

**CITIES AND CITIZENSHIP:  
A CASE STUDY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND  
'RIGHT TO THE CITY' IN DELHI**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**NIVEDITA BOSE**



**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI- 110067**

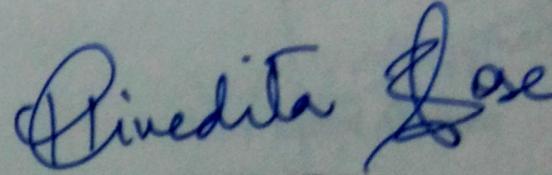
**INDIA**

**2015**

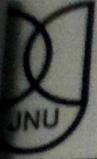
Date: 24 July, 2015

DECLARATION

This is to declare that dissertation titled 'Cities and Citizenship: A Case Study of Urban Development and 'Rights to the City' in Delhi', submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Philosophy from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted, in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of this or any other university.



Nivedita Bose



CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

*V. Sujatha*

Prof. V. Sujatha  
(Chairperson)

Chairperson  
CSSS/SSS  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi - 110067

*Dr. A. Bimol Akoijam*  
24/07/2015

Dr. A. Bimol Akoijam  
(Supervisor)

Associate Professor  
Centre for the Study  
of Social Systems  
School of Social Sciences  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I joined this university two years back with a mixture of hope and enthusiasm. This dissertation is the culmination of not just my MPhil degree but also the sociological journey I undertook in academia as a young adult from under graduation. I'm extremely grateful to:

Dr. A. Bimol Akoijam, my supervisor, for his exuberance and patience regarding my dissertation. Thank you for enriching my sociological imagination with your discussions that went beyond the confines of my dissertation title and my fixation with the urban.

I'm much obliged to my even-tempered parents who very graciously supported me with my decision to undertake this long scholarly pursuit. And who also taught me, to every now and then, celebrate the small joys in life.

Without attempting to undertake the arduous process of naming everyone, a special heartfelt thank you to my friends. For those who, with good humour and forbearance listened to my everyday trivialities. To some, who were kind enough to let me peruse through their carefully curated books, when I was too impoverished to buy any.

# **CONTENTS**

**DECLARATION AND CERTIFICATE**

**ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

**CONTENTS**

**LIST OF FIGURES**

<b>1 INTRODUCTION: STATE, IDENTITIES, AND CITY.....</b>	<b>7</b>
1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	11
1.2 LAYOUT OF CHAPTERS.....	18
<b>2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: DEVELOPMENT, CITY, AND CITIZENSHIP.....</b>	<b>21</b>
2.1 DEVELOPMENT .....	22
2.1.1 MODERNISATION THEORY.....	24
2.1.2 NEO-MARXIST PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT.....	28
2.1.3 ALTERNATIVE THEORIES ON DEVELOPMENT .....	34
2.2 THE CITY.....	39
2.3 CITIZENSHIP.....	50
<b>3 GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PLANS.....</b>	<b>56</b>
3.1 THE ‘URBAN QUESTION’ IN FIVE YEAR PLANS.....	57
3.2 FOCUS POINT: JAWAHARLAL NATIONAL URBAN RENEWAL MISSION, JNNURM.....	64
3.2.1 JNNURM: STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION?.....	70

3.2.2 BEYOND JNNURM.....	76
3.3 CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT, CHANGE IN POLICIES?.....	81
<b>4 DELHI: CITY OF WALLS, CITY OF GATES.....</b>	<b>83</b>
4.1 SHAHJAHANABAD TO NEW DELHI: FROM CITADELS TO AVENUES.....	85
4.2 POST-COLONIAL DELHI AND ITS VISION OF MODERNITY.....	89
4.3 THE BLUEPRINT: DELHI MASTER PLAN, 1962.....	90
4.4 DELHI DURING EMERGENCY: JAGMOHAN, DEMOLITIONS AND BEAUTIFICATION.....	94
4.5 CONTEMPORARY DELHI: CHANGING CONTOURS OF STATE, CITIZEN AND THE MARKET.....	98
4.5.1 BOURGEOIS CITIES: THE RISE OF THE NEW MIDDLE-CLASS.....	102
4.5.2 MIDDLE-CLASS ACTIVISM AND ENTREPRENEURIAL CITIZEN IDENTITY: RWA, BHAGIDARI AND GATED COMMUNITIES .....	107
4.5.3 CRIMINALISATION OF THE POOR AND THE AGENCY OF THE URBAN SUBALTERN.....	116
<b>5 TOWARDS CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>6 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>134</b>

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

4.1 Map locating the ‘seven cities’ of Delhi within a tourist map	83
4.2 Shahjahanabad, 1906	85
4.3 Map showing Imperial Delhi juxtaposed to that of the Old city of Delhi	87
4.4 Proposed land use as per Delhi Master Plan, 1962	91
4.5 Yamuna Pushta before being demolished	95
4.6 The wreckage left in the wake of the demolitions	95

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION: STATE, IDENTITIES AND CITY

“Delhi will be developed into a ‘global city’ and the country's first ‘smart city’ will be set up here to decongest the national capital and facilitate it with all modern amenities”, Union Urban Development Minister M Venkaiah Naidu stated, while addressing the parliament. “We want to make Delhi a truly global city, having all latest and modern amenities and facilities that any other global city like London or San Francisco has.” (The Economic Times, Jan 3, 2015). The Narendra Modi-led NDA government has planned to set up 100 ‘smart cities’ for which the Ministry is working on guidelines to attract private investments in these proposed ‘smart cities’. Referring to cities as the “engine of growth”, UD Ministry aims to draw out growth path to ensure that they function efficiently because an effective engine is critical to economic development (The Economic Times, Dec 31, 2014). A similar sentiment was echoed in the speech that launched the ambitious Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission in 2005, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said: “We must plan big, think big and have a new vision for the future of urban India ...”, realising that “... our urban economy has become an important driver of economic growth ...” that is a “... bridge between the domestic and global economy.” (GOI, 2005) The JNNURM, argues Om Mathur, marks “... one of the most extraordinary shifts in thinking in India about cities and urbanisation ...” that realigns “... urban sector policies to the emerging macro-economic context in the post-1991 period” (Mathur, 2009, p. 13).

Cities have been edging towards the centre of research and policy in India since the mid-1970s. This focus on cities indicates that urbanisation is today viewed by both Indian and international policymakers not merely as an important area for developmental intervention, but also as the locus of India's growth strategy. This is taking place in the context of cities becoming the locus of increasing economic activities in the backdrop of globalisation. To understand the above said theme it is important that we revisit the urban-rural juxtaposition in the Nationalist understanding.

In this context Prakash states that the city occupied an ambivalent place in the Indian nationalist imagination and the urban experience seldom received any concentrated attention. Indeed, the nationalists looked to the village in defining India. Gandhi's exaltation the village and village communities are well known, as is his view that cities were places of evil and corruption. The emotional resonance that Gandhi found in the village can be understood in terms of Partha Chatterjee's (2006) argument that the nationalists identified the 'inner' as the nation's authentic space. The village stood for the domain where the nation was sovereign, free from the 'outer' sphere of modern politics, economics, science, and technology that was dominated by the West. Folding the question of cities into a general problem of national development, Nehru approached the city as an aspect of planning and development. His sense of history as a linear story of development and fulfilment and his confidence in planning as an instrument to achieve progress came together in the building of Chandigarh as a symbol of India, unfettered by the traditions of the past. Though built to provide a capital for the recently partitioned Punjab state, the construction of Chandigarh can be seen as an expression of Nehru's confidence in planned urbanisation as a catalyst for modernisation.

However, Chatterjee (2004, 2006) presents a different picture by stating that there has been in the last decade or so a concerted attempt to clean up Indian cities, to rid streets and public lands of squatters and encroachers, and this has been propelled by citizen' groups. To understand the reasons for the change, it is necessary, he contends, to consider the place of the city in the modern Indian imagination. He states that it was in the 1990s that a new idea of the post-industrial city became globally available for emulation. The new city isn't driven by manufacturing but by finance and a host of producer services. The growth of the new metropolis is fundamentally characterised by a shift from industrial manufacturing to a service dominated urban economy. So on one hand we see that the atmosphere produced by economic liberalisation has made the urban middle class strives for greater assertion. On the other hand, government policy is steadily withdrawing from welfare services to the poor to subsist within the city and is instead applying the greatest attention to improving infrastructure in order to create conditions for the import of high technology and new service industries. Many scholars have argued that the dominant discourses of citizenship in urban India reflect, in fact, the rise of a new growth coalition that sees cities as the 'engines of national development'.

Within this new urban political economy, Jayal argues, lies an "unsocial compact" (Jayal, 2013). Gidwani and Reddy term this a "post-development social formation", within which even the "nominal ethical relationship" between the state, the elite and the poor of a previous developmentalism stands fractured (Gidwani & Reddy, 2001). As a self-fashioned "middle-class citizen" becomes the object of what Deshpande once eloquently called the "imagined economy" at the heart of any development imagination (Deshpande, 1993). Delhi, the Indian capital, captures several of these dynamics. It has been home to a series of evictions that have either confined many urban residents to the peripheries or rendered them without shelter. It is marked by a rapidly changing economic landscape, with altered patterns and possibilities of employment, consumption,

production and work. It is home to what has, in recent years, begun to settle into a contested yet undeniably coherent discursive and aesthetic form in the idea of a “world-class city” (Bhan, 2014), with particular imaginations of emergence, transformation and its renewal. It has seen significant shifts in the arenas and mechanisms of governance and new forms of political participation by residents, both poor and privileged, which arguably respond to new expectations and practices of state–citizen relations.

It is against the backdrop of these emerging dynamics that I pose my research questions investigation the changes between the relationship of the state and the citizen vis- a vis changes in the urban political economy of the country. Secondly, my aim is also to explore if the city, has in fact, resulted in a more egalitarian imagination of citizenship, as has been argued by many theorists. Connected to this, I examine how the claims and presence of urban citizens have been managed or evaded within urban politics. This is critically analysed using key moments, as understood by me, in urban milieu that brings into play citizenship, inequality, and relations between urban social classes. I wish to underline these changes by tracing turning points and transitions in Indian policy. By doing so, I aim to enhance the theoretical understanding of Indian cities and problematise earlier theories produced on the urban Indian landscape. Additionally, since my dissertation also includes an in depth study of policies, I will also engage in the evaluation of said policies, to understand if they have been effective in addressing and managing issues to which they are related to.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Has there been a corresponding change in the relationship between the state and the citizens, when analysed in context of changes perceived in the political economy? This is pertinent especially since contemporary urban India exists at a moment that is framed by multiple transformations: liberal market reforms initiated in 1991 that have led to profound economic and social restructuring; the emerging notion of world class cities at a time of increasing global interaction and media explosion; and changing aspirational landscape of the non-poor. Within these transformations how do we read a critical shift in urban politics?
  - a. Can we trace a shift in the nature of policies concerning the urban context? The ‘urban turn’ that Gyan Prakash (2002) argued for nearly a decade ago seems immensely debated. Is one way of theorising this problem by looking into public policy and government sponsored programmes?
2. Has the city resulted in a more egalitarian imagination of citizenship, as postulated by many theorists? Has Lefebvre’s oft quoted ‘right to the city’ moved South, so to speak. Or have Indian cities, to twist Partha Chatterjee’s earlier argument, seem indeed to have become bourgeoisie at last?
3. How have the claims, presence and resistance of a significant proportion of urban residents been managed and even evaded within urban politics?
  - a. Through what mechanisms is inequality being maintained and reproduced especially in the emerging milieu of contemporary Indian

urbanism? While the power of the claims of the middle class and the emergence of a new urban political economy has been documented, the specificity of how the subaltern urban residents have been displaced from the developmental imagination also needs to be critically engaged with. Especially in context of what Bhan terms as ‘emergence of elite urban politics’.

One way in which this dissertation seeks to address these research questions is by studying the narratives and imaginations of citizens and citizenship that emerge from case study on evictions and resettlements and juxtaposing these experiences to Delhi government’s award winning scheme of Bhagidari and Resident’s welfare associations (RWAs) in reading contemporary contestations of urban citizenship.

Cities are made, Cinar and Bender (2007) write that through the act of collective imagination, and hence we need to look for the city in such media of the collective imagination as lottery texts, popular media, the daily discursive reality of inhabitants, and numerous other forms of the public culture of daily life. This can help answer and provide valuable insights into understanding: what processes link contemporary manifestations of consumerism, the middle classes and the urban poor? What can the increasing visibility of RWAs in the quotidian politics of the city tell us about new notions of citizenship and the emergent relationships between middle classes, the state and the market? And what is shared between new forms of urban religiosity, the desire for the ‘global city’, and new consumer cultures?

The issues raised above connect to an important perspective regarding the experience of the city: as to what extent must the city be defined as a singular

community sharing a common identity and public culture? Baviskar grapples with this question and states that, “a metropolis is, by its very nature, many things to many people, marked by composite cultures and multiple life worlds.” She concludes that, “it is precisely the heterogeneity of Delhi which is the hallmark of contemporary urban experience everywhere” (Baviskar 1998, p. 3120).

This dissertation aims to elaborate on the spatial strategies that concretise significant contemporary social and cultural processes: relationships between the urban poor, state and the market in the making of the informal city, politics and cultures of slum demolitions, especially in context of making of a global city, the rise of a middle-class activism and its role in delineating realms of legality and illegality in the city, middle class consciousness and its manifestations in forms of residence, consumption and leisure; the changing nature of the relationship between the state and the urban middle classes; and the discourses of consumerism as they travel across the registers of class, nation, gender and citizenship. All of this has been wonderfully elaborated by de Kooning who explores the making of new upper middle class identities in Cairo through focussing on upmarket “American style coffee shops’, which function as a prism through which one can view the way local and global come together to create specific configurations of hierarchy and distinction, closeness and distance, and implement specific spatial regimes based on social segregation” (de Kooning, 2007, p. 66). In a similar fashion, I wish to explore the prismatic nature of different spaces where the refractions are a series of contests about urban improvements, identity politics, the state’s attempt to shape the city, and projects of transformations that seek to conjure both the ideal urban body and idealised topographies.

The modern spatial history of Delhi, that which includes the state as well as private interests in land, is an account of contests over space and identities between an extraordinary variety of claimants to the city and the state. The Indian urban transformation narrative is part of a global one. If the one stated rationale for 'colonial urban development' and governmentality was to encourage change among native populations, post-colonial states position urban transformations within frameworks of national pride, middle-class aesthetic sensibilities and increasingly to attract tourists. So, in Delhi, global trends in residential design, consumerist practice and leisure activities manifest in the construction of gated communities and shopping malls, with the additional initiative of the government to clean up the Yamuna riverfront of the 'unsightly' slum-dwellers. However, residual residents of the city simply do not depart from the global city. Rather, they invent localised means of taking part in the transnational processes that ebb and flow among them as rivers of dreams, possibilities of change, and endlessly alluring senses of the city. The social life of urban settlements referred to as slums is an intrinsic part of the making of Indian urban and national life. They are not products of an aberrant urbanism and city planning gone wrong; rather, they constitute parallel histories or relationships between the state, the markets, and different forms of entitlements that are otherwise homogenised under citizenship.

Middle-class Residents Welfare Association (RWAs) have played a significant role in agitating for slum demolitions. However, they are also associated with two other aspects: first, with securing a certain standard of material conditions of living, either through private means or through negotiations with the state; second, how the activities of RWAs itself is a claim on 'being' and 'becoming' middle class. These can be analysed by exploring the case of a 'protest' movement spearheaded by the RWAs of Delhi that represent a variety of middle class localities. The RWAs present themselves as citizens' groups, seeking to locate their actions in the realm of civil society, that self-consciously speak

for middle class interests in urban affairs, articulating a common set of issues that are seen to affect all middle class people, including the growth of slums. While empirically there may not be a single middle class identity across Delhi, RWA activity is itself part of the process of producing the notion of a homogeneous middle class in the city. Thus, RWAs are crucial to the process of consolidating an urban consensus around middle-classness, and the politics of space and exclusion becomes crucial to the making of this consensus.

The second illustration of the evolving relationship between middle class activism on behalf of itself as an agent of change, the state and the market relates to the activity of the Delhi government sponsored Bhagidari scheme. As part of this programme, representatives of the various RWAs, Traders associations and key government officials come together regularly in meetings held. These meetings are intended to reimagine the city as a space of cooperative endeavour, one where citizens play an active role in formulating and implementing policies and the state responds through 'transparent' mechanisms of urban governance. This vision of the city marries the idea of the consumerist family located in legally defined spaces to that of transparent and responsive state machinery. It also produces narratives of threats to the informal city from urban under classes.

This case of middle-class activism provides an important entry into contemporary ideas of revolution, change and freedom in the absence of the moral backdrop of anti-colonial nationalism and the socialist Nehruvian state. This discussion seeks to position middle class activism within broader cultural and social landscapes that also produce an entrepreneurial citizen identity. This provides a link to the consolidation of new contexts of consumerism and discourses of choice and the ideal relationship with the state.

The third site of enquiry uses ‘evictions’ as a particularly useful illustration in reading contemporary contestations of urban citizenship. Evictions, different in both degree and kind from previous cycles of urban displacement, have scarred the landscape of millennial Delhi, displacing no fewer than 70,000 households between 1990 and 2007, even if one relies only on government data. After 2007, some reports suggest a further 40,000 households have been demolished in evictions preceding the Commonwealth Games in 2010. Fewer than half of these evictions resulted in any kind of resettlement or other rehabilitation.

Yet, here, it can be argued that the slum is not just the materiality of housing, a spatial form or a planning category – it must be read instead as the ‘territorialisation’ of a political engagement within which its residents negotiate their presence in, as well as their right to, the city. It is within this engagement that 15–25 per cent of the city’s residents can live openly, often for decades, in ‘illegal’ settlements. This engagement is complex. It is based on a mix of political, ethical and moral that draw upon both rights and needs. It is an engagement with, but not limited to, institutions of government that often involves their implicit and explicit patronage and, at times, even their active participation. It works through, as well as despite, the law and regimes and practices of planning. It takes just as often the form of resistance and opposition – through, for example, occupations or vigorous social movements resisting eviction and pursuing greater legitimacy and security of tenure – as it does the more institutionalised forms of state–citizen relations such as the ballot. It constructs and attributes meaning and value to urban space through symbolic and discursive practices, telling its own narrative of both the city and the slum within it. It is, in other words, a negotiation of citizenship, if we follow James Holston and Arjun Appadurai (1999) in seeing the latter not “just as a legal status but as the moral and performative dimensions of membership, which define the meanings and practices of belonging in society” (Holston & Ap-

padurai, 1999, pp. 4-5). An additional perspective of looking at the issue of evictions is through various judgements ruled by the Supreme Court on the PILs filed. Analysis of these describe the narratives and imaginations of citizens and citizenship that emerge from case law on evictions. Drawing on these judgements outlines three key narratives within them: first, the difference between city-centric and national claims to citizenship; second, the distinction the Courts draw between ‘citizens’ and ‘encroachers’, and the erasure of the vulnerability of the slum residents.

The ‘citizen’, the ‘encroacher’ and the idea of ‘encroachment’ thus travel. They are produced and reproduced between the courtroom and the city, simultaneously institutionalised in judicial verdicts in the name of public interest just as they are codified in the city’s largest policy paradigm on governance and embedded in the language of everyday life. As the city is produced as an arena of politics, inequality stands institutionalised and justified. It is thus within the context of Bhagidari that the Courts move from the ‘residents of a locality’ to the ‘residents of Delhi’ to the ‘citizens of Delhi’, redefining both the imagination of the urban citizen as well as laying claim to the constitution of the ‘public’ Claims to welfare within a national discourse of development in India have longed been based on the idea that the vulnerable represent a majority of Indians – the sheer demography of impoverishment commanded priority in the allocation of resources. At the very least, accumulation had to be legitimised by its direct and indirect impact on poverty as part of the narrative of national development. As development rearticulates itself within and through the contemporary Indian city, evictions remind us that it now must cater to a new set of elite ‘citizens’ – arguably insurgent, questionably egalitarian and undeniably urban.

## **LAYOUT OF CHAPTERS**

### **CHAPTER TWO: KEY CONCEPTS**

This chapter will develop the conceptual framework of the dissertation. The three concepts central to my study are ‘citizenship’, ‘city’ and ‘development’. Holston and Appadurai (1999) argue that since the eighteenth century one of the defining marks of modernity has been the use of two linked concepts of association: citizenship and nationality, to establish the meaning of full membership in society. However, cities still remain a strategic arena for the development of citizenship. Some scholars have suggested that cities maybe re-emerging as more salient sites for citizenship; while others suggest that citizens are producing new notions of membership and solidarity, which could be restrictive or expansive. Understanding the city thus becomes crucial not only for comprehending modern existence but also to engage with the transformations that have come up in the conceptualisation of citizenship. The city is a complex reality that yields few easy answers. If we look only at the facts of urban life, we will surely miss its dynamic soul. The city will appear dull and lifeless—a collection of concrete buildings, bureaucracies, and unemployment rates. But if we also ask the ‘how’ questions, which link these factual elements to human lives, the city springs to life as a set of vital, dynamic forces. In studying the city, then, we must not ask merely ‘What is it’? We must probe beyond the descriptions and the statistics to the broader and deeper reality of urban life.

### **CHAPTER THREE: PLANS AND POLICIES**

The theoretical debates examined in the previous chapter will, in this chapter, be seen in terms of various policies. Thus, how discourses shape developmental interventions and state plans will be scrutinised through outlining major

transition points in state policy. This will be achieved through two means: first is through the enumeration of the various yojanas, schemes, projects and commissions that were set up as part of the various Five Year Plans; secondly through an in-depth analysis of JNNURM.

In order to revitalise the urban development strategies, the Central Government launched a major initiative named as Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), in December 2005, to give a focused attention to integrated development of urban infrastructure and services initially in select 63 mission cities. Its emphasis was on provision of basic services to the urban poor, including housing, water supply, sanitation, road network, urban transport; the development of inner/old city areas, etc. and the earlier programmes like Mega City, IDSMT, NSDP and VAMBAY were merged with it. JNNURM was divided into two broad parts namely (i) the Sub- Mission on Urban Infrastructure and Governance and (UIG) (ii) the Sub-Mission on Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) covering initially 63 mission cities. The Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017) proposed to consolidate the JNNURM and envisaged its wider role in urban reforms. The JNNURM during Twelfth Plan has following components: Urban infrastructure and Governance (UIG); Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY); Slum rehabilitation in cities not covered under RAY; and Capacity building.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR: EMPIRICAL SITE, DELHI**

The theoretical concerns raised in preceding chapters will now be located within the realm of a specific empirical site, which in this case, is the capital city of Delhi. The various policies and schemes discussed in the previous chapter has brought with it a set of major urban reforms which seeks to make the city 'investor friendly' by focussing on decentralisation, deregulation, privatisation and public-private partnerships. Thus, changing the context of de-

velopment in cities by favouring their insertion into the larger global movement. This process has led to a major restructuring of urban space, including slum clearance, which has also contributed to an aggravation of socio-spatial inequalities. These transformations will be exemplified by the case of Delhi.

Delhi's status as the capital of the country makes the management of urban spaces all the more acute as it reflects the image of the global power aspirations of the nation. Historically, Delhi has a history of urban cleansing as part of its image building and to facilitate development even during Mughal and British control. Massive slum clearance was undertaken during Emergency, removing squatter settlements from the inner city and displacing them to peripheral resettlement colonies. Even the 1982 Asian Games were preceded by a beautification drive and slum clearance. One of the ways in which urban space management was sought to be achieved was through the city's Master Plan which envisaged a planned and orderly city, but instead, led to the mushrooming of the 'unplanned Delhi' (Baviskar, 2003). I intend to analyse the ambition of the political and planning authorities to transform the city based on the aspirations of becoming a 'world class', 'global city' and scrutinise the position of the poor in such a city, as the redevelopment and beautification of the capital for the making of a 'world-class city' have entailed a heavy cost in terms of slum demolitions.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: DEVELOPMENT, CITY, AND CITIZENSHIP**

Significant shifts have taken place not only in the arenas and mechanisms of governance and new forms of political participation by residents, both poor and privileged. Distinct changes have also come about in the notion of aesthetics that govern the formation of the city, with particular imaginations of emergence, transformation and renewal. What do these dynamics tell us about inequality and the nature of urban citizenship? In other words the questions to be probed are: how have the entitlements, demands, existence and resistance of a significant proportion of urban residents been controlled, negotiated and even avoided within urban politics? These deliberations and negotiations with the urban-dwellers takes particular forms in terms of different contexts pertaining to distinct citizenship models and regimes, spatial and temporal locations. Understanding these particularities becomes important in order to comprehend and also challenge counter-hegemonic politics in India's urban spaces today.

