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In/formal urbanism: cases drawn from Delhi

Nipesh Palat Narayanan

UNIL | Université de Lausanne
Institut de géographie
et durabilité

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Nipesh Palat Narayanan

Master of Architecture in Urban Design,
School of Planning and Architecture Delhi

Jury :
Prof. René Véron, directeur de thèse (Université de Lausanne)
Dr. Charlotte Lemanski, experte (University of Cambridge)
Dr. Martin Müller, expert (Université de Lausanne)
Prof. Ola Söderström, expert (Université de Neuchâtel)

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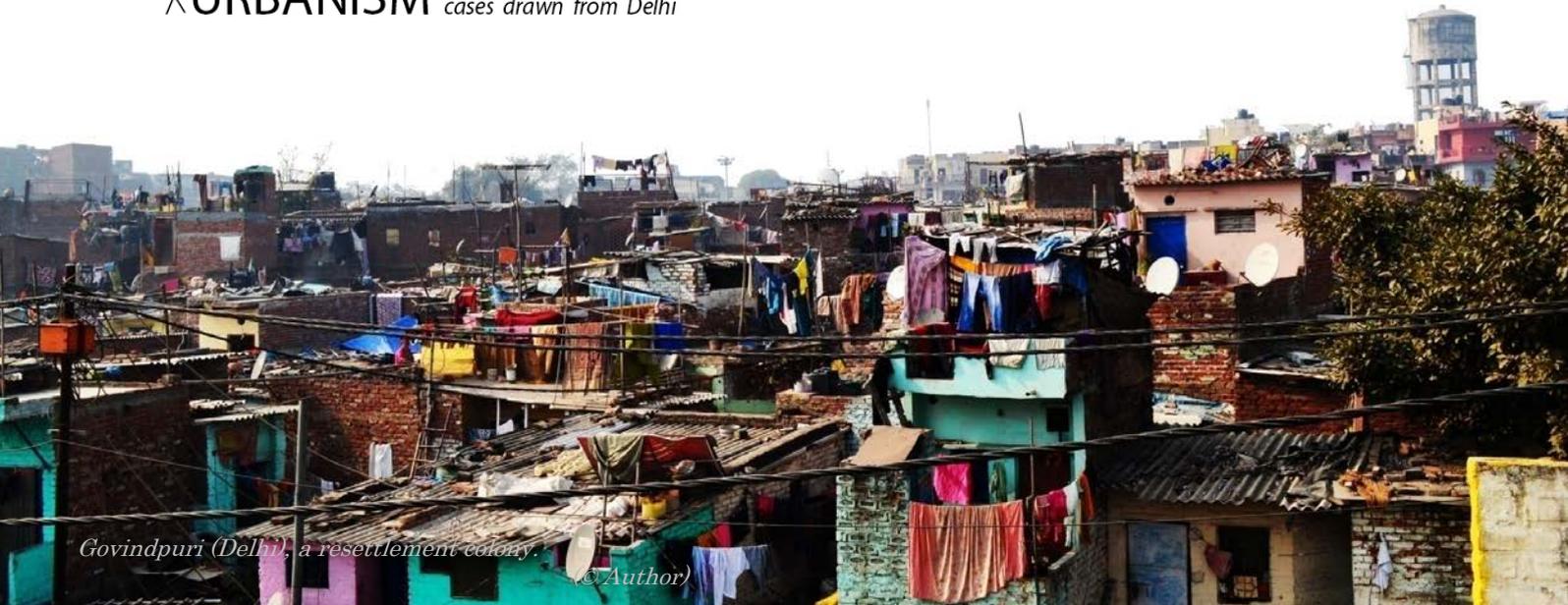
Govindpuri (Delhi), a resettlement colony.

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bâtiment Géopolis bureau 4631

IMPRIMATUR

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Experte externe :	Mme la Docteure Charlotte Lemanski

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Kathputali Colony (Delhi), a slum now demolished for redevelopment.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to critically engage with urbanization processes through the lens of informality. That is, urban informality as an enduring concept that defines, describes, and delineates urban development. Using case studies from Delhi, it theorizes informality as a practice and seeks to understand its complex social and power dynamics. The research, based on secondary archival and primary qualitative data, shows the role of informality in the production of space, the everyday politics and reasoning of those who are involved in such practices. This thesis develops on how urban informality forms a critical lens in understanding the urbanization process in India rather than understanding informality via the urbanization process. It is broken down into three components, each of which yields a different scale to the analysis.

The first component explores the discursive construction of slums in the Indian parliamentary debates. The slum is a contested settlement category, which provides a very specific illustration of urban informality's contested notions. This section analyses the debates related to slums from the upper house (*Rajya Sabha*) of the Indian Parliament over a period of 61 years from 1953 until 2014. Using a Foucauldian framework of governmentality and biopolitics, this part outlines the historical progression of the debates, the rationale around conceptualization of slums, and how they transformed into actions via policy and/or legislation. This section analyses the discursive transformation of the notion of slums from a political subject to a technical object and in the process, how the state makes itself indispensable to deal with urban informality.

The second component investigates the role of urban informality in producing the city. It takes the informal dumpling (*momos*) manufacturing-and-selling sector in Delhi's Chirag Dilli settlement as a case study. Building on a Lefebvrian conceptualization of space, it illustrates how this particular informal cottage industry contributes to the social production of the city as well as of the physical settlement in which it is located. The results show, first, how the built form of the inhabited settlement gets co-produced with newer living patterns and building typologies. Second, they demonstrate the contribution of

informality to the production of the city. Thus, taking an alternate narrative to the state or the conflict with the state being the primary agent in the production of the city.

The third component of the research aims to understand how informality is being produced, and why the same actors oscillate between formal and informal practices. In this regard, a study of water supply management and solid waste management in and around the slum settlement of Jagdamba Camp is taken as a case study. This part of the thesis theorizes informality as a practice using Bourdieu and demonstrates through the case study that the production of informality is a highly varied and nuanced process. It takes the urban infrastructure as a medium to understand social and political aspects of the society. The results argue that informality as a practice is not completely dependent on the habitus of the actors, but on the rules of the field in which these actors operate. This opens the analytical possibility to understand how and why the same actors practice both formality and informality in different fields.

The three components are the core chapters of this thesis-by-article. They come together in understanding the urbanization process via informality rather than using formal urbanization to understand informality. The first part outlines the larger historical development of informality resulting in various state legislations. The following two components outline how the people cope, adapt, and influence these legislations resulting in a distinct urbanization process. The overall results are framed using perspectives from southern theory and show how informal practices are universal, but these practices get differentially connoted and acted upon.

A para-military tent encroached upon the footpath of the
diplomatic enclave (New Delhi).

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RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse aborde les processus d'urbanisation d'une manière critique, à travers le prisme de l'informalité (*informality*). L'informalité urbaine est ainsi envisagée comme un concept important, qui définit, décrit et délimite le développement urbain. Se basant sur des études de cas de la ville de Delhi, ce travail théorise l'informalité comme une pratique et cherche à mettre en lumière les dynamiques de pouvoir et les dynamiques sociales complexes qui s'y exercent. Un travail de recherche, basé sur des documents d'archives et des données qualitatives, permet de mettre en lumière le rôle de l'informalité dans la production de l'espace, les pratiques politiques quotidiennes (*everyday politics*) et le raisonnement de ceux qui sont engagés dans de telles pratiques. L'informalité urbaine est utilisée comme un prisme critique permettant de comprendre l'urbanisation en Inde, plutôt que de saisir l'informalité par le biais des processus d'urbanisation. La thèse est divisée en trois parties, chacune offrant une échelle d'analyse différente.

La première partie, explore la construction discursive des bidonvilles (*slums*) dans les débats parlementaires indiens. Le bidonville, en tant que catégorie d'habitat contestée, fournit une illustration concrète de la notion controversée d'informalité urbaine. Cette section se base donc sur une analyse des débats portant sur les bidonvilles au sein de la chambre haute (*Rajya Sabha*) du Parlement indien, sur une période de 61 ans, entre 1953 et 2014. Utilisant un cadre théorique foucaldien de la gouvernementalité et de la biopolitique, cette partie expose la progression historique des débats, les logiques qui sous-tendent la conceptualisation des bidonvilles et la manière dont ces éléments ont été traduits en actions par le biais de politiques publiques et/ou de législations. Les analyses font ainsi état d'une transformation discursive de la notion de bidonville : d'un sujet politique à un objet technique ; l'Etat se rendant, dans ce processus, indispensable pour traiter la question de l'informalité urbaine.

La deuxième partie examine le rôle de l'informalité urbaine dans la production de la ville. L'analyse repose ici sur l'étude de la fabrication et de la vente de raviolis (*dumplings/momos*) dans le quartier de Chirag Dilli, à Delhi. S'appuyant sur une conceptualisation lefebvrienne de l'espace, cette section

illustre la manière dont cette industrie domestique (*cottage industry*) informelle contribue à produire la ville, à la fois socialement et physiquement. Les résultats dévoilent, premièrement, la manière dont est coproduite la forme bâtie des territoires investis à travers de nouveaux modes d'habitat et de nouvelles typologies de bâtiments. Deuxièmement, ils attestent de la contribution de l'informalité à la production de la ville, formant ainsi un récit alternatif à celui présentant l'Etat, ou le conflit avec l'Etat, comme le principal facteur de production de la ville.

La troisième partie de cette recherche vise à comprendre de quelle manière l'informalité est produite et la raison pour laquelle les mêmes acteurs oscillent entre pratiques formelles et informelles. À cet effet, une étude de la gestion des déchets solides et de l'approvisionnement en eau dans (et autour) du quartier de Jagdamba Camp, à Delhi, est choisie comme étude de cas. Dans cette section, l'informalité est théorisée, suivant Bourdieu, comme une pratique, et il est démontré, au travers de l'étude de cas, que la production de l'informalité est un processus à la fois diversifié et nuancé. L'infrastructure urbaine est utilisée comme medium pour comprendre certains aspects sociaux et politiques de la société. Les résultats montrent que l'informalité, en tant que pratique, ne dépend pas entièrement de l'habitus des acteurs, mais des règles du champ au sein duquel ils évoluent. Ceci ouvre la possibilité analytique de comprendre comment et pourquoi les mêmes acteurs pratiquent à la fois la formalité et l'informalité selon le champ dans lequel ils agissent.

Ces trois parties forment les chapitres centraux de cette thèse par articles qui, réunis, offrent une compréhension du processus d'urbanisation par le biais de l'informalité, plutôt que de passer par l'urbanisation formelle pour comprendre l'informalité. La première partie met en lumière le développement historique de l'informalité et les législations qui en découlent, tandis que les deux parties suivantes, décrivent la manière dont les gens font face, s'adaptent, et influencent ces législations mettant ainsi en œuvre un processus d'urbanisation distinct. Les résultats sont formulés dans une perspective de *southern theory* et montrent que ces pratiques informelles sont universelles mais qu'elles peuvent être différemment connotées et traitées.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BHK	Bedroom Hall Kitchen
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party [Political Party]
BSUP	Basic Services to the Urban Poor
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DIT	Delhi Improvement Trust
DUSIB	Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board
EIUS	Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums
IHSDP	Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme
ILO	International Labour Organization
INC	Indian National Congress [Political Party]
JC	Jagdamba Camp [a settlement in Delhi]
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
JP	Janata Party [Political Party]
JS	Jana Sangh [Political Party]
LG	Lieutenant Governor
MP	Member of Parliament [of the National Parliament]
NCTD	National Capital Territory of Delhi
NCU	National Commission on Urbanization
NDA	National Democratic Alliance [alliance of political parties]
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSDP	National Slum Development Programme
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
NUP	National Urban Policy
PIL	Public Interest Litigation
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RWA	Resident Welfare Association
TPP	Twenty-Point Programme
UPA	United Progressive Alliance [alliance of political parties]
VAMBAY	Valmiki-Ambedkar Awas Yojana

LIST OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Aadhaar   Foundation (biometric identification number/card) [Hindi]

Basti   Township [Hindi, Persian]

Bhagidari   Partnership (a Delhi government scheme) [Hindi]

Chowk   Road Intersection forming a public space [Hindi, Urdu]

Dargah   Shrine (usually Sufi) [Persian]

Dhalaon   Municipal garbage dump [Hindi]

Gandigi   Dirtiness [Hindi]

Ghanta Ghar   Clock Tower [Hindi]

Haveli   Mansion [Arabic, Hindi]

JJ Cluster   Jhuggi Jhopri Cluster (Slum) (various spellings) [Hindi, English]

Katra   Neighbourhood/Inn [derived from Arabic, Persian]

Kurta   An upper garment [Hindi, Urdu]

Lok Sabha   Lower house of the Indian Parliament [Hindi]

Mohalla   Neighbourhood [Hindi]

Momo   Steamed or fried dumplings [Nepali, Tibetan, Hindi]

Nai Sadak   New Street/road [Hindi, Urdu]

Nullah   Drain [Hindi]

Pradhan   Community Leader [Hindi]

Rajya Sabha   Upper house of the Indian Parliament [Hindi]

Sabha   Meeting [Hindi]

Sepoy   Soldier (lower rank) [Anglicized from Hindi, Urdu, Persian]

Urs   The yearly festival at the *Dargah* [Arabic, Persian]

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Street shop in Jagdamba Camp.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Capturing the spirit of the Delhi government's policy outlook on the so-called informal settlements, the Minister of Urban Development in Delhi, Satyendra Jain[1], told me that the "slum is a factory of producing a bad generation". Further, during the conversation, he elaborated on how not only the slums, but other precarious neighbourhoods with varying levels of informality are to be seen the same way. He highlighted the fact that his government[2] believes that the people living in informal settlements like slums or Unauthorized Colonies are not unscrupulous, but the physical environment in these settlements is detrimental to the social development of the present and future generation of citizens being raised there. From medical expenses to education levels, and domestic violence to alcoholism, he listed a running list of social concerns, which, according to him, emanate from various physical deficiencies in such settlements. He was very clear during the interview, as are the policy documents of his government, that the role of the government is to improve the physical condition in informal settlements for social enhancements. Emphasizing the immediacy of the situation, he explained how this physical improvement has to be done even if it means without following "all the set procedures". He pointed to the examples of how community toilets and *Mohalla* Clinics (neighbourhood primary-healthcare clinics) are being constructed by his government throughout Delhi, often by subverting procedures[3] or by working through the legal loopholes[4]. Even though, with the noble cause of development

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[1] Real name (consent given verbally during the interview)

[2] Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (Delhi Government)

[3] E.g., few of the community toilets are being built without no-objection-certificates from the land-owning agencies of the government.

[4] E.g., many of the *Mohalla* clinics are being built using portable cabins. The municipal building laws apply only to permanent structures, thus, categorizing portable cabins as temporary structures, the need to get a permit as per the municipal building byelaw is circumvented.

of those living in informal settlements, the state[5] itself is willingly practicing the very informality for which it is trying to find a remedy for.

Such informal practices are not to be read only as tactics to get things done. This same ideology works at the neighbourhood scale as well. In Jagdamba Camp, a slum settlement in South Delhi, a local NGO got highly concerned by the neighbourhood garbage dump. Sushila Patidar, the head of the NGO, spoke to me in the same tone as Minister Jain, on how the environment in a slum is not good for children[6]. She organized her NGO volunteers to clean the garbage dump of Jagdamba Camp and convert it into an open classroom and a community asset. She too was campaigning to informally convert the municipal land of the garbage dump to an open classroom. This is very similar to how the initial settlers of Jagdamba Camp appropriated the discarded land in the city outskirts and made it their home. However, the community leaders did protest and flag this issue of land grabbing with the municipality. Nonetheless, the municipality sided with the NGO.

The same municipality acts differently when it comes to similar appropriations in the streets of Delhi. Vikram, a *momo* (dumpling) vendor in Connaught Place, has to maintain a complex network of bribery relations with the municipal (and other) officials to be able to run his roadside stall. Vending in India is legal in places that are not exclusively marked non-vending zones by the authorities. Nonetheless, municipal officials, with the help of the police evict vendors, at times due to non-payment of bribes, while many a time using an institutionalized and formal (but illegal) 'cleaning' drive.

Government agencies, NGOs, slum dwellers, and individual entrepreneurs, all are practicing informality to various degrees. These actors oscillate between formality and informality on a case-to-case basis. Their informal practices have different connotations and varying levels of acceptance amongst different

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[5] This thesis uses three variations for the word 'state'; (i) (s)tate to mean government and its other administrative bodies, (ii) (S)tate to mean a political entity, (iii) (S)tate when used as a noun, e.g., State Government.

[6] Ms. Patidar's concern for children emanates from the NGO's work in educating slum children.

citizen groups and state agencies. The municipality supported the NGO's informality while taking punitive action against Vikram's informality. The Delhi Government informally subverts the municipality while trying to overcome informality of the slum dwellers. In this situation, it will be a fallacy to try to understand informality through the lens of formal urbanization process. Rather, we ought to inverse our focus by looking at the urban through the lens of informality as an experiment that gives us a new understanding of urban processes complementary to other perspectives.

If informality is being practiced by the rich and the poor, individually and collectively, by state agencies and non-state actors, all alike, then we need to first lay the basis to understand informality and then use it as a heuristic tool to analyse the urban and the urbanization process. In this thesis, I take a pragmatic understanding of informality through practices – practices that are not registered with the state. For example, Vikram's roadside stall is not registered with the municipality, neither will the open classroom of the NGO be. They both are informal practices. However, when Vikram buys raw materials he pays taxes, so are the NGO's funds and salaries, therefore, informality cannot be generalized and has to be read in context and partly independent of the actor.

When we delineate informality as context-specific practices, it opens up analytical possibilities to multiple observations and raises three main interrogations: (i) if everyone indulges in informality including the state, then why and how does the state understand and act upon/with informality? (ii) how does the urbanization process unfold and how does the city operate via/with the informal practices? And (iii) why do the same actors at times choose informal practices rather than formal practices and how do these practices garner their connotations? This thesis tries to investigate these questions and engages critically with the urban through the lens of informality.

1.1. Theoretical Conceptualizations of Informality

The international focus on informality roughly started in the 1970s with the ILO country mission report on Kenya[7] and writings of Keith Hart[8], which discussed the informal economy. Ever since, the discourse on the informal has been shifting, from the informal as a parasite in the 1980s, to De Soto's[9] claim of looking at informality as a solution by capitalizing on the frugal entrepreneurialism[10] of the urban poor, to the apocalyptical picturization by Davis[11], and finally urban informality as a dominant normality and as a governance tool in postcolonial worlding cities by Roy and AlSayyad[12].

1.1.1. The Initial Economic Conceptualizations of Informality

The ILO report and the works of Keith Hart theorized informality from the economic angle and bought it to international limelight using the term 'informal sector'. In the 1970s, this meant looking at economic activities outside the domain of the state, i.e. petty businesses which were not registered, were not paying taxes, and above all, those who did not figure in government's economic calculations. Hart[13] famously delineated the informal sector as consisting of people who could not make enough money (or no money) through the formal system and therefore, they went on to seek alternative means. This delineation, even though it conceptually clustered the urban poor, was not aimed at painting a negative picture of the informal sector. Nonetheless, as the study was taking into account a large group of migrants and their employment

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[7] ILO and UNDP, 'Employment, Incomes and Equality - a Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya' (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1972).

[8] Keith Hart, 'Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 11, no. 1 (1973): 61–89.

[9] Hernando de Soto, *The other path: the economic answer to terrorism* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

[10] Hart, 'Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana'.

[11] Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, Paperback ed (London; New York: Verso, 2007).

[12] Ananya Roy and Nezar AlSayyad, eds., *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*, Transnational Perspectives on Space and Place (Berkeley, California: Lexington Books ; Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 2004).

[13] Hart, 'Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana'.

status, it did lead to looking at their education levels, skills, and economic status. However, Hart's main argument was pointing towards the fallacy of applying Western economic models onto the complex economic and social structures present in African cities. His studies showed how the economic potential and the economic activities in African cities (through the case of Ghana) were far more than what the official calculations showed. Therefore, he proposed the need to incorporate the informal sector as a productive but left-out or overlooked set of figures.

Hart's work had two major consequences. First, pointing to the lower education levels, migration status, and poverty, quickly made these deficiencies as tropes through which informality got associated. Second, his stress on insufficiency of the Western economic model and illustration of social complexities in African cities led to a romantic notion of the frugal entrepreneurship and the endurance of the urban poor. This frame of reference was quickly picked up in India as well. A typical example of this would be the article by influential labour activist Jai Sen. Sen's[14] main argument was that the informal labour is what is building the cities in India, but they are working, living, and growing up in subhuman conditions. The article starts with a romantic narration of village life and highlights the condition of the urban poor and their miseries. Even though, there is no reference to Hart, the article takes both the concerns mentioned above – the misery of urban poor, and an adoration for the frugal entrepreneurial (village) image which we tend to ignore in the modern city.

This distinct categorization of the informal sector was soon critiqued. Testing the operational utility of the term informal sector, Breman[15] pointed at the issues of this dualistic conceptualization. He compared formal-informal categorization as a classic case of dualistic thinking emanating from the urban-rural distinction, where the urban dwellers and the rural migrants are conceptualized as different economic beings with different economic rationality.

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[14] Jai Sen, 'The Unintended City', *Seminar*, no. 200 (April 1976).

[15] Jan Breman, 'A Dualistic Labour System? A Critique of the "Informal Sector" Concept: I: The Informal Sector', *Economic and Political Weekly* 11, no. 48 (27 November 1976): 1870–76.

Such a conceptualization was long discarded, therefore, Breman argued towards insufficiency of the informal sector delineation. From a purely economic angle, he stated that such a strict delineation was analytically inadequate. The informal sector, seen as surplus labour engaged in subsistence strategies, ignored its relationship with the formal sector, which downplayed the fragmented nature of the labour markets in countries like India. This conceptualization was further developed by economists working within the paradigm of articulation theory. Researchers like Portes and Schauffler[16] argued that informal sector is neither homogeneous nor independent of the formal sector, their main argument being that the heterogeneous informal sector subsidizes the formal economy in a two-fold manner. First, allowing subsidized cheap labour to the formal economy, for example, the low-paid formal labourers could survive by having access to cheap food and other consumables sold by informal vendors. Second, easy access to temporary labour force, for example, the formal sector could employ labour on a seasonal or temporary basis, because such labour is able to sustain their livelihood using informal income during the rest of the year. Thus, the formal and the informal sectors became more and more entangled and complicated in economic calculations.

Both Hart and Breman, during the early 1970s were looking at the economy and labour sector in the urban areas. Milton Santos[17] by the late 1970s took this argument beyond national boundaries. He developed his conceptual frame by rejecting all three dominant understandings; first, the notion that economies pass through the same path, therefore the developing nations of the 1970s could not be compared to the nineteenth century Europe; second, the dualism of formal-informal sector; third, the hybrid or what Breman called the fragmented notion of the labour market. Rather than using sectors, he illustrated the situation as two intersecting circuits, therefore, the idea of flow.

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[16] Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler, 'Competing Perspectives on the Latin American Informal Sector', *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 1 (March 1993): 33.

[17] Milton Santos, *The Shared Space: The Two Circuits of the Urban Economy in Underdeveloped Countries*, trans. Chris Gerry, UP 683 (New York, NY: Methuen, 1979).

The upper circuit enmeshed in the global capital flows and the lower circuit operating within the realm of local economy. The upper circuit pumps-out all the surplus from the lower circuit and engages it in capital intensive and exclusionary uses. Thus, this pushes people in the lower circuit into poverty and restricts their economic activities to mere survival strategies. Santos' arguments firstly changed the romantic notion of frugal entrepreneurs to that of an exploited labour, and secondly the notion of surplus labour (informal sector) into a resultant of global capitalism and its dominance over the economy of a country. This grim picture by Santos brought in support and sympathy for the urban poor and their way of life, away from the romantic notion of the village life to a distinct and modern urban system. This focus was further instigated by massive eviction and persecution of the urban poor, especially of those living in slums during the 1970s and 1980s, for example, the brutal slum demolitions in Delhi during the 1970s-emergency-period[18].

Although the informal sector discussions were largely pertaining to economics, the focus on the habitat of the urban poor, was also growing. In the 64 recommendations made by the 1976 Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (Habitat-I)[19], there emerged a section (recommendation C.8) dedicated to the informal sector's role in housing provision. Habitat-I largely concentrated on the settlement and the related human conditions. It focussed on larger rural-urban imbalances and dedicated its attention to spatial planning and policy as a means to improve human habitats. It recommended the formulation of national settlement policies and broke them down further to housing policy, infrastructure policy, etc. It used the term informal sector, although broadening its understanding from merely the economy to housing and infrastructure provision as well. The report does not mention the term 'slum' but conceptualizes 'informal sector' in line with the position of Marris[20].

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[18] Emma Tarlo, *Unsettling Memories: Narratives of the Emergency in Delhi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[19] 'The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (Habitat-I)', United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Vancouver, Canada: United Nations, June 1976).

[20] Peter Marris, 'The Meaning of Slums and Patterns of Change', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 3, no. 1–4 (1979): 419–41.

Habitat-I delineated the informal sector as a process by the 'less advantaged' to provide means of living for themselves. It therefore suggested the states to stabilize land tenure and to provide technical and financial assistance, as well as infrastructure for basic amenities, specifically in the form of 'sites and services' scheme. It called for administrative and market reforms, for the informal sector to develop itself, and stressed the need for participation. The idea of the informal sector became to signify informal settlements where the urban poor provide for themselves. This type of self-help was to be promoted, because the state (especially the Third World nations) would not have enough resources to provide for the entire marginalized population. This frame was within the larger outlook of settlements that were not limited to cities, but also incorporated considerable focus on rural areas.

The attention towards slums became the counterpart of economy-led discussions of the informal sector. Slums became political subjects which needed to be understood, rather than objects whose causality needed to be uncovered or whose utility needed to be realized. Studying slums, Marris famously wrote:

> "A slum is only a slum in the eyes of someone for whom it is an anomaly – a disruption of the urban form and relationships which to that observer seem appropriate to his or her own values and perception."[21]

Critiquing various housing projects, Marris puts slums as a settlement type in itself, which is wrongly seen in a negative light. He, however, did not deny the issues and problems within slums, but set out to highlight the complexity of this urban form. Marris' work puts slums as part of the solution, as they are legitimate housing options, thus completely opposing slum demolition drives. Marris looked at the informal sector purely as an economic category and by using the term 'slum' as a housing type argued that the state cannot provide for all the marginalized population. Therefore, this marginalized population should be allowed to make a living out of leftover resources, for example, how the slums use under/non-utilizable land for housing. Marris brought back the

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[21] Marris, 419.

discussions of frugal innovations, not as an economic category, but as a radical social need, which governments should promote. Perlman approached this problematic of Marris from another angle. Disassociating slums/*favela* (housing) from marginality, she argued:

> "The key point here is that marginality is not caused by poor housing conditions or by characteristics of individuals or groups, but by forms of society rooted in the historical process of industrialization and economic growth in the developing nations…"[22]

The marginality of the people living in slums could not be equated to the grim realities of the slum or the housing conditions. Perlman's work rendered slums as a symptom of larger economic disparities, therefore, actions on slums could not be equated to socio-economic development. Her work problematized the slums, economic structure, and the urbanization process into an interrelated mesh.

Even though the discussions about the economic concerns[23] of the informal sector[24] continued, it was Koolhaas'[25] take on Learning from Lagos (starting from 1995) that took Marris' and Perlman's conceptualizations further. Disenchanted by modern architecture's promise to be able to provide for the masses[26], Koolhaas turned to Lagos with the same spirit as that of Marris, resulting in his famous aphorism:

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[22] Janice E. Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro*, 1. paperback print, Campus 235 (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1979), 251.

[23] Chris Gerry, 'Developing Economies and the Informal Sector in Historical Perspective', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 493 (1 September 1987): 100–119.

[24] T. S. Papola, 'Informal Sector: Concept and Policy', *Economic and Political Weekly* 15, no. 18 (3 May 1980): 817–24.

[25] R. Koolhaas et al., *Mutations* (ACTAR, 2000).

[26] Rem Koolhaas, 'Whatever Happened to Urbanism?', *Design Quarterly*, no. 164 (1 April 1995): 28–31.

"… Lagos is not catching up with us [cities of the developed world].

Rather, we may be catching up with Lagos."[27]

Unlike Marris, Koolhaas' interest was not just to learn about Lagos, but to learn from Lagos to critically re-examine the cities of the West (in this case North American cities). Koolhaas' work created a lot of interest and critiques[28] [29] [30] in reading the cities of the developing world. Nonetheless, it could be seen as breaking off of the discussions beyond the informal sector towards analysing cities holistically. In this case, Lagos was seen as a deviant case to the Western model of a modern city.

The initial economic conceptualizations discussed in this section can be summarized by the works of two popular writers, both of whom, nonetheless, linked informality to poverty. The Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto and the American journalist/historian Mike Davis. Developing the potentials of slums, de Soto[31] conceptualized the slum dwellers as trapped capital amid full of potential. This entrapment is what he called the "legal apartheid"[32], by which he intended to point towards how the legal system does not allow and excludes the urban poor from using what they already have (land in this case). His arguments took a step further than Marris. Marris argued for the rationale of the marginalized population using surplus resources to their benefit, while de Soto argued that by enabling land titles, the slum dwellers can be converted into petty capitalists. His idea, in a broad stroke, was that if the squatters can capitalize on the land on which they are anyway squatting, they will not only improve their living/housing conditions, but also add considerably to the

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[27] Koolhaas et al., *Mutations*, 652.

[28] Ananya Roy, 'Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 2 (March 2011): 223–38.

[29] Jennifer Robinson, *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*, Questioning Cities (New York: Routledge, 2006).

[30] Vyjayanthi Rao, 'Slum as Theory: The South/Asian City and Globalization', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30, no. 1 (March 2006): 225–32.

[31] de Soto, *The other path*; Hernando de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (London: Black Swan Books, 2001).

[32] de Soto, *The other path*, 43.

economy. On the other hand, Davis'[33] argument was, to say the least, not so optimistic. He pointed to the bourgeoning population of marginal citizens who are left with no other option than to live in slums. He illustrated the fragmented political affiliations within the slums, pointing to the development of newer political alignments. Davis, on one hand, put the issue of slums and marginalized populations as a global phenomenon of unprecedented scale, and on the other hand, pointed to newer concerns because of the diverse political alignments within this population e.g. the degrading ethnic groupings and fragmented political movements. Both Davis and de Soto presented the epitome of economy-led discussions on informality and they made slums a quintessential physical manifestation of urban informality.

This indication of slums as poor housing condition further gets discussed in the 1996 United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat-II)[34]. Habitat-II was in principle an extension of Habitat-I with its focus on settlement improvement, participation, and enabling the market. One of the main changes in Habitat-II was the focus on cities. The resolution of Habitat-II mentioned:

> "…we recognize cities and towns as centres of civilization, generating economic development and social, cultural, spiritual and scientific advancement."[35]

This emphasis on cities made them the focus of the discussions, although the debate included some components dealing with rural settlements. Habitat-II focused on poverty and the term 'slum' was introduced. The main focus was twofold (i) adequate shelter for all, and (ii) sustainable human settlement development in an urbanizing world. The first part dealt largely with the physical infrastructure of the house; regarding slums this meant focusing on building technology, financial assistance (enabling the market and

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[33] Davis, *Planet of Slums*.

[34] 'United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat-II)', United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Istanbul, Turkey: United Nations, June 1996).

[35] 'United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat-II)', 7.

decentralization), and self-help. The second ('human settlement') aspect looked into service provisions that the state is to provide by planning (similar to Habitat-I). Similar to de Soto's argument, Habitat-II considered housing as a human right and enabling the market as a solution. Although, there were no explicit suggestions to enable land titles, but access to land was carried on to Habitat-II from Habitat-I. The usage of the term slum implied that informality was again used exclusively for economic activities ('informal sector'). Nonetheless, the slum and the informal sector were both discussed in Habitat-II as interlinked, producing housing albeit of poor quality and thus in need for improvement. Although global economic flows were starting to get discussed in academic circles (see the following section), Habitat-II paid considerably less attention to the larger global economic forces compared to Habitat-I.

1.1.2. Informality in the Age of Global Urbanism

By the late 1990s, the discussions on the informal sector had started moving away from the informal-economy led conceptualizations. Santos' concerns of global capital were taking a new turn with many countries around the world, including India, opening their economy to global capital in the 1990s. In her seminal work, Sassen[36] explored the patterns of foreign investments and impacts of financial industry, and presented a new global economic order. This economic order or hierarchy consisted of global cities (global nodes) which controlled the major capital routes of the globe. Sassen's work presented an unprecedented effect of global capital on urbanization and the metropolis. This, on one hand, increased the focus on global systems in urban studies, and on the other hand, presented a general paradigm of looking at interconnectedness. Sassen's work presented a top-down structure of how the capital influences the urban. Further, James Scott's work around the same time on peasant societies[37] brought in a voice from below. Sassen's work put the global capital flow at the forefront, where governments had little control, as they became the

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[36] Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[37] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Pr, 1990).

dummies of this new world order. Contrarily, Scott[38] studied how the specific development moves (or acts to understand) by the state has transformed societies and yet failed to improve human condition. In this context, not only the urbanization process, but also the metropolis was to be seen as entangled in multiple dimensions (e.g., Swyngedouw's[39] work of linking nature and humans to an extent that they cannot be separated). In such a paradigm, the informal sector could not be studied in isolation, and thus, began the enquiry into the larger realm of urban informality and a move away from the idea of an informal 'sector'.

Using Scott's work (with a critical distance, as stated in the article[40]), Bayat developed a narrative of the politics of informality within the larger context of the Islamic revolution in Iran. His study not only linked the informal practices (mainly of the urban poor) to the larger national context of revolution in Iran (beyond economics), but also presented the conflict with the State. Even though Bayat kept his focus on informality, his work comes out as a broader commentary on the urbanization process and the city. His later work[41] tried to answer even broader questions like that of a false link between the dispossessed urban dwellers and radical Islam. Bayat's work can be seen as part of those looking broadly at informality, which AlSayyad posited as a "new way of life"[42]. Bayat's work opened the doors for informality to be viewed (i) within the larger geopolitics of marginality (ii) with regard to state oppression and hegemony, and (iii) the helplessness of the urban poor with respect to both

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[38] James C Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

[39] Erik Swyngedouw, 'The City as a Hybrid: On Nature, Society and Cyborg Urbanization', *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 7, no. 2 (June 1996): 65–80.

[40] Asef Bayat, 'Un-Civil Society: The Politics of the "Informal People"', *Third World Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (March 1997): 53–72.

[41] Asef Bayat, 'Radical Religion and the Habitus of the Dispossessed: Does Islamic Militancy Have an Urban Ecology?', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31, no. 3 (September 2007): 579–90.

[42] Nezar AlSayyad, 'Urban Informality as a "New" Way of Life', in *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*, ed. Ananya Roy (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2004), 7–30.

the state and global capitalism. Informality, thus, now needed to be examined/studied in a broader urban context which was ghastly globalizing.

Adding to the globalizing account, Simone[43] builds a people-centric narrative via the worlding of African cities. He builds the case of how the "African cities operate as a platform for people to engage in processes and territories elsewhere"[44]. Discussing the case of African groups (Sufi religious group) moving to Jeddah, he elaborates how networks of people enable the 'worlding' of African cities and how these very networks are used by the Saudi state to impose control over the activities of this group. Simone later develops this idea into the conceptualization of 'people as infrastructure'[45].

As the urban could no more be looked into without considering these global forces of power and hegemony, neoliberalism became the keystone in any urban discussion. Brenner[46], revisiting the urban question, took Sassen's global narrative and broadened the economic concerns to space and society using Lefebvre. He put the urban question in, what he called, the "contemporary period of global restructuring"[47]. For Brenner, cities are not just to be seen as nodes of global capital movement as conceptualized by Sassen, but also how this, becoming of nodes and peripheries, quintessentially changes the way cities and its occupants, operate. Thus, the need for critically refreshing both the urban question and consequently the critical urban theory:

> "If the urban question is today increasingly assuming the form of a scale question, this is not because the urban has been superseded as a level of analysis and social struggle, but because multiscalar methodologies are now absolutely essential for grasping the fundamental role of cities as

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[43] AbdouMaliq Simone, 'On the Worlding of African Cities', *African Studies Review* 44, no. 2 (September 2001): 15.

[44] Simone, 18.

[45] AbdouMaliq Simone, 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg', *Public Culture* 16, no. 3 (1 October 2004): 407–29.

[46] Neil Brenner, 'The Urban Question: Reflections on Henri Lefebvre, Urban Theory and the Politics of Scale', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24, no. 2 (1 June 2000): 361–78.

[47] Brenner, 362.

preconditions, arenas and outcomes of the current round of global capitalist restructuring."[48]

In his later work, Brenner[49] (and Theodore) further broadened this conceptualization of neoliberalism, from it being a new political transformation to it being the basis of how people construct the urban experience. Such a view on the urban, turned the focus from the cities to urbanization processes – interlinked and politicized movements of capital, goods, and people at a global scale. This conceptualization, led to questioning the very way we know the urban, resulting Brenner[50] (and Schmid) to broaden the Sassen (eque) question of global cities and network, to Lefebvre's planetary urbanization. The urban, for Brenner and Schmid, is a multi-scalar transformation, which may or may not result in agglomeration, thus there being no other way than to look at planetary urbanization – a process where the form is irrelevant. Robinson[51], on the other hand, also built her work on the critique of the global-city concept. She argued that global cities are just like a business district within a city and they should not be allowed to overshadow other (parts of) cities which are the habitat of the majority of the urban dwellers. She developed this idea further in her seminal book[52], where she argued that every city is to be studied as an ordinary city (beyond global city rankings) and the western capitalist model of a city cannot dominate and should not be the medium to understand or marginalize other cities. This was a call for a renewed comparative-urban-studies which will develop its own possibilities of looking at cities of the so-called Global South. Both Brenner and Schmid, and Robinson were trying to develop a new epistemology of the urban. However, their empirical objects are different, for Robinson it is the city (an entity), for Brenner and Schmid it is

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[48] Brenner, 375.

[49] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 'Neoliberalism and the Urban Condition', *City* 9, no. 1 (April 2005): 101–7.

[50] Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid, 'Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban?', *City* 19, no. 2–3 (4 May 2015): 151–82.

[51] Jennifer Robinson, 'Global and World Cities: A View from off the Map', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26, no. 3 (2002): 531–54.

[52] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

urbanization (a process), while the use of the term 'urban' refers to either or both. Brenner and Schmid were trying to open the urban beyond the boundaries of the city and notions of agglomeration i.e., beyond the form, to develop this new epistemology of the urban. On the other hand, Robinson was working on analysing and comparing cities (where the form is central) of those, which are beyond the global-city matrix for a similar cause of a new epistemology. For Brenner and Schmid, this new epistemology became a global tool to understand the urbanization process. While, for Robinson, this new epistemology was the way to develop theory from other (ordinary) cities challenging the hegemony of the few influential western cities.

Such planetary narratives are, of course, critiqued. Le Galès[53] critiqued the over-use of the concept of neoliberalism which overshadows many other aspects shaping the urban, especially beyond cities of North America and Europe. Parnell (and Robinson)[54], on the other hand, presents an alternative narrative to de-centre the concerns raised by neoliberalism. Similarly, Storper and Scott[55] critiqued the ordinary city (as well as planetary urbanism perspectives). They argue using Habermas[56] that knowledge production is always motivated by human interest, therefore have an inherent bias. The ordinary city approach thus flattens the urban, without actually avoiding bias in knowledge production. They further critique the methodological validity of the ordinary city concept, which is restrictive towards forms of abstraction (theorization) due to its focus on empirical complexity and differences.

It is within these millennial debates of global-planetary-neoliberalism that the informal discussions evolved. Beyond all the specific agendas of these works,

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[53] Patrick Le Galès, 'Neoliberalism and Urban Change: Stretching a Good Idea Too Far?', *Territory, Politics, Governance* 4, no. 2 (2 April 2016): 154–72.

[54] Susan Parnell and Jennifer Robinson, '(Re)Theorizing Cities from the Global South: Looking Beyond Neoliberalism', *Urban Geography* 33, no. 4 (May 2012): 593–617.

[55] Michael Storper and Allen J Scott, 'Current Debates in Urban Theory: A Critical Assessment', *Urban Studies* 53, no. 6 (May 2016): 1114–36,

[56] Jürgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).

they have for one emphasized the need for an epistemological restructuring of the urban and consequently of the informal.

Such conceptualizations of the urban put the state in a dubious position. On one hand, the state was not important because it was playing along the games of global capitalism, while, on the other hand, the state became ever brutal, because it had now become the agent of the global capital which was further marginalizing the vast majority of the population. In either case, the state was set to become the villain. At a global scale, the state was to be seen as an instrument of global capital, i.e., of the dominant classes. This approach found echoes at the city scale as well, where in India, the state started to symbolize as working for/by the middle-class ideology and exclusionary development projects of global capital. Baviskar[57] in her work outlines how the state policies under the influence of global capital have been marginalizing the population, and at the same time this marginalized population in the city is being further persecuted. Her work looked at what she called "bourgeois environmentalism"[58] as an organized political force to highlight the displacement of the urban poor as a result of the new global image-conscious urban middle-class in India. As her work looked at the middle-class and its influence/control over the state, the state agency of planning became central. This brought back the classic framework of informality based on the binary theorization of the context, into the formal and the informal (or planned vs. unplanned) where the economically weaker sections of the society are seen as living in the ruptures of the legal systems and is called the informal. Informality thus became an anarchic appropriation of what could not be absorbed or accommodated in the formal, or what came as a result of the non-inclusive nature of the formal.

Furthermore, the formal become the benchmark and analytical frame to analyse the informal. That is, the formal became the category through which

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[57] Amita Baviskar, 'The Politics of the City', *Seminar* 516 (August 2002).

[58] Amita Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire: Space, Power, and Identity in the Making of Metropolitan Delhi', *International Social Science Journal* 55, no. 175 (March 2003): 90.

the urbanization process and the urban became knowable, and informality as an anomaly to this theoretical model. Playing in this conundrum, AlSayyad[59] outlined how the informal was the norm and formal is what came later, pointing that the formal is what is outside of the norm. These works brought back the classic discord over the formal and the informal. This separation was easier to define in economic sector debates; therefore, the discord was about the operational usability of the concept for analysis. With the globalization of the urban debates and moving away from the informal (economic) sector classifications, the informal-formal debate became far more complex and this distinction as McFarlane called became "one of the most enduring in urban and planning theory…"[60].

1.1.3. Towards Urban Informality

With the planetary debates in the background, Roy and AlSayyad[61] in their edited book presented a collection of essays from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia on informality. It not only dealt with the discussions over the theorization of formal and informal, but also debated it within the larger paradigm of global forces affecting the urbanization process and therefore urban informality. Developing on the ambiguity of the State in the global city deliberations (as discussed in the previous section), they theorized informality as a governance tool. Erstwhile conceptualizations of informality were always linked to something tangible – poverty, poor housing, lack of infrastructure, frugal entrepreneurialism, and so on. Contrarily, by conceptualizing informality as a governance tool, they were able to provide two new perspectives of informality from above. Firstly, informality as a governance tool, which the State can operationalize to marginalize a set of population and/or fuel development. When the State marks, for example, slums as illegitimate and set out to demolish it, the marking of the slum becomes possible by mobilizing this tool. Informality as a governance tool is rendered

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[59] AlSayyad, 'Urban Informality as a "New" Way of Life'.

[60] Colin McFarlane, 'Rethinking Informality: Politics, Crisis, and the City', *Planning Theory & Practice* 13, no. 1 (March 2012): 89.

[61] Roy and AlSayyad, *Urban Informality*.

not as a category of people or places, but as something which is enmeshed in power relations of different citizen groups. For example, Ghertner[62] with his case on Delhi, demonstrated how the court cases were deployed for slum demolitions in the early 2000s. He argued that the courtroom debates mobilized the image or aesthetics of the slums to deem them illegitimate and thus worthy of demolition. Secondly, because of this marginalization, when the marginalized act/resist, then informality emanates as a negotiation of value:

> "If formality operates through the fixing of value, including the mapping of spatial value, then informality operates through the constant negotiability of value and unmapping of spaces."[63]

This conceptualization of informality can be seen in works of various authors, which can be grouped into two broad research clusters. First, those works which try to uncover governmentality using informality, and second, those works which try to uncover the negotiations by various citizen groups. Similar to Ghertner, Bhan[64] in his work outlined the development of the idea of citizenship in the city of Delhi. He argued how through the use of Public Interest Litigation (PIL), the demographic minority of middle-class with more formal houses, delegitimizes the slum dwellers using a legal route. In this process, this demographic minority establishes itself as the legitimate citizens of Delhi and consequently, marginalizes a vast majority of others. Bhan's work took de Soto's legal apartheid to a whole new level with his case. de Soto argued that the legal system keeps the urban poor out of the formal economic opportunities, while Bhan argued how the legal system even dilutes the existing citizenship rights of the urban poor, i.e, the slum dwellers' right to live is less important than the perceived "nuisance"[65] caused to middle-class

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[62] D. Asher Ghertner, 'Rule by Aesthetics: World-Class City Making in Delhi', in *Worlding Cities* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 279–306.

[63] Roy and AlSayyad, *Urban Informality*, 5.

[64] Gautam Bhan, *In the Public's Interest: Evictions, Citizenship and Inequality in Contemporary Delhi*, Geographies of Justice and Social Transformation Series 30 (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2016).

[65] Bhan, 46.

residents. Furthermore, Roy[66] highlighted how informal and at times illegal means are used by both the rich and the poor. Nonetheless, the informality (and illegality) of the rich is able to garner State support, while that of the poor is penalized, highlighting the latter point of value and negotiability, very similar to what Baviskar[67] was arguing in the early 2000s. Furthermore, Arabindoo[68] in her recent work has conceptualized a more nuanced version of these negotiations as she uncovered the relationship and opposition between the informal food vendors in Chennai beaches with regard to the sanitized image that the contemporary middle-class aspire to achieve. She demonstrated the flawed nature of the 'nuisance' argument by the middle-class (towards informal vendors) as highly class-dependent and devoid of any rational/scientific evidences. In the domain of land rights, a similar argument was made by Bhuvaneswari Raman[69]. She analysed a slum settlement in Delhi, which as per the government policy is up for in-situ rehabilitation. She argued how the land rights of the slum dwellers with mediation from planning authorities and NGOs evolve in a manner which institutionally curtailed avenues for these negotiations. The discourse around land rights for slum dwellers, she argued, was articulated to facilitate the transfer of slum land to upmarket real estate.

The two clusters deal with state brutalization on one hand, and negotiations/fights by the marginalized populations on the other. The former helped in developing the idea of state power with respect to informality. Ghertner[70] theorized this to great detail using the concept of a topological state

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[66] Roy, 'Slumdog Cities'.

[67] Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire'; Baviskar, 'The Politics of the City'.

[68] Pushpa Arabindoo, 'Bajji on the Beach: Middle-Class Food Practices in Chennai's New Beach', in *Urban Informalities: Reflections on the Formal and Informal*, ed. Colin McFarlane and Michael Waibel (London; New York: Routledge, 2016).

[69] Bhuvaneswari Raman, 'The Politics of Property in Land: New Planning Instruments, Law and Popular Groups in Delhi', *Journal of South Asian Development* 10, no. 3 (1 December 2015): 369–95.

[70] D. Asher Ghertner, 'When Is the State? Topology, Temporality, and the Navigation of Everyday State Space in Delhi', *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 107, no. 3 (4 May 2017): 731–50.

in his recent work. Building a very similar argument as that of Scott[71], Ghertner uses the case of resident's everyday efforts to garner municipal services to highlight the multifarious plurality of the governance tool discussed above, which is similar to what Srivastava calls "bureaucratic elasticity"[72]. The latter, often move to the domain of citizenship, on how the negotiation of services is a move to garner citizenship rights in the city. Nikhil Anand[73], using the water supply system in Mumbai built a beautifully detailed narrative of this. Similar to Gandy's[74] argument, Anand developed the negotiations for services and social inequalities in light of citizenship rights or the fight for these rights. This is similar to what Benjamin called "occupancy urbanism"[75]. Benjamin argued how these demands and fights for services led to appropriation of institutions and development of a new political agency. Benjamin's occupancy urbanism can be read as an unpacking of Partha Chatterjee's "political society"[76] in an urban setting, by illustrating actions by various political actors at a local level in the city's incremental growth. Thus, these complex 'negotiability of value' on one hand highlights the varied political configurations of the disenfranchised citizens and the complexity of the State on the other. The citizenship discussions, which were hitherto pertaining to national boundaries have now shrunk to the city scale, and on the other hand, State brutalization of the urban poor has moved out of the gamut of a city to a global scale.

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[71] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.

[72] Sanjay Srivastava, *Entangled Urbanism: Slum, Gated Community, and Shopping Mall in Delhi and Gurgaon*, First edition (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2015), 53.

[73] Nikhil Anand, *Hydraulic City: Water and the Infrastructures of Citizenship in Mumbai* (Durham London: Duke University Press, 2017).

[74] Matthew Gandy, 'Landscapes of Disaster: Water, Modernity, and Urban Fragmentation in Mumbai', *Environment and Planning A* 40, no. 1 (2008): 108–30.

[75] Solomon Benjamin, 'Occupancy Urbanism: Radicalizing Politics and Economy beyond Policy and Programs: Debates and Developments', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32, no. 3 (September 2008): 719–29.

[76] Partha Chatterjee, 'On Civil and Political Society in Postcolonial Democracies', in *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, ed. Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

On the other hand, at the global policy discussions, the urban took a centre stage and the 2016 Habitat-III was titled the New Urban Agenda[77], and informality became the heart of the 'sustainable development' discussions. The quality of life issues, discussed in Habitat-I & II, got linked to informality in Habitat-III, with the mention in the beginning of the report itself, linking poverty and inclusive urban governance:

> "…we have seen improvements in the quality of life of millions of urban inhabitants, including slum and informal-settlement dwellers. