016).

The statement highlights that the user committees at Dutta Nagar have effectively managed to bring a culture of rule-governed spatial behaviour amongst the settlers. In bringing a moral spatial order, the user committee members made use of/imposed narratives of a changed situation/life where order and discipline are important and where inconvenience to the others because of them/ their practices, is not going to be tolerated. The statement also reveals that the state's imposition of neoliberal governmentalities through the BSUP housing were successful in their intent only after the user committee's deliberate interventions, pointing out to the significance of social-sustaining of the governmentalities as Li (1999) and Mosse (2004) highlight. Lastly, the statement reveals that the process of bringing a new culture is currently on-going.

In summary, it can be said that the user committees at Dutta Nagar have swiftly managed to bring behavioural changes amongst the settlers by disciplining them on several occasions. The increased reliance on the user committees has also decreased settlers' dependence on the vote-bank networks that used to be a hallmark of the life in jhoppad/chawl. Chapter 6 revealed how vote-bank networks played a key role in the consolidation of the settlement spaces of the urban poor (c.f. Benjamin, 2008).

3. Settlers' perception of the self and others at Dutta Nagar

Similar to the case of Ambedkar Nagar, the settlers at Dutta Nagar talk about their improvement in status and increased standards of living, unanimously seeing themselves as living in a proper building, rather than a *chawl*. This has not only brought a positive change in their lives but has also decreased their stigma of living in a chawl. A lady interviewed outside their housing unit in the evening, where she comes every day to socialise with others, explained how moving into the BSUP housing has helped overcome the stigma of living in a chawl:

> [Me: So, you're liking it here?] Yes. Yes. I am liking it very much, compared to the previous house. We feel like we are living in a proper apartment over here like the way you'd see outside. Earlier we were *chawli wale* [people from chawl], now we are *building wale* [people from the building] (Manju Mausi, 6 March 2016).

On a similar note, an interviewee revealed that living in the BSUP housing has made him feel better about his social status and he now feels comfortable in inviting guests to his house. In his words, he claimed that "Haan [Yes], we do feel a change in social status. There is a difference between living in a chawl and an apartment. Even if we have guests in-house, we feel so much better now" (Rakesh, 19 January 2016). Alongside bringing a change in terms of the perception of status and reduction in stigma, moving into the BSUP housing has also brought behavioural changes in the lives of the Dutta Nagar settlers. In words of one of the informal committee members;

> Yes, there would be a significant difference in living in a *jhoppad* and a tower block. Meaning, people now do not throw garbage here and there…Over here, we don't do what we used to do there – spitting on the street. Second thing, we used to pick one thing from here and used to throw that there. It's no longer the case now. So, there is a difference that has happened in our lives since we are living here. Now, for garbage, we keep a bin outside... The other thing is that we do not waste water over here. So, there is a lot of difference in life now. Now even relatives have started coming over in the room [tenement]. When it was a jhoppada, we used to feel ashamed of calling them. There was so much of filth around. Their clothes used to get spoiled here in the filth. If someone sits taking the rest of the wall, their clothes would spoil. It is not like that now. Meaning, there is definitely, a change (Inder, 1 March 2016).

Living in the BSUP housing has thus brought behavioural changes in the lives of the Dutta Nagar settlers as a result of a rule-governed spatial behaviour introduced by the committee members. These rules maintain a particular moral-spatial order by establishing a kind of common-sense narrative of what is appropriate/proper and what is not to do (Cresswell, 1996).

Alongside the establishment of moral spatial order, the settlers emulate middle-class values and lifestyle. This was also particularly evident in their use of *signboards* as well as devices such as *CCTV cameras* that are used to ensure the security of the premises from the unknown outsiders. People's *semiotic practices* such as the use of signboards and notices reveal social meanings that are attached to such practices (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Signs are fundamentally indexical (ibid.). They reveal a crucial aspect of the identity of both those who are behind those signs/notices and those for whom they are created (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006a). The Dutta Nagar settlers argued that the socio-spatial dynamics within the jhoppad/chawl ensured security from the outsiders, which is not the case with the BSUP housing, as illustrated by one of the committee members talking about the use of notices at the entrance of the housing (refer Figures 8-5 below):

> [Me: Have you put this notice over here? That notice?] Haan Haan [yes yes]. *Hukumnavarun* meaning, by order. *'We order that the pheriwala [street hawkers], salesman, and bakery products sellers are strictly prohibited in this society'*. They cannot enter this building. [Me: Why did do that?] You know why! These khari-pao wala [bakery products sellers], most of them come early in the morning like 4.30 AM, 5 AM. Now, most people are sleeping at that time. And those who want to buy, they don't bother too much and open their doors straight away. But imagine, if someone else is following them? If someone is keeping a watch on them? Thinking *'these are the people who buy khari-pao early in the morning and they have these many people in their family'*. Now, if such people get inside the house, then it is a safety issue. And those who want to buy, for those, we have a bakery nearby. It's very close.

They can buy fresh stuff from there...Now, the ‘climate’ [times have] is changed...now like if a new person comes, then we fear! When we used to live in the *jhoppadpatti*…no one could dare to enter the house. But now…. if someone gets inside and does something to us? (Brajesh, 11 March 2016).

Figure 8-5 From left to the right: A notice outside the entrance of the tower block prohibiting the entrance of street hawkers inside the BSUP housing block (Source: Author’s own, 19 January 2016); A street hawker standing outside the housing block for his sale (source: author’s own, 28 February 2016)

The aforementioned statement reveals that a change in place has brought settlers’ attention towards safety and security issues that were not present in their jhoppad/chawl. They increasingly draw on ‘common-sense’ narratives around safety and security and emphasise ‘changing times’ in the BSUP housing to *other* the people who were ubiquitously present in the jhoppad/chawl and were not previously considered a threat to the security of the settlers. The process of othering is a key aspect of identity production (Rose, 1995; c.f. Sack, 1986).

The safety narrative is also evident in the use of Close Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras in the front as well as at other crucial locations such as elevators and the corridors of one of the tower blocks (Figure 8-6 below). A group of settlers, who are also the members of their user committee, explained this as follows:

[Mr.1] In our tower block, we are the only three people in the committee. We keep one meeting each month and we decide about works/ issues. We also collect funds at that time. Like in our first year itself, we’ve installed CCTV cameras over here. [Mr.1 & Mr. 2] Here itself. At the entrance. Within the lift, in the corridors. [Mr.2]: We’ve installed it ‘through our expenses’. Our ‘next plan’ is to install a borewell over here for us because we are facing a shortage of water here. So, we thought we should dig our borewell here. [Mr.3] Regarding the CCTV…like when we were in chawl, it used to be different. Everyone used to keep their doors open. It was easy to keep an eye on what’s happening outside. Meaning our layout was such that we never faced any ‘safety issue’. Now, it is different. Here some people keep doors open, some keep it closed, then it gets difficult to keep an eye on what’s happening

> outside. We, therefore, decided to install these cameras in the corridor, near the lift, and at the entrance. (Group interview-1, 19th January 2016).

Figure 8-6 From left to right: Picture depicting the location of the CCTV Camera in the tower block (source: author's own, 19th January 2016); Picture showing the CCTV camera main unit installed in a committee member's house (Source: author's own, 28th February 2016)

This account reveals that a change in place (from jhoppad/chawl to the BSUP housing) has brought a need of thinking about safety and security issues in the premises. Settlers point out the change in the layout of the settlement which necessitated using CCTV camera for keeping 'an eye on what's happening outside' (ibid.). The account also reveals that the interviewees emphasise their ability to emulate middle-class values and lifestyle by, for instance, installing monitoring devices, planning for further investments such as a borewell for the community, amongst others. The account highlights the formation of a new consumption-oriented identity as highlighted under the 2012 report by McKinsey & Co. titled 'Urban world: Cities and the rise of the consuming class'. The report points out to the burgeoning urban 'consumer classes' in the rapidly urbanising economies across the world (Dobbs et al., 2012).

In summary, the settlers at Dutta Nagar believe that their status, standard of living, and confidence has increased in the BSUP housing. Alongside these changes, settlers also talk about how moving into BSUP housing has brought behavioural changes in their lives. Settlers reveal that to invoke a culture of rule-governed spatial behaviour, a reference was made of the common-sense narratives around 'cleanliness' and 'changing times'. Lastly, settlers at Dutta Nagar draw upon a common-sense narrative of 'security of their premises' to practice middle-class ways of living that create and maintain a difference from others, such as street-hawkers that would have previously been integrated with their daily lives.

4. Dutta Nagar Settlers' experiences with tenure (in)security

With regards Dutta Nagar settlers' experiences with tenure (in)security, a majority of the settlers highlight their concerns regarding delays in the registration of their property. For instance, in a group interview, it was revealed that:

> They [officials] say that when all the BSUP projects are done [completed], they'll initiate the process of registration. However, these [officials] people, when they see the BSUP file, they keep it aside. They should at least give approvals to all those scheme housings that are complete by now (Group Interview-1, 19 Jan 2016).

There are however others too, who see these delays as temporary and of limited concern: "Everything is fine over here. We just haven't got our registration done. That is going to happen as well…When these other ones [the pending BSUP projects] are completed, after that, they [the KDMC] would do the registration" (Kamna, 28 February 2016).

Notwithstanding the aforementioned issues, the Dutta Nagar settlers also highlight how the perceived legality and safety of the BSUP houses when compared to the jhoppadpattis/chawls: "I had a big space in the chawl. It must have been around 1200 sq.ft. I had a bungalow of my own. But even I surrendered. The thing is, sir, that this is a legal house now. That one was like a hanging sword. Now we feel safe over here" (Kamlesh, 19 January 2016).

Besides, to some, having a house in the jhoppad/chawl discouraged them from spending on upgrading/ beautifying their houses, which is not the case with the BSUP housing:

> Even if you invest like 10 lakh [1 million] rupees on your jhoppada…you can't sell a jhoppad in 10 lakh rupees…No one gives that much value for your room. You can only sell a jhoppad between 2.5 lakhs to 4.5 lakhs maximum.…over here [in the BSUP housing], one can invest in their house without such value for money concerns (Vishnu, 23 March 2016).

The willingness to invest in the BSUP housing is indicative of a far wider sense of settlers' perceived tenure security in the BSUP housing.

In sum, Dutta Nagar settlers' accounts on their beliefs around the security of tenure in the BSUP housing highlight that although they are concerned about the delays in the registration of their properties, their sense of tenure security has increased drastically in the BSUP housing. This is apparent in their perception of delays in registration as temporary, their perceived legality of the BSUP houses in comparison to the jhoppadpattis/chawl, and their willingness to upgrade/beautify the BSUP housing which wasn't the case with jhoppad/chawl.

5. Dutta Nagar settlers' experiencing with social life

Settlers' accounts reveal that like Ambedkar Nagar settlers, they too reorganised their house allotments amongst themselves to retain their memberships to their socio-spatial communities. A change in layout however also led to a reorganisation of their cultural forums i.e. *Mandals*. At Dutta Nagar, various Mandals were reorganised along each of

the three tower blocks. Such a reorganisation was however also a result of merging of the Mandals activities with that of the user committees.

When asked about social life, settlers talked of a 'feeling of a family' in the jhoppad/chawl where *people never locked their doors*. According to one of the settlers: "that time, I'll tell you, the lanes were narrow and no one used to lock their houses for 24hrs. Whenever you go, you'd find the houses used to be open. We never locked our houses. Never." (Brajesh, 11 March 2016). Settlers also emphasised the high solidarity and social trust amongst each other. As one Dutta Nagar respondent stated: "they were all our companions in happy and tough times. If we are not at home for 10-12 days, then there is no problem. Everyone here would run with you in the middle of the night if there is any problem" (Vishnu, 23 March 2016).

A change in place from jhoppad/chawl to the BSUP housing has had fewer impacts on the social life of the Dutta Nagar settlers. They still meet their friends and acquaintances regularly and even if the venues of such meetings have changed, they are not disliking this change (Figure 8-7). There is however also a minority that believes the case is otherwise. To them, their social life has completely changed in the BSUP housing. The following narratives exhibit both sides of the story.

First, the majority opinion, which was very well represented by the account of a lady outside the tower block in the open space, who claimed that unlike other apartment blocks, the social life in Dutta Nagar has *not* changed besides a change in venues of meeting her friends. In her words:

Figure 8-7 Picture revealing people gathered outside the tower block (Source: author's own, 1st March 2016)

> [Me: Any change in the social circle?] No. If we come down, they are all here. The same people. Now what happens is that if someone lives in a block, one gets a feeling that people live behind their closed doors with less interaction with others. But this is not the case with us. Because we lived together for a very long time, we don't feel like that. The only thing is that we have to come down and go to meet our old neighbours in the other block. That is the only difference (Brajesh, 11 March 2016).

Another interviewee reveals a similar statement. To him, there has been as such, no change in the social circle with the change in place. To him:

> As such, there is no change with regards to the social circle. We are still in touch with everyone. We do interact with each other and it doesn't matter if

> they are in this building or that building…we were outside for four years, as you know. So that time, it's just that we couldn't meet these people. There was no problem as such (Vaman, 23 March 2016).

Lastly, a settler mentions regarding the celebration of community festivals in the open space provided. Such festivals are organised by Mandals within each tower blocks. The Mandal committees are voluntarily elected for each festival. Besides, some festivals such as Ganapati, are also organised collectively by the three tower blocks instead of doing it along the separate Mandals.

> Now we do Ganapati, Navaratri, Holi, all the major festivals together…we usually make a committee for each festival and that committee organises the festival. We celebrate them together over here. It's all celebrated together over here. We invite everyone…even the opposition people [those who opposed the scheme]. We celebrate all the Hindu festivals here (Inder, 1 March 2016).

However, alongside such accounts, there are other settlers for whom the social life has drastically changed since they've moved into the BSUP housing. They believe, in retrospect, that the jhoppad/chawl was better as the change in the social life affects their wellbeing. For instance, one of the settlers claimed that people are now mostly behind their doors. This was never the case in the Chawl. To him, chawl life was dynamic, lively and fun-filled. His account not only reveals the extent of the change in the social life of the settlers but also about the perception that others have changed a lot. In his words;

> I feel earlier it was quite better. Now, since we've moved here in the building, you see, now you see, everyone is behind their doors, lights are off. Earlier we used to have a lot of fun and frolic in between, it was quite lively that time. Now you see, everyone is in their houses…Now you see, can you hear anything? Earlier, when we were in chawl, we used to speak to everyone, we used to talk to everyone. Now you see, today is *Holi*, but can you hear any noise? It's a festival day, and everyone is at their house. Earlier, when we were in chawl, we used to have a lot of fun, we used to ask whereabouts of everyone. Like that, it used to go on…. now what happens, when people move into the building, they think about their image. They start feeling that now we are living in a building (Mahesh, 23 March 2016).

In sum, it can be said that a change in place from jhoppad/chawl to the BSUP housing negatively affects a minority of the settlers while for the rest, there are fewer changes in their social life in the BSUP housing. A majority of the settlers at Dutta Nagar still interact with others and celebrate their common festivals together.

Overall, the Dutta Nagar settlers' comparative accounts suggest some continuities but, to a greater extent, changes from the life in the jhoppad/chawl. The continuities can be seen within settlers' experiences with social life. Changes from the past life, on the

other hand, can be seen in terms of positive experiences of the settlers with material conditions, with everyday political realities, with tenure security/legality, and with social status in the BSUP housing. Findings from Dutta Nagar suggest a shift in the Dutta Nagar settlers' identity to a middle-class identity. This is apparent in their ability to instil a moral-spatial order, their reduced dependency on their political/informal sovereign(s), and their shift from being dependent upon welfare provisions to becoming consumption-oriented beyond meeting basic needs (c.f. Dobbs et al., 2012). This shift is however not yet complete as there are still certain continuities between the life in chawl/jhoppad and the BSUP housing.

Following on from this examination of changes and continuities in the lived experiences of the urban poor in the Dutta Nagar BSUP housing, the following section concludes the key findings of this chapter. In doing that, the section brings together the learnings from both Ambedkar Nagar and Dutta Nagar settlement.

8.4 Conclusions

The chapter offered the answer to the third, and the last question of this research which relates with the changes (and continuities) in the lived-experiences and the identities of the poorer groups in the BSUP housing and the impact of the housing on the existing patterns of marginality, inequality, and disintegration amongst the urban poor in KD. In doing that, the chapter examined five key dimensions of lived experiences of the settlers, which are; material conditions, everyday political realities, perception of the self and the others, tenure security, and social networks.

A critical analysis of the BSUP scheme – that offers fixed-size, apartment-style residential spaces, introduces cost-recovery principles and devolves responsibilities of maintenance of housing and common-services upon the poorer groups and their communities – reveals that the scheme's provisions extend a project of *civic-rule* and intend to *responsiblise* and convert the poorer groups into *customer citizens* (Chapter 3.2). Although through these offers and provisions, the scheme aims at the social upliftment of the poor (c.f. Gilbert, 2004; Salcedo, 2010; Erwin, 2017), findings from KD suggest that the BSUP housing has different impacts on differently marginalised groups amongst the poor. While the ethnic minority groups experience upward social mobility and social integration in the BSUP housing, the Dalit caste groups experience further marginalisation and disintegration in the BSUP housing. Findings from KD extend Charlton's (2013; 2014; 2018), Charlton & Meth's (2017) and Erwin's (2017) findings from South Africa and Salcedo's (2010) work in Chile.

KD's case reveals a complex and contradictory set of interactions between the urban poor and the BSUP housing. Findings reveal that not only did different groups, divided along caste and ethnic lines, experience the BSUP housing differently, each caste and the ethnic group also experienced the BSUP housing in highly complex ways. In particular, alongside many positives of living in the BSUP housing that are shared across the social groups, the negatives, that disproportionately affect the Dalits are

their caste-based stigmatisation, a shift from a community-oriented life to an individualistic life and the expensive nature of tenure security.

In particular, a complex set of interactions between the *Ambedkar Nagar* settlers and the BSUP housing highlight that a majority of the settlers express their dissatisfaction with material, social, and political aspects of lived experiences in the BSUP housing. The Ambedkar Nagar settlers reveal a nostalgic view of material realities and social life associated with their jhoppad/chawl. They also reveal a nostalgic view of the settlement life where the state was more present as an institution in their lives (c.f. Marquez, 2004; cited in Salcedo, 2010, p.99). They struggle to collectively manage their common affairs in the BSUP housing and increasingly demand the local state's interventions in that. Their experiences of encounters with the local state highlight that the local state officials are only concerned with the utility bills now. The Ambedkar Nagar settlers however also reveal accounts that suggest positive changes in their lived-experiences in the BSUP housing from the past. Settlers reveal improvement in their living standards and their social status in the BSUP housing. Besides, a promise of secured tenure also makes certain settlers feel that they now own a property in KD.

The accounts of *Dutta Nagar* settlers, on the other hand, point out to certain continuities but to a greater extent, changes from the life in jhoppad/chawl. In terms of continuities, the settlers' accounts reveal a prevalence of a communitarian lifestyle dating back to their life in jhoppad/chawl. In terms of changes from the past lived experiences, settlers reveal positive experiences with the material conditions in the BSUP housing. They appreciate the fact that they no longer have to use the common toilets. Their space, although small, is still a lot better than the house in the jhoppad/chawl. Changes from the past could also be seen in the way the Dutta Nagar settlers handle their everyday political issues. Their complete reliance on their user committees together with their reduced dependency on the elected leaders, reveals a drastic change from the life in the jhoppad/chawl. They have successfully managed to instil a rule-governed spatial behaviour that suits life in BSUP housing. Besides, a positive change in the lived experiences of the Dutta Nagar settlers could also be seen in their living standards and their status. They now draw upon the narratives around 'safety' and 'security' in emulating middle-class practices – such as using the CCTV cameras in securing the premises or prohibiting the entry of street-hawkers within the premises. The settlers' sense of tenure security is also increased in the BSUP housing.

Overall, the Ambedkar Nagar settlers' dissatisfaction (and nostalgic views) with the material, social, and political aspects of living in the BSUP housing and their positive experiences with living standards, social status, and tenure security in the BSUP housing reveal that there are still what Simone & Fauzan (2013, p.284) mention as 'heterogeneities and conundrums of being middle-class' (c.f. Buire, 2017). From their case study of Jakarta, Simone & Fauzan (2013, p.290) explain this conundrum by highlighting a continuous redrawing of the 'lines of social collaboration' that exists side by side with the prevalent structures of social belonging that include caste-based

networks of association. A change in place has however also marginalised certain vulnerable groups (i.e. the Dalit caste) at Ambedkar Nagar. This is apparent in the continued practices of othering and caste-based stigma that the Dalit settlers face in the BSUP housing as well as in their nostalgia associated with the material, social, and political aspects of living in the chawl/jhoppad.

On the other hand, the Dutta Nagar settlers' continuities in their lived experiences with social life and their positive experiences with their material conditions, everyday political realities, perception of the self and the others, status, and sense of tenure security in the BSUP housing suggests a shift in the Dutta Nagar settlers' identity to a middle-class identity. Dutta Nagar settlers' ability to instil a moral-spatial order, their reduced dependency on their political/informal sovereign(s), and their shift from being dependent upon welfare provisions to becoming consumption-oriented beyond meeting basic needs points out to a shift in their identity. This shift is however not yet complete as there are still certain continuities between the life in chawl/jhoppad and the BSUP housing. A change in space has, therefore, been successful in creating social mobility and integration of the urban poor at Dutta Nagar.

Findings from this chapter extend Charlton's (2013; 2014; 2018), Charlton & Meth's (2017) and Erwin's (2017) findings from South Africa and Salcedo's (2010) work in Chile. Their work highlights a range of interactions between the state-provided housing and housing recipients that go beyond a mere rejection or celebration of the state-provided housing. Their work also points out "both expected and unexpected consequences of living in state-delivered housing" (Erwin, 2017, p.68). The empirical findings from this research extend these works by highlighting that not only did the marginalised groups deal with the various provisions of the BSUP housing in highly complex and contradictory ways, different social identity groups, divided along caste and ethnic lines, also deal with the state's rehousing and its various provisions in different ways. Findings from KD point out that while the Dalits experience further marginalisation in the BSUP housing, the ethnic minority groups experience social mobility and integration in the BSUP housing.

Therefore, while the existing studies point out that the "experiences of poverty amongst recipients reflect a broader pattern of inequality which is only partially challenged by the housing programme" (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p.111; c.f. Meth et al., 2018; Lemanski, 2011; Salcedo, 2010), findings from KD complicate these claims by pointing out that different marginalised groups amongst the urban poor experience the BSUP housing in different ways. These differences, it is claimed, are attributable to the spatial consolidation of the existing relations of social hierarchy shaping settlers' lived experiences in both chawl/jhoppad and the BSUP housing. Findings from KD reveal that while the ethnic minority settlers – that experienced stigma of being an outsider on an everyday basis in their chawl/jhoppad (settlement) – experience emancipation from the stigma of being a minority group in the BSUP housing (as the locals i.e. the Agaris chose not to participate in the scheme), the Dalit caste settlers

continue to experience caste-based stigma and othering from the non-Dalit settlers in BSUP housing. These differences are also attributable to the settlers' conscious efforts in shaping their lived experiences in the BSUP housing. The chapter reveals that unlike the ethnic minority groups that exert conscious efforts in shaping their lived experiences in the BSUP housing, the Dalit groups keep a nostalgic view of material, social, and political aspects of living in their chawl/jhoppad.

Findings from KD draw attention to the need of examining the real nature of heterogeneity (difference) amongst the subaltern groups. This heterogeneity is spatial-relationally constituted and is always incomplete, never settled (Chapter 6.4). Examining the process of settlement transformation is, therefore, key to understanding how various identity groups experience the rehousing governmentalities. As much as the existing studies, the BSUP scheme also fails to consider the significance of the spatial-relational nature of heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups in the way they experience the rehousing schemes.

Finding from this chapter also confirm Li's (1999) and Mosse's (2004) claims on the significance of social sustaining of the governmentalities in making them real, and of Sharma (2008) on the unintended consequence of governmentalities in terms of generating critical practices amongst the subaltern groups that target the state agencies. For instance, at Dutta Nagar, the settlers' user committees socially-sustained the devolution of responsibilities of managing the rehousing and basic services by taking several meetings with the settlers and by making use of the common-sense narratives around 'cleanliness' and 'changing times' in the BSUP housing. This supports Li's (1999) and Mosse's (2004) claims of the fragile and contingent nature of the rule necessitating a range of negotiations/compromises in making it real on the ground. Mahadevia, Bhatia, & Bhatt (2016, p.305) reveal a similar form of "convincing and bringing of residents onto one common platform" by an NGO in setting up user committees in the resettlement housing in Ahmedabad, India. At Ambedkar Nagar, however, such social sustaining failed to take place which resulted in the settlers increasingly demanding the local state's interventions in the maintenance of the housing and the common affairs. Findings from Ambedkar Nagar support what Sharma (2008) mentions as the unintended consequences of neoliberal governmentalities. Patel (2016), in the case of a rehousing scheme in Ahmedabad, India, reveals similar acts of opposition amongst the settlers that challenge the imposition of the state's control through tenure security rules.

Lastly, findings from this chapter support Doreen Massey's (2003; 2005; c.f. Hetherington, 1998, p.106; Lawler, 2008, p.143) claims of a co-production of space, social relations and identities. To Massey, the *practising* of place changes us as the place functions "as an arena where negotiation is forced upon us" (Massey, 2005, p. 154; Wills, 2013). An association of the place with meanings & experiences, power relations, and continuity implies that an *ever-shifting identity* is constructed during the process of place-making (Massey, 2003; 2005; Schmid, 2008; c.f. Lombard, 2015).

The comparative accounts of the BSUP scheme participants in KD point out that settlers constructed and revealed their identity in relation to where they are/were (c.f. Johnstone, 1990). Within such constructions, the established narratives and plots that one encountered in the everyday social life, became resources for the telling (Lawler, 2008, p.20). These established narratives are also called as 'society's common sense' (Edley, 1995, p.165). For instance, there was a repeated reference within the settlers' accounts about *a feeling of a family* [for the community] in the chawl/jhoppad where people *never locked their doors*. Another example could be the affiliation of certain notions of cleanliness/tidiness with a particular (caste) identity. These established narratives became resources for the settlers' talks (Taylor, 2010).

Settlers' talks revealed how they assigned a variety of meanings and associations within their stories to their experience of places (c.f. Cresswell, 2004; 2008; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006b). For instance, through the narratives of better social life in chawl/jhoppad compared to the BSUP housing, settlers construct a sense of *not* belonging to the BSUP housing (c.f. Taylor, 2003; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). Settlers' accounts however also revealed how, in their narratives and spatial practices, space becomes saturated with the ideas of 'otherness'. For instance, the narratives of the Duttawadi settlers about Dalit majority BSUP housing and the 'type of people' who live there and Dutta Nagar settlers' semiotic practices in their use of notices prohibiting the entry of street hawkers in the BSUP housings, reveal narratives and practices of othering. Such constructions and practices are inherent to the identity of the concerned groups (Rose, 1995; Gunn, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2003).

Settlers also revealed within their talks, a sense of what is 'proper' – something belonging to one place but not another, something that is acceptable and not acceptable at one place (Agnew & Corbridge, 1995; p.79; Cresswell, 1996). For instance, at Dutta Nagar, a rule-governed spatial behaviour was introduced to the settlers by invoking the narratives of practices that *belong or do not belong* to the life in the BSUP housing. Similarly, at Ambedkar Nagar, the user committee members often mentioned about a lack of such a 'proper' (a rule-governed) spatial behaviour amongst the settlers and demanded the local state to step-in for instilling a moral spatial order amongst the settlers. Place, therefore, warranted a sense of proper behaviour, something that is allowed at that particular place and in doing so, shaped place users' identities.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter draws the thesis to a close, by presenting a succinct summary of the answers to the three research questions that were examined under the empirical chapter 6, 7, and 8. The chapter also offers contributions to knowledge that relates with conceptually understanding the urban marginalised groups' political agency, their heterogeneity, and their place formation under a single frame of reference, and with accomplishing and experiencing the governmentalities that are extended through the (neoliberal era) 'development' (settlement rehousing) programmes.

This thesis began by engaging with the key areas of concern that are associated with the BSUP scheme – the first amongst the neoliberal-era settlement rehousing schemes in India. These concerns are; the modernistic principles, codes, imaginaries upon which the scheme is based that fail to take into consideration the varied needs and aspirations of different social groups amongst the urban poor, the practical challenges of implementing the scheme on the ground in such ways that the process does not further marginalise the existing vulnerable groups amongst the urban poor, and ensuring that the poorer groups' experiences with the various provisions under the scheme do not further the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration amongst them. During the process of this research, I retained my focus on engaging with these key areas of concern with the BSUP scheme and selected Kalyan-Dombivli city for a detailed empirical examination.

The scheme was a part of a wider set of reforms that aimed to transform the urban landscape and governance through greater involvement of the markets in (world-class) infrastructure provision, making cities 'slum-free', and making the urban local bodies, more efficient and competitive. The reforms thus 'aimed' to rescale the developmental state from the scale of the national state to that of the city. The funding, that was disbursed to the local governments through the scheme, was conditional upon the adoption of certain – mandatory and optional – urban sector reforms. The scheme remained operational during 2005-2017 period.

During the process of this research, I refined my research design, methodology, and actual research questions. I discovered early in my investigation that a qualitative case-study approach, that is context-sensitive, would help achieve the objective of this research. I, therefore, chose a case-study approach for this research. The specific nature of investigation conducted in this research necessitated a longitudinal and a multi-scalar form of examination. The thesis addressed three research questions, which are;

1. How does the BSUP scheme understand and represent the urban poor and their settlement spaces? How do these representations *compare* with the poorer groups' experiences of the process of their settlement consolidation and what do these representations overlook/misrepresent?

2. How was the BSUP scheme *accomplished* in KD? What collaborations and compromises did the local state officials entertain in making the scheme real in KD and how such collaborations and compromises were achieved? How did the marginalised groups contest the local state's authority in making their claims in the scheme? What do the various collaborations and contestations in the BSUP scheme reveal about the nature of policy-practice?
3. How is the BSUP housing *experienced* by the poorer groups in KD? How do these experiences compare with living in poorer groups' settlement spaces? What changes (and continuities) does the BSUP housing bring in the lived-experiences and the identities of the poorer groups and what do these changes (and continuities) suggest about the BSUP's impact on the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration that prevail amongst the poorer groups in KD?

I have presented answers to these specific set of questions under chapter 6, 7 and 8. This chapter is organised under four sections and the first section provides a succinct summary of the answers to these research questions. The second section offers contributions to the knowledge that relates with conceptually understanding the settlement spaces of the urban poor, and with accomplishing and experiencing the governmentalities that are extended through the neoliberal-era settlement rehousing programmes. The third section offers contributions to the development practice. And the last section considers the significance of this research and discusses an agenda for future research.

9.2 A summary of the main findings of this research

The following paragraphs present a succinct summary of the main findings of this research. In doing that, I engage with the three sets of questions mentioned above.

Chapter 6 answers the first question of this research and in doing that, the chapter draws from the critical examination of the BSUP scheme presented in Chapter 3.2 where it was highlighted that the scheme understands the settlement spaces of the urban poor as places with unhygienic/poor living conditions and insecurity of tenure and treats the urban poor as an abstract 'beneficiary' category having a housing, sanitary, infrastructure and tenure security needs. The scheme represents the urban poor and their settlement spaces using the term 'slum dwellers' and 'slums' which portray a universally negative, homogeneous, and 'out of the place' image of the urban poor and their settlement spaces (Gilbert, 2007; Nandy, 2007; Datta, 2012).

Such framings, however, fail to see the ground realities that the spatial transformation of the two settlement spaces of the poor in KD, reveal. KD's case study points out a material and discursive construction and consolidation of the settlement spaces of the poor in the poorer groups' quiet and vote-bank forms of political practices (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Benjamin, 2008). The process – that is crucially shaped by the poorer groups' relations of social hierarchy – transpires in the form of social, economic, spatial, legal, and power asymmetries, ambiguities, vulnerabilities, and exclusions amongst the

settlers. These inequalities and exclusions shape the settlers' everyday spatialities and their interactions with the others – both within and outside their settlement spaces (c.f. Datta, 2012). KD's case, therefore, supports Massey (2005) in pointing out a spatial relational nature of settlers' identities. KD's case emphasises that understanding the poorer groups' settlement space consolidation process reveals deeper insights about the degree and form of heterogeneity – inequalities, vulnerabilities, exclusions, marginalities – that prevails amongst the poorer groups and the role of the informal processes of settlement consolidation in creating that heterogeneity.

Specifically, findings reveal that at both the studied settlements in KD, settlers' *self-help* and the State's *notification* played a significant role in the constitution of the settlements. The consolidation of a range of services and the physical structures within the settlements, however, happened gradually through a *complex set of practices* that involved settlers' quiet acts of encroachment, collective efforts, and by involving a range of brokers and intermediaries such as the local political leaders, the informal leaders, and their connections with the lower-level bureaucrats within the corporation (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Benjamin, 2008; Anand & Rademacher, 2011). Findings from both the settlements point out a key role of settlers' relations of social hierarchy in these complex set of practices.

Findings reveal that while at Ambedkar Nagar, the spatio-temporality of *caste* relations played a central role in their settlement consolidation process, at Dutta Nagar, it was the social dynamics between the locals/*sthaniks* and the outsiders/*bhadotris* that shaped the settlement consolidation process. The existence of socio-spatial control, the prevalence of cultural groups i.e. the Mandals, as well as the depiction of caste and ethnic identity in the settlement names and through other means such as flags, banners, signboards, all reflect the role of *spatio-temporality of settlers' caste and ethnicity* in the way the settlement spaces were transformed. Importantly, the process of settlement space consolidation also manifested in various economic, spatial, social, and legal exclusions and marginalities amongst the settlers at both the settlements (c.f. Tonkiss, 2013). These exclusions determined settlers' everyday interactions with the others within and outside the settlements and shaped their individual and collective identifications – as observed in the existence of Dalits and non-Dalit groups, sthanik and bhadotri groups, and various cultural groups.

Findings from KD point out that representing the urban poor and their settlement spaces in essentialist, universally negative ways via such terms as 'slums' and 'slum dwellers', the BSUP scheme does little in understanding and presenting their diversity/heterogeneity. This heterogeneity, it is claimed, is spatial-relationally constituted in the process of poorer groups' settlement construction and consolidation.

Chapter 7 answers the second question of this research and foregrounds a key role of various negotiations as well as resistances – that are informed by the "situated cultural practices and sedimented histories of people and place" (Li, 1999, p.315) – in making the BSUP scheme real in KD. Findings from KD point out a fragile and contingent

nature of ‘development’ (rehousing) plans/schemes and highlight the significance of ‘gaps and fissures’ between the workings of the state institutions, discourses, and governmental technologies in creating openings for embedding such schemes/plans in the everyday settings (c.f. Li, 1999; Gupta, 1995). KD’s case also points out that such embedding of the schemes, however, re-establishes a range of dependencies, inequalities and exclusions in the lives of the poorer groups and fixes their critical gaze onto the immediate policy targets which have a negative effect on the existing marginalised and the vulnerable groups amongst the poor (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Corbridge et al., 2005; Devika & Rajasree, 2012).

Specifically, the findings from KD support Li’s (1999) and Mosse’s (2004) work in highlighting the significance of a range of negotiations, deviations, and irregularities in the BSUP’s prescriptions in embedding the project of rule, extended via the scheme, in the local political culture and power settings that prevail in KD[56]. In achieving these negotiations and deviations – that were of ‘unplanned’ and ‘improvised’ nature (Li, 1999; Williams et al., 2015) – the local state officials controlled the interpretation of the scheme via the help of a range of supporting actors, decoupled the process of ascertaining the demand and the supply of housing units in the scheme, and maintained fuzziness in the beneficiary selection criteria and beneficiary lists until the actual handover of the housing units. The existence of ‘gaps and fissures’ between the prescriptions of the State government and those of the central government in the BSUP scheme[57] offered, what Li (1999, p.315) points out as, “room for manoeuvre” to the local state officials in KD. The local state officials’ approach in the BSUP scheme, however, also re-established the dependency of the poorer groups on their informal/political sovereigns, created winners and the losers in the scheme, and restricted the critical gaze of the poorer groups to the immediate concerns such as the ‘inclusion in the beneficiary lists’ (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Corbridge et al., 2005; Devika & Rajasree, 2012).

Notwithstanding the significance of various collaborations and compromises in the scheme, KD’s case also highlights the importance of the target groups’ resistances in making the BSUP scheme real on the ground. The poorer groups, at both the chosen settlements in KD, drew upon their *sense of rights* in contesting certain aspects of the scheme’s implementation. This sense of rights, to Sharma (2008) is an ‘unintended result’ of the governmentalities within ‘development’ schemes. Besides, a division amongst the political ‘elites’ also opened up possibilities for political action amongst

[56] Chapter 5 discussed these settings by examining the urban development dynamics in KD since the 1960s and suggested a prevalence of informality as a main mode of operation of the local state in KD (c.f. Roy, 2003; 2009b). The local state’s practice of informality connects the seemingly distinct geographies of urban poor’s settlements and unauthorised properties in KD. The chapter also highlighted the political prominence of the Agaris – the land-owning caste – in the urban development dynamics in KD.

[57] While the central government communicated a ‘whole-slum’ approach – which implies considering each and every household within the settlement as a ‘beneficiary’ – under the scheme, the State government prescribed a 1st January 1995 cut-off date criterion for the selection of the ‘beneficiaries’ under the scheme.

the poorer groups. Gupta (1995) and Koopmans (2004) point out the significance of such divisions, gaps, ruptures in offering the subaltern groups, opportunities for political activism.

In making their claims within the scheme, the poorer groups *networked* with the informal/political sovereigns and created new *scales of influence*. The local state officials, in claiming the local state's authority in the scheme, made use of 'repertoires of authority' – that are "founded on violence or the threat thereof" (Hansen, 2009, p. 170) – in the form of police action/threat thereof, deliberately avoiding of settlers' complaints, cutting-off water supply connections, and sending eviction notices to each of the settlers. The poorer groups, therefore, not only had *conjunctural possibilities* but also faced *structural constraints* (c.f. Jessop, 1982; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). The dialectics of these conjunctural possibilities and the structural constraints reveal a differential nature of the subaltern subjectivity formation – a difference that is shaped along an overlapping axis of space, relations of social hierarchy, and time – as Doshi's (2012; 2013) work in points out in the case of Mumbai, India.

The settlers' contestations in the scheme, however, also re-established their dependencies on the informal/political sovereigns, supporting Devika & Rajasree's (2012) and Tonkiss' (2013) claims of contradictions of the political practices of poorer groups. Besides, the settlers' opposition to the scheme – demanding non-eviction upon non-participation in the scheme and a timely allotment of the BSUP housing – obscured the other, more fundamental issues with scheme from the critical gaze of the poorer groups (c.f. Bayat, 2004; Rao, 2012).

From the range of negotiations, deviations and the contestations in the BSUP scheme, the chapter highlighted a fragile and contingent nature of policy-practice and pointed out the significance of a range of mechanisms – that cut across the binaries of collaboration/contestations – in accomplishing the BSUP scheme. The chapter supported Gupta (1995) in highlighting that these mechanisms should not be seen in dichotomous ways. These rather reveal the complexities and contradictions associated with the policy-practice dialectic.

Chapter 8 answers the third question of this research and in doing that, reveals a complex and contradictory set of interactions between the poorer groups and the BSUP housing. The chapter reveals that not only did different social groups, divided along caste and ethnic lines, experience the BSUP housing differently, each social group also experienced the BSUP housing in highly complex ways. Overall, the chapter claims that the scheme creates upward social mobility and integration in the lives of the ethnic minority groups and deepens the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration amongst the Dalit caste groups suggesting varied impacts of the BSUP housing on different marginalised groups. Findings from KD extend Charlton's (2013; 2014; 2018), Charlton & Meth's (2017) and Erwin's (2017) work in South Africa and Salcedo's (2010) work in Chile that suggests that the experiences of the rehousing

schemes amongst the poorer groups reflect the broader pattern of inequality (c.f. Meth et al., 2018; Lemanski, 2011).

Specifically, chapter 8 reveals that at *Ambedkar Nagar*, a majority of the settlers express their dissatisfaction with material, social, and political aspects of lived experiences in the BSUP housing. The settlers reveal a nostalgic view of material realities and social life associated with their jhoppad/chawl. They also reveal a nostalgic view of the settlement life where the state was more present as an institution in their lives (c.f. Marquez, 2004; cited in Salcedo, 2010, p.99). They struggle to collectively manage the common affairs in the BSUP housing and increasingly demand the local state's interventions in that. Their experiences of encounters with the local state highlight that the local state officials are only concerned with the utility bills now. They, however, also reveal accounts that suggest positive changes in their lived-experiences in the BSUP housing from the past. They reveal improvement in their living standards and their social status in the BSUP housing. Besides, a promise of secured tenure also makes certain settlers feel that they now own a property in KD.

On the other hand, at *Dutta Nagar*, the settlers' accounts point out certain continuities but to a greater extent, changes from the life in jhoppad/chawl. In terms of continuities, settlers' accounts reveal a prevalence of a communitarian lifestyle dating back to their life in the jhoppad/chawl. In terms of changes from the past lived experiences, settlers reveal positive experiences with the material conditions in the BSUP housing. Their ways of handling their everyday political issues also suggest positive changes in their lives in the BSUP housing. They reveal a complete reliance on their user committees and highlight a reduced dependency on their elected leaders. They have successfully managed to instil a rule-governed spatial behaviour that suits life in BSUP housing. Their living standard and their status have increased in BSUP housing. They now draw upon narratives around 'safety' and 'security' in emulating middle-class practices such as using the CCTV cameras in securing their premises or prohibiting the entry of street-hawkers within their premises. The settlers' sense of tenure security is also increased in the BSUP housing.

Overall, the chapter reveals that at Ambedkar Nagar, there are still what Simone & Fauzan (2013, p.284) refer as 'heterogeneities and conundrums of being middle-class' (c.f. Buire, 2017). A change in place at Ambedkar Nagar has, in fact, further marginalised the Dalit caste groups at the settlement. This is apparent in the continued practices of othering and caste-based stigma that the Dalits face in the BSUP housing as well as in their nostalgia associated with material, social, and political aspects of living in the chawl/jhoppad. At Dutta Nagar, however, there is (an ongoing) shift in the settlers' identity to a middle-class identity (c.f. Dobbs et al., 2012). A change in space, for the Dutta Nagar settlers, has been successful in their social mobility and integration. The BSUP housing, therefore, has an uneven impact on the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration amongst poorer groups in KD. The chapter highlights that the differences in the way the poorer groups experience the BSUP

scheme in KD relate to the spatial consolidation of the relations of social hierarchy – shaping poorer groups' lived-experiences in both chawl/jhoppad and the BSUP housing – as well as the poorer groups' conscious efforts in shaping their lived-experiences in the BSUP housing.

9.3 Key arguments and contributions to knowledge

In examining the effectiveness of the state's rehousing schemes in terms of creation of upward social mobility and social integration of the urban poor, this research embarked upon a task of a longitudinal and multi-scalar investigation of the BSUP scheme in KD. A comprehensive (longitudinal and multi-scalar) approach to examining the effectiveness of the state's rehousing schemes, this thesis argues, is capable of not only questioning the codes upon which such redevelopment exercises are based but also in foregrounding the complex on-the-ground practices through which such redevelopment exercises are made real and their varied and contradictory effects of such exercises on the policy subjects.

A comprehensive examination of the BSUP scheme in this thesis is linked to three sets of literature that respectively engage with conceptually understanding the settlement spaces of the urban poor, the (rehousing) governmentalities and the politics of making them real, and the lived-experiences of the (rehousing) governmentalities. The following subsections engage with each of these three sets of literature in detail.

1. Conceptually understanding the settlement spaces of the urban poor

With regards to the first set of literature, this thesis followed the process and the human agential approach to understanding the marginalised groups' agency and their place formation within a single frame of reference. Findings from this research support Bayat's thesis titled 'the quiet encroachment of the ordinary'. Bayat (2004; 2007; 2013) foregrounds the urban marginalised groups' political agency in their quiet yet gradual encroachment upon urban land, resources and opportunities. Findings from KD reveal a material and discursive construction and consolidation of the settlement spaces of the urban poor in their quiet yet gradual forms of political practices. Findings from KD however also point out certain shortcomings with Bayat's work, as discussed below. These shortcomings were also pointed out in the literature review.

First, Bayat's thesis implicitly assumes the poorer groups to be homogenous. This not only masks the entrenched inequalities that prevail in the lives of the urban poor based on caste, gender, ethnicity and religious differences but by not presenting the subaltern groups as heterogeneous, Bayat conveys, in Spivak (2005) terms, 'positivist essentialism' that obscures any possibility of social mobility for the gendered subaltern subjects (Datta, 2012; 2013; c.f. Roy, 2011; Spivak, 1999). Findings from KD reveal that the process of poorer groups' settlement consolidation – that is shaped by their relations of social hierarchy – also constitutes a range of social, economic, spatial, legal, and power asymmetries, ambiguities, vulnerabilities, and exclusions in their

lives[58] (c.f. Tonkiss, 2013). These spatial-relationally constituted inequalities and exclusions, the thesis claims, reveal the real nature of heterogeneity (difference) amongst the subaltern groups. Therefore, in order to understand the real nature of (difference) heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups, their (informal) process of settlement space consolidation needs to be examined.

Pointing out the spatial-relational constitution of the real nature of (difference) heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups, this thesis supports Nilsen & Roy's (2015) claims that highlight that the constitution of subalternity happens along multiple axes of power whose exact empirical form can only be deciphered in specific empirical settings. Likewise, this thesis also supports Seth Schindler's (2014) claims on inductively identifying subaltern spaces – and by extension, subaltern groups – as it can help in identifying partially subaltern spaces, or more subaltern spaces than one within a bounded sphere. Such an inductive examination rests upon, in Arabindoo (2011, p.640) terms, "tracing the circulation of the subaltern subjects and their various spatial negotiations". An (inductive) understanding of the real nature of difference amongst the subaltern subjects also offers an opportunity for them to become less subaltern by the power of recognition (Schindler, 2014). Obscuring that opportunity results in closing all the lines of social mobility for the subalterns amongst subaltern groups (Spivak, 2005).

And second, Bayat equates 'informal life' with the 'habitus of the dispossessed'. The findings from this research (Chapter 5) however point out that informality is not a bottom-up phenomenon and certainly not just a preserve of the urban poor. A proliferation of the unauthorised property construction in and around the KD city since the 1970s where a privileged community of private players, politicians, buyers, investors, and local state officials played a key role, highlights the fact that informality is also practised by the non-poorer groups and that it cannot be separated from that of the state and bureaucratic institutions. Besides, the time-and-again 'regularisation' of the unauthorised properties within KD by the politicians and state authorities and criminalisation of the squatter settlements by the 'propertied-class', foregrounds a particularly class-based character of the (informality) state power in KD.

This thesis, therefore, claims that 'informal life' should not be seen as the habitus of *only* the dispossessed groups. Such a claim supports Roy's and McFarlane's claims on informality. To Roy, informality needs to be understood "as a feature of structures of power" (Roy, 2009b, p. 84), as "an organising logic" (Roy, 2005, p.148). To McFarlane's (2012a), rather than associating informality with a territory or a labour category, informality and formality need to be seen as a form of practice – they have "no pre-given geography or political content, progressive or otherwise." (p.105).

[58] These inequalities and exclusions can be seen in the form of presence of informal/political sovereigns, a prevalence of caste and/or ethnicity-based stigma, and that of 'legal' ambiguities/insecurities in the lives of the poorer groups that shapes their everyday interactions within and outside their settlement space.

This thesis also supports what Tonkiss (2013) highlights as the contradictory role of informalities in the lives of the urban poor – creating "spaces of exception and exclusion" that trap the urban majority (p.102). KD's case reveals that while on the one hand, the poorer groups' informal practices of settlement consolidation helped them in quietly encroaching upon the urban land, resources, and opportunities on an everyday basis, on the other, such practices also consolidated a range of social, economic, spatial, legal, and power asymmetries, ambiguities, vulnerabilities, and exclusions in their lives.

Overall, this thesis claims that Bayat's thesis propagates a particularly useful way of understanding the agency of the marginalised groups and their settlement space consolidation within a single frame of 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary'. Bayat's work has however two key shortcomings, as discussed above. This thesis, therefore, recommends that these shortcomings need to be taken into consideration while using Bayat's work in the postcolonial contexts.

2. The (rehousing) governmentalities and the politics of making them real

With regards to the second set of literature, this thesis paid attention to the governmentalities – that are extended through the rehousing programmes as states' attempt at "self-fashioning and rule" (Li, 1999, p.295) – and the politics of making such governmentalities real on the ground. In examining that politics, this research made use of the works of Tania Li (1999), David Mosse (2004; 2005), Aradhana Sharma (2008), and Swapna Doshi (2012; 2013) on the imposition of governmentality – via various *collaborations* and *resistances* – within the postcolonial context. This research, however, also paid attention to the states' use of their sovereign powers in making claims to their authority over the urban space and followed Hansen's (2009) and Weinstein's (2013) work on the states' use of sovereign powers.

The findings from KD point out that in making the BSUP scheme real in the local political culture and power settings that prevail in KD, the local state officials entertained a range of *negotiations*, compromises, irregularities, and deviations. The poorer groups, however, *contested* their claims in the scheme by networking with informal/political sovereigns and by creating new scales of influence. This research, therefore, not only supports the individual claims of Li (1999) and Mosse (2004; 2005) and that of Sharma (2008) and Doshi (2012; 2013) that respectively point out to the significance of a range of compromises and that of contestations in making the 'development' governmentalities real on the ground. This research also brings these two sets of works together in claiming that the two – collaborations and contestations – should not be seen in dichotomous ways. These dichotomies, as Gupta (1995) points out, overlap in practice and therefore making an absolute distinction between the two may be unsatisfactory. Together, these aspects reveal the complexities associated with the policy-practice dialectic. It is, therefore, claimed that in accomplishing the (rehousing) governmentalities, several mechanisms – that cut across the binaries of collaboration/contestations – work on the ground.

Specifically, the findings from KD support Tania Li's (1999) and David Mosse's (2004; 2005) claims of a fragile and politically contested nature of policy practice. Li (1999, p.315) highlights the significance of the "situated cultural practices and sedimented histories of people and place" in making the 'development' plans/schemes, real. She points out that a variety of deviations and compromises are required in accomplishing the 'project of rule' – extended through the 'development' schemes – in the everyday settings (ibid.). Findings from KD support these claims by highlighting that a range of negotiations, deviations, and irregularities took place in the BSUP scheme in making it real in KD's everyday settings. In achieving these informalities, the local state officials *controlled the interpretation* of the scheme's implementation process and involved a range of supporting actors. The local state's approach in the BSUP scheme in KD supports David Mosse's (2004; 2005) work in India that points out that the bureaucracies, having little control over the actual practices in the 'development' schemes, rely on *controlling the interpretation* of the governmental practices by involving supporting actors.

Findings from KD also support Li's (1999) and Williams et al.'s (2015) claims of an 'unplanned' and 'improvised' nature of the negotiations, deviations, and irregularities in the 'development' schemes. KD's case reveals that the local state officials had no precedents of implementing a rehousing scheme that had a budget which was more than the overall budget of the Municipal Corporation. Besides, findings from KD also support Li's (1999, p. 315) claims that point out the significance of the 'gaps and fissures' – in the workings of the state institutions, discourses, and technologies – in yielding "room for manoeuvre" and "the possibility of the culturally intimate – but often uncomfortable – forms of engagement" for the local state. The differences in the prescriptions of both the central and the State governments on the BSUP scheme created these 'gaps and fissures' for the local state officials in KD. While the central government communicated a 'whole-slum' approach under the scheme, the State government prescribed a 1st January 1995 cut-off date criterion for the selection of the 'beneficiaries' under the scheme.

However, notwithstanding the significance of Li's (1999) and Mosse's (2004) work in 'development' policy and practice, this thesis also supports Sharma's (2008) and Doshi's (2012; 2013) work that highlights the key role of the marginalised groups' resistances in the process of making the 'development' plans/schemes real on the ground. Findings from KD reveal that the poorer groups draw upon their sense of rights – which, according to Sharma (2008) is an 'unintended consequence' of the neoliberal governmentalities – in contesting their claims in the BSUP scheme. In engaging with the state power, the poorer groups network with the informal/political sovereigns and create new scales of influence in the scheme. Findings reveal that poorer groups' political subjectivity and modes of political action were based upon an overlapping axis of space, relations of social hierarchy, and time. Findings from KD, therefore, support Doshi's (2012, p.83; 2013) work in Mumbai, India where she highlights that the marginalised groups' political subjectivities and their acts of political resistance

are crucially shaped by a "spatially produced, overlapping, and hierarchical axes of difference", by their history of land struggle, and their use of citizenship discourse.

Findings from KD, however, also reveal that the poorer groups face 'structural constraints' in encountering the state power (c.f. Jessop, 1982; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). Sharma (2008) and Doshi (2012; 2013) overlook the significance of 'structural constraints' in the poorer groups' encounters with the state power, which, it is claimed, relates with their understanding of the nature of state power through the notion of governmentalities. The notion is however ill-equipped in explaining the episodes of state violence or the role of class power in shaping the workings of the state in such ways that it reproduces the hegemony of the powerful and at the same time, constrains the political actions of the subalterns (Bayat, 2004; Baviskar & Sundar, 2008; Weinstein, 2013; Nilsen, 2015; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). This thesis, therefore, calls for understanding the state power in terms of both governmentalities as well as the sovereign powers that rest with the state institutions.

In revealing the complexity associated with the policy-practice dialectic, this research brings together the works of Li (1999) and Mosse (2004) *and* those of Sharma (2008) and Doshi (2012; 2013) and claims that several mechanisms – that cut across the binaries of collaboration/contestations – work on the ground in accomplishing the (rehousing) governmentalities. These mechanisms, as Gupta (1995) points out, should not be seen in dichotomous ways. They overlap in practice.

In bringing the notions of 'collaborations' and 'contestations' together, this research suggests that it is important to pay attention to the *contradictions* of both the 'collaborations' and 'contestations' in the lives of the subaltern groups. Findings from KD reveal that the poorer groups' networking with their informal/political sovereigns in both negotiating and contesting the BSUP scheme's various provisions, re-establishes a range of dependencies, inequalities and exclusions in their lives. Besides, by mainly focusing on the immediate policy targets, various 'collaborations' and 'contestations' in the BSUP scheme obscure the possibilities of raising fundamental concerns with the scheme. This thesis claims that these contradictions negatively affect the existing marginalised and the vulnerable amongst the urban poor. Li (1999), Mosse (2004), and Sharma (2008) do not pay attention to these contradictions in their work. This lack of attention, it is claimed, arises from a homogeneous understanding and representation of the marginalised groups which tends to mask a prevalence of a range of inequalities, vulnerabilities, marginalities and exclusions within their lives.

Overall, this research claims that the works of Tania Li (1999), David Mosse (2004; 2005), Aradhana Sharma (2008) and Swapna Doshi (2012; 2013) can be brought together in understanding the complexity associated with the policy-practice dialectic. Their works, however, have certain shortcomings which are discussed above. These shortcomings need to be taken into consideration in examining the task of making real, the project of rule through the 'development' schemes.

3. The (rehousing) governmentalities and the lived-experiences of the poor

With regards to the third set of literature, this research paid attention to the governmentalities that are extended through the 'development' (rehousing) schemes and how such governmentalities are experienced by the target groups on an everyday basis. In examining these interactions, this research followed the works of Charlton (2013; 2014; 2018), Charlton & Meth (2017), Erwin (2017), and Salcedo (2010), amongst others. These works highlight a range of interactions between the settlement rehousing and the housing recipients that go beyond a mere rejection or celebration of the rehousing. These works also point out "both expected and unexpected consequences of living in state-delivered housing" (Erwin, 2017, p.68). Lastly, these works point out that the poorer groups' experiences of the rehousing schemes reflect their broader pattern of inequality and that rehousing does little in challenging that (Charlton & Meth, 2017; c.f. Meth et al., 2018; Lemanski, 2011).

Findings from KD extend these available works and suggest that not only do the poorer groups experience the settlement rehousing in highly complex and contradictory ways, different social identity groups, divided along caste and ethnic lines, also experience the settlement rehousing and its various provisions in different ways. KD's case reveals that while the BSUP housing creates upward social mobility and social integration in the lives of the ethnic minority groups[59], it deepens the existing patterns of marginality and disintegration amongst the Dalit caste groups[60]. Therefore, the experiences of the BSUP scheme amongst the poorer groups *do not* reflect the broader pattern of inequality amongst them. This thesis claims that the differences in the way the poorer groups experience the (BSUP scheme in KD) rehousing relate to the spatial consolidation of the relations of social hierarchy as well as the poorer groups' conscious efforts in shaping their lived-experiences in the rehousing (BSUP housing).

Findings from KD draw attention to the need for examining the process of settlement transformation that can reveal the spatial-relational constitution of the heterogeneity (difference) amongst the subaltern groups. Examining the process of poorer groups' settlement (jhoppad/chawl) transformation is, therefore, key to understanding how various identity groups experience the rehousing governmentalities. The existing studies overlook the significance of the spatial-relational nature of heterogeneity amongst the poorer groups in the way they experience the settlement rehousing programmes. These studies tend to ignore the pre-occupancy lived-experiences of the poorer groups in the city and how such experiences shape the way they experience the rehousing governmentalities.

[59] Which is apparent in certain continuities but to a greater extent, changes from the life in jhoppad/chawl. These changes include experiencing emancipation from the stigma of being a minority group, and positive changes in the material conditions, everyday political realities, perception of the self and the others, status, and sense of tenure security in the BSUP housing.

[60] Which is apparent in the continued practices of othering and caste-based stigma that the Dalits face in the BSUP housing as well as in their nostalgia associated with material, social, and political aspects of living in the chawl/jhoppad (settlement).

9.4 Contributions to development practice

In terms of contributions to *development practice*, this research highlights the prevalence of essentialist-universalistic imaginaries of the ‘slums’, ‘slum’ dwellers and the outcomes of the ‘slum’ redevelopment exercises within prevalent development discourse. This research revealed that the BSUP scheme understood the settlements of the urban poor from the perspective of absolute measures of deprivation. The urban poor settlers, on the other hand, were seen as ‘slum dwellers’ having a housing, sanitary, infrastructure, and tenure security needs. Their heterogeneity, and in turn their range of needs/ aspirations, were aggregated from the point of view of tenure security and basic services. The scheme, relying on modernistic planning principles, offered residential spaces in the form of standard prototype housing with basic sanitation and infrastructural facilities. The scheme also kept ‘provisions’ for tenure security. The scheme, however, intended to convert the welfare policy subjects into responsiblised, customer-citizens (c.f. Ferguson & Gupta, 2002). In sum, the BSUP scheme sat at a juncture of a *developmental programme* that offered tangible services and assets and a *neoliberal programme* that aimed to responsiblise the welfare-policy subjects thereby making them autonomous, rule-abiding agents rather than being dependent clients of the state (Gupta & Sharma, 2006; Roy, 2009a).

A longitudinal and a multi-scalar examination of the BSUP scheme implementation revealed that the poorer groups’ informal process of settlement consolidation not only shapes their lived experiences, it also contributes to a range of physical, socio-cultural, spatial, legal, and economic inequalities and exclusions amongst them. A prevalence of heterogeneity amongst the settlers groups meant that the accomplishment of the BSUP scheme in KD created *winners* – the (economically) resourceful and the (politically) well-linked – and *losers* – the ‘deeply disempowered’ (c.f. Devika & Rajasree, 2012). This, in turn, went against the scheme’s objectives of creating upward social and economic mobility amongst the poorer groups (c.f. Gilbert, 2004).

Besides, the examination of the lived-experiences of the poorer groups in the BSUP housing revealed that the spatial consolidation of the relations of social hierarchy – that shaped poorer groups’ lived-experiences in their (mostly self-built) settlement spaces – shaped the way they engaged with the rehousing and its various provisions. Findings revealed that the governmentalities associated with the BSUP housing affected different settlers in complex and contradictory ways. The examination revealed that only certain social groups found the scheme to be useful in their social upliftment. While for the others, mainly the marginalised and the disempowered groups, the BSUP housing and its various provisions had largely negative impacts on their sense of self, neighbourhood and broader social belonging.

Therefore, from the point of view of development practice, this thesis points out that the poorer groups and their (housing) needs are badly understood under the prevalent modernistic-framework oriented settlement rehousing schemes. This thesis reiterates James Turner's (1976) views that foreground the usefulness of self-help housing in

poorer groups' social and economic upliftment. Specifically, this thesis suggests that it would be better to give the poorer groups, greater flexibility to design and construct their housing. This thesis points out to the need of taking the decentralisation right to the scale of communities and households.

9.5 Reflections on research's approach and the way forward

This thesis examined the BSUP scheme for its effectiveness in terms of its creation of upward social mobility and social integration of the urban poor in Kalyan Dombivli by using longitudinal and a multi-scalar approach. In doing that, this research made use of the existing knowledge on subalternity and paid attention to the postcolonial settings of the Mumbai city region. The existing knowledge on subalternity helped in understanding that subalterns are heterogeneous groups that do not lack political agency and that their heterogeneity can only be ascertained in the specific empirical settings (Spivak, 1985; Green, 2002; Nilsen & Roy, 2015). A longitudinal and multi-scalar approach, that involved ethnographically examining the pre-, during-, and post-implementation phases of the BSUP scheme in KD at a range of scales, helped in understanding the real nature of difference (heterogeneity) amongst a selected group of urban poor in KD and how that difference plays a key role in the way the selected poorer groups engage with the *accomplishment* of the BSUP scheme and *experience* the BSUP housing. On the other hand, paying attention to the postcolonial settings of Mumbai/KD helped in understanding the fragmented sphere of political authority that prevails in these cities and how a particular scale of the state may compete for sovereignty using 'repertories of authority' that rest upon the use of violence or threat thereof (Hansen, 2009; Weinstein, 2013; c.f. Comaroff & Comaroff, 2007).

The usefulness of the longitudinal and multi-scalar approach to examining the effectiveness of the BSUP scheme can be ascertained from the fact that it not only helped in questioning the codes upon which the scheme was based but also in foregrounding the complex on-the-ground practices through which the scheme was made real and its varied and contradictory effects on the policy subjects. The longitudinal and multi-scalar approach also proved useful from the point of view of its revelation of critical junctures where the scheme's implementation provided opportunities for the local political culture to drive the process of distribution of welfare through the scheme, openings for the poorer groups to challenge the local state's domination, and opportunities for the poorer groups to shape the trajectory of their lived experiences associated with the informal settlements. At the same time, the approach helped in understanding the spatial consolidation of various marginalities, vulnerabilities, inequalities and exclusions amongst the poorer groups. This, in turn, helped in locating the most marginalised amongst the poorer groups and their potentially double (or multiple) exclusion, at several junctures within the trajectory of the BSUP scheme implementation and post-implementation phase.

With regards to an agenda for future research, there are real possibilities of further extension of this approach to research in the follow-on studies. For instance, following

Robinson's (2016, p.187) advocation for using a 'comparative urbanism' approach for developing "new understandings of the expanding and diverse world of cities and urbanization processes", a comparative study could be conducted between two diverse sets of geographies using a longitudinal and a multi-scalar approach. This way, two diverse settings could be brought under the empirical light from the perspective of the ways, the local state agencies make real, various governmentalities under the rehousing schemes at the local level. Besides, two diverse settings could also be examined side-by-side for the ways the poorer groups within such settings/contexts experience the various provisions under the rehousing schemes. Such a comparative work, it is argued, has potentials of furthering the existing knowledge on subalterns, state-power, state-poor relations.

Similarly, a comparative study of two redevelopment schemes – such as the BSUP and the PMAY housing – could also be conducted using a multi-scalar and a longitudinal approach for the effectiveness of their various provisions. Besides, one might further be interested in studying the scales below the scale of the neighbourhood/ community. For instance, the BSUP scheme (or any other prevalent rehousing scheme) could further be examined from the perspective of the role of the scheme provided housing in addressing issues of gender violence. Dutta (2012; 2013) reveals how life in squatter settlements leads to domestic violence, domestic abuse, and a variety of restrictions on the movements of women within the 'slum' settlements. The longitudinal and multi-scalar approach that was adopted in this research could further be used in examining how moving from urban poor's settlements to state-provided rehousing affects gender relations. Such an examination could also prove highly useful in understanding how a change in space affects the issue of gender violence amongst the different caste and ethnic groups.

A multi-scalar and a longitudinal examination of the rehousing schemes, therefore, can fruitfully engage with the various aspects of heterogeneity (inequalities and exclusions) amongst the poorer groups and offer valuable insights on the effectiveness of such rehousing schemes.

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Glossary

Kutcha (house) – a shelter made out of non-durable material that includes mud, thatch, tarpaulin cover, tin shades and bamboo structure.

Pakka (house) – a shelter made out durable materials including cement concrete roofs, brick walls, plastering, and solid stone/tile flooring.

Semi-pakka (house) – a shelter that reflects the characteristics of both kutcha and pakka houses.

Bustee – a local terminology for the informal settlements of the urban poor that draws from its physical characteristic representing the existence of kutcha structures.

Jhoppad – a local terminology for the informal settlements of the urban poor that draws from its physical characteristic representing the existence of kutcha structures.

Chawl – a local terminology for the informal settlements of the urban poor that draws from its physical characteristic representing the existence of semi-pakka and pakka structures. The word *Chawl* however also refers to the single-unit housing that was offered to the industrial workers by their employers in and around the Mumbai city.

Bhadotri – a term used for the tenant/outsider in the local language.

Sthanik – a term used for the 'local' resident in the local language.

Dada – the word dada has two meanings in the context of Mumbai region; 1) it means an elder brother to the urban poor (slum) settlers, and 2) it also means the 'powerful'/ the informal sovereign from the point of view the prevalent discourse on legality.

Agari – a land-owning community within the Kalyan sub-region that is politically well-connected.

Ganesh Utsav – refers to the Hindu festival of Lord Ganesha, the most important of all the celebration in the state of Maharashtra.

Pheriwala – a term used for the street hawkers in the state of Maharashtra.

Kholi – a word for a house in the informal settlements of the urban poor.

Baithee chawl – a sitting chawl, meaning a single storey settlement

Pagadi system – a system that is very popular within the informal settlements of the urban poor within the state of Maharashtra. The agreement allows both the landlord and the tenant to draw benefits from the slum redevelopment schemes. Most often the tenant gets a right to participate in the scheme and becomes eligible for rehousing, the landlord, in exchange for that, gets monetary compensation from the tenant.

List of Annexures

Annexure # 1 List of settlers (BSUP scheme participants and non-participants) whose interview is cited within the empirical chapters

Pseudonym	Gender	Date	Location	Venue
Mahesh	Male	23-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his residence
Kamna	Female	28-Feb-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside her residence
Vaman	Male	23-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his residence
Abhinav	Male	07-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Vishnu	Male	23-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his residence
Arjun	Male	20-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside his residence
Amrish	Male	20-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Brajesh	Male	11-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Chintan	Male	28-Feb-16	Ambedkar Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Danish	Male	28-Feb-16	Ambedkar Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Dada	Male	15-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Outside his residence
Ashish	Male	13-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	Outside his residence
Darshil	Male	14-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside his residence
Father and Son	Male	20-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside their residence
Rakesh	Male	19-Jan-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his residence
Group Interview-1	All male	19-Jan-16	Dutta Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Group Interview-2	All male	01-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Hari	Male	12-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Outside his residence
Alok	Male	14-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside his residence
Kamlesh	Male	19-Jan-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his residence
Inder	Male	01-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Kirthi	Female	02-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside her residence
Kalpesh	Male	20-Aug-17	Sheffield-Dombivli	Telephonic conversation
Kaka	Male	20-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Outside his residence
Lalitha	Female	12-Jan-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside her residence
Asha	Female	06-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	In front of the tower blocks

Manju Mausi	Female	06-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	In front of the tower blocks
Ravi	Male	21-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his residence
Jyothi	Female	18-Jan-16	Dutta Nagar	Insider her residence
Sarita	Female	18-Jan-16	Dutta Nagar	Insider her residence
Vijay	Male	18-Jan-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his residence
Ramesh	Male	12-Jan-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside his residence
Satish	Male	13-Feb-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside his residence
Slum lord Dutta Nagar	Female	18-Dec-15	Dutta Nagar	Insider her residence
Rajesh	Male	12-Jan-16	Ambedkar Nagar	Inside his residence
Sanjay	Male	15-Jan-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his residence
Suresh	Male	07-Mar-16	Ambedkar Nagar	In front of the tower blocks

Annexure # 2 List of state officials cited within the empirical chapters

Designation	**Gender**	**Date**	**Location**	**Venue**
Junior BSUP officer	Male	04-Mar-16, 19-Jan-16, 30 Jan 16, 7 Nov 15	Kalyan	Inside his office
Planning officer, KDMC	Male	08-Oct-15	Kalyan	Inside his office
Junior BSUP officer-2	Male	19-Jan-16	Kalyan	Inside his office
Junior Engineer, KDMC	Male	13-Nov-15	Kalyan	Inside his office
Senior BSUP officer, 6 January 2016	Male	06-Jan-16	Kalyan	Inside his office
BSUP officer- Thane	Male	15- Jan- 16	Thane	Inside his office
MMRDA, Chief Planner -1	Female	16-Feb- 16	MMRDA’s office	Inside her office
MHADA officials (A group comprising Chief Engineer, Executive Engineer, and Deputy engineer)	2 male, 1 female	7 Jan 2016	MHADA’s office	Inside Chief Engineer’s office

Annexure # 3 A list of elected political leaders cited within the empirical chapters

Designation	Gender	Date	Location	Venue
Ex-Councillor, Dutta Nagar	Male	22-Dec-15	Dutta Nagar	In his office
MLA from Kalyan	Male	21-Dec-15	Dutta Nagar	In his car
Councillor from Kalyan	Male	27-Jan-16	Kalyan	In his office
The MLA from Dombivli	Male	12-Mar-16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his office
Ex-Councillor, Dutta Nagar	Female	19-Dec-15	Dutta Nagar	In her house
MP from Dombivli	Male	15-Jan-15	Dutta Nagar	Insider his house
Ex-Mayor	Female	25 Mar 16	Kalyan	Insider her residence

Annexure # 4 List of non-state actors interviewed and cited within this research

Pseudonym/Designation	Gender	Date	Location	Venue
Leader-1, opposition front of the villagers	Male	20-Nov-15	Manpada Village, Kalyan	Inside his office
Leader-2, opposition front of the villagers	Male	25-Mar-16	Kalyan	Telephonic conversation
Rajesh	Male	8-Oct-15	Bhal Village, Ambernath Tehsil	Inside his residence
Kamal – PIL expert-1	Male	08-Jan-16, 19-Dec 15 12 Mar16	Dutta Nagar	Inside his office
Sri – PIL expert-1	Male	05 Nov 15	Kalyan	Inside his office
Architect Rajeev	Male	14 Oct 15	Dombivli	Insider his office
Arvind, social activist working in slums	Male	7 Oct 15	Kalyan	Inside his residence

Annexure # 5 List of documents sourced during the fieldwork

Source	document title	format
MMRDA	Regional Plan for the Bombay Metropolitan Region 1971-91	hard copy
PIL expert	Kakodkar [the then Metropolitan Commissioner BMRDA] Samittee [Committee] Report on unauthorised construction within KD	hard copy
KDMC	KD's DP of 1996-2011	hard copy
KDMC	City Development Plan (CDP) for the JNNURM	soft copy
KDMC	Notes from the Detailed Project Report- 1	Notes
KDMC	CDP for the JNNURM-2	hard copy
KDMC	General Body Resolutions on beneficiary lists and allotments of BSUP tenements	hard copy
KDMC	BSUP contract between the KDMC and the Building Contractor	hard copy
KDMC	residential flat Allotment letter to the BSUP scheme beneficiary	hard copy
KDMC	Possession letter cum possession receipt	hard copy
KDMC	Provisional offer letter	hard copy
KDMC	Tripartite contract signed at the time of the BSUP surveys	hard copy
KDMC	biometric cum socio-economic survey form (along with identification documents)	hard copy
KDMC	Details of slum survey conducted by the KDMC for RAY scheme, 2011	hard copy
KDMC	Monthly progress reports of the BSUP scheme, shared with the Central government Ministry (last one 8/02/2017)	hard copy
KDMC	Ward wise 2011 Census population and demographic details	hard copy
KDMC	State Government Regulation dated 25. 12. 2008 on the BSUP scheme	Hard copy