This chapter deals with the building a conceptual framework to understand the research questions being put forward in the dissertation. The key concepts identified are: development, city and citizenship. It is important to historicise these concepts, to understand the particularities of the context in which they emerged, before they can be contextualised in order to understand their impli-

cations in comprehending the social structure in urban India. One way of accessing the latter is by building an intricate web between the key concepts in order to understand the interrelationship that exists amongst them.

## **DEVELOPMENT**

Development can be defined as a specified state of growth or advancement; a new and advanced product or idea; an event constituting a new stage in a changing situation. All these can be regarded as simple definitions to this word at hand. Wolfgang Sachs (1992) uses a biological analogy in order to understand the concept of development. He states that in common understanding, development describes a “process through which the potentialities of an object or organism are released, until it reaches its natural, complete, full-fledged form” (Sachs, 1992, p. 3). In biology the development of living beings, like those of plants and animals, refers to the process through which organisms achieve their genetic potential. In other academic disciplines, such as the social sciences, this metaphor can be used to show the goal of development and the activities and measures taken within it. Sachs points out that in the western genealogy of history, development has been converted into a programme, which is construed as both necessary and inevitable. Such is its importance that there are multiple ways of calculating it using numerous tools of economic analysis, such as nominal GDP growth, real GDP growth rate, GNP, Gross National Income (GNI), amongst others.

But more often than not, in popular discourse, development is identified with economic growth and more recently in conjunction with the broader terminology of human development. It was in 1990 when the first Human Development Report was published by the United Nations Development Programme.

The human development index was developed by the economist Mahbub Ul Haq, is founded in the theory of human capabilities developed by Amartya Sen. The human development index aims to go beyond using Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a method of assessing a country's development by including aspects of life expectancy, adult literacy, access to all three levels of education, as well as people's average income which is a necessary condition of their freedom of choice. Thus, by incorporating such aspects, the notion of human development thereby integrates aspects of an individual's well-being, which not only includes their economic status but also gender parity, political freedom and health. According to the Human Development Report (1996), published by the United Nations Development Program, human development is the end goal and economic growth is a means to achieving it.

Development is closely bound with ideologies and values. Beliefs about definitions of development shape the assumptions, values, actions, processes and aims of organisations and institutions (their theories of change). It becomes imperative for us to understand the various theoretical debates that have centred on the concept of development, when scholars have engaged in its conceptualisation. This is interpreted through broadly classify existing theory in terms of modernisation theory, taking Rostow and Smelser's works as exemplifying this. Secondly, the theory of underdevelopment and dependency is understood by using the theoretical works of A.G. Frank and Amin and how this theoretical orientation arose as a response to the earlier paradigms of development. Lastly, the category of alternative models of development have been outlined in this section, which is seen as a response to the growing disillusionment with the programme of development and modernisation.

## **MODERNISATION THEORY**

As David Harrison (1988) suggests, “there is no one modernisation theory” (Harrison, 1988, p. 1). Rather, it is an umbrella term used for a plurality of perspectives that came to the forefront, both in academics and in policy decisions in the 1950s and 1960s. “The dominant themes of such perspectives arose from established sociological traditions and involved the often conscious reinterpretation of the concerns of classical sociology”. These schools of thought included: “evolutionism, diffusionism, structural functionalism, systems theory and interactionism” (Ibid.,1), which all combined to form the amalgamation of ideas that came to be known as modernisation theory. There were inputs from other disciplines, for example, “political science, anthropology, psychology, economics and geography” (Ibid.,1), and in the two decades after the Second World War such perspectives were increasingly applied to the Third World. In many ways the roots of this theory can be traced to the period of antiquity, when the concept of evolution was first used with regard to the human society. It was only in the eighteenth century that the evolution of societies was beginning to be studied systematically.

It was Darwin’s work on biological evolution, which gave further impetus and reinforcement to the perspective of social evolutionism in the nineteenth century. Darwin’s theory of evolution had important influences on the sociological theory produced at the time. In Europe, the nineteenth century was a time of massive social changes and economical changes, which radically altered the structures of societal institutions. As Bock (1964) illustrates in his work, nineteenth century theories of evolution and the changes that came through it were depicted as natural and inevitable. Rather than the process of evolution that was explained, it were the blockages in the process of evolution that required the necessary elucidation of its causes. In the context of evolution, change was

seen to be slow, continuous and manifest in conditions that facilitated it. Moreover, when changes did occur, it was taken to mean that it would follow the same pattern across all societies. Such that, different societies were distinguished from one another in the different positions that they occupied in the evolutionary scale. In this way, when a less developed country became more developed and moved higher in the evolutionary scale, it ultimately would become closer in type to the category of western industrial societies.

This aspect of evolution of societies inherent in modernisation theory has been reflected in many state policies as well, the most significant being the Presidential address of American President Truman. “In his inaugural address of 1949, President Truman announced the Point Four Programme of development aid” (Harrison, 1988, p. 8). This outlined the aid policy of the United States, which subsequently decided to support the efforts of those who lived in economically underdeveloped countries by developing their resources and improve their standards of living. However, scholars have pointed out this policy of aid was not primarily out of the altruism of the country rather it was politically motivated. Politically, this aid policy was situated in the context of decolonisation and at the critical time period of the Cold War. The Truman policy has been criticised as not just a modernisation tool for the underdeveloped countries but rather also as a mechanism for tackling the influence of the communist Soviet Union on the newly decolonised countries of the South.

Academically, modernisation and development have been theorised in multiple ways. Both Smelser and Rostow attempted to provide more general perspectives in the analysis of development. Smelser, a sociologist, was particularly concerned with the effects of economic development on social structures. He classified these into four major processes. Harrison (1988) elucidates these as: first, there is a transition from using simple technology and implements to

more complex use of technology, secondly, there is an adaptation of cash crops from the practice of subsistence farming, thirdly, a move from animal and human power to industrialisation and, finally, an increasingly urban-based population. In other words, the family 'loses' functions, economic activities become distinct from domestic and religious spheres and social stratification becomes more complex, with greater emphasis on achievement and social mobility. Additionally, to maintain social cohesiveness, new integrative mechanisms arise. This is very much keeping in line with the structural functionalist perspective that emphasises on the adaptive capacity of societies for bring in and maintaining social equilibrium. Smelser pointed out to how welfare agencies link the family to the economy, voluntary associations emerge, including trades unions, to counter feelings of anonymity brought about by urbanisation, and new political institutions cater for an increasing number of interest groups.

In his best known publication, *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960), Rostow suggests that economic growth can be classified into five stages and all societies can be placed in any of these categories of growth, corresponding to the level of development that they had achieved. He derived these stages from his study of Western economic development. In the first stage which he referred to as that of traditional society, the economic output, he stated, was limited because of the lack of science and technology. Societal values in this category were generally fatalistic and political power was non-centralised. At the second stage called the preconditions for take off, new ideas favouring economic progress emerge and with it education, entrepreneurship, and institutions capable of mobilising capital also make their appearance. There is an increase in investments, especially in transport, communication and raw materials, resulting in a general commercial expansion. Despite these developments taking place traditional social structures and production techniques remain. Thus resulting in a dual society, with traditional society persisting side by side with modern economic activities.

Rostow terms the third stage as take-off, where through the absorption of new technology alone or with the additional emergence of new political groups, who give a high priority to the modernisation of the economy, traditional barriers to economic growth are overcome. This leads to a rapid increase in investment causing new industries to expand, along with that of the entrepreneurial class as well. Commercialisation of agriculture takes place with a corresponding growth in productivity, to meet the increase in demand from expanding urban centres. This leads to the fourth stage in this scheme of classification called as 'drive to maturity'. Here technology becomes more complex and is applied for producing a bulk of the society's resources. What is produced is now less a matter of economic necessity and more a question of choice. Output of the economy keeps steadily increasing because a high proportion of the national income is invested in technology. Compared to earlier epochs, the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture declines, with more of them acquiring work skills. There is an increase in wages, which reduced poverty rates and thereby leading to an increase in the standard of living of its people.

These changes culminate in the final stage, heralding the age of high consumption, where the leading economic sectors specialise in manufacturing durable consumer goods and services. Basic needs of the people are satisfied and hence, the society needs to make choices based on its aspiration of promoting equality and welfare or the choice relating to the production of the kind of commodities being produced. According to Rostow, in the United States this stage was heralded the mass production of the motor car.

Like other Modernisation theorists, Rostow's theory on development too, displayed some of the essential qualities of the Modernisation theory. In his model, countries were envisaged to develop in a serially arranged and predictable

manner, this is also termed as an unilinear model of development. Secondly, his theory seems to suggest that changes in economy had to be complimented by a change in social and cultural values and structure found within the society. Implying that removing cultural impediments would clear the way for economic development to take place. These cultural obstacles could be removed by the process of cultural diffusion from countries outside and the modernising elite within the society itself.

Modernising theory, thus, understands modernity and tradition to be on two ends of the spectrum, as antithetical qualities. Therefore, societies could either be modern or traditional. When both of them exist within a society it lead to social imbalance and disturbance of some sort. This postulates that as the industrial sector is introduced in a less-developed society and starts growing, the traditional sector already present in it coexists with this newly industrialised enclave. As time passes, the influence of the modern sector emanates to other parts of the society. This influence of the ‘growth pole’ to the traditional sectors takes place gradually, but in a piecemeal manner it encompasses the political, social and economic aspects of the hitherto traditional society. What modernisation theorists suggest is that countries either replicate the growth trajectory of the western, industrialised societies or continue to remain traditional societies.

## **NEO-MARXIST PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT**

Just as a number of approaches constitute the theory of modernisation, likewise, a number of scholars have developed their own theories relating to a Marxist understanding to development. Gabriel Palma (1978) argues that rather than a theory of dependency, it is “more appropriate to speak of a school

of dependency” because of the diverse nature of theories that have been asserted within it, “post-1948 United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) critique of the conventional theory regarding economic development and international trade” (Palma, 1978, p. 881). As a school of thought, it chiefly comprises of three distinct strands, namely: theory of underdevelopment, theory of dependency, and world systems theory. Essentially, those belonging to this broad-based ideological stance argued that contrary to what the modernisation theorists envisaged, it was underdevelopment and inequality that resulted due to the global spread of capitalism and not development, that they had hoped for.

Dependency theory originated from the socio-economic experience of Latin America and the growing disillusionment it faced under the hegemony of the western economic model being applied to the countries of the continent after the second world war. However, it was the import substitution policy for industrialisation policy dived and promoted by the ECLA that made this theory so dominant within Latin American social science literature. This body of knowledge that arose in the late-1950s and early 1960s, synthesised the experience of the world capitalist system to put forward its hypothesis that the key characteristic of the system was underdevelopment. There was also growing disappointment regarding the economic stages of development espoused by modernisation theorists and much of the public policies that were inspired by it. Rather, there was a growing belief in the “development of underdevelopment or underdevelopment of development” (Palma, 1978, p. 899).

This is the dominant theme in the works of Paul Baran (1957, 1966), who pioneered this theoretical approach. He stated that, “economic development in underdeveloped countries is profoundly inimical to the dominant interests of the advanced capitalist countries” (Baran, 1957, p. 28). Within this context

Latin American countries found the “possibilities of economic growth to be extremely limited; as the surplus generated would be expropriated by foreign capital and the traditional elite” (Palma, 1978, p. 899). This paved the foundation for the theoretical treatise of Andre Gunder Frank (1966, 1969) on the relationship between the metropolises and satellites based on the dialectics of exploitation and underdevelopment.

In his erudite work *The Development of Underdevelopment* (1966), Andre Gunder Frank puts forth his hypothesis of underdevelopment in capitalism with the use of the metaphors of metropolises and satellites. Here, the metropolises signified the colonisers and capitalist economies which were flourishing, whereas, the satellite countries were the former colonies which would provide cheap resources to the former. Gunder Frank’s first argument specified that any understanding of underdevelopment isn’t possible without taking into account the historical mooring of the underdeveloped society. With this he identified a direct correlation between the relation of the satellite with the metropole and the presence of underdevelopment in the former. Hence, development and underdevelopment become two facets of the same coin, which is the world capitalist system. He also refuted the so called ‘dual-society’ proposition of the modernist theorists, which stated that underdeveloped societies had a traditional sector and a newly established modern sector. This was incorrect for even the ‘traditional’ hinterland characterised by rudimentary forms of technology was gradually getting encompassed within the system of global capitalism. Hence, the remote areas of the third world couldn’t be categorised into a rigid category of being traditional, as the tentacles of the global system of capitalism had managed to penetrate into it.

Secondly, his line of argument stated that the network of dependency between the metropole and the satellite wasn’t restricted to being a national order. Thus,

this wasn't merely a hierarchy of insubordination based on tiers of different countries, rather it presented itself within the boundaries of an underdeveloped country itself. "A whole chain of constellations of satellite and metropole is formed that relates to all parts of the whole system from its metropolitan centre in Europe or United States, to the farthest outpost in Latin American countryside" (Frank, 1966, p. 5). Even within the satellite itself the hinterlands at the periphery become the metropolises for the city, which appropriate capital resources and surplus from it, perpetuating underdevelopment at the periphery. This city-centre in turn becomes a satellite for a metropole situated in Europe. Gunder Frank states, "this metropolitan/satellite relationship serves the interests of the metropolises which take advantage of this global, national and local structures to promote their own development and enrichment of its ruling classes" (Ibid., 11). This he terms as development of underdevelopment.

Thirdly, he argues against the assumption that those countries which have strong ties to the West have a greater propensity for development and industrialisation. He refutes such a claim by stating that countries which once had extremely strong ties with the West such as Brazil and West Indies are now not advanced economically. This is because areas such as the mineral rich regions of Latin America were important centres of providing cheap resources and were exploited and later discarded when they were no longer useful to the metropolises. Such links with the metropolises which enforce dependency, do not only assume the relationship of formal colonisation but also through means such as transfer of capital and technology. "With their social, economic and political structures geared to their satellite status, they had no alternative but to turn in upon themselves and to degenerate into the ultra-underdevelopment we find there today" (Ibid., 13). The corollary of this theorem follows that countries which had weak ties with the metropolises were able to initiate "marked autonomous industrialisation and growth" (Ibid., 10). During the two world wars, countries such as Argentina and Chile, were able to develop themselves

as their links with the metropole countries was feeble. However, as soon as this link was reestablished, growth and development once achieved was stunted again. This can be historically contextualised, when we look at the economic growth of some satellite countries in relation to core countries during periods of crisis. Namely during “World Wars I & II and the Great Depression in 1930, were times that many Latin American countries saw their most consecutive expansions of development due to the deregulated terms of trade that kept these countries locked in a losing battle for attaining economic autonomy” (Moses, 2012, p. 7).

His fourth proposition opined that the internal class division of the satellite countries reflected the larger economic structures present. The lumpenbourgeoisie or the bourgeoisie of the Latin American society included the traditional elites of those working as lawyers, doctors and merchants. Thus, the development of capitalism in the satellite countries leads to the creation of an undifferentiated mass of wealthy people. This class of lumpenbourgeoisie were the local actors responsible, as Gunder Frank states, for the stunted development of the satellite countries in Latin America. Development and underdevelopment are complimentary processes, in this sense. Thus, development of one region, country or class results in the necessary underdevelopment of another region and social class.

This concomitant activity of development and underdevelopment was initiated by the global process of accumulation triggered in the mercantile period which lasted between 1500 to 1770. Leading on the second stage of industrial capitalism which continued till the year 1870, after which started the period of imperialism till 1930. Throughout the three stages of mercantile, industrial and imperialism, the satellites existed for the welfare and advantage of the capitalist metropolises, who expropriated their surplus. In this global economic system,

the satellite was exploited and remained underdeveloped. Only by severing the ties it has with the metropole centre can the satellite ever gain any genuine development.

Samir Amin (1976, 1977) presented another strand of this theoretical perspective which divided the world economic system into two strata called the self-centred systems and peripheral systems. In the self-centred system, activities are conducted in alignment of the needs of its own and is unaffected by extraneous links like external relationships and processes. Hence, internal dynamics of the self-centred system takes precedence. Manufacturing takes place within the logic of mass-consumption, the agreement between the labour and capital is such that it minimises conflict between the two. These characteristics are diametrically opposite to that of the periphery, where activities are mainly export oriented. The periphery, thus exists, for the survival and welfare of the centre. Production activities are in accordance to the needs and requirements of the centre. Goods along with surplus generated are all expropriated by the centre from the periphery. The domestic market of the periphery, hence, becomes distorted. Wages are kept unrealistically low, thereby, leading to the impoverishment of the masses. The domestic market only caters to the elite within the society.

This dependence of the periphery is not only advantageous to the centre but also to the elites within the peripheral sector. Amin postulates that foreign rule and colonialism triggered a stagnation and marginalisation of agriculture and traditional occupations, like cottage industries, in peripheral sectors. Activities like mineral extraction and agriculture were ultimately conducted with reference to the needs of the core countries, which appropriated any material generated. This marked accentuation of export-need rather than local-need, leads to the deregulation of the local economy. Such that, there isn't even enough

commodity produced to maintain sustenance within the peripheral economy. This participation in the world system exacts a price of the periphery which now has to import commodities of basic needs. Any attempt made by the peripheral society to make itself self-sufficient, and induce development and industrialisation leads to crippling debt and capital flight to the core countries. This unequal exchange between the core and the periphery is what creates and perpetuates inequalities.

### **ALTERNATIVE THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT**

By the 1980s some scholars started expressing their dissatisfaction with the concept and practice of 'development'. Inspired by the works of Ivan Illich (1990), scholars like Escobar (1995, 2000, 2004), Rahnema (1991, 1997), Esteva (1998), that were explicitly not calling for a better, alternative version of it, but dismissing it altogether. These scholars and others alike from the South had all become disillusioned with the development policy followed at large. It was stated that the policy of development "had not led to a process of catching up for most of the developing world but resulted in a widening gap between rich and poor countries" (Sachs, 1992, p. 2). Furthermore it was argued that development was a "misconceived enterprise which implicitly aimed at eliminating cultural diversity through the universalising of Western institutions" (Ibid.,4).

Post-development theorists often identify the crucial moment of the Truman declaration in 1949 as the point where the 'invention of underdevelopment' (Sachs, 1992, p. 7) took place. American President Truman in his presidential speech announced that newly decolonised countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa were underdeveloped and needed aid and technology from the West, the so called 'developed economies' to modernise.

This was also a moment in history where the public policy ramification of modernisation theories became apparent in global politics. In the timeline of the social sciences, three major perspectives can be identified. Namely, from the 1950s to 1960s modernisation theory was the dominant school of thought which was followed by dependency theories in the 1960s and 1970s which were critical of modernisation theory's fixation with economic growth and development. This disillusionment also spawned the body of knowledge relating to a critical stance to development in the 1990s.

Those who were critical of the development paradigm envisioned within the theories of modernisation questioned the conclusiveness of the benefits of capital, technology and science, that was propositioned in many of the policies. Dependency theories, for instance, argued that development in one country depended on the underdevelopment of another nation or region. Contrary to what the modernisation theorists espoused, it wasn't internal obstacles of traditional culture that hindered the development of backward countries. Rather it was the network of countries in the global capitalist system which perpetuated dependence and exploitation between the concentric layers of countries and regions. Dependency theorists argued that the only way of achieving economic development was through severing the ties with those countries which expropriated resources from the underdeveloped nations, rather than the introduction of modern values and technology that modernisation theory suggested. It was in this moment during the 1980s that many started to question the very idea of development itself.

This growing dissatisfaction with many of the policies aligned to the school of modernisation led to the advancement of post-development theories, especially in the global South. Post-development scholars were critically engaged with the deconstruction of the jargon-laden discourse in development, which was

fixated with the idea of numbers and acronyms. The coming era of post-development therefore had to be based on a new rationale, which could draw inspiration from 'vernacular societies', although no return to a static 'state of nature' was envisioned (Escobar, 1995). The alternatives to development put forward by the post-development authors are located in grassroots movements, urban and rural local communities and the informal sector. As a reaction to the failure of development, they claim, new social structures were in the making based on different conceptions of the economy. "Solidarity and reciprocity instead of homo-economicus and the world market, of politics: direct democracy instead of centralised authorities, and of knowledge based on traditional knowledge systems instead of modern science" (Escobar, 1995, p. 51). Frequently, traditional and modern elements would be mixed or 'hybridised' within such a system.

Escobar states that the idea of post-development refers to what he categorises as five features of this body of knowledge. First, post-development has the potential of offering a discourse which isn't fixated with the constructs of knowledge such as ideologies, language and premises, that is usually found in the discourse of modernisation and development. Secondly, the deconstruction of development and its discourse entails an alteration of "the practices of knowing and doing of development and the political economy in which it is situated" (Escobar, 2004, p. 20). This makes it necessary for a multiplication of "centres and agents of knowledge production – in particular, to give salience to the forms of knowledge produced by those who are supposed to be the 'objects' of development so that they can become subjects of their own right" (Ibid., 20). The two ways of doing so, Escobar states, is by focussing on how the local population circumvents interventions of development by resisting, subverting and even adapting to these actions. Secondly, social movements especially those that relate to development projects provide alternatives to the hegemonic model of modernisation and developmental interventions.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2000) echoes the point of view laid out by Escobar. He opines that alternative forms of development envisioned within post-development framework includes those practices that redefine the goals and objectives of development itself, by including activities which are people-centric and participatory. Conventional development should focus less on economic growth as the sole end and instead, include within its ambit people-centric objectives such as human development. The process of westernisation itself has become less lucrative in light of reviving indigenous forms of knowledge and cultures. In this aspect, post-development could be seen as a neo-traditionalist response resisting modernity. The goal no longer seems to be composed solely of catching up with the West and becoming modern. In a context increasingly dominated by problems spawned by technological led exploitation of the environment and avarice of mankind in general, modernisation no longer seems compelling. After years of sponsored hegemony of economic growth based development, there is much discontent in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

“In short, the modern crisis is a crisis in models of thought; modern solutions, at least under neoliberal globalisation, only deepen the problems. Moving beyond or outside modernity thus becomes a sine qua non for imagining after the Third World” (Escobar, 2004, p. 209). Alternative development entails moving beyond the project of modernity. This is possible when we deconstruct the project and hegemony modernisation. Only this can make us appreciate that it is possible to move towards realising local worlds. These indigenous worlds are located within the realms of social movements, most often located against developmental interventions of the state and by trans-national organisation. Escobar suggests that the process of globalisation doesn't necessary sweep in modernity along with it, it is possible to escape its hegemony.

Lastly, Escobar urges for an analytical framework alternatives to development can be sought. This framework, Escobar argues, would support the local histories that have hitherto escaped conventional economics and development. It would also utilise the rich tradition of post-colonial theory, which includes within it a non-Eurocentric perspective in its knowledge. The Zapatistas, for instance, “who successfully created a culture which draws upon Indigeneity, Marxism, and the Third World. In this way, alternatives to development lie in creating alternatives to the wider modernised and colonial global system through local histories” (Escobar, 2004). Such a framework would also enable in the differentiation and deconstruction of a Eurocentric model of modernisation, as opposed to the knowledge and ways of doing by the subalterns. The possibility of creating hybrid cultures within the disjunctures of the above mentioned two worlds is also quite possible, Escobar notes.

Morgan argues that post-development is a school of thought under the umbrella of post-modernism. According to Escobar (1995), modernisation-as-development is legitimated and justified by the idea that knowledge, as westerners define it, is objective and ‘above’ those that are in need of ‘developing.’ Hobart (1993) echoes this in stating that those labeled as underdeveloped are seen as having a lack of knowledge by modernisation-as-development thinkers, and therefore require the help of those labeled as developed to escape their perceived condition. In rejecting modernism within development studies, post-development thinkers embrace facets of post-modern thinking and make it specific to development studies and practice (Müller, 2006). In critiquing development, post-development thinkers deconstruct development while focusing on the role of power and knowledge in modern development (Müller, 2006).

In terms of the contribution of alternative development to the workings of conventional idea of development has also been noted. Many of the concerns and framework of alternative development has been incorporated within traditional workings of developmental interventions, by altering its practices and goals envisaged within it. Secondly, key elements of alternative development such as its emphasis of activities being participatory, inclusive and community-cooperation based are now accepted tools for many non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Academically, the influence of these alternative development thinkers has created change to the point where development discourse and, to a lesser extent, practice is becoming less modernist and arguably more reflexive.

## **CITY**

Understanding the city is crucial in comprehending modern existence, given the dramatic increase in urbanisation in contemporary society. But how we choose to study the city is also important. The city is a complex reality that yields few easy answers. If we look only at the facts of urban life, we will surely miss its dynamic soul. The city will appear dull and lifeless only a collection of concrete buildings, bureaucracies, and statistics about poverty and crime rates. However, linking these factual information to human lives, the city comes to life as an interplay of various social, political, cultural and economic forces. In studying the city, what becomes imperative is just merely restricting ourselves to understanding what the city constitutes of but also to take into the narrative of the marginalised, who are often made invisible in the legal bird's eye view of the urban reality. Narratives that go beyond descriptions and statistics to the broader and deeper reality of urban life offer a textually more vivid point of view in understanding the amorphous reality of urban living.

Urban seems like a simple enough concept to grasp, but it actually has many interpretations. Derived from the Latin word *urbanus*, meaning characteristic of, or pertaining to, the city. Urban essentially holds that same association to most people. Complicating that understanding, however, are the varying criteria for defining an urban area that exist among the nearly 200 countries with urban populations. These criteria include administrative function, economic characteristics (more than half the residents in non-agricultural occupations), functional nature (existence of paved streets, water supply, sewerage, and electrical systems), and population size or population density (the number of people living within a square mile or kilometre). According to the definition adopted by the Indian census (Census, 2014) in defining urban area, the following criteria were adopted:-

- (a) all places with a Municipality, Corporation or Cantonment or Notified Town
- (b) all other places which satisfied the following criteria:
  - (i) a minimum population of 5,000.
  - (ii) at least 75% of the male working population was non-agricultural.
  - (iii) a density of population of at least 400 sq. Km. (i.e. 1000 per sq. mile)

In context of contemporary development paradigm which emphasises on industrialisation and urbanisation, cities today are so much a part of our lives that they seem both natural and inevitable. However, in the larger picture of human history, cities are a rather new idea. Although “modern” humans have existed on the earth for about 200,000 years, cities began to appear a scant 10,000 years ago. It was during this period that we see the great ancient cities of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Indus Valley. The latter’s archaeological findings especially show a physical layout similar to the gridiron pattern common to most western cities today with brick houses and well-constructed sanitation system. Moreover, it wasn’t until the last 3,000 years that cities became relatively numerous and inhabited by significant numbers of people. And only in

2009 did we reach the point at which most of the world's people were urbanites. Thus, we can see the importance of studying the city historically. Although historians have been looking at cities for centuries, sociologists are more recent investigators. Early sociologists in the late nineteenth century lived during a period of dramatic urban upheaval, and naturally, they turned their attention to cities. They tried to understand just how the Industrial Revolution transformed the small villages of Europe and North America into huge, seemingly chaotic metropolises. Many early sociologists shared a pessimistic vision of the city. Their works portray the city as a dangerous place where the traditional values of social life, portrayed by a sense of community and caring for other people, were systematically torn apart.

In order to conceptualise the urban it could be insightful to engage with the classical theories of the founding fathers of sociology. The central concern of all of these writers was with the social, economic and political implications of the development of capitalism in the West at the time in when they were writing. The rapid growth of cities was among the most obvious and potentially disruptive of all social changes in that context. This sheer increase in size was startling enough, but it also came to be associated in the minds of many politicians and commentators with the growth of urban problems with the spread of slums and disease, breakdown of law and order, increase in infant mortality rates and a plethora of other phenomena, all of which attracted mounting comment and anxiety.

Max Weber (1958) in continuance with his major theoretical preoccupation of constructing ideal types defined the city in five broad parameters, starting with: "fortification; a market; a court of its own and at least partially autonomous law; a related form of association; and at least partial autonomy and autocephaly, thus also an administration by authorities, in the election of

whom the burghers participated” (Weber, 1958, pp. 80–81). In fact, he thought only the fortified, self-sufficient cities of the medieval period deserved the title of being full urban community. Since it was in these cities that commercial relations, autonomy, and social participation exist, which he believed were the defining characteristics of urbanism. Weber’s analysis, fuelled by his broad understanding of cities in other cultures and at different points in history, suggested that cities are intimately linked to larger processes. For example, he stated that cities were linked to particular economic or political orientations. Additionally, the characteristics of a society also affected the nature of its cities.

On the other hand, Emile Durkheim (1893) witnessed the urban revolution of the nineteenth century. He developed a model of contrasting types with reference to his theory on the development of society. The types of social solidarity corresponding to the division of labour in society was namely: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Organic solidarity was represented in complex division of labor, where Durkheim saw the possibility of greater freedom and choice for all of society’s inhabitants. Although Durkheim acknowledged the problems that cities might create, of impersonality and alienation, he argued for the ultimate superiority of organic over mechanical solidarity. Durkheim argued that in a society of mechanical solidarity with simple division of labour, strict adherence to collective conscience of the society as a whole could become burdensome. However, societies with complex division of labour have much more scope for individual initiative, with weaker collective conscience but with increasing emphasis on dignity and equality of opportunity.

However, Engels (1844, 2009) presented a grim picture of industrial cities in England. *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, first published in

1844 by Engels is an account of the appalling conditions that the workers of the Manchester textile factories had to face. It was written in a context in which cities, overwhelmed by incoming migrants, could not provide adequate food, safe housing, sanitary facilities, medical care, or enough jobs. Not surprisingly, poverty, disease, malnutrition, and crime increased in such conditions. Engels described vividly the alienation that afflicted the city of London during the era of Industrial Revolution. He gave an eloquent account of the brutal indifference and the unfeeling isolation that pervaded the city, where private interest becomes paramount to the individual. He described this self-seeking behaviour as becoming the fundamental character of such a society. The working class city of Manchester, Engels goes on to describe, in spite of the clustering of people in close proximity like sardines in a can, leads to the decomposition of mankind into a world of atoms.

The Chicago School of Sociology was a body of social research associated with a group of professors and their students affiliated with the Sociology Department of the University of Chicago. The School emerged around 1915 and its most prominent members included Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, later, Herbert Blumer and Louis Wirth continued its research tradition. The School was the first group of sociologists to practice a systematic research agenda in the United States. The Chicago School emphasised that the social and historical context in which one lived dramatically influenced social processes. But individuals were not passive products of their environment. Social structure and individual agency could not be separated from one another.

Much of their work focused on Chicago, which is illustrated by Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and Roderick McKenzie (1925) in their seminal work, *The City*. Park stressed on the subjective experience of those who lived in the city, in order to fully grasp the complexity of the urban milieu. This could be

achieved by conducting intense fieldwork in particular neighbourhoods, investigating a city's culture, occupational structure, and physical organisation, taking in structural factors such as its economic and geographical conditions. The sociological imagination must combine these two dimensions, the structural and the subjective, into a coherent study. For Park, "integrated city neighbourhoods progressively broke down as secondary, impersonal relationships increasingly based on the market and law replaced the primary relationships of family and ethnicity" (Tucker, 2006, p. 60). Cities created more contacts for individuals, and offered them an array of different lifestyles, but these contacts tended to be transitory.

Burgess took a somewhat different approach to the study of urban life. He too saw cities as characterised by heterogeneous, diverse occupations, employing a large percentage of young and middle-aged individuals, and occupied by a high percentage of foreign-born immigrants. Burgess focused on processes of growth and expansion in the cities, viewing them as natural adaptations to new types of social organisation. He analysed urban expansion through his theory of concentric zones. An inner industrial zone was surrounded by zones consisting of the ghetto, working-men's homes, and at the outmost region more suburban residential areas. Each inner zone expands as it invades an outer zone, a process Burgess labeled succession. This expansion involves simultaneous processes of decentralisation and concentration of people and industries. Burgess also utilised the notion of urban ecology to study the social life of cities. Drawn from biology, the concept of ecology emphasises the interdependence of urban life, and how individuals relate to his or her environment. Processes of competition and accommodation influence the development of the urban milieu, as a community expands or declines as economic development waxes or wanes. The differentiation and segmentation of urban populations accompany such social changes.

On the other end of the spectrum lies the current discourse on the city which relates it to the process of globalisation. In this note Saskia Sassen (1991, 2005, 2006) observes that one of the key properties of the contemporary phase of the world economic network is the increase in importance of information technologies. This has triggered a corresponding expansion in the mobility and liquidity of capital depicted by cross-border economic processes, including the flow of capital, labour, goods, raw materials across national borders. These processes seem even more dramatic due to increasing privatisation, deregulation of economies with many of them opening up for access by foreign firms, and lastly by an ever increasing participation of local home grown firms participating in global markets. It is in this context, that Sassen notes how cities become strategic territories for the articulation of a new system in the world economic order. These cities may gain importance in terms of their regional, national or global context. In this theoretical backdrop that Sassen understands the emergence of the theoretical construct of the global city. The substantive rationale behind terming them as global city is traced to the specificity of the global as it gets structured in the contemporary period.

However, the dominant discourse on globalisation in the late twentieth century posited the end of cities as important economic units. The rationale behind such an argument was that since the currents of globalisation would make capital fluid and mobile, economic activities wouldn't be as deeply rooted in the spatial dimension. However, Sassen refutes such an argument claiming that many of these narratives ignored how a lot of the resources necessary for global economic activities are not hyper-mobile. These resources, she argues are deeply embedded in place, such as the global city. The counter argument to the dominant discourse put forward by her puts the spotlight back on cities, which makes it possible to recognise the anchoring of the dynamics between multiple cross-border processes in a network of global cities. Thus, the forces of globalisation can be seen rooted in the "specific conditions and histories of

these cities, in their variable articulations with their national economies and with various world economies across time and place” (Sassen, 2006, p. 91).

Sassen emphasises the importance of creating new conceptual frameworks in order to make sense of urban systems within their global networks. She argues for seven fundamental hypotheses about the modern global city. First, Sassen remarks that although globalisation is identified with the geographical dispersal of economic activities, there is a corresponding trend of the simultaneous integration of such geographically dispersed activities. This she states is a key factor feeding the growth and importance of central corporate functions. The dispersal of the activities of the firm across the boundaries of countries makes the central corporate functions such as legal activities, accounting and public relations, all the more important and complex.

Secondly, these above mentioned central functions because of the scale of operations become increasingly complex. It is due to this reason that corporations and large global firms outsource these activities to highly specialised service firms, who perform these activities instead. Progressively more and more corporations are outsourcing activities such as telecommunications, programming and accounting to specialised firms, especially if corporations in question are involved in global markets.

The next hypothesis she posits is: those specialised service firms engaged in the most complex and globalised markets are subject to agglomeration economies. “The complexity of the services they need to produce, the uncertainty of the markets they are involved with either directly or through the headquarters for which they are producing the services, and the growing im-

portance of speed in all these transactions, is a mix of conditions that constitutes a new agglomeration dynamic” (Sassen, 2005, p. 9).

The fourth hypothesis in this series states that the process of increasing number of firms outsourcing their non-routinised and complex functions which were earlier performed by them, the freer they are to opt for any location, especially when subject to uncertain markets. The reason for this Sassen states is because “less work actually done in the headquarters is subject to agglomeration economics” (Sassen, 2005, p. 9). This further points to the particular advantages of the global city is the increasingly specialised and highly networked services sector. She further states that in countries where infrastructure is well developed, the business centre isn't the only place where such headquarters are situated. Rather there are likely to be multiple such locational possibilities available.

Next in line, her thesis points to the existence of a series of transnational network of cities. The emergence of global markets for finance and specialised services, Sassen states, along with the appearance of corporate headquarters, with governments playing a decreased role in regulating the economic activities taking place in an international scale. All point to the formation of a transnational urban system, with strengthening of cross border global network across cities. Consequently, there is no single important global city as such because of the ascendance of a global order of business. She states that a concurrent trend displays how many of the economic fortune of these global cities can become increasingly at disjuncture with the broader national economy.

Sassen's sixth proposition states how the growing number of highly specialised professionals and others employed by these specialised services firms

leads to an increasing in the socio-economic as well as spatial differences between the haves and have-nots. These specialised firms earn a high rate of profit and place a marked emphasis on talent and speed. This focus on talent and skills leads to the creation of a hierarchy of rewards based on the quality of talent provided. Which in turn leads to the increase in the value of high skilled professionals in these global cities. In contrast to them are those who are engaged in occupations that do not need much skills, who seem to be caught in an opposite cycle. The last premise is based on the previous argument made. The dynamics of the previous hypothesis necessities an increasing informalisation of a range of economic activities undertaken, including production and distribution tasks and services. Growing informalisation of work takes place because of profit margins that don't allow them to compete for various resources.

In the context of the above discussion, it is necessary to include the conceptual framework drawn by John Friedmann (1986) which links city forming processes to the larger historical movement of industrial capitalism. Thus, cities can be viewed instead as a product of specific social forces set in motion by capitalist relations of production. Class conflict, in this narrative, becomes central to this view of how cities evolved. This new approach, which draws out a correlation between the emergence of the city and the world economy, sharpened insights into processes of urban change. Friedmann succinctly presents the main thesis that links urbanisation processes to global economic forces. He states how the economy along with the functions assigned to the city in the new spatial division of labour, will be decisive for any structural changes occurring within it.

Peter Hall (1966), on the other hand, focussed on the functions of a city while describing the characteristics of a world city. As envisaged by him, world

cities are centres of political power, both on a national as well as on an international scale, housing organisations related to government. Secondly, these cities are centres of national and international trade, acting as a centre for the import and export of goods, both for neighbouring countries as well as for the host nation. Not only are they centres of banking, insurance and allied financial services, they also become centres of advanced professional activity of all kind. These could be occupations related to medical, legal and educational activities, including that of the application of these knowledge. Thus, they are centres of information gathering and diffusion, especially as hubs of universities and higher learning, but also through publishing and the mass media. On the other hand world cities are also centres of conspicuous consumption, both of luxury goods for produced and consumed for the minority, as well as, mass-produced goods for the multitude.

By the end of the 1960s, however, an increasing number of social scientists had found that the traditional economic model, as well as conventional theories of urban ecology, no longer accounted for many important changes in cities. Economies do not operate independently but, rather, connect to one another and forge state, national, and international economic networks. One key focus is the role of investment decisions in shaping cities. Who makes decisions that direct a city's economy, and for what purposes? In addition, the political economy approach investigates how conflicts shape the physical and social character of cities. Drawing from the writings of Karl Marx and Engels, Henri Lefebvre (1991, 1996) applied the economic categories of capital, labor, profit, wages, class exploitation, and inequality to explain the unevenness of urban development. He thus became an influential source of new thinking about the city, suggesting that urban development was as much a product of the capitalist economic system as was any manufactured good. Venturing further into territory uncharted by Marx, Lefebvre also considered the actions of government, from the national level down to the local level, to be a critical

factor in shaping a city's use of space. Governments are empowered to make various decisions that affect city shape and urban life. Geographer David Harvey (1981, 1989, 2008) illustrates Lefebvre's ideas in a Marxist analysis of how the capitalist real-estate system operated in Baltimore, directly shaping many of the city's problems concerning social inequality. Harvey's detailed analysis revealed that urban development is not a monolithic growth process. Instead, it occurs unevenly. This second circuit of capital varies in its investment arrangements from place to place, influenced by different combinations of social factors, profit potential, and conflict (Macionis & Parrillo, 2007).

## **CITIZENSHIP**

Citizenship has become a key concept at the centre of political debates within and across national borders. As a theoretical term in the social sciences, studies have focussed on both the aspects of social rights and participation, with the conception of how citizenship is defined varying cross-nationally and across different institutional arrangements. The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology (2006) defines citizenship by underlining its three dimensions: first, as individual rights and obligations; secondly, through political participation including the right to vote; finally, on the basis of belonging to a nation-state. However, the conceptualisation of the modern notion of citizenship has proven to be a double-edged sword, having sharply constructing facets to it. It can be exclusionary as well as inclusionary state practices, as well as, be a basis for discipline as well as resistance. This view is echoed by the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (2006), which terms a citizen as a participatory member of a political community, the membership of which is gained by meeting certain minimum legal requirements. Although the value of citizenship varies across nation-states, certain rights and privileges are given to the citizen, in exchange for performing duties of membership and obeying laws. This is the broad um-

brella definition for the term citizenship, the historical mooring of which lies in the Greek notion of polis that tied rights to membership of the city. The modern conceptualisation of citizenship includes the twin processes of nation building and industrialisation following the American and French Revolutions.

However, in the contemporary scenario, two broad challenges problematising its conceptualisation have led to a dramatic increase in the philosophical and sociological interest in the concept of citizenship. Contemporary trends of globalisation, migration, organisations like the European Union taking over the administrative functions earlier held by the nation-state and multiculturalism pose as a challenge to the meaning and practice of citizenship. New forms of claim-making, urban citizenship for instance, have widened the scope of the term. This has challenged, at the normative level, for a greater understanding and a reformulation of the concept of citizenship to include a vision that is both inclusionary as well as multi-layered so that it is able to reconcile national belongings with a transnational notion of citizenship. It is important to focus on these global processes and challenges by examining how they have prompted new discussions and disagreements on the concept of citizenship. Globalisation primarily challenges the long standing taken for granted idea that citizenship's necessary context is the sovereign, territorial state. Globalisation also contests the state's right to determine who is accepted as a member by claiming that citizenship can be meaningful beyond the territorial boundaries of the nation-state.

Citizenship can be studied under two major political traditions of republicanism and liberalism, which instantiate in different ways the main dimensions of citizenship, which can be clubbed under three main categories, namely: legal status, political aspect, and social identity. Leydet (2006) theorises that the key

principle of the republican model is based on the Aristotelian understanding of civic self-rule, a citizen as someone who is capable both of being ruled as well as ruling. Citizens, therefore, share in the holding of office. The principle of civic self-rule is also at the heart of Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762, 1978). Rousseau attempted to understand the basis for a legitimate political authority for which the citizens would give up their liberty for mutual preservation. His solution to the above mentioned problem was the 'social contract', co-authoring of the laws via the general is what made the citizens free and laws legitimate. The republican model, therefore, emphasises the second dimension of citizenship, that of political agency. Because it was due to the active participation in deliberation and decision making which made the people not subjects but citizens. Rousseau stated that the law expresses general will of the citizens, in contrast to the private will, which strives only for personal benefit.

The republican emphasis on the political agency of the citizen stands in opposition to the liberal conception of citizenship which prioritises it as a legal status rather than as a political office. It denotes membership in a community of shared or common law, which may or may not be identical with a territorial community. The liberal tradition, which developed from the seventeenth century onwards, being primarily preoccupied with the defence of the freedom of individuals and civil rights, giving priority to the private virtues of individuals over public. Thus, maintaining political liberty is as important as protecting individual freedom from the interference by other people or the authority itself, through the state. However, citizens exercise these freedom primarily in the world of private associations, rather than in the political domain. This rigid differentiation of the private and the public sphere has been criticised by feminist theorists. This critique was an important entry point into the development of alternative conceptions of citizenship.

As feminist scholarship would suggest, the division between private and public has prevented women from accessing the public. Even though the public and private spheres are inextricably connected. Carole Pateman (1988), presented one of the first feminist approaches to citizenship in her book *The Sexual Contract*. She suggests that women in modern societies are caught between a set of tactics which focuses on equality and inclusion of women as equal citizens. This strategy, however, tends to deny the particularity of their experience and differences as women, instead leading to reproduce inequality. Hence, its just not enough to make models of citizenship inclusive by including women within the ambit of their definition. Instead, it becomes important to focus on how the policies, laws and political action are significant in solving personal problems. Therefore the increased emphasis on laws relating to rape, maternity leaves, welfare benefits given to women with children below an income level with child care policies. This feminist critique of the private and public demarcation, thus, refers to the boundaries as a social construction, contesting and resisting their hierarchical characterisation within the realms of the political, civil and social dimensions of citizenship.

An important milestone in the sociological conceptualisation of citizenship was T. H. Marshall's erudite work *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays* (1950). While Marshall's work on citizenship is well known, here its three dimensions, stated in his original work, will be discussed. T.H.Marshall developed his theory of citizenship initially in 'Citizenship and social class' and further developed in 'Social policy'. His intellectual tradition can be traced to liberals such as James Mill and J.S. Mill. At the heart of Marshall's account of citizenship lies the contradiction between the equality provided by political franchise and the social and economic inequality, rooted in the character of capitalist market place and the existence of private property. Marshall extended the idea of citizenship as a principal political means of resolving this contradiction. Marshall was thus primarily concerned with the social-welfare

history of Britain between the eighteenth and the twentieth century in terms of the growth of citizenship as expressed in three dimensions namely, the civil, the political, and the social (Marshall, 1950). Marshall's argued that in the eighteenth century there had been significant development of civil rights which were targeted at the legal status and civil rights of the individual, and that these rights were to be defended through a system of formal courts.

Secondly, Marshall noted that an important growth in the political rights in the nineteenth century as an outcome of the working class struggle for political equality in terms of greater access to parliamentary process. Finally, he drew attention in the nineteenth century to the expansion of social rights which were the basis of claims to welfare and which established entitlements and social security in periods of distress such as unemployment and sickness. Thus, corresponding to three basic arenas of social rights (civil, political, and social), we find three central institutions of contemporary society (law courts, parliament and welfare system). Marshall's final theorisation of this issue conceptualised Capitalism as a dynamic system in which there is constant clash between citizenship and social class, which determined the social and political life. For instance, the rights of the citizens to welfare provisions, counterpoised to the requirement of the state for taxation and larger economic profitability.

Even though, Marshall's work has been tremendously influential in the sociological discussion of citizenship, it has also been widely criticised for failing to consider the wider social context in which welfare policies in Britain developed. Giddens (1996) also noted that citizenship rights aren't a unified, homogenous set of social arrangements and no similarity can be sought between liberal bourgeois rights of the nineteenth century and socialist demand for equality in the twentieth century.

James Holston and Arjun Appadurai (1999) argue that since the eighteenth century one of the defining features of modernity has been the use of two linked concepts of association: citizenship and nationality, to establish the meaning of full membership in society. Although one of the essential projects of nation-building has been to dismantle the historic primacy of urban citizenship and replace it with the national, cities still remain the strategic arena for the development of citizenship. Further they argue that cities are the places where the business of modern societies gets done, including that of trans-nationalisation.

Some scholars have suggested that cities maybe re-emerging as more salient sites for citizenship, others suggests that citizens are producing new (in some cases expansive, in others restrictive) notions of citizenship and solidarity. As a whole, however, they suggest that in many post-colonial societies, a new generation has arisen to create urban cultures severed from the colonial memories and nationalist fictions on which independence and subsequent rule was founded. These cultures, they posit, are especially detached from the paradigm of nation-building which celebrates the rural as a fundamental expression of the indigenous and authentic, and which despises the city as responsible for the loss of both: for detribalisation, corruption and social death. Holston and Appadurai urge for the urgent need to develop a framework of investigation which considers that cities are challenging and diverging form, and even replacing nations as important spaces of citizenship: a lived space not only for uncertainties but also of its emergent forms.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PLANS**

In the dominant development paradigm of the contemporary era, cities have come to mark the pinnacle of the material achievement of the human civilisation. Unfortunately, they also hide in their womb the maladies of unequal access, segregation, filth and squalor, alienation and dispossession which are typical of a modern urban habitat. In the shadow of a skyscraper lurks the slum. Behind the glitzy exteriors of a modern office cum commercial complex in a city, lies the open footpath which transforms into a large community bedroom in the night. The “Maximum City” (Yojana, 2014, p. 3) is not just Mumbai, it is a metaphor for all modern cities that embody an outlet for maximum aspiration and opportunity and yet the “underbelly” (Nandy, 2006) is a site of struggle for water, air, space, intimacy.

The current economic developmental model, accompanied by industrialisation and urbanisation, presents before us a pattern which shows that growth of cities is not just natural and unavoidable, but desirable too. This discourse states that urbanisation creates efficiencies by compressing spaces and bringing together the productive forces which helps in the growth process. However, careful planning is required if cities have to become centres of productive enterprise, hub of creativity and spaces of shared abundance. However, there

is a growing realisation among urban planners to bring into the narrative of development, the invisible and marginalised population of the city, within the framework of plan formulation and implementation. The informal sector constitutes the majority of the total workforce in the cities. Ignoring this large and numerically dominant section and their lived reality will mean the failure of any planning that might be undertaken for our future cities. We need to recognise that each slum cluster that springs up on the periphery of a planned, gated enclave in a city actually subsidises the cosy living of the elite and well-off by providing a cheap source of labour for all kinds of work from maids to plumbers and electricians to private security guards. Each city has another city permeating its interstices, breathing heavy in suffocation, deprivation and inequity.

The importance of cities and urban centres has been growing in India's economic development during the post liberalisation phase. For example, "the contribution of urban areas to India's GDP has increased from 29 per cent in 1950-51 to 47 per cent in 1980-81, to 62 to 63 per cent by 2007, and is expected to increase to 75 per cent by 2021" (Planning Commission, 2008, p. 394). It is also being emphasised that, "9 to 10 per cent of growth in GDP depends fundamentally on making Indian cities more liveable and inclusive" (Ibid., 394).

## **THE 'URBAN QUESTION' IN FIVE YEAR PLANS**

After gaining independence, India was faced with the Herculean task of embarking on a mission of development, whilst addressing the twin problems of poverty and inequality. The path undertaken for development was much contested, but there was consensus on one point: that development could not be left to private actors, that there was the need for the government to develop a

design or plan for development. The idea is very simple: the Government of India prepares a document that has a plan for all its income and expenditure for the next five years. Thus, Five Year Plans permitted the government to look at the larger picture and make important interventions in the economy.

In order to remake a modern urban India, Nehru had envisioned a project of State sponsored planning and development. However, these plans for remaking a modern free India were set in motion even before independence. In 1938, the Congress set up the National Planning Committee (NPC) chaired by Jawaharlal Nehru to formulate a plan by which India could develop post-independence. This Planning Committee became the predecessor for the Indian National Planning Commission post-independence. India took its cue for development through industrialisation from the Soviets, the Japanese and the Americans.

Indian intellectuals, including Nehru were also impressed by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) regional planning project, a keystone of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. While the Soviet and Japanese models of development were closely studied, the TVA model and American technical assistance were ultimately relied on much more heavily in shaping the modern Indian development. Based on the observations of United States, Japan and the Soviet Union, the Planning Committee saw the presence of the State as a necessity in undertaking the planning of free India. Planning was seen as a public enterprise that placed welfare before financial gain. Planning was also seen as a form of technical co-ordination, by disinterested experts, of processes of consumption, production, investment, trade, and income distribution, which were set in accordance with social objectives of the nation. The Commission was chaired by Nehru and included members from the Indian Civil Service (the Indian bureaucracy) and a few handpicked Cabinet ministers.

Among the major tasks of the experts of the Planning Commission was and has been the drafting of India's five-year plans, and the Planning Commission came out with a draft of India's first Five Year Plan in 1951. The first plan, according to Nehru was the first of its kind to bring the whole of India, especially, agriculture, industrial, social and economic, into one framework of thinking. Agriculture, the sector worst hit by Partition, received the most attention in order to boost food production. In many ways, the first plan was an interim plan, much like a tourniquet applied to a wound in order to stabilise the person before suturing the wound, which was undertaken in the second five-year plan. It sought to stabilise food production in the villages, while at the same time laying down the infrastructure for when urbanisation due to industrialisation happened; the focus on transport and communication can be seen to achieve this end. When the urbanisation did take place, the Indian from the village would have to deal with this new pattern of agglomeration in which traditional hierarchies and caste ties no longer help sway and planning for social services can be viewed as a pre-emptive measure to serve these ends. So while the more mundane need remained in the villages, where agriculture was the mainstay, modern India was to be moulded in the crucibles of the city, which was the emphasis of the second five-year plan.

The second five-year plan (1956-1961), with its industrialisation and urbanisation focus, was the handiwork of Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, a pioneer of inter-disciplinary research, applying his statistical techniques in the fields of anthropology. In India's Second Five year Plan, Mahalanobis, Nehru and others focused on the instrumentality of industrialisation. This was realised in its objective to obtain a rapid growth of the national economy by increasing the scope and importance of the public sector, and to develop basic heavy industries for the manufacture of producer goods to strengthen the foundation of

economic independence. These economic objectives took precedence over other objectives such as the provision of better housing, health and educational facilities. Hence, even as industrialisation was a priority in the second plan, all the processes concomitant to industrialisation were not considered.

During the first two five year plan periods, various institutions and organisations were created and set up. For example, the Government set up the Town and Country Planning Organisation, the National Building Organisation and Delhi Development Authority during this period. Effort has been made to prepare Delhi Master Plan which served as a model for city planning in other states. During this period, states were advised for the enactment of town and country planning legislation to enable the drawing up of master plans for the closer regulation of urban land.

The Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) was a watershed moment in the nation's endeavour of urban development and planning. It was during this time that the significance of managing cities and town was identified. Additionally, it was suggested that in order to create and maintain an equitable territorial development, the approach of regional urban planning should be endorsed. The plan also highlighted the need for urban land regulation, scrutinising and maintaining urban land prices, and also master plans for the major metropolitan cities. It made clear that the preparation of master plan is the responsibility of state and local governments. The third plan also suggested that setting up of new industries should be done, away from large and already populated major cities, and the municipal administration needs to be strengthened. "During this period, majority of the states introduced town planning legislation modelled on the pattern of British town planning designs and practices. In fact, Third Plan can be regarded as a critical one for urban policy making in the country" (Bhagat, 2014, p. 5).

The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) continued to emphasise the regional and urban development initiatives in the Third Plan, and it undertook the initiative of formulating development plans for seventy-two cities. This included the undertaking of regional studies for the metro cities of Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. The development of new state capitals like Chandigarh, Gandhinagar, Bhopal and Bhubaneswar were speeded up through special grants by the central government. It also advised the state governments to create metropolitan planning regions to take care of the growing areas outside administrative city limits. Significantly, the Government of Maharashtra passed the Mumbai Metropolitan Development Act in 1974 and the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA) was set up in 1975. Also during this period, Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) was established to fund projects of the urban local bodies, housing boards and other organisations. One of the special features of Fourth Plan was that metropolitan cities and cities of national importance, such as: Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai, got special financial commitment. There was an apparent favour to the big cities until Fifth Plan, although rhetoric of urban and industrial decentralisation was repeated plan after plan.

One of the most important features of the Sixth Five Year Plan (1978-83) was its recognition for the desperate situation for building small and medium sized towns and not just big metropolises. The scheme that was launched to build such towns with a population of less than one lack was delegated to 'Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns' or also called as IDSMT. However, the scheme failed to be effective because the resources allocated to it under the plan was insignificant compared to the task it was allocated.

During the Seventh five year plan period between (1985-1990) certain important institutional measures were taken which left a lasting impact on the Indian urban development and planning policies. During its time, a bill known as 65th Constitution Amendment was introduced in Lok Sabha. However, because it couldn't be passed in the legislation, it was later introduced after some revisions as 74th Constitution Amendment Bill 1992 which was passed by both houses of Parliament and came into force in March 1993. The bill was the first attempt to grant constitutional status to urban local bodies with an aim to create a three tier federal structure with centre at the top, states at the intermediate level and local bodies at the bottom.

During the period of the Eighth Plan (1992-1997), a plan of action called the Mega City Scheme was introduced in 1993-94, which covered five megacities of Mumbai, Calcutta, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. The role of the small and medium towns was envisaged as developing growth centres for the betterment of rural hinterland. This would also help in diverting big city migration to smaller towns. Although, most of the programmes undertaken in the Eighth Plan continued in Ninth Plan, the emphasis was placed more on decentralising authority and setting up urban local bodies with financial autonomy with an aim to promote competitiveness and efficiency through market based interventions. "Earlier programmes were merged to form a new programme called the Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY). This programme had two sub-schemes, namely, (i) Urban Self-Employment Programme and (ii) Urban Wage Employment Programme" (Bhagat, 2014, p. 6).

The Tenth Five Year Plan (2002- 2007) took a stock of the situation by understanding the shortcomings and necessary modifications required in previous policy decisions and thrust points of the previous five year plans. Due to the liberalisation of the economy in the 1990s, it was identified that planned ur-

banisation could be a significant catalyst for economic growth in the country to gain momentum. Secondly, it was recognised that budgetary allocations to schemes previously instituted, were inadequate and that financial assistance by the central government had been uneven in terms of sectoral allocation. Official procedures and inadequate finances were seen as hampering the effectiveness of urbanisation policies and institutional schemes. Third, parastatal organisations such as urban development authorities were increasingly taking over the functions of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). It was recognised that instead of usurpation of functions, there should be a partnership between the two. Furthermore, the development authorities should rather be supportive to the functioning of ULBs. Overall, the Tenth Plan stressed that without strengthening the democratic structure and institutional building of the ULBs, the goal of urban development could not be achieved.

The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12) introduced some innovative changes in the urban policy and programmes. The key urban development strategies were as follows:

- i. “Strengthening urban local bodies through capacity building and better financial management.
- ii. Increasing the efficiency and productivity of cities by deregulation and development of land.
- iii. Dismantling public sector monopoly over urban infrastructure and creating conducive atmosphere for the private sector to invest.
- iv. Establishing autonomous regulatory framework to oversee the functioning of the public and private sector.
- v. Reducing incidence of poverty.
- vi. Using technology and innovation in a big way” (Bhagat, 2014, p. 7).

In order to revitalise the urban development strategies, the Central Government launched a major initiative in December 2005, called the 'Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission' (JNNURM). The aim of this urban renewal scheme was to give a special attention to the challenge of developing urban infrastructure and services in an integrated framework. The project initially identified sixty-three cities in the country. The emphasis being on developing provisions of basic services to the urban poor, including housing, water supply, sanitation, road network, urban transport, the development of inner/old city areas, etc.

**FOCUS POINT: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU NATIONAL URBAN RE-NEWAL MISSION (JNNURM)**

K.C. Sivaramakrishnan in *Re-visioning Indian cities: The urban renewal mission* (2011) comments how 'India lives in its villages', has long characterised the Indian mindset but now also recognises that India lives in its villages and towns too. He understands this transition of emphasis from the rural to the urban by outlining the progression of ideas, policies and projects formulated through the successive FYPs. Interestingly he notes, the word 'urban development' occurred for the first time as a chapter title only in the 5th FYP of 1974, until then, housing was the main area of concern. However, one of the earliest manifestation of an urban intervention can be seen as the Delhi Master Plan, which was a major exercise that brought together Indian planners and foreign experts and was taken special interest by the then Prime Minister Nehru. The building of Chandigarh as a new capital for Punjab was another instance prompted by his own vision of what a brand new city could be, reflecting the spirit of a new India. Around this time new urban centres were

also being created as part of big industrial and river valley projects, like steel towns of Bhilai, Durgapur etc.

It is worthwhile to mention the National Commission on Urbanisation (NCU), set up in 1985 to understand the scale and nature of urbanisation in the country. The commission constituted of stalwarts like Ashish Bose and Mahesh Buch and presented a study of India's present and future urbanisation, while offering a wide range of prescriptions; it also provided for an extensive analysis of urban poverty and identified several measures to address them. However, it is the Mega City Scheme of 1994 that provided the experience for designing of JNNURM. The 8th Plan mentioned for the first time a macro strategy for urban development with explicit recognition of rural-urban linkages. For the first time, the Plan recognised that transport in urban areas, especially in metropolitan cities, had not received due attention. The 10th FYP had to make a new beginning because the constitutional 74th amendment had come into existence. Thus the plan also incorporated aspects of urban governance, especially urban local bodies (ULB).

The 11th FYP points out the following about urban areas of the country:

- Urban areas have contributed 63% of the GDP in 2007, this was a mere 29% and 47% in 1950-51 and 1980- 81 respectively.
- There is continued concentration of urban population in large cities. The pattern of spatial variation in the population concentration reflects the spatial polarisation of employment opportunities.
- The severe inadequacy in the urban infrastructure services in addition to the low quality of the services provided has become the largest constraint in the country against achieving rapid economic growth.

- There is acute shortage of housing in urban areas for the urban poor.
- Low level participation of private sector in the provision of urban infrastructural amenities (Chandran, 2013, p. 51).

These become all the more acute as India with an urban population of 377 million according to the 2011 census, has the second largest urban system in the world. In the post reform period, cities which are considered as the ‘engines of economic development’ are not only linked with regional or national economy, but are also highly intertwined with the international economy. Owing to the increasing importance of urban areas in the new global settings, formulation of a strong urbanisation strategy has become unavoidable in national planning because the share of urban population living in a country is considered as one of the indicators of the level of economic development that it has achieved. However, the unplanned and the haphazard growth of urban areas have created numerous challenges in their functioning as a system.

Urban areas of the country have undergone massive transformation in the post economic reform period. In the era of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation, economic growth began to be fully centred on the large cities across the globe which necessitated countries to evolve various mechanisms to attract private and foreign capital and investments. It was in this background that the urban development program named Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) was initiated by the central government of India in 2005. The broad aspects which are covered under the mission are:

- Urban infrastructure and governance
- Alleviation of urban poverty and ensuring the basic minimum amenities to all sections of the urban society.

This has been called as a comprehensive urban renewal program which will enable the 63 selected urban centres to place themselves as important centres of economic activities and as a response given by the GoI to meet the increasing demands of globalisation in urban development strategy. The Mission came as a response arising out of the rapid and unplanned urban growth and economic disparities that have created the 'dual cities'. Thus, the Mission assumes critical importance as through this reform measure the GoI intends to direct future investments, institutional, fiscal and management reforms in urban areas. One of the ways in which the resources needed for investment will be mobilised is through the new strategies of urban management in the country, especially, PPPs.

The Mission is the most recent and largest urban development initiative undertaken by the GoI, not only in terms of investment, but also in terms of the number of cities that have been included in it, sectoral coverage and in terms of the integration of the peripheral areas in the planning process. The urban development mission aims at the overall and sustainable development of the selected cities in the country within a period of seven years. The statement of the mission clearly points out that JNNURM solely aims at the reform driven, "fast track planned development of cities with focus on efficiency in urban infrastructure, service delivery mechanisms, community participation and accountability of urban local bodies and parastatal agencies" (Chandran, 2013, p. 63). In other words, the Mission which covers 63 cities in three population size categories aims the transformation of these cities into efficient, growing equitable and sustainable centres for future economic growth.

It has two Sub-missions :

- ❖ Sub-mission for urban infrastructure and governance :- This sub mission is administered by the Ministry of urban development. Some of the components are listed below:
  - Renewal and redevelopment of the inner city areas
  - Urban transport
  - Development of heritage areas
  - Sewage and sanitation
  
- ❖ Sub-mission for basic services to the urban poor :- This is administered by the ministry of urban employment and poverty alleviation through the sub-mission directorate for Basic services to the urban poor (BSUP). The components of which are:
  - Integrated development of slums, housing and development of infrastructure projects in slums.
  - Projects involving development, improvement and maintenance of basic services to the urban poor.
  - Slum improvement and rehabilitation projects.
  - Projects to provide houses to people belonging in the EWS (economically weaker sections) and LIG (lower income group) categories.
  - Convergence of health, education, and social security schemes for the urban poor.

One of the major aspects of the Mission has been its objective of providing housing and services for the urban poor. Poverty alleviation had been pro-

claimed repeatedly as an objective of the country's development planning, with Garibi Hatao being the policy during Indira Gandhi's tenure. Similarly, housing for the poor is another public policy goal adopted by different governments. The BSUP component of the Mission preceded the formal launching of the National Housing and Habitat Policy of 2007, it declared that the "basic services for the urban poor programme seek to provide a garland of seven entitlements-security of tenure, affordable housing, water, sanitation, health, education and social security to low income settlements in the 63 mission cities" (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011, p. 50). A large part of the BSUP allocation is for the construction of low income houses. In this context it is also worthy to note, how there has been an increased national effort on making Indian cities 'slum free'. It is in this context that RAY was announced. The supporting principles for the RAY are commendable, and they relate to the knowledge and experience gained by the country for decades in dealing with the problems of slum growth. "A whole city approach and in situ development of slums as a preferred strategy as well as community mobilisation, participative decision making are some of its aspects. It further proposes that each slum identified, a slum redevelopment plan based on models like PPP, infrastructure provision need to be decided" (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011, p. 58).

In understanding the policy of JNNURM comprehensively the Prime Minister's inaugural speech proves to be highly insightful to its scope, objectives and purpose. An excerpt of it has been taken:

"With urbanisation comes the need to invest in infrastructure and improve the quality of life in our cities. Rapid urbanisation has not only outpaced infrastructure development, but has also brought in its train a terrible downside — the downside of proliferating slums, the downside of increasing homelessness, the downside of growing urban poverty and crime, of relentless march of

pollution and ecological damage. This gives you an idea of the massive challenge that lies ahead.

Cities unfortunately with some exceptions, have not been enabled to look inward and build on their inherent capacities, both financial and technical, and instead are still being seen in many states as 'wards' of the State governments. This should and this must change. The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission is a city-based programme. It will seek to build the capacity of our cities for management. Cities have the financial muscle and the technical resources to rebuild themselves. We see the governance reform-related proposal in the Mission for a participation law and a disclosure law, as enabling the cities to locate the needed human and financial resources for improving its services. This is a major reform for the governance of our cities” (Government of India, 2005).

### **JNNURM: STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION?**

Taking into account the broad goals of the mission, it becomes pertinent to assess its role in hastening India’s urbanisation process by taking into account the various narratives that have come up commenting on its pattern and pace. Today, there has been an increasing emphasis on faster infrastructure development and affordable housing. The question is whether the NURM is an adequate answer for this whole gamut of problems that the Indian city of today faces. It is certainly one of the significant platforms to have emerged in the recent years. The 73rd and 74th amendments can be seen as a way of reversing the trend of limited participation by enabling rural and ULBs to re-emerge as institutions of self-government and decentralisation of decision making.

The planning commission's midterm appraisal of the NURM notes:

- “As the first flagship programme, the Mission has been effective in re-newing focus on the urban sector”
- It has allowed investments to flow for basic services in cities.
- “It has been successful in raising aspirations of the ULBs.
- It has expanded the concept of city improvement beyond projects to more fundamental needs of the under serviced poor” (Planning Commission, 2007)

However,

- “Many states are still lagging behind in programme utilisation due to lack of capacity and funds” (Planning Commission, 2007).
- Progress on governance reforms have been the slowest.
- Unwillingness to progress towards municipal autonomy.
- The earnestness in implementing the reforms is in doubt
- “The structure of planning and management itself is fragmented in the centre, states and cities” (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011, p. 180).

Sivaramakrishnan comments on how Delhi has become a much favoured city in terms of the projects that have been sanctioned. So even though, the Mission was started in 2005, till 2008 Delhi didn't have a single project which was sanctioned. But in 2009, projects got clearance such as the redevelopment of CP, construction of houses for the urban poor under RAY and the purchase of low floor buses. It is also interesting that Delhi as a city was also favoured as it was hosting the Commonwealth Games and various infrastructural

projects had to be completed for it. Many others have opined how because of its prominence as the capital of the country and ease of access to GoI ministries, Delhi has been able to get proportionately more aide than its counterparts and this has been one of the major criticisms. Secondly, he also emphasises that a programme of this kind has some continuity i.e. it should be consistent with other policies pursued in other government sponsored programmes. For example, programmes such as SEZs do not stipulate that enterprises or housing schemes located within such zones should include a provision for housing low-income groups or the urban poor. An assessment of the SEZs set up in the country indicates that low income housing does not feature in all these projects. The on-going efforts for the redevelopment of some city areas, such as the proposed Dharavi project in Mumbai, indicates that the prime objectives of the developers is to take over of the slum land for profitable development and not the rehousing of the slum dwellers. This runs counter to the proposal that in city planning, land should be earmarked for housing the urban poor and that in situ development is preferable.

Some scholars have also commented how the neoliberal model of urban planning is steadily gaining currency in urban development. This has been achieved by stressing on creating efficiency in both delivery mechanisms as well as urban infrastructure in general and secondly, by abolishing existing rules and ordinances in place. These reforms have been carried out in the name of creating more 'investor friendly cities'. By producing a dominant narrative on urban development on the basis of private sector efficiency, it has also strengthened urban middle class politics about the consumer citizen. Equally striking is its effect of drowning out the voices of the urban subaltern. In the capital city of Delhi, this movement has been evident in the criminalisation of the urban poor by a court ruling which compared slum dwellers to pickpockets because their slums supposedly usurp public land in prime locations. Ananya Roy (2011) also notes how the vision of Mumbai to become a 'sundar nagari'

led to a spate of slum demolitions by civic officials, which evicted more than 3,00,000 people who lived there. This was only one of the initial demolitions which were conducted in a series of other evictions as part of an urban renewal project of Bombay's city centre. This urban renewal is supposed to beautify and reclaim areas under the Dharavi slum by displacing already existing slum dwellers. Roy notes how an increasing number of demolitions are conducted tinged in a narrative of 'beautifying the city; and making it a 'showcase' for the outside world, which is part of the larger discourse of 'world class cities'.

This view is also reflected by Mahadevia (2011) stating that the ongoing metamorphosis that is taking place in the development of urban India embodies concurrence from political fronts, irrespective of the political and development ideology and vision. JNNURM seeks to make cities into 'engines of economic growth', which Mahadevia states, is also the dominant perception of urban development in general in the country. However, what such a doctrine fails to take into account, is the fact that cities are also places where migrants and the poor, live and earn their daily wages. An urban narrative of how cities should become hubs of global finance and trade only articulates an elitist vision of society, making the urban poor invisible from its narrative storyline and spatially marginalising them. This has been evident in the cases of Delhi and Mumbai, where large number of urban poor are rehabilitated only in far-flung corners of the city. However, many slums continue to exist in central parts of the city, which often are referred to as prime property. Mahadevia remarks how many developers in cahoots with local politicians, initiate slum demolitions, often hiding behind 'beautifying projects' such as developing malls or riverfront projects. These development projects do not benefit the city at large or its citizens rather the public exchequer loses out to the greed and benefit of a few individuals.

Mahadevia's second line of criticism for the JNNURM project states how the urban renewal mission epitomises the discord, inconsistency and pandemonium that characterises urban planning and policy as a whole. This results in urban policy fragmentation on development and planning, which leads to confusion when the plans formulated in them are implemented. The vision documents like the City Planning Documents of cities covered under JNNURM are out of sync of the expectations of those who live in the city, with what is the ground reality that exists. Thus, what is written in planning documents and what is realised empirically, are out of sync. The scholars illustrates this argument by identifying the authorities responsible for the implementation of agendas covered under JNNURM. While one of the ministries involved is the Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD), the other involved in redressing the problems of the urban poor in terms of looking into low cost housing facilities and other facilities is the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA). However, both these ministries of the government have failed in effectively pursuing the manifestations of poverty or creating state of the art infrastructure in Indian cities. This, Mahadevia states, is due to lack of coordination between the two government ministries, which results in fragmented policy and hasty planning of projects.

Continuing with the point of JNNURM being a 'mixed bag' in terms of effectiveness, Mehta and Mehta comment that urban development had not received serious attention and funding until the launch of JNNURM. With JNNURM, urban development has become a significant part of the government agenda. A number of issues remain. In the story of urban development in India, the proverbial glass is still half full. While significant progress has been made in terms of infusion of capital investments into urban infrastructure through JNNURM, it has not always translated into better services, especially for the poor. Several new initiatives and measures that are already underway will indeed yield some results. However, for ensuring better service delivery in our

cities, a second round of reforms for stronger governance, accountability with operational autonomy and regular performance assessments are needed.

However, one aspect that has been completely missing in the policy discourse, in which JNNURM can be found to be situated in, is the factor of gender. This seems especially the case with the urban renewal project of JNNURM. With the overarching concern of urban renewal being with developing urban infrastructure and bringing in reforms in various city based policies, the factor of gender concerns within all these changes has been neglected. Khosla (2009) in *Addressing gender concerns in India's Urban renewal mission*, which was a UNDP report states “gender based urban development is about promoting cities that respond equally to men and women. Because women experience cities differently, meeting women’s needs becomes critical to promoting sustainable/equitable urban development.” Thus, the concern for gender mainstreaming within the discourse of urban development in particular becomes of critical importance within the urban renewal project that is taking place in Indian cities.

Gender mainstreaming concerns itself with incorporating the particular perspective of gender within developmental interventions such as the planning, execution, and administration of resources utilised. Various institutions part of the process of development in terms of policy formulation, planning and legislation also incorporate the strategy of promoting gender equality within the structures of managing the programme. This is possible when the needs of women are kept in mind while developing infrastructure, especially because urban infrastructure isn't in fact gender neutral as some might like to argue. It is incorrect, Khosla (2009) argues that development and urban infrastructure are gender neutral because they affect both men and women in equal ways, and provide access without discriminating on gender. Such an assumption is

wrong for physical infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, roads, transport and housing, which have different impact on men and women and respond to diverse standards for the two groups.

Gender mainstreaming thus brings to fore such assumptions that underline many infrastructure development in the city and asserts for the recognition of different needs and expectations that people might have based on their gender identity. How men and women have different shares in public resources and physical assets can exert an influence on how they can access other resources and services, such as the layout market. By recognising gender differences and taking into account gender mainstreaming while planning, Mahadevia (2011) states that provisions for services and resources can be better planned and implemented. Thus, making the policy more effective and bringing in a greater sense of equality between men and women.

From the above discussion, it can thus be concluded that JNNURM can be seen as a policy response to the haphazard urban development that can be observed in the major cities of India. Although it can be seen as a step in the right direction, many have commented about its glaring inadequacies in dealing with the problems that it seeks to address. These fault lines need to be addressed especially because it has been announced that the second phase of the UPA's flagship programme for urban infrastructure development, JNNURM, would be thrice the size of the last phase. The proposed JNNURM-II, which would be for 10 years including the current fiscal, would be pegged at Rs 1.5 lakh crore, and is likely to be launched after the next parliamentary election results are out. In addition, JNNURM-II's ambit would be extended to smaller cities and towns (Times of India, 2013).

## **BEYOND JNNURM**

Urban India today contributes to 58 percent of India's GDP. By 2030, urbanisation is expected to touch around 40 percent and urban India is expected to contribute to around 70 percent of the country's GDP. India must improve urban sector productivity to achieve objectives of national economic development. This translates into a need for better service provision and governance, and bring the urban informal sector into the mainstream of development process, both which today are far from satisfactory.

As part of the initiative the government of India also launched an initiative for the development of affordable housing for the urban poor in the city. This is part of the larger campaign of making cities sum free under the project of JNNURM. Under this initiative, the government would allocate affordable housing through partnership with private firms. Interest subsidy and land rights will also be given to those people living in slum areas. During the financial year 2009-2010 "Rs.1,270 crore have been allocated for RAY. In addition to providing subsidised credit, it would provide basic amenities such as water supply, sewerage, drainage, internal and approach roads, street lighting and social infrastructure facilities in slums and low-income settlements adopting a 'whole city' approach" (Vaidya and Kundu, 2010).

MGI published its 'India's Urban Awakening – Building Inclusive Cities, Sustaining Economic Growth' recently. The study estimates India's urban population is likely to increase from 340 million in 2008 to 590 million by 2030 (40% of total population). Five large states, namely, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Punjab will have more than half of their population living in urban areas. Urban India will be critical for both sustainable and

inclusive economic growth of the country. It has projected that urban India would need infrastructure investments to the tune of US\$ 2.2 trillion (around Rs.10,300 crore) over the next 20 years; another US\$ 1 trillion will be required for effective operations and maintenance. This translates to almost eight times the level of present per capita expenditure and two percent of GDP annually (Vaidya and Kundu, 2010).

The study makes concrete suggestions in five areas of: funding; governance; planning; sector policies; and shape. It has suggested four sources of funding urban infrastructure, namely, monetising land assets, collecting higher property taxes and user charges, debt and PPP and formula-based government spending. It builds a strong case on the need to empower urban administration and modernisation of service delivery structures. It also identifies the need for overhauling of metropolitan and municipal planning systems and capacities. Suggestions on sector policies include affordable housing for low-income groups and environment sustainability. Finally, it suggests focused approaches to different tiers of cities and fostering inter-city connectivity. It is needless to add that these reforms will need political will, vocal citizens and active participation of the private sector.

Despite the strong focus on urban reforms, many ULBs are yet to develop themselves as autonomous city management agencies to dovetail urbanisation with economic development. There is also need to improve financial sustainability of ULBs by improved property tax administration, appropriate user charges, use of land as a resource, e-Governance. These reforms will help ULBs to access market-based finance and introduce and PPPs in towards improving service delivery. It must be recognised that along with additional funds, there is need to improve soft infrastructure in urban sector like technical assistance, capacity building, centres of excellence, e-Governance, peer learn-

ing, etc. Also assigning property rights to the slum dwellers would aid in ensuring inclusive urban development. Climate change issues need to be dealt with in urban areas. Urban institutional reform will be another area that will require significant additional attention in the years to come. Thus urban management has to play an important role in improving our cities in the country.

The twenty-first century is often called the Urban Century. Over the next hundred years, we will see rapid urbanisation worldwide, with urban populations, economies, and physical limits growing at an unprecedented rate. Urbanisation has the twin potential for both prosperity and degeneration. On one hand, it has “tremendous possibility of economic prosperity, consolidation of aspirational middle-class lifestyles, growth of civil society, and experiments with local democracy.” (Institute of South Asia studies, 2011) But this phenomenon also has a darker side of stifling ecological consequences such as increasing pollution and unprecedented carbon emissions. “Degradation of urban poverty and inequality, the inadequacy of infrastructure” (Ibid.) are the darker shadows looming beneath growing cities.

While the generation of urban knowledge and sociology of cities has been centred in Western cities, the 21st century’s urban growth is primarily taking place not in Western cities but in the cities of the Global South. The Indian City, then, may be an archetypal twenty-first century city. But what defines the Indian City today? What challenges does it face in the future? And what can we learn from the Indian City in looking at urbanisation processes worldwide? The rapid urbanisation and burgeoning cities in India presents to us a momentous opportunity for academics, those engaged in decision making and civil society activists, policy-makers and administrators alike to participate in understanding the challenges and possibilities that are inherent at this time of development.

Narratives about urbanisation, its pattern and pace have been numerous. Today, there is an increasing emphasis on faster infrastructure development and affordable housing. Artificial and speculative increase in land prices and the exclusion of vast sections of the society are frequently heard complaints. At the same time, monetisation of urban land is also advocated as a feasible model. The question is whether the NURM is an adequate answer for the whole gamut of problems. It is certainly one of the significant platforms to have emerged in recent years.

In contrast to some of the other programmes of the government in sectors like highways, health or energy, where neither the political mandate for mobilising funds or securing projects has not been lacking, this has not been the case with urban development. In spite of the Correa Commission and the very elaborate structure for decentralised urban governance prescribed by the 74th Constitutional Amendment, the urban is yet to become a political reality. “India lives in its villages” has been a well-worn out phrase, “that it also lives in its towns and cities” is beginning to be realised only now. Much of this realisation is still prompted by the growing irritation about infrastructure problems faced in the city. In the past two decades of liberalisation, the country also had to face the grim realities of decay in its old manufacturing centres, emergence of new forms of employment and economic activity, increasing capital flows in selected locations and sectors, and rising inequalities. Acrimony about who is an insider and who is an outsider has also attracted unwelcome attention to some cities (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011, p. 181).

Daunted by the mega cities and irritated by the deficiencies of other towns, ‘fleeing the city’ is still talked about. Many critics point out to the ever increasing challenges that burden the cities of the South. These challenges relate to the balancing of the rising aspirations and incomes of the middle-class, de-

mands imposed on the political economy of the city by the process of globalisation along with the changes in economy that it brings about. Many have questioned whether existing cities can survive or developing new towns in greenfield locations are a better option. Even if, Gurgaon and Noida, which are Delhi's satellites or Kolkata's Rajarhat, with their architecture based on condominium complexes are cited as promising specimens for building new cities for the future. However, many have voiced their opinion against the fanfare that surrounds these El Dorados of suburbia. Detractors have pointed out to how these private apartments can be overwhelmed by problems of infrastructure and services.

#### **CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT, CHANGE IN POLICIES?**

Latest policy developments indicate a redrawing of urban landscapes at the behest of the newly elected Modi government at the centre. The Union Cabinet in April of 2015 approved the "Smart Cities Mission for development of 100 smart cities and Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT)" of 500 cities-which replaces the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). The smart cities mission is aimed at "recasting the urban landscape of the country by making cities more liveable and inclusive besides driving economic growth." Each selected city under the scheme would get "Central assistance of Rs 100 crore per year for five years" (The Hindu, 2015). Urban liveability is an old problem that has progressively got worse over the years. A shade less than a third of India's population now lives in urban areas, overcrowded cities and towns with infrastructure bursting at its seams. This problem will only worsen with little or no intervention happening. The proportion of the urban population can only go in one direction-upward-as more Indians migrate to cities and towns in search of jobs. Cities are engines

of growth and as a result attract a lot of people. On the other hand, there is little incentive for people to migrate out of cities. Earlier attempts at providing better urban infrastructure or at creating new townships have not been able to deal with the problem of urban liveability satisfactorily. Even successful special economic zones have had to contend with the issue of lack of social infrastructure, which usually means access to avenues of education, health, arts, sports, and so on. There are numerous definitions of a smart city but the Modi government's idea of one usefully encompasses institutional infrastructure (governance), physical infrastructure, as also social infrastructure.

The Cabinet approval marks the first of many steps, as also the easiest, that will be required for the project. The challenges start now. Of course there is no doubt that this has created tremendous enthusiasm amongst many possible stakeholders, including service providers who have been part of smart city projects elsewhere in the world. Countries such as Japan, Singapore and Germany, among many others, have evinced interest to be a part of this. Yet, in its scale and complexity the project will be second to none. The official estimates of per capita investment requirement is Rs.43,386 for a 20-year period, or a total investment of Rs.7 lakh crore. Creating a smart city isn't just about creating the physical infrastructure — roads, clean water, power, transport and so on, things India finds difficult to deliver to its citizens nearly seven decades after Independence (The Hindu, 2015). It is hoped that public private partnerships (PPP) will deliver but the mechanism seems to need a lot of tweaking in order for it to work, a fact acknowledged in the recent Budget. The big challenge will be to create self-sustaining cities, which create jobs, use resources wisely and also train people. This also means more autonomy for these cities. Whether that can happen is a moot question depending heavily on the maturity of the Indian political system.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DELHI: CITY OF WALLS, CITY OF GATES.

Delhi is commonly referred to as the City of Djinns. In Islamic mythology, Djinns are magical creatures called genies that along with humans and angels make up the three consciously aware creations of Allah. These genies can't be definitely termed either as good or bad, they just are. The etymological root of

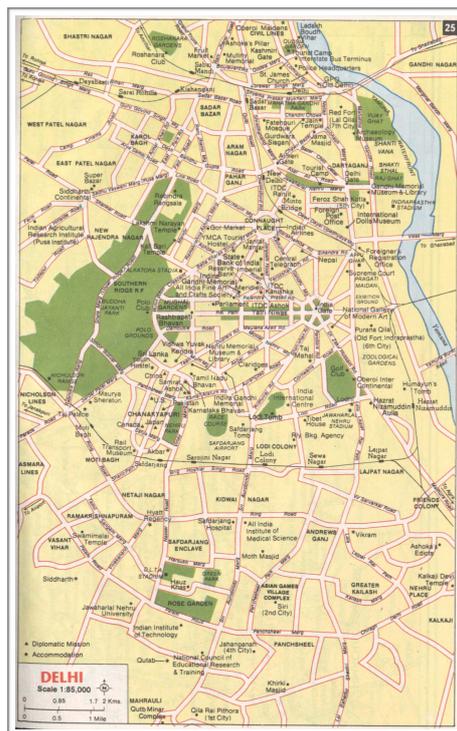


Figure 4.1: Map locating the 'seven cities' of Delhi within a tourist map  
Retrieved from <http://www-columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00maplinks/modern/delhimaps/delhimap1.jpg>

the word “jinn” comes from the Arabic word “hidden or concealed.” William Dalrymple in his bestselling publication *City of Djinns: A year in Delhi* (1993) writes how it is believed that the Djinns loved Delhi and its every house, every street corner was haunted by them. “You cannot see them” writes Dalrymple, “but if you concentrated you would be able to feel them: to hear their whisper-

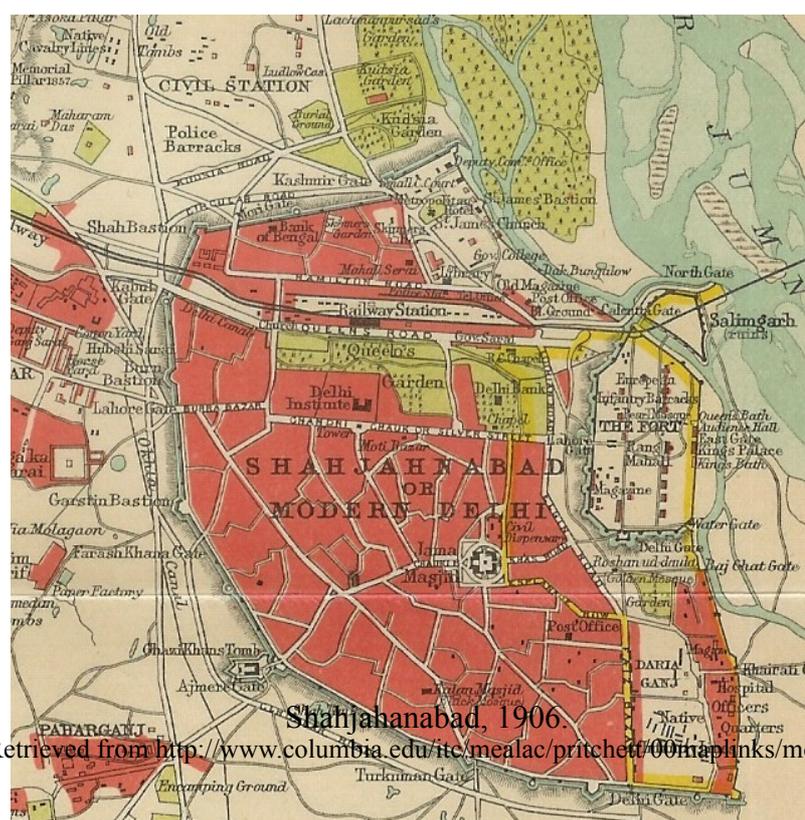
ings, or even, if you were lucky, to sense their warm breath on your face” (Dalrymple, 1993, p. 9).

Being the centre of the mythic and historic Indian imaginary, and populated for over two millennia, it is no wonder that for people from all walks of life, be it mystics or merchants, believe that Delhi is the City of Djinns. Delhi has been an important city in the political narrative of India, as it has been a seat of power for several powerful empires (Dasgupta, 2014). The city has been described as the capital of the most powerful of Indian kingdoms from as early as 3000 BC— when the events depicted in the biggest Hindu epic, the Mahabharata are believed to have taken place. Archaeological evidence suggests, further, that Delhi was the capital of India as early as 300 BC, during the Maurya Period (Morenas, 2010, p. 61).

However, this metaphor of Delhi as a City of Djinns, can be used for a contemporary understanding of this megalopolis. For the Djinns roaming the streets today are no longer the mystical beings of Islam but the urban poor of the city, despite being everywhere, they are unseen. It is as though to the Indian politicians and bureaucrats, these inhabitants are purely spirits, who do not physically exist, made further invisible from various state policies and plans that guide the state’s action. This chapter will enquire into the political, social and cultural context in the emergence of this bustling Indian megalopolis, its transition from a Mughal city called Shahjahanabad, to the seat of power of the British empire in the subcontinent, and finally as the capital of a newly independent India informed by the project of modernity. The objective of this chapter is also to understand the rise of a middle-class activism in context of the changing nature of relationship between the state and the market. An allied facet is the exploration of consumerism vis a vis citizenship.

## SHAHJAHANABAD TO NEW DELHI: FROM CITADELS TO AVENUES.

“Studies of Delhi usually stress the strong differentiation in the spatial organisation of the capital. At a city-wide level, Delhi appears, indeed, as a city without spatial continuity, a mosaic of very contrasted sectors” (Dupont, 2004, p. 158). Many factors have contributed to the shaping of the city in terms of not just the city’s landscape but also the socio-economic composition of those who reside in it and how they are spatially organised within the city’s parameter. Dupont (2004) classifies them into categories, which includes, endogenous factors such as, laws pertaining to land use and real estate development, as well as, distance between business district and places of residence. Secondly, different political regimes and historical epochs also leave a mark on the development of the city topography. Most recently, it has been the post-colonial government’s attempts of asserting the status of Delhi as the capital city of India, with the partition and the Emergency being critical moments in this. However, the town planning during the Mughal era as well during the colo-



Retrieved from <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mcalac/pritchett/00maps/mod->

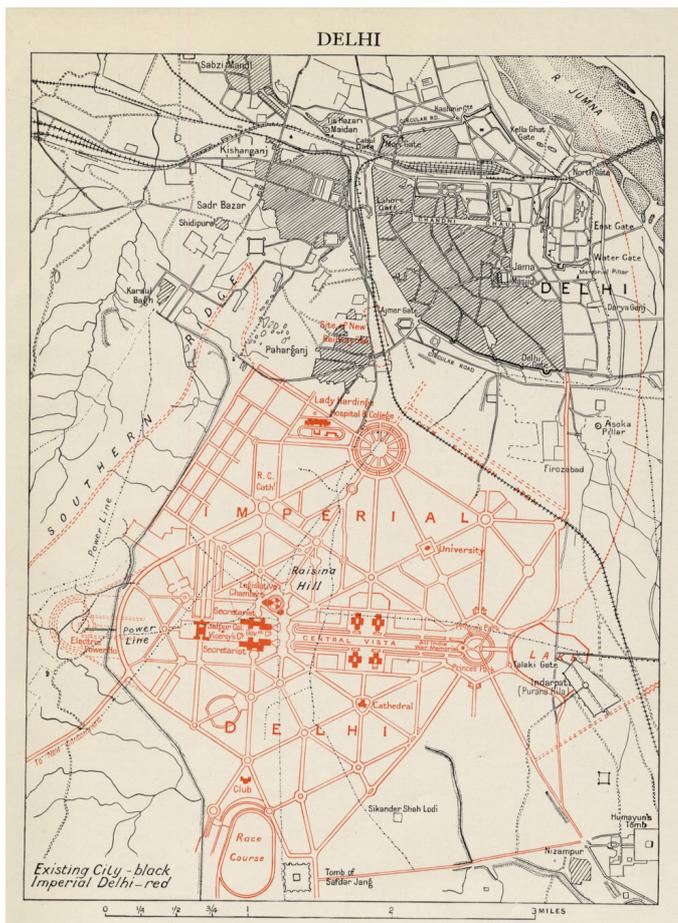
nial regime also significantly affected the pattern of the physical organisation of the city.

It is not entirely clear why Shah Jahan, the great Mughal emperor, left Agra to make Delhi the seat of his empire. Perhaps, he realised that Delhi, the mistress of centuries of imperial endeavour, could provide a truly legitimate seat to his architectural aspirations. Whatever the reason, construction began on 12 May 1639, a little over nine years later, Shah Jahan arrived at the head of a magnificent retinue, with his favourite son, Prince Dara Shikoh, showering gold and silver along the way, to hold his first court at the Diwan-i-Aam (Varma, 2004). Although it was built as a planned city, it was soon overtaken by the chaos of spontaneous evolution which is the true hallmark of historic cities. Varma (2004) suggests that the ideological inspiration of the city was predictable: one more monarch seeking to build a habitat within the finite space of a walled closure. But beyond such a stereotype, the edifice of the city grew according to a plan unwilled by its founder, gradually reaching out, like all other settlements, to a gracious but unplanned destiny of its own. Katras, bazaars, waras, kuchas, mohallas came up in different intervals, in tandem with the city's evolution and growth.

After the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the British completely altered the structure of Shahjahanabad. Delhi's greatest poet, Ghalib, bore witness to some of these changes that were made in order to accommodate the interests of the British East India Company in 1857. Morenas (2010) quotes Ghalib's literature as stating "Let me tell you the Delhi news...The gate to Bara Dariba has been demolished. The rest of the Qabil Attar Lane has been destroyed. The mosque in Kashmiri Katra has been levelled to the ground. The width of the street has been doubled...A great monkey, strong as a lion and huge as an elephant, has

been born. He roves the city demolishing buildings as he goes” (Morenas, 2010, p. 38).

The decision by the British in 1911 to build New Delhi without integrating the old city, sealed the fate of Shahajanabad. From now onwards, ‘purani Dilli’ would live on but only like an ageing courtesan abandoned by her new suitors (Varma, 2004, p. 252). The colonial mentality rationalising the spatial segregation of the indigenous population numbering 350,000 in 1931 from the British is displayed in the differentiation between New Delhi and Old Delhi. Indians were forced to live in the dilapidating Old City of two and a half square miles; while the 65,000 government officials lived a safe sanitised distance in the thirty-three square mile new city and 9,000 inhabitants occupied the sixteen and a half square mile cantonment. The instrument of the ‘cordon-sanitaire’



was actively used in Delhi as a spatial separation between the British and the indigenous population. This was typically an unbuilt zone of parks and gardens, specifically employed to isolate the coloniser from the colonised at the maximum distance, the space separating the two settlements was levelled into sports fields and a green belt of ornamental and flowering shrubs.

Figure 4.3 Map showing the Imperial Delhi juxtaposed to that of the old city of Delhi.

Retrieved from <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00maplinks/modern/delhimaps/britannica1910.jpg>

Dupont (2004) argues that it was when the British architects and planners built new Delhi, which was conceptualised as being juxtaposed to the old city of Old Delhi, was there a discontinuation that was introduced in the physical and spatial organisation of the city. The possibility that the old and the new parts of Delhi could be harmonised and made compatible was never really thought of as a possibility by the British planners, Edwin Luytens and Herbert Baker. This was because New Delhi and Old Delhi were based on the principle of deliberate segregation, where the natives would continue to live in the cramped living spaces of Old Delhi and the tree-lined avenues of New Delhi would be an exclusive British settlement. The construction of New Delhi introduced a radical discontinuity in the spatial organisation of the entire city.

The planning and building of the new town had been placed under the responsibility of two British architect-planners: Edwin Luytens and Herbert Baker. For both of British architects the possibility of creating the new city to harmonise visually with the old was never seriously considered. New Delhi was conceived as a purely British settlement juxtaposed to the Indian city, the planning for which was founded on the fear of the natives polluting the imperial settlement. It was because of this reason that the latter was separated from Shahjahanabad by a vast strip of land. Founded in 1639 by the Mughal ruler Shah Jahan, Shahjahanabad was a walled city, consisting of a labyrinth of alleyways and closely packed houses. Whereas, New Delhi was in complete contrast to the indigenous town with its wide roads, spacious avenues, landscaped gardens and symmetrical, planned boulevards. New Delhi was thus a manifestation of the “urbanisation based on deliberate segregation” (Dupont, 2004, p. 158) between the natives and the colonial rulers.

## POST-COLONIAL DELHI AND ITS VISION OF MODERNITY

Indian independence in 1947 marked the emergence and tussle of new Indian identities and visions for these identities, as over 500 kingdoms and provinces converged into single sovereign welfare state. Once Sir Cyril Radcliffe's dissection of India and Pakistan was established de facto as a Partition line, approximately 14.5 million people crossed it. The 1951 Census reports that 7,226,000 Muslims crossed into Pakistan from India and reciprocally 7,249,000 Hindus and Sikhs crossed into India (Morenas, 2010, p. 64). The Punjabi influx was seen and felt prominently in Delhi, where almost half a million refugees came to settle. They flooded the Indian capital, "spreading themselves out wherever they could" (Morenas, 2010, p. 65).

While Gandhi saw India as a republic of villages, Indian leaders who survived him post-Independence, like Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and political leader Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, wanted to unite India into a familiar modern nation comprising of an urbanised political citizenry. The focus on cities was characteristic of Nehru's larger vision for a modern India. During the 1950s and 1960s, the common conception was that modernity could simply be achieved through economic development. Development was considered "a single, universal set of policy lessons" (Ibid., 62) placed at the disposal of the newly formed post-colonial nation-states. Through the simple application of these theories and policies, India and other newly independent nations could replicate their Western counterparts and achieve their own industrial revolutions.

Nehru's project to cloak a newly free India with a garb of modernity through development and democracy can be seen as commendable and unique. While the prevailing modernist perception at the time was that democracy is instru-

mental to development and economic growth, Nehru and his ilk saw democracy as an independent value, something inherently precious in and of itself. While this imperative of democracy “for its own sake” could have created a frame of vigilance to prevent excesses arising from the pursuit of economic development, it was a larger, overarching ideology of Nehru’s that prevented this. He confessed in 1947 “I am a devotee of science and believe that the world will ultimately be saved, if it is to be saved, by the method and approach of science” (Ibid., 67). While Nehru’s stance towards democracy followed a path of non-alignment, his devotion to scientific rationality placed India’s development agenda on a pre-formulated track paved by Western models of modernity. The transition from colonialism to democratic secularism could therefore effortlessly be forged with the right intentions and instruments that were tempered by the flames of development. At the heart of this modernity, for Nehru, was the city Delhi being the capital of India was a ‘prototype’ to test these ideas of development and the modern identity of India.

### **THE BLUEPINT: DELHI MASTER PLAN, 1962**

The Master Plan for Delhi was published on the 1st of September, 1962 by the Delhi Development Authority, a federally run administrative organisation, set up to first publish the plan and later to implement it. This authority was set up under the Delhi Development Act of 1957 and its main function, under Sections 7 - 11A of the Act, was the planned development of Delhi. The Plan itself was produced under the auspices of an international aid and development project involving the members of the

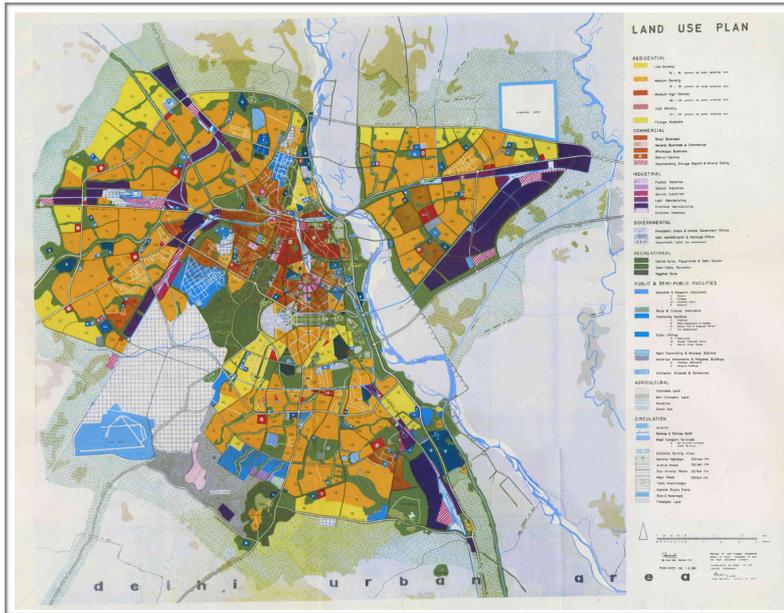


Figure 4.4: Proposed land use as per Delhi Master Plan, 1962. The green belt enveloping the city shows its optimal size. The swath of brown in the centre of represents Old Delhi, which has been marked as a slum.

Town Planning Organisation (TPO) and a team of American planners assembled by the Ford Foundation. It was a newly formed TPO and not the DDA that undertook the preparation of the Delhi Master Plan, 1962. The TPO was formed in 1956 and later became the Town and Country Planning Organisation (TCPO).

The Master Plan of Delhi, 1962 is a legally binding document for Delhi's citizens: they are required by law to comply with this blueprint. The document outlined the proposed development of Delhi, through an integrated and balanced overall programme of development. The document contains “[a] an Introduction; [b] a chapter outlining the logic of the land use plan and its various components; [c] a second chapter containing the zoning regulations of the eight planning districts; [d] an appendix stating the industrialisation policy and summary, and most importantly, [e] the maps containing the existing land use plan”, the proposed land use plan for 1982, a zonal map delineating the eight planning districts (Ibid., 134).

The city within these limits was then to be divided into exclusive zones of activity, segregating industrial, commercial and residential spaces. Rather than reduce these existing spatial and geographical inequalities between these zones, these zones were envisaged as independent and self-contained bounded spaces and the plans that were developed focused narrowly on the zones themselves and not on the larger city that was an agglomeration of these areas or zones. Furthermore in their rational and comprehensive plan for the city, the planners presupposed a total upheaval of the lives of the citizens of Delhi, addressing none of their pre-existing concerns about the inequitable distribution of land that the Master Plan was anticipated to rectify. The logic of planning for these self-contained zones was based on Western notions of commerce within the Indian metropolis and the American model of a modern neighbourhood.

Even though the Delhi Master Plan of 1962 fell short of its stated ideals, yet this model of regional planning has not been discredited. In the past forty-eight years since its inception in 1962, the Master Plan has been amended twice, effectively shaping not only the past half century of Delhi's development but proposing to shape Delhi's future for the next twenty-one years until 2021 (Ibid., 162). While the Master Plan is a legacy of American planning ideals, it was with the implementation of the Master Plan that the Indian planners and bureaucrats came to exercise and desire its power.

Amita Baviskar (2003) states how Delhi's Master Plan had envisaged a model city based on the premise of prosperity, hygiene and order but failed to recognise that the construction on which the city was to be build upon could only be made possible by the labour of a large number of workers, for whom no provision had been made in the official document of urban planning. Thus, the building of planned Delhi was mirrored in the concomitant process of the

mushrooming of an unplanned Delhi. These liminal spaces housed within its chasms, those who had been forgotten: petty vendors and artisans, workers in construction and otherwise, whose existence had been ignored in the plans. The development of slums, in this sense, is the Siamese twin to the development of the city of Delhi envisaged by the Master Plan. The legal geography created by it, however, criminalised vast sections of the city's working class, adding another layer of vulnerability to their existence. But the existence of slums was also sustained due to periodic payments of bribes to municipal officials and local politicians. Therefore, the planners' attempt to devise a map of inflexible legal geographies became a resource by which state officials and local entrepreneurs could profit, as they brokered deals that allowed slums to stay. This criminalisation of the working class was a necessary project for institutionalised inequalities to be produced and reproduced (Baviskar, 2003, p. 91).

From the interdependence between squatters and their political patrons, profiteering property brokers and those looking for land, and lower-level bureaucrats who benefit from turning a blind eye to violations, there emerges powerful collaborations that undermine the bourgeois dream of re-making the city. The state's Master Plan is undone through both internal and external resistances. The project of a clean and green Delhi entails within it the process of displacement, which has been kept in check by the delicate political equations on which state legitimacy hinges. Politicians, irrespective of their party affiliations and constituency membership recognise that their electoral fortunes depend on both the numerically important urban poor as well as those of financiers and developers. The fractures within political authority, partly from being due to Delhi not only being a bustling metropolis but also the capital of India, helps to create ambiguous spaces and twilight zones, where the buck can be passed to a bewildering number of authorities and no action can be taken. Thus, the city's administration as a response to a number of judicial orders

has been to play for time, placate the judges with new plans, even as it hastens to assure those threatened, by leniency if not protection (Ibid., 93).

## **DELHI DURING EMERGENCY: JAGMOHAN, DEMOLITIONS AND BEAUTIFICATION**

An acute and insightful case of enforcing obedience is that of the DDA during the Emergency in India. It has been described as “the long dark night” when “free people lost their basic liberties and were subjected to a regime of terror and suppression they had not known even under the British” (Morenas, 2010, p.111). The Emergency occurred between 25th June 1975 and 21st March 1977, it was declared by then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi (Nehru’s daughter), on the basis of Article 352 of the Constitution of India. During this period, Indira Gandhi muted any kind of opposition she faced: political parties and voices of dissent against her decisions, where she suspended elections, banned all public meetings, processions and agitations, held detainees without trial, and gagged the press, with the use of different apparatus including the collaboration and enforcement mechanisms of the DDA. During this twenty-one month period, the vice chairman of the DDA, Jagmohan Malhotra colluded with Indira Gandhi’s younger son Sanjay Gandhi to forcibly evict and displace 700,000 of Delhi’s poorer citizens to the peripheries of Delhi, without any security, services, or entitlements. Emma Tarlo (1995) locates the Emergency as a critical event that revealed the structural violence tying control over sexualised, communalised subjects to space.



Figure 4.5 Yamuna Pushta before being demolished  
Source: <http://www.yamunagentlyweeps.com/thedemolitions.html>



Figure 4.6 The wreckage left in the wake of the demolitions  
Source: <http://www.yamunagentlyweeps.com/thedemolitions.html>

Tarlo suggests that critical literature concerning the historical and political significance of the Emergency in India has tended to focus on four main categories of people : the leader, the bureaucrat, the resistor and the victim; each portrayed in their own stereotypes. Such stereotypes are dangerous since they mask the terror associated with the emergency regime. One which could, through its clutches of fear, draw in all kinds of people for participation. In

most narratives, the active role of the thousands of men and women who competed for plots in resettlement colonies is ignored. Members of the city's urban poor were the main targets of the sterilisation and demolition drives which became important features of the emergency in the capital. However, their participation wasn't passive in any sense, more than just being victims they were also the people who actively contributed to these government schemes and led to its perpetuation. The housing policies and the family planning policies both intruded deep into the domestic and personal lives of the people. For those who were caught between these two, the only way of lessening the impact was by diverting the effects of one policy through participating in another, which became a common survival tactics. This strategy set rolling a process of co-victimisation, where the obvious targets of emergency also became active agents in the lookout for yet more victims (Tarlo, 1995, p. 2921). The primary physical targets of these emergency policies lived in the various resettlement colonies that line the outer edges of the city, it was here that the interlocking of the housing as well as the family planning programmes was most explicitly visible.

Urban development policies in Delhi during emergency were built around the notion of clearing, beautifying and imposing order in the city. These objectives were to be obtained by three major plans of action: demolition, resettlement and planting of trees. Unauthorised property all over the city succumbed to DDA and MCD bulldozers leaving over 100,000 families displaced. The vast majority of these were either slum dwellers of long established residents of the congested Old city which was scheduled for massive clearance and redevelopment. These populations were shifted in trucks to resettlement colonies on the outskirts of the city where most were located small plots on which to build new homes. As vast sections of the urban poor found themselves relocated on the edges of the metropolis, their demolished territories were either levelled for new development or converted into park land and planted with trees.

Where there was insufficient space for such ecological imperatives, the remaining buildings were spruced up and the area declared beautiful.

It is impossible to ignore the parallels between the sterilisation drive and the demolition drive both of which seemed to function to remove the urban poor, if not obliterate them from the city centre. However, these two policies initially were adopted and implemented independently of each other. Hence, in the first 10 months of the emergency, all those whose houses were demolished had the right to a DDA plot without having to prove their participation in the family planning scheme. However, by the summer of 1976 things changed, when the DDA started to extend its family planning objectives in the public domain. Which was achieved by making family planning, in particular sterilisation, a criteria for the right to DDA housing. Moreover, even flats, plots, loans and tenements were denied to those who had more than two children, while those with less than two children had to sign an official document stating that they would limit their family. An ineligible person could become eligible on production of the sterilisation certificate from a prescribed authority.

By incorporating the family planning policy into its housing policies the DDA had effectively trapped thousands of Delhi citizens into sterilisation. This trap was deepest for those citizens whose homes were being demolished on the outskirts of the city, with the worst hit being the jhuggi dwellers. For them the only way of remaining in Delhi was by getting sterilised in one of the DDA family planning motivation camps. This was essentially a choice between sterilisation or homelessness. But there were others who took a more entrepreneurial approach. Instead of stopping short at using the family planning scheme to alleviate the effects of DDA policies, they went one step further and used the scheme as a convenient means of obtaining more and more plots. In the process they reversed their victimhood entirely and converted family plan-

ning objectives into an instrument with which to dupe the DDA. One such category of people were those jhuggi dwellers who, after obtaining plots through self-sterilisation, sold the plots and returned to settle in slums, knowing that the DDA would demolish the slum, thereby allowing them to obtain another plot of land in a different colony, by producing a document stating that they had “motivated” (Ibid., 2926) others for the sterilisation scheme. The immense scale of demolition and resettlements taking place at that point of time, made it quite impossible for these duplication cases to be detected by the officials. Such manipulations may not have been common, but they demonstrate the extent to which individuals could subvert the system, turning apparently oppressive policies to their advantage.

## **CONTEMPORARY DELHI: CHANGING CONTOURS OF STATE, CITIZEN AND THE MARKET**

The modern spatial history of Delhi, that which includes both the state as well as private interests in land, is an account of contests over space and identities between an extraordinary variety of claimants to the city and the state. Throughout the twentieth century, the state, however, was no monolithic entity with clearly defined objectives and methods of control and consent. It was scattered across a number of government departments appearing in various guises across the city. The Indian urban transformation narrative is part of a global one. The stated rationale behind colonial urban development was to encourage change among native populations. However, the post-colonial state positions urban transformations within a framework of national pride, middle class aesthetic sensibilities and the tourist dollar. Discourses of urban transformation are most manifest and vividly experienced through actions upon space. Thus, in Delhi, global trends in residential design, consumerist practice

and leisure activities manifest in the construction of aged communities and shopping malls.

For Sanjay Srivastava (2015) the social life of urban settlements referred to as slums is an intrinsic part in the making of Indian urban and national life. They aren't products of an aberrant urbanism and city planning gone wrong, rather, they constitute a different prism of looking at relationships between the state, markets and different forms of entitlements, that are otherwise homogenised under the term of citizenship. Thus, to look at slum dwellers merely as an antithesis of dynamic globalism and decay is an incorrect understanding of the complex ways in which urban poor are significant sites of transnational processes. But in order for existing spaces to match the urban imagination of globalism, the global city requires to remove jhuggis, which is seen to be antithetical to the aesthetic imagination of it's being.

However, in the past eight years, over five lakh people living in squatter settlements have had to face eviction from urban areas in Delhi. While the scale of the demolitions is staggering, this is not the first time that such large scale evictions have taken place in the city; indeed, they are demonstrative of the inherent instability of the city's slum settlements, no matter how old, how solidified, or under what regime. Such a tendency is primarily rooted in the elite, and increasingly middle class, imaginary of the city wherein the presence of slums continue to be taken as a sign that 'enough' progress and development has not taken place and where slum dwellers themselves come to be identified as a sign of persistent underdevelopment that must be removed to make way for a more 'adequate' urban space. In what follows, we would like to trace how this historical attitude has intersected with the city's new economy to fuel one of the largest displacements of poor people in the city's history.

The current instability is created by: First, visions of building a consumptive city for, by and of the middle class and big private capital. This city is orderly, 'clean and green', technologically driven, cosmopolitan in as much as it harbours global/Western urban forms while highlighting the city's historical Imperial heritage. This is a city, which spatially provides for a leisurely yet disciplined consumerist lifestyle, as well as for hi-tech, high-value industry and enterprise.

Secondly, massive upgradation of the city by the city government to match the changing contours of the city's political economy and to fill out such a vision. This includes not only new, and massive investment in roads and transport facilities, public utilities, green areas, heritage buildings and new grandiose public architectures, but also new forms of governance which seek to streamline, standardise, and privatise processes of urbanisation to be governed by the free-market rules of profit-making efficiency. While the language of such governance includes a commitment to transparent, accountable and thus rational processes, the modes by which such procedures and policies emerge, and are implemented, suggests a centralisation of decision making on major issues of urban governance.

Batra and Mehra (2008) identify the main players in putting together this are:

1. Those involved with "high politics" (Fuller and Benei, 2000) irrespective of political party (distinguished here from the everyday politics of local residents).
2. Private capital, whether in the form of consumers (residential and commercial), producers (builders) or sellers (media, land and real estate companies)

3. Middle class groups and associations such as Resident Welfare Associations and Market Traders Associations in so far as their demands match government agendas, which in the case of slum removal they do, and
4. The courts who have legitimised through legal interpretation the enabling discourse for such actions and agendas, outlining through various judgments what Amita Baviskar (2003) has called a 'bourgeois environmentalism'

Undergirding these factors, as mentioned earlier, is the persistence of a marginalising imaginary that can be traced to the nineteenth century. This is a lens, a gaze, through which the slum appears as a sign of disease, decay, danger, and indiscipline, all of which are to be replaced by a modern, rational, and orderly Other.

As for low income housing, the DDA was to acquire, develop and dispose 27,487 hectares of land in the twenty years period of the first master plan. Of this only 15,540 was acquired. In other words instead of an annual target of 1372 hectares, only 777 hectares was acquired every year. Similarly, in 1962, the total urban residential land was 4,694 hectares. The Plan proposed to add another 14,479 hectares by 1981. But the land actually developed was only 7,316 hectares by 1984. So roughly half the projected residential land was not developed. The distribution of development on whatever land was acquired was also skewed. Thus the high-income (HIG) group received more (29%) than their share of 20% of DDA developed housing while Low Income Group and Middle Income Group received 44.44% and 17.63%, less than their share of 50% and 30% respectively (Morenas, 2010).

Given the imbalance between the amount of low-cost housing created, and the number of jobs the city generated, in the face of proliferating slums, periodi-

cally, the government has sought to come up with 'ad-hoc' schemes to manage the problem. At times, as in the 1960s, these schemes attempted to 'resettle' slum dwellers according to a planned matrix. In the 1970's, slum dwellers were viciously uprooted under the Emergency program, which saw the largest dislocation in the city's history. 57, 368 squatter families were evicted. By the 1980s, the government had decided against eviction and resettlement as a blanket solution, following the popular backlash against the Emergency demolitions, and proposed instead to upgrade existing slum clusters or provide them civic services on a 'as is where is basis' (Batra & Mehra, 2008, pp. 9-10). However, following a massive influx of labor into the city for the construction of the infrastructure for the Asiad Games of 1982, which brought renewed focus to the problematic of the slum, in 1990, after a five year hiatus on demolitions, the Delhi Government put in a new three pronged slum policy. The new slum policy consisted of relocation, in-situ upgradation, and environmental improvement of urban slums. Of this, in-situ upgradation was carried out in only 4 sites in the early 90s; that reinstated resettlement as the only option for managing slum populations in the city.

## **BOURGEOIS CITIES: THE RISE OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASSES**

Partha Chatterjee (2004) in his eminently erudite scholarship, 'Are Indian Cities Becoming Bourgeois At Last?' seeks to understand the emergence of the middle class in India vis-a-vis the civil society. The research question of his article probes how the middle class, who otherwise have been traditional and conservative in nature, have in recent times, gained enough political traction to put in place their bourgeois vision of cities in place. This bourgeois vision of the new Indian middle class has been gradually altering the urban landscape in recent times.

He traces this transformation to the 1970 and 1980s, when the burgeoning Indian city led to an increase of welfare policies directly aimed at the urban poor. This meant that services and resources were more commonly used to accommodate a population group that didn't have access to such provisions. This implied that the urban poor were gaining ground but also the passing of dominance exclusively held, herein forth, by the wealthy. The middle class, however, gradually started retreating under the shade of the civil society and its engagement with the poor were restricted to those conducted with the non-political institutions of NGOs. This Chatterjee claims was the turning point in the role played by the civil society.

In the early 1990s, however, the tide of the civil society slowly started to turn. A political arrangement which earlier kept the middle class disengaged with the rest of society now started to become active and conspicuous, with a surge in its activities. He states, "Organised civic groups have come forward to demand from the administration and the judiciary that laws and regulations for the proper use of land, public spaces, and thoroughfares be formulated and strictly adhered to in order to improve the quality of life of citizens. Everywhere the dominant cry seems to be to rid the city of encroachers and polluters and, as it were, to give the city back to its proper citizens" (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 140). This transformation in the role of the civil society occurred at a time when a "new idea of the post-industrial city became globally available for emulation" (Ibid., 142) to the Indian middle class. This occurred at a time when the idea of a global city was gaining currency both in academics as well as in representations in the media. This image, now accessible to the middle class, was used to create pressure on the state to start transforming Indian cities and move towards this image of the post-industrial city, based on activities of global finance and services. This representation wasn't compatible with an urban metropolis of slums and urban poor.

Ghertner (2012) argues that the rendition of the world class city on which Delhi is based on, is made compelling by propounding an idea of the future. This he terms as the “world-class aesthetic” (Ghertner, 2012, p. 2). The recent spate of transformations that have taken place in Delhi’s real estate policy and regulations that have changed the city’s topography as well as policy priorities have been initiated through its vision of becoming a world class city. This propagation of a vision of the future supports judicial hearings which have challenged earlier definitions of property and status of the urban poor within the city, along with an economic aspect of calculating the cost-benefit of undertaking such a project.

Thus, by the turn of the millennium, the bureaucracy and politicians alike accepted the proposition that to transform Delhi into a global city it had to made slum free first. They alleged that slum dwellers were usurping a large proportion of public land, which were often prime property. Thus, in order to make the land market in the city more efficient, commercially viable land of the slum dwellers had to be utilised. We see that in the years to come, there was an increase in resident welfare associations filing public interest litigations against slum dwellers on the basis of aesthetics, sanitation and the larger issue of security. The judiciary too was increasingly focussing on the dismal state of slums in the city and was progressively beginning to intervene in matters relating to slums. It also admonished the government and municipality for their ineffectiveness in handling the case of encroachment and squatting. In one such statement made by it, it stated that, “It would require 272 years to resettle the slum dwellers according to existing procedures and that the acquisition cost of land and development would be Rs. 4,20,00,00,000 [~100 million USD]” (Ghertner, 2012, p. 4). This was coming at a time when the judiciary was making extensive references to Delhi as being a ‘showpiece’ city, since it was the capital of a country aspiring to become an economic and political superpower soon.

A judgement during this watershed period ruled, “In Delhi, which is the capital of the country and which should be its showpiece, no effective initiative of any kind has been taken by the numerous governmental agencies operating there in cleaning up the city.... Instead of ‘slum clearance’ there is ‘slum creation’ in Delhi. This in turn gives rise to domestic waste being strewn on open land in and around the slums. This can best be controlled... by preventing the growth of slums” (Ghertner, 2012, p. 8). The Supreme Court of India accepted a narrative which found the presence of slums and those who live in it to be incompatible with the discourse of a world class city. For example, in 2001, the Delhi High Court stated: “Delhi being the capital city of the country, is a show window to the world of our culture, heritage, traditions and way of life. A city like Delhi must act as a catalyst for building modern India. It cannot be allowed to degenerate and decay. Defecation and urination cannot be allowed to take place in open at places which are not meant for these purposes” (Ghertner, 2012, p. 9).

This judicial narrative thus juxtaposed an urban imagination of cleanliness and environmental security with the legal categorisation of ‘nuisances’, in this case being, the existence of slums. Thus, apparent nuisance causing activities, for instance, open defecation and appalling living surroundings were often sufficient reasons to warrant the demolition of slums in many cases. This was because after the year 2000, the term ‘nuisance’ could mean to include an entire category of people or population groups, thus simplifying the demolition exercise. This was very different from the attitude of legal authorities through the 1980s and 1990s when unsanitary living conditions and open defecation by those residing in slums were considered to be the failing of the municipality authorities, for not providing the necessary services to the urban poor.

These factors, along with Delhi winning the Commonwealth Games hosting city bid, increased the pressure on state officials and politicians alike to ‘clean up the city’ in order to make it more compatible with the imagination aligned to making it world class. The Delhi government during this time also launched a popular campaign with the public service announcement of making the city ‘Clean Delhi, Green Delhi’. This further provided the necessary impetus to the discourse of a clean world class city that Delhi was striving for. Within this framework, the legal justification needed to clearing slum dwellings was made much easier. In earlier instances, Ghertner states, surveys would had to be conducted along with a complex mapping exercise which would help confirm land ownership of those who lived in the slums. Secondly, these exercises also helped understand the nature of land use. However, after the reformulation of the category of ‘nuisance’, courts rarely enquires the petitioner, which more often then not is a neighbouring RWA, the following : “that the slum in question is (i) on public land (which is the definition of ‘slum’ and has never been a sufficient condition for demolition orders in the past), and (ii) a nuisance” (Ghertner, 2012, p.10). This is effectively proved by making available photographs that show how dirty the slum settlement is with open defecation and unsanitary living conditions , such as, waste products and stagnant water.

Another momentous day in Delhi’s history marks the inauguration of the Commonwealth Games. Originally estimated in 2006 to cost a whopping USD 5 billion, the budget inflated by 40 percent and the revised estimate pegged the games to cost close to USD 7 billion (Morenas, 2010, p. 209). Through the development of sports facilities, the airport, power generation, improved bus transportation and the Delhi Metro Rail expansion, the Indian government intends to make the capital ready for athletes from the Commonwealth. What makes this sporting spectacle significant is also how it manifested the contemporary state of planning and development in Delhi, its spatial politics and the

increasing uneven development. Public private partnerships was the model of preference used to build most of the projects undertaken during the games. The Commonwealth Games Village, a showcase project to translate traditional Indian hospitality into standards of comfort and excellence is a typical Public-Private Partnership (PPP) development project between the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) and the Emaar MGF group, a joint venture company between the Dubai based Emaar Group and Indian real-estate group MGF Development Limited (Ibid., 210). This gives a hint to the rise of neoliberalism over the past two decades in India, the locus of development gradually shifting from the State to the Market.

### **MIDDLE-CLASS ACTIVISM AND ENTREPRENEURIAL CITIZEN IDENTITY: RWAS, BHAGIDARI AND GATED RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES**

It is important to outline the processes and politics of imagining a civil society, where ideas of people and the state move across registers of consumer culture, new urban spaces of leisure and residence, the logic of economic privatisation and imaginations of a global city. This makes it imperative for an exploration of contemporary ideas regarding civil society and transformations in its relationships with the state as these are articulated through discourses of public activism in context of trans-nationalism. This discussion seeks to position middle-class activism within broader cultural and social landscapes that also produce an ‘entrepreneurial citizen identity’ (Srivastava, 2015). The focus on middle class activism on behalf of itself seeks to make a link to the consolidation of “new contexts of consumerism, discourses of choice and an ideal relationship with the state. Privatised production of space of residence and leisure is a significant context in the making of middle-class activism since it also gives rise to broader set of ideas about identity and rights of the consumer citi-

zen” (Srivastava, 2015, p. 88). One of the clearest examples of an evolving relationship between the state and middle-class activism on behalf of itself in conjunction to the market relates to the activities of Delhi’s RWAs and those of the Delhi government sponsored Bhagidari scheme. The case of middle-class activism provides an important entry into contemporary ideas of revolution, change and freedom in the absence of a moral backdrop of the socialist Nehruvian state.

The agitation launched against squatters and slums has been by the Residents Welfare Associations of Delhi (RWA) that present themselves as citizens’ groups, seeking to locate their activities in the realm of civil society, which however, speak self-consciously for middle-class interests in urban affairs. While empirically they may not be a singular middle-class identity across Delhi, RWA activity can in itself be representative of the process of producing the notion of a homogenous middle-class in the city. Thus, RWAs are crucial to the process of consolidating an urban consensus around middle-classness and the politics of space becomes crucial to this project. A significant aspect in the functioning of RWAs of Delhi has been: securing a certain standard of material conditions of living through private means or negotiations with the state and significantly, how RWA activity is itself a claim on ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ middle class (Ibid., 86). The quotidian reformulation of the relationship between the state, market and the people is at the heart of middle-class activism in Delhi. Such collective action constitutes the consolidation of a consciousness of middle-classness, across population groups with different characteristics. This has important repercussions in defining and producing a narrative of those who aren’t, in turn, middle-class. Hence, what unites the middle-class as represented by different RWAs isn’t internal homogeneity, rather it’s a sense of difference from the perceived outside or the other.

Generally, RWAs in Delhi are of two types: those that are attached to bounded spaces, usually gated communities of apartments and others that cover residential localities consisting of independent and semi-independent houses, thereby, creating a bounded space through defining a territory of their remit, usually by barricading major thoroughfares. Historically RWAs have dealt with issues of common concerns such as appointing private guards for security, maintenance of parks and gardens, organising social and cultural events, and solving minor public disputes. Given the nature of the residential localities where such associations are formed and the fact that only those RWAs that represent authorised colonies can be registered, they invariably articulate the concerns of a very specific segment of the city's population.

In 1999, Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit, after being elected to the post called for the active participation of RWAs in governance. The rationale behind this move was the failure of civic agencies in carrying out their designated tasks. The RWAs in this sense heralded a new era in urban governance and were seen as the first step towards a responsive management of the city through decentralisation. Curiously however, the increasing role of RWAs in urban life may be the result of two seemingly contradictory processes. There is a deepening of democratic sentiment that is accompanied by demands for a more public and direct role in decision making. The public sphere is sought to be strengthened through a decentralised system of administration and involvement of people in governing themselves, at least in the local level. Hence, acts of exclusion sit alongside inclusive democratic tendencies (Ibid., 97). Further, if RWAs are considered to be a part of the new movement towards self-governance, their activities ask seek to delineate the characteristics of urban citizenship and the kinds of spaces where it thrives. In these ways, RWAs negotiate the relationship between the state and the middle classes.

In this context it is necessary to discuss the rethinking in the conceptualisation of the state, which is increasingly seen as a 'friend' (Ibid., 96) of the middle-classes. The post-colonial Indian state has been imagined as the patron of the poor with policy oriented towards development, which has been a defining feature. RWA activities in this sense have become sites of reformulation of the well-entrenched notions of the state and its relationships with different class factions. Similarly, RWA activism also partakes in redefining the very idea of civil society itself, much as contradiction. What used to be associated as an independent realm that interrogates the state has now, with RWAs under its ambit, imaged as an instrument to make the state stronger. Hence, the state itself organises dissent, through the activities of RWAs, and participates in producing a specific idea of the consumer citizen with whom it seeks to enter into negotiations.

The second site of focus is the Delhi government sponsored Bhagidari scheme that brings together representatives of RWAs, market traders associations and key government officials at periodically organised workshops and monthly meetings. These interactions are meant to reimagine the city as a site of cooperation between the state and the citizen, with the latter playing an active role in formulating and implementing policies and the state responding appropriately through transparent mechanisms of urban governance. Inspired by global theories of corporate governance, and psychological theories of human interaction, Bhagidari workshops elaborate significant visions of the contemporary city. It is within this context that the Bhagidari scheme produces its own version of urban citizenship and within the ambit of finding a cooperative solution to urban problems, reinforces the links between the state and residents of legalised spaces.

Ghertner (2011) scrutinises the mechanisms of this urban governance scheme pioneered by the Delhi government by conducting an extensive fieldwork and ethnographic study. The Bhagidari scheme was initiated in the year 2000 is criticised by Ghertner as having gentrified the means of access to state to realise demands made by those who reside within the city. Just as gentrification has come to mean the seizing of previously lower class spaces by the upper class, he justifies the Bhagidari scheme of doing the same based on limiting access to lower class in political participation. Although, this Delhi government initiative has been widely heralded as a means of good governance, its critics have proclaimed how it has rather created a parallel governing and organisation mechanism catering to those who own private property.

Residents Welfare Association (RWA) have become an important means of organising at the local level, those who own private property in the same neighbourhood. Lower level state officials who were earlier used as points of access to state machinery by the urban poor are now aligned to meet the demands and negotiate with RWAs. Making the existence of the urban poor even more precarious than before, as they have been displaced to the margins of state space, specifically of political participation. This is most evident in terms of tenure negotiations. Ghertner argues that slum demotions that have been increasing over the years should not be understood only in context of claim making by an emerging middle class. Rather, the freeing up of vast tracts of land through slum clearance has been possible because of the reformulation of state space and its ethico-political duties.

The above discussion implies that the Bhagidari scheme has reduced the responsibility and authority of those who hold posts as elected representatives at the level of local politics. By placing elected officials to a less influential position, the scheme has effectively sidelined the mechanism through which the

urban poor, specifically slum dwellers, could access state space for staking their claims. Leading to the “disenfranchisement of the non-propertied classes of the city” (Ghertner, 2011, p. 506). This is in contradiction to the policy purpose of the Bhagidari scheme of increasing citizen initiative and participation in governance and decision making. On the other hand, Bhagidari has elevated the importance of RWAs in decision making by formalising their political role in this newly created state space for urban governance and administration.

Bhagidari is a Hindi word which roughly translates into partnership and symbolised the initiative under the Congress party led Delhi government under the helm of Sheila Dikshit to increase popular political participation in the city. This was a stark departure to the state of affairs a decade ago which was characterised by a wide chasm between the people of the city and those who governed and planned the city’s policies. Thus, Bhagidari scheme was a watershed moment in the history of urban governance, not only in Delhi but also for the nation itself. However, from the moment of its inception, the scheme wasn't all inclusive as it only included within its ambit those who owned private property. Therefore, it was an elitist governance scheme which not only excluded the non-propertied slum dwellers and urban poor but also those who had rented property, from entering the citizen-government partnership programme.

A Bhagidari cell was created within the office of the Chief Minister, which was the apex coordinating body of all the activities carried out within the scheme. This was also responsible for recruiting participants referred to as ‘Bhagidars’. “The Bhagidari Cell defined three primary ‘stakeholders’ considered worthy Bhagidars: market/trader and industrial associations, bureaucrats across the municipal, state and central government departments operating in Delhi, and Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) based in DDA-approved residential colonies, membership of which is open only to property

owners” (Ghertner, 2011, p. 516). RWAs thus became central to the mechanism of local level urban governance as they were envisaged as being ‘grass-root citizens associations’. Conversely, the voices of those who resided in slum clusters and unrecognised colonies were made invisible, since they couldn't effectively take membership to these associations called RWAs.

Nevertheless, this is not to say that Bhagidari abolished any space of political negotiation. Instead, it has created a formal elite space of governance. This gentrification process has taken place in two major ways. First, although historically speaking, the unpropertied poor has in some sense enjoyed ties with lower level bureaucracy and administrative officials. They were the main access points for the urban poor to secure a semblance of tenure security and economic welfare. This was because the elected councillor could influence the administrative authorities and the development initiatives that were to be implemented. By reducing the role played by the councillors, the leverage of the unpropertied poor has also decreased to a large extent.

Secondly, the creation of RWAs is also quite problematic. From the above discussion it is evident that the Bhagidari scheme has instituted a privileged mechanism, outside of electoral politics, which is accessible to the socially advantaged association of residents. This parallel administrative mechanism gives direct access to officials of the state, when RWAs have their monthly meetings for grievance redressal and personal communication. This strengthening of RWAs by including them in the direct participation within the framework of urban local body governance mechanism has had the concomitant effect of reducing the voices of the non-propertied class. “Bhagidari has re-engineered Delhi’s administrative hierarchy, loosening these ties and diminishing the influence of local representatives” (Ibid., 526). In contrast, it has “built

new bonds and strengthened old ones between the middle class and the state” (Ibid., 521).

The Bhagidari scheme is important to analyse and becomes pertinent for our understanding because it has been celebrated as a benchmark in urban governance of Indian cities. The media, government and high-level administrative officials, all alike, have lauded this citizen-government participation programme, justifying it for reducing corruption and inefficiency while increasing citizen initiative and transparency. The scheme was awarded the UN Public Service Award in the year 2005. Based on the notion of a caring state which actively links its citizens, who occupy legally designated neighbourhoods, to various government agencies. The scheme has become a blueprint to be implemented in various other cities for rooting out corruption and vote bank politics. Which however is just a platform for expressing the “contemporary consciousness of the official city, which demonstrates the relationship between the state, market and ‘authorised’ and ‘unauthorised’ spaces, linking it to the visions of a metropolis based on global aspirations and urban planning” (Srivastava, 2015, p. 110). This implies, rather, that the citizenship initiative also brings to fore mechanisms of exclusions based on legality. Such that, “this dichotomy of the legal-illegal is based on the trope of the consuming family. Such that, the consuming, middle-class family is seen as the rightful claimant of both places of leisure as well as residential spaces” (Ibid., 110).

Against this backdrop of a general discussion on the production of a middle class identity in the city, this discussion moves towards a particular site of middle-classness, which are gated communities, which becomes the background to altered notions of space and social identity within the context of new consumer cultures. The phenomenon of installing gates to produce physically demarcated residential localities isn't new in Delhi, it was one of the ear-

liest visible signs of RWAs increasing public presence as a formal entity in urban affairs. This became one of the key ways in which exclusion was articulated in the politics of space, for it resulted in the privatisation of public thoroughfares in residential neighbourhoods. Resulting in a reduction in the entry and exit points that could be used to access a certain neighbourhood. The need for such gates across Delhi was articulated in a language of security from threats from unwanted elements (mostly urban under-classes).

In recent times this has given way to custom-built gated residential enclaves built by a number of real estate developers in both large and smaller cities of the country. Although gated communities do not constitute the dominant residential form in India, they are, however, the most visible expression of aspirations that result from the desire of material well-being, changing relationship between the market and the state, preferences for spaces that reflect transnational landscapes which are increasingly visited and viewed on the internet and television by a section of the population. A significant context of these transformations relates to the increasing role of the private sector in different aspects of life and how private capital is increasingly perceived as being more efficient and effective. This provides us with an important vantage point in investigating the “suturing of the discourses of consumerism with that of urban citizenship” (Ibid., 127) since the social production of space in these gated enclaves is coeval with the making of the identity of the citizen-consumer, one who is increasingly entangled in the processes of middle-class activism and the cultures of social interaction within delimited spaces of residence and leisure.

## **CRIMINALISATION OF THE POOR AND AGENCY OF THE URBAN SUBALTERN**

Usha Ramanathan (2006) claims that the position of the urban poor has always been unpredictable, as their footing in the city has been on a slippery slope. Referred to as encroachments on public land, squatter settlements like slums, aren't invested with the notion of legality. This makes them exist at the mercy of the state and its various officials, making the survival of the urban poor extremely precarious. With every new public initiative of the government, for instance, 'Clean Delhi, Green Delhi', officials use demolition as a means of clearing out the shelter and housing of the urban poor. Traditionally, the violence inflicted by these demolition drives has been compensated, although inadequately and inefficiently, through the policy of resettlement. This policy gave the act of clearing lands by dispersing the poor, with a facade of legitimacy.

Since no official policy document on urban development has ever conceived the possibility of slums. The question which arises is, therefore, what explains the steady growth of slums in Indian cities? The answer to their proliferation "lies in what is termed the implementation backlog" (Ramanathan, 2006, p. 3195). The Planning Commission estimated in the tenth five year plan that there was a total shortfall of 8.89 million urban housing units in the country. Of the total, almost nine-tenth of it was composed of housing deficiency for the urban poor, in terms of low-cost housing facilities. Even though slums have not been envisioned in any urban planning document, like the Master Plan of Delhi, their existence and growth can be directly attributed to the shortfall in building low-cost housing by various governmental agencies. The cause for the illegal occupation of public lands is a result of the non-performance of planned development. However, not only has the state tolerated violations in the Master Plan, while neglecting duties and agendas that it has set

for itself. Over the years, there has been an increased activism directed against squatters and slum dwellers in Indian cities.

Amita Baviskar (2003) understands this as an indication “of how bourgeois environmentalism has emerged as an organised force in Delhi, and upper-class concerns around aesthetics, leisure, safety and health have come significantly to shape the disposition of urban spaces” (Baviskar, 2003, p. 90). The desire for the burgeoning middle class to have an aesthetically pleasing city based on the idea of a clean and green Delhi, has resulted in denying the urban poor in the city access to residence as well their rights to the environment. She argues that this gets manifested through a number of judicial directives given by the Supreme Court of India, which ordered a number of polluting and non-confirming industries within the perimeter of the city’s boundary to close. On the other hand, the Delhi High Court instructed for the eviction and resettlement of squatter settlements on public land. While the middle class regards slums as an unsightly scene, blemishing the graciousness of their neighbourhood. For those who dwell in them, these slums represent both labour and capital invested in making it a suitable place to live in. The rapid increase and spread of squatter settlements, with abysmal living conditions and the illegality with which the identity of the working poor has been bestowed upon, can be understood as a direct consequence of the Master Plan itself. The processes of displacement is inherent in the narrative of the Master Plan, compounded by the state’s inability of performing its statutory role in building low cost housing for the urban poor, while continuing to maintain its monopoly over land.

Capital represented by business interest combined with the bourgeois desire for an aesthetic living in collusion with the state, have come to deny the poor of their rights to the environment. The politics of displacement is based upon its convergence with the politics of the Master Plan with the recent addition of

neoliberal interest in urban development in addition to bourgeois environmentalism. For much of the city's urban poor, displacement marks a constant experience of life. However, the arguments which present the poor as being antithetical to environmental wellbeing is fallacious. Rather it is the working class which is most susceptible to the deplorable working conditions in factories and perilous conditions where they live. Thus, environmental security is of utmost importance for the urban poor and not just of interest to the bourgeois section of urbanity. However, the compulsions they face in working within such economically constrained situation, along with the powerlessness that stems from their existence being branded as illegal, environmentalism as an agenda is often seen as being antagonistic to the interest of the urban subaltern class. However, this is an erroneous impression.

In Delhi, the poor have responded to such disciplining attempts by adopting varied strategies of enterprise, compromise and resistance. "They have exercised their franchise as citizens, used kinship networks, entered into unequal bargains with politicians and employers, mobilised collectively through neighbourhood associations, and most recently, attempted to create a coalition of slum-dwellers' organisations" (Ibid., p. 97). Having learnt to anticipate a sequence of conflict and compromise, the poor and their political patrons willingly collaborate in the enterprise of encroachment, negotiating the risk of displacement in the hope of securing future recognition and permanent tenure. These "multiple practices, simultaneously social and spatial, attempt to democratise urban development even as they challenge dominant modes of framing the environment-development question" (Ibid., p. 97). The contradiction found in the Master Plan is plainly evident on how the civilising project of the developmental state is predicted on the toil and handwork of the working class. Yet, they find no noteworthy mention in the provisions of the Plan itself. In their endeavour to resolve their precarious foothold, in an otherwise unresolved circumstance, many of them have to forego a collective struggle. The

state's arrangement of limited housing provisions becomes an impediment to realising a collective struggle by the urban poor. The relation between the city and its working class is, thus, situated within a structure of intense violence embedded within compromise and conflict.

However, Ghertner's (2012) ethnographic study brings to the fore the ability of slum residents to negotiate even in arduous circumstances. In spite of their liminal position in the urban scene, they are able to reach a favourable settlement by organising and utilising their networks within the political realm. This suggests that by effectively utilising elaborate networks of patronage, the urban poor aren't passive recipients of statist violence. Rather it displays their consciousness in organising these very networks in order to gain access and manipulate the state. This is most evident in how they negotiate in vulnerable moments of demolition drives conducted by municipal authorities. Ghertner through this ethnographic fieldwork elucidates how slum dwellers are able to mobilise their political networks in order to get a stay order from the courts. They resort to their access to local level elected representatives and police officials to secure tenure and other service provisions, like electricity connections.

Ghertner terms these as "vernacular spaces of democratic politics" (Ghertner, 2011, p. 508). These informal means of accessing the state machinery and venues of political participation and claim-making have become channels of electoral pressure which the urban poor can access to. Indeed, "these vernacular spaces arose as makeshift attempts to secure temporary material security in the face of exclusionary citizenship" (Ghertner, 2011, p. 509). Concomitantly, elected political representatives also benefit from the patronage they encourage within such a framework. These political spaces, however, shouldn't be lauded as being a mechanism of the democratic framework. However, they

provide a stop-gap relief to those deprived of access to political participation within an increasingly gentrified mechanism of urban governance. Such spaces of presenting collective demands and negotiation represent to us the entrepreneurial spirit of the subaltern, which is often missed out in ethnographic studies related to the urban working-class.

To conclude, this chapter investigates the nature of uneven development in India's capital city, Delhi. Despite the best efforts and plans of the post-colonial Indian welfare state to address the city's colonial legacy of spatial segregation and exploitation, Delhi's poor have been systematically marginalised since the regional development exercise of the Delhi Master Plan of 1962. The Master Plan was devised as a "prototype" for Indian development, with the goal of "an integrated and balanced overall programme of development" aimed at delivering spatial equality to Delhi's citizens. However, this spatial fix has since created a metropolitan dystopia of ever increasing unevenness between the urban poor and the metropolitan rich.

As David Harvey (2008) rightly points out the contemporary far-reaching "expansion of the urban process has brought with it incredible transformations of lifestyle. Quality of urban life has become a commodity, as has the city itself, in a world where consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries have become major aspects of the urban political economy" (Harvey, 2008, p. 8). In the post-modern development era, the creation of niche categories both in terms of consumer preferences and consumption and well as marketing cultural commodities and lifestyles, are encouraged. The freedom of choice that such an urban lifestyle represents is predicated on the availability of capital and the ability of the consumer to spend. This has led to the mushrooming of artisanal boutique shops and farmers' markets on one hand

and shopping malls and fast-food chains on the other. Both these categories represent the urban experience with a halo of freedom of choice. However, neoliberal principles have gone beyond guiding corporate tendencies, they have become emblematic of humans based on profound individualism, identity stemming from consumption of commodities, and political aloofness and apathy. Even the banal suburban development gets branded with a boutique lifestyle catering to a specialised clientele. The propertied class has become so anxious of defending the value of its possession that residents' associations have proliferated the city. These associations in the city become sites of political activity and collective action based on the identity of being home-owners.

These trends of neoliberal principles entering the narrative of urban development has led to many scholars questioning if the very idea of democracy in the city is under threat or not? Questions of how urban residents have been disenfranchised of the political status as a result the economic and political consequences of urbanisation are increasingly being asked. However, Mark Purcell (2002) argues that the idea of the right to the city establishes a possibility of creating a space for political participation and negotiation to counter the threats of disenfranchisement of the urban dwellers. However, the right to the city should be seen not as a comprehensive answer to modern problems, rather it is an aperture offering a distinct potential to a new urban politics, which can empower those who live in the city. Harvey claims that from the very beginning urbanisation has always been a class based process. Since the appropriation and control of surplus product, on which the growth of cities is based upon, has been controlled by a few. However, the idea of “‘right to the city’ means a claim made in the shaping the process of urbanisation in a radical and fundamental way” (Harvey, 2008, p. 2)

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **TOWARDS CONCLUSIONS**

This dissertation was set in motion by locating the problem of urban development articulated by those who are responsible for policy formulation and implementation in this country. The recent focus on urbanisation indicates how it has become an important developmental intervention for policymakers in the backdrop of globalisation, where increasing activities are taking place in context of cities. It is also in context of globalisation and the liberalisation of the Indian economy in the 1990s, that a post-industrial city became available for the Indian middle-class for emulation. The making of a global city and the rise of middle-class activism brings forth significant contemporary social processes. Especially the changing nature of the relationship between the state and urban middle classes and its role in delineating realms of legality and illegality in the city. This middle-class consciousness is also manifested in new forms of residence and consumption, along with the discourse of consumerism.

In this dissertation, one of the complexities grappled with has been the case of understanding and presenting the city for analysis. How does one study the city? It is possible to provide a panoptic view of the city, presenting a whole picture of contemporary life? Or can the city be understood not as a whole entity, but as a series of interconnected realms, entangled through its processes? Rather than a totality, this dissertation hopes to understand the city by focusing

on specific spaces and times, disparate yet connected. These specific spaces can be equated with the metaphor of a prism, through which one can view the different dichotomies coming together to create specific configurations of hierarchy, distinction and social segregation. The prism in this case, is a metaphor for studying the narratives and imaginations of citizens and citizenship that emerge from case study on evictions and resettlements and juxtaposing these experiences to Delhi government's award winning scheme of Bhagidari and Resident's welfare associations (RWAs) in reading contemporary contestations of urban citizenship.

This places middle-class activism within a broader cultural and social landscape that also produces an 'entrepreneurial citizen identity'. The focus on middle class activism on behalf of itself seeks to make a link to the consolidation of "new contexts of consumerism, discourses of choice and an ideal relationship with the state. Privatised production of space of residence and leisure is a significant context in the making of middle-class activism since it also gives rise to broader set of ideas about identity and rights of the consumer citizen" (Srivastava, 2015, p. 88). One of the clearest examples of an evolving relationship between the state and middle-class activism on behalf of itself in conjunction to the market relates to the activities of Delhi's RWAs and those of the Delhi government sponsored Bhagidari scheme.

The analysis of this dissertation also aims to investigate the nature of uneven development in India's capital city, Delhi. Despite the best efforts and plans of the post-colonial Indian welfare state to address the city's colonial legacy of spatial segregation and exploitation, Delhi's poor have been systematically marginalised since the regional development exercise of the Delhi Master Plan of 1962. The Master Plan was devised as a prototype for Indian development,

with the goal of an integrated and balanced overall programme of development aimed at delivering spatial equality to Delhi's citizens. However, this spatial fix has since created a metropolitan dystopia of ever increasing unevenness between the urban poor and the metropolitan rich.

The objective of this analysis is twofold. First, to develop a historical and theoretical framework of development and urban citizenship; second, to apply this framework to study the uneven development of Delhi. The post-colonial planners, with their immense faith in technology and the region, ignored and even outlawed the existing spatial practices of India's lower-income migrant communities. Planning authorities and politicians simply labeled these citizens and their activities nonconforming, while deeming their habitats unauthorised.

The recent spate of transformations that have taken place in Delhi's real estate policy and regulations that have changed the city's topography as well as policy priorities have been initiated through its vision of becoming a world class city. This propagation of a vision of the future supports judicial hearings which have challenged earlier definitions of property and status of the urban poor within the city. The changes in the political economy of the nation coupled with the rise of judicial activism of the middle-class has fuelled one of the largest displacements of poor people in the city's history.

The argument presents that the current spate of demolitions of slums has been created by visions of building a consumptive city for, by and of the middle class and big private capital. This vision of the city is orderly, clean and green, technologically driven, cosmopolitan in as much as it harbours global/western urban forms while highlighting the city's historical Imperial heritage. This is a city, which spatially provides for a leisurely yet disciplined consumerist life-

style, as well as for hi-tech, high-value industry and enterprise. One wonders if there has been a certain “westoxification” (Gupta, 2000) of the Indian elite? Where the middle-class has adopted a superficial version of modernity. Defined more by its accentuation on western consumer habits and lifestyles rather than what should modernity as: tolerant set of values, democratic norms and a cosmopolitan set of ethos.

The second assertion is the massive upgradation of the city by the government to match the changing contours of the city’s political economy and to fill out such a vision. This includes massive investments in roads and transport facilities, public utilities, green areas, heritage buildings and new grandiose public architectures, but also new forms of governance which seek to streamline, standardise, and privatise processes of urbanisation to be governed by the free-market rules of profit-making efficiency. While the language of such governance includes a commitment to transparent, accountable and thus rational processes, the modes by which such procedures and policies emerge, and are implemented, suggests an appropriation of decision making by certain categories of people on major issues of urban governance.

The chapter wise argument is as follows:

Chapter two identifies the major concepts of this dissertation and presents a comprehensive theoretical perspective. I have argued that the conceptualisation of cities in sociological theory has seen a shift in its theory. While the classical theorists like Weber, Durkheim and Engels theorised about the urban society during the tumultuous time of the Industrial Revolution, linking it with the processes of transformation in work practices due to increasing industrialisation. Later theorists such as Park and Burgess of the Chicago school,

stressed on the subjective experience of those who lived in the city to fully grasp the complexity of the urban milieu.

However, an increasing number of urban scholars found that the conventional theories of urban ecology no longer accounted for many important changes in cities. Theorists like Henri Lefebvre (1991, 1996) and David Harvey (1981, 1989, 2008) postulated the political economy approach, which investigates how conflicts shape the physical and social character of cities. Lefebvre applied the economic categories of capital, labor, profit, wages, class exploitation, and inequality to explain the unevenness of urban development. He, thus, became an influential source of new thinking about the city, suggesting that urban development was as much a product of the capitalist economic system as was any manufactured good. This directly shaped many of the city's problems concerning social inequality. This thread seems to be the connecting point of contemporary theorists, albeit with the backdrop of globalisation. While Sassen states how increasing number of highly specialised professions in the city leads to an increasing in the socio-economic as well as spatial differences between the haves and have-nots. Friedmann states how the economy along with the functions assigned to the city in the new spatial division of labour is decisive for any structural changes occurring within it.

It is important to focus on these global processes and challenges by examining how they have prompted new discussions and disagreements on the concept of citizenship. Globalisation primarily challenges the long standing taken for granted idea that citizenship's necessary context is the sovereign, territorial state. Globalisation also contests the state's right to determine who is accepted as a member by claiming that citizenship can be meaningful beyond the territorial boundaries of the nation-state. New forms of claim-making, urban citizenship for instance, have widened the scope of the term. This has challenged, at the normative level, for a greater understanding and a reformulation of the

concept of citizenship to include a vision that is both inclusionary as well as multi-layered so that it is able to reconcile national belongings with a transnational notion of citizenship. Some scholars have suggested that cities maybe re-emerging as more salient sites for citizenship, others suggests that citizens are producing new (in some cases expansive, in others restrictive) notions of citizenship and solidarity. As a whole, however, they suggest that in many post-colonial societies, a new generation has arisen to create urban cultures severed from the colonial memories and nationalist fictions, which celebrated the rural and despised the urban.

The newly decolonised countries also had massive anxiety to industrialise and 'catch-up' with the Western countries. One of ways imagined was through 'modernisation' or using technology and science to promote economic development. Modernisation theory inaugurated a period of certainty in the minds of many theorists and world elites, premised on the beneficial effects of capital, science and technology; this certainty suffered a first blow with dependency theory, which argued that the roots of underdevelopment were to be found in the connection between external dependence and internal exploitation, not in any alleged lack of capital, technology or modern values. For dependency theorists, the problem was not so much with development as with capitalism. As a result of this trend, a growing number of cultural critics in many parts of the world questioned the very idea of development. By the 1980s, however, some scholars started expressing their dissatisfaction with the concept and practice of 'development' itself. These scholars and others alike from the South had all become disillusioned with the development policy followed at large. It was stated that the development era had not led to a process of catching up for most of the 'developing world' but resulted in a widening gap between rich and poor countries. These alternative theorists explored other methods of development that didn't only fixate on criteria like GDP/GNP but, among other things, on indigenous forms of knowledge.

This theoretical formulation of the different aspects of development are taken up in Chapter three which focusses on this issue from a substantive point of view. After gaining independence, India was faced with the Herculean task of embarking on a mission of development, whilst addressing the twin problems of poverty and inequality. The path undertaken for development was much contested, but there was consensus on one point: that development could not be left to private actors, that there was the need for the government to develop a design or plan for development. The idea was simple: the Government of India prepared a document that had a plan for all its income and expenditure for the next five years. Thus, Five Year Plans permitted the government to look at the larger picture and make important interventions in the economy. The newly formed Indian welfare state attempted to even existing spatial inequality by planning. However the nation-state's inability to recognise local means of self-expression and its wholesale endorsement of the Western model of modernity led to the uncritical adoption of modern planning methods.

Development and planning still remain the mainstay for policymakers and administrators of this country. Especially in context of how the twenty-first century has often been called the 'urban century'. It is projected that over the next hundred years, we will see rapid urbanisation worldwide, with urban populations, economies, and physical limits growing at an unprecedented rate. However, urbanisation has the twin potential for both prosperity and degeneration. On one hand, it has "tremendous possibility of economic prosperity, consolidation of aspirational middle-class lifestyles, growth of civil society, and experiments with local democracy" (Institute of South Asia studies, 2011). But on the other hand, this phenomenon also has a darker side of stifling ecological consequences such as increasing pollution and unprecedented carbon emissions. "Degradation of urban poverty and inequality, the inadequacy of in-

frastructure” (Ibid.) which are the darker shadows looming beneath growing cities.

In contrast to some of the other programmes of the government in which there has been no dearth of political mandate for mobilising funds or securing projects has not been lacking, this has not been the case with urban development. In spite of the Correa Commission and the very elaborate structure for decentralised urban governance prescribed by the 74th Constitutional Amendment, the urban is yet to become a political reality in terms of a concrete policy. “India lives in its villages” has been a well-worn out phrase, “that it also lives in its towns and cities” is beginning to be realised only now. Much of this realisation is still prompted by the growing irritation about infrastructure problems faced in the city. In the past two decades of liberalisation, the country also had to face the grim realities of decay in its old manufacturing centres, emergence of new forms of employment and economic activity, increasing capital flows in selected locations and sectors, and rising inequalities. Acrimony about who is an insider and who is an outsider has also attracted unwelcome attention to some cities. Narratives about urbanisation, its pattern and pace have been numerous. Today, there is an increasing emphasis on faster infrastructure development and affordable housing. Artificial and speculative increase in land prices and the exclusion of vast sections of the society are frequently heard complaints. At the same time, monetisation of urban land is also advocated as a feasible model. The question is whether JNNURM is an adequate answer for the whole gamut of problems. It is certainly one of the significant platforms to have emerged in recent years.

The substantive issues of planning discussed in the previous chapter are grounded in the empirical context of Delhi. Many have argued against how the method of spatial planning adopted was detrimental, especially to Delhi. In Chapter four, the instrument of the Delhi Master Plan is closely scrutinised, focusing on how they impacted poor and immigrant communities. While this

'post-colonial development machine' promised a rational and equitable distribution of space to Delhi's entire populace, its governing ideology created opportunity structures for authoritarian excess. This was possible because no official policy document on urban development has ever conceived the possibility of slums. The question which arises is, therefore, what explains the steady growth of slums in Indian cities? The answer to their proliferation "lies in what is termed the implementation backlog" (Ramanathan, 2006, p. 3195). The Planning Commission estimated in the tenth five year plan that there was a total shortfall of 8.89 million urban housing units in the country. Of the total, almost nine-tenth of it was composed of housing deficiency for the urban poor, in terms of low-cost housing facilities.

Even though slums have not been envisioned in any urban planning document, like the Master Plan of Delhi, their existence and growth can be directly attributed to the shortfall in building low-cost housing by various governmental agencies. The cause for the illegal occupation of public lands is a result of the non-performance of planned development. However, not only has the state tolerated violations in the Master Plan, while neglecting duties and agendas that it has set for itself. Over the years, there has been an increased activism directed against squatters and slum dwellers in Indian cities.

The political economy of the urban milieu is further complicated by the embracing of neoliberal reforms in 1990s. One of the important consequences from the point of view of this dissertation has been the changing nature of relationship between the state and the burgeoning middle-class. This reformulation of relationship has led to the rise of bourgeois environmentalism and judicial activism, which has further marginalised the position of the urban poor ideologically as well as spatially. The agitation launched against squatters and slums has been by the Residents Welfare Associations of Delhi (RWA) that

present themselves as citizens' groups, seeking to locate their activities in the realm of civil society, which however, speak self-consciously for middle-class interests in urban affairs. While empirically they may not be a singular middle-class identity across Delhi, RWA activity can in itself be representative of the process of producing the notion of a homogenous middle-class in the city. Thus, RWAs are crucial to the process of consolidating an urban consensus around middle-classness and the politics of space becomes crucial to this project.

A significant aspect in the functioning of RWAs of Delhi has been securing a certain standard of material conditions of living through private means or negotiations with the state and significantly, how RWA activity is itself a claim on 'being' and 'becoming' middle class (Srivastava, 2015). The quotidian reformulation of the relationship between the state, market and the people is at the heart of middle-class activism in Delhi. Such collective action constitutes the consolidation of a consciousness of middle-classness, across population groups with different characteristics. This has important repercussions in defining and producing a narrative of those who aren't, in turn, middle-class. Hence, what unites the middle-class as represented by different RWAs isn't internal homogeneity, rather it's a sense of difference from the perceived outside or the other.

However, this chapter also focuses on the potential for the urban environment and its everyday politics to create 'spaces of hope' that foster genuine social choice and challenge current patterns of uneven development through the changing notions of citizenship. Some scholars have suggested that cities maybe re-emerging as more salient sites for citizenship, where citizens are producing new notions of citizenship and solidarity. These new formulations of citizenship in some cases has been to expand the scope of its membership,

while in other cases the 'right to the city' has been skewed to become a restrictive category.

The narrative of Delhi's social classes is often drowned in the excesses meted out. However, some ethnographic works also point to the coping mechanisms of the disadvantaged. In Delhi, the poor have responded to disciplining attempts of the civic authorities by adopting varied strategies of enterprise, compromise and resistance. "They have exercised their franchise as citizens, used kinship networks, entered into unequal bargains with politicians and employers, mobilised collectively through neighbourhood associations, and most recently, attempted to create a coalition of slum-dwellers' organisations." Having learnt to anticipate a sequence of conflict and compromise, the poor and their political patrons willingly collaborate in the enterprise of encroachment, negotiating the risk of displacement in the hope of securing future recognition and permanent tenure. "These multiple practices, simultaneously social and spatial, attempt to democratise urban development even as they challenge dominant modes of framing the environment-development question" (Baviskar, 2003, p. 97).

The idea of urban citizenship is intricately connected to the political economy of the city and questions about those who can access it. Who makes decisions that direct a city's economy, and for what purposes? In addition, the political economy approach investigates how conflicts shape the physical and social character of cities. Drawing from the writings of Karl Marx and Engels, Lefebvre applied the economic categories of Marx's seminal works to explain the unevenness of urban development. Venturing further into territory uncharted by Marx, Lefebvre considered the actions of government, from the national level down to the local level, to be a critical factor in shaping a city's use of space. Governments being critical as they are empowered to make various decisions that affect city shape and urban life. Geographer David Harvey illustrates Lefebvre's ideas in a Marxist analysis of how the capitalist real-estate

system operate in the city, directly shaping many of the city's problems concerning social inequality. Harvey's detailed analysis revealed that urban development is not a monolithic growth process. Instead, it occurs unevenly. This second circuit of capital varies in its investment arrangements from place to place, influenced by different combinations of social factors, profit potential, and conflict.

While the generation of urban knowledge and sociology of cities has been centred in Western cities, the 21st century's urban growth is primarily taking place not in Western cities but in the cities of the Global South. The Indian City, then, may be an archetypal twenty-first century city. But what defines the Indian City today? What challenges does it face in the future? And what can we learn from the Indian City in looking at urbanisation processes worldwide? The rapid urbanisation and burgeoning cities in India presents to us a momentous opportunity for academics, those engaged in decision making and civil society activists, policy-makers and administrators alike to participate in understanding the challenges and possibilities that are inherent at this time of development.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amin, S. (1976). *Unequal Development: An essay on the Social Formulation of Peripheral Capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Amin, S. (1977). *Imperialism and Unequal Development*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Baran, P. (1957). *The Political Economy of Growth*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Baran, P. and Sweezy, P. (1966). *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Batra, L. and Mehra, D. (2008). Slum demolitions and the production of neoliberal space. In Darshini Mahadevia (ed.), *Inside the Transforming Asia: Processes, Politics and Public Actions*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co
- Baviskar, A. (2003). Between violence and desire: Space, power and identity in the making of metropolitan Delhi. *International Social Science Journal*, 55(175): 89–98, DOI: 10.1111/1468-2451.5501009
- Baviskar, A. (1998). Towards a Sociology of Delhi: Report on a seminar. *Economic and political weekly*, 33 (49): 3101- 3102.
- Bhan, G. (2014). The impoverishment of poverty: reflections on urban citizenship and inequality in contemporary Delhi. *Environment & Urbanization*, Vol 26 (2): pp. 1-14 DOI:10.1177/0956247814542391
- Bhagat, R. B. (September, 2014). Urban policies and programmes in India: Retrospect and prospect. *Yojana*, volume 58, pp 4-8.
- Bock, K. E. (1964). Theories of progress and evolution. In J. Cahnman and A. Boskoff (Eds.). *Sociology and history*. New York: Zed Books.

Census of India. (2014). *Rural- urban distribution of population* (Provisional Population Totals). Retrieved from [http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-provresults/paper2/data\\_files/india/Rural\\_Urban\\_2014.pdf](http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-provresults/paper2/data_files/india/Rural_Urban_2014.pdf)

Chandran, D. (2013). *Developmental transformation of urban India: JN-NURM showcase in the South*. Delhi: Kalpaz Publication.

Chatterjee, P. (2006). Are Indian cities becoming bourgeoisie at last? In M.E. John, P.K. Jha, and S.S. Jodhka (Eds.), *Contested transformations: Changing economies and identities in contemporary India*. Delhi: Tulika Books.

Chatterjee, P. (2004). *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most Parts of the World*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Cinar, A. and Bender, T. (2007). Introduction: The city: Experience, imagination and the place. In A. Cinar and T. Bender (Eds) *Urban imaginaries: Locating the modern city*, pp. xi- xxv. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dash, D. K. (2013, June 16). JNNURM-II to be thrice in size than earlier avatar. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from [http://articles.timesofindia.india-times.com/2013-06-16/india/40006665\\_1\\_jnnurm-ii-second-phase-first-phase](http://articles.timesofindia.india-times.com/2013-06-16/india/40006665_1_jnnurm-ii-second-phase-first-phase)

Dalrymple, W. (1993). *City of Djinnns: A Year in Delhi*. New Delhi: Penguin.

Dasgupta, R. (2014). *Capital: A portrait of twenty- first century Delhi*. New Delhi: Fourth Estate.

Datta, A. (2012). *The illegal city: Space, law and gender in a Delhi squatter settlement*. Surrey: Ashgate.

De Kooning, A. (2007). Many degrees of separation: Coffee shops and social segregation in Cairo. In R.S. Sandhu and J. Sandhu (Eds.), *Globalising cities: Inequality and segregation in developing countries*, pp. 65- 86. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Deshpande, S. (Dec 25, 1993). Imagined economies: styles of nation-building in twentieth century India, *Journal of Arts and Ideas*, pp. 5–35.

Delhi will have country's first smart city: M Venkaiah Naidu. (2015, Jan 3). *The Economic Times*. Retrieved from [http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-01-03/news/57633702\\_1\\_smart-city-m-venkaiah-naidu-public-transport](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-01-03/news/57633702_1_smart-city-m-venkaiah-naidu-public-transport)

Development of 100 smart cities saw push in 2014. (31 Dec, 2014). *The Economic Times*. Retrieved from <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/infrastructure/development-of-100-smart-cities-saw-push-in-2014/articleshow/45699222.cms>

Durkheim, E. (1893). *The Division of Labour in Society*. New York: Free Press.

Dupont, V. (2004). Socio-spatial differentiation and residential segregation in Delhi: A question of scale? *Geoforum*, 35, 157–175

Engels, F. (2009). *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, trans. by Florence Kelly Wischenewetsky. Springfield, MA: Seven Treasures

Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Escobar, A. (2000). Beyond the search for a paradigm? Post-development and beyond. *Development*, vol. 43, no. 4 pp. 11-14.

Escobar, A. (2004). Beyond the Third World: imperial globality, global coloniality and anti-globalisation social movements. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 207-230.

Esteva, G. and M.S., Prakash. (1998). Beyond development, what? *Development in Practice*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 280-297

Frank, A. G. (1966). *Development of Underdevelopment*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

- Frank, A. G. (1969). *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution?* New York and London: Monthly Review Press.
- Friedmann, J. (1986). The world city hypothesis. In N. Brenner & R. Kell, *The Global Cities Reader* pp. 68-71. Oxford: Routledge.
- Fuller, C.J. and Harris, J. (2000). For an anthropology of the modern Indian state. In C.J. Fuller and V. Beni (Eds.), *The Everyday State and Society in Modern India* (pp.1-30). New Delhi: Social Science Press.
- Gandhi, J. (2015, April 29). 100 cities to turn smart. *The Hindu*, p. 1. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/cabinet-nod-for-smart-city-project-atal-rejuvenation-mission/article7154217.ece>
- Ghertner, D. A. (2011). Gentrifying the state, gentrifying participation: Elite governance programs in Delhi. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(3): 504-32 , DOI:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01043.x
- Ghertner, D. A. (2012). 'Rule by aesthetics: world-class city making in Delhi. In Ananya Roy & Aihwa Ong (eds.), *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Giddens, A. (1998). T.H. Marshall, the state and democracy. In Bulmer, M. and Rees A. M. (Eds.), *Citizenship today: The contemporary relevance of T.H. Marshall*. London, Routledge.
- Gidwani, V. and Reddy, R. N. (2011). The afterlives of 'waste': notes from India for a minor history of capitalist surplus. *Antipode* , volume 43, No 5, pp. 1625–1658.
- Government of India. (2005). *PM launches Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission*. Retrieved from <http://pmindia.nic.in/speech-details.php?nodeid=228>

Gupta, D. (2000). *Mistaken Identity: India between worlds*. New Delhi: Harper Collins India

Hall, P. (1966). *The World Cities*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Harvey, D. (1981). The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis. In Dear, M. and Scott, A. (eds.) *Urbanization and urban planning in capitalist society*, pp. 91–122. New York: Methuen.

Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation of Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler*, volume 71B, pp 3–17

Harvey, D. (September-October, 2008). The right to the city. *New Left Review*, volume 58. Retrieved from <http://newleftreview.org/II/53/david-harvey-the-right-to-the-city>

Harrison, D. (1988). *The Sociology of Modernisation and Development*. New York: Routledge.

Hobart, M. (1993). Introduction: the growth of ignorance? In M Hobart (ed.), *An anthropological critique of development: the growth of ignorance*, pp. 1–24. London: Routledge.

Holston, J. and Arjun Appadurai. (1999). Introduction. In James Holston and Arjun Appadurai (Eds.) *Cities and Citizenship*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Human Development Report. (1996). *United Nations development programme*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Illich, I. (1990). Needs. In W Sachs (ed.), *The development dictionary: Guide to knowledge as power* , pp. 158-175. New York: Zed Books,.

Introduction. (September, 2014). *Yojana*, volume 58, pp. 3-4.

India's urban challenges (2015, May 1). *The Hindu*, p. 10. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/100-smart-cities-project-and-in-dias-urban-challenges/article7159339.ece>

Institute for South Asia Studies. (2011). *The 21st Century Indian City: Developing an Agenda for Urbanization in India*. Retrieved from [http://southasia.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/shared/documents/Cities\\_Report\\_2011.pdf](http://southasia.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/shared/documents/Cities_Report_2011.pdf)

Jayal, N. G. (2013). *Citizenship and Its Discontents : An Indian History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Khosla, R. (2009). *Addressing Gender Concerns in India's Urban Renewal Mission*. Delhi: United Nations Development Program. Retrieved from [www.undp.org/content/dam/india/docs/addressinggenderconcerns.pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/india/docs/addressinggenderconcerns.pdf)

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1996) *Writings on Cities*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Leydet, D. (Winter edition, 2006). Citizenship. In Edward N. Zalta (ed.) *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/citizenship/>

Macionis, J.J. and Parrillo, V. N. (2007). *Cities and Urban Life*. New Jersey: Pearson.

Mahadevia, D. (July 30, 2011). Branded and Renewed? Policies, Politics and Processes of Urban Development in the Reform Era. *Economic & Political Weekly*, vol XLVI no 3.

- Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mathur, O. (2009). *Slum-Free Cities*. New Delhi: National Institute for Finance and Public Policy.
- Mehta, M. and Mehta, D. (July 190, 2010). A Glass Half Full? Urban Development (1990s to 2010). *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol - XLV No. 28.
- Menon- Sen, K. and Bhan, G. (2008). *Swept off the map: Surviving eviction and resettlement in Delhi*. New Delhi: Yoda Press.
- Morenas, L.A. (2010). *Planning the city of Djinnns: Exorcising the ghosts in Delhi's post-colonial development machine (doctoral dissertation)*. Available from ProQuest dissertations and theses database. (UMI Number: 3420927).
- Morgan, S. (2015). *Post-development, Post-modernity, and Deconstructionism: A Practical Program?* Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/2373970/Post-development\\_Post-modernity\\_and\\_Deconstructionism\\_A\\_Practical\\_Program](https://www.academia.edu/2373970/Post-development_Post-modernity_and_Deconstructionism_A_Practical_Program)
- Moses, D. (2012). *Understanding Dependency Theory: A comparative Evaluation of Gunder Frank's seminal work in today's world*. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/2271357/Understanding\\_Dependency\\_Theory\\_A\\_Comparative\\_Evaluation\\_of\\_Gunder\\_Franks\\_Seminal\\_Work\\_in\\_Today\\_s\\_World](https://www.academia.edu/2271357/Understanding_Dependency_Theory_A_Comparative_Evaluation_of_Gunder_Franks_Seminal_Work_in_Today_s_World)
- Müller, M. (2006). Discourses of postmodern epistemology: radical impetus lost? *Progress in Development Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 306-320.
- Nandy, A. (2006). *An Ambiguous Journey to the City*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Palma, G. (1978). Dependency: A formal theory of underdevelopment or a methodology for the analysis of concrete situations of underdevelopment? *World Development*, volume 6, pp. 881-924. Great Britain: Pergamon Press.

Park, R., Burgess, E.W. and McKenzie, R. (1925). *The City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Pateman, C. (1988). *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge: The Polity Press.

Pieterse, J.N. (2000). After post-development. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 175-191

Planning Commission, Govt. of India. (2008). *Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012)*, Vol III: Agriculture, Rural Development, Industry, Services and Physical Infrastructure, Oxford University Press, New Delhi: 394-422.

Prakash, G. (2002). Urban turn. In *The Sarai Reader: Cities of Everyday Life, Sarai*, pp 2–7. New Delhi.

Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal*, 58: 99–108. Retrieved from <<http://faculty.washington.edu/mpurcell/geojournal.pdf>>

Rahnema, M. (1991). Poverty. In W Sachs (ed.) *The development dictionary: guide to knowledge as power*, (pp. 158-175). New York: Zed Books,.

Rahnema, M. (1997). Afterword- towards post-development: searching for signposts, a new language and new paradigms. In M Rahnema & V Bawtree (eds.) *The post-development reader* (pp. 377-403). New York: Zed Books,.

Ramanathan, U. (2006). Illegality and the Urban Poor. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(29): 3193-97.

Rostow, W.W. (1960). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. London: Cambridge University Press.

- Rousseau, J.J., and Masters, R. D. (1978). *On the social contract, with Geneva manuscript and Political economy*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Sachs, W. (1992). *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. New York: Zed Books.
- Sassen, S. (1991). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Sassen, S. (2005). The global city: Introducing a concept. *Brown Journal* 11(2), pp. 27-43.
- Sassen, S. (2006). *Territory, authority, rights: From medieval to global assemblages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sivaramakrishnan, K.C. (2011). *Re-visioning Indian cities: The urban renewal mission*. Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Srivastava, S. (2015). *Entangled urbanism: Slum, gated community and shopping mall in Delhi and Gurgaon*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Tarlo, E. (1995). From victim to agent: Memories of Emergency from a resettlement colony in Delhi. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 30(46): 2921- 2928.
- Tucker, K.H. (2006). The Chicago School. In Bryan S. Turner (Ed.), *Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Turner, B.S. (2006). *The Cambridge dictionary of Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Vaidya, C. and Kundu, D. (2010). Urban India: Recent trends and initiatives. In *The 21st century Indian city: Developing an Agenda for Urbanisation in India*. Retrieved from <http://indiancities.berkeley.edu>

Varma, P.K. (2001). Shahjahanabad: The city that once was. In Khushwant Singh (ed.) *City Improbable: Writings on Delhi*. New Delhi: Penguin Books

Weber, M. (1958). *The City*. New York: Free Press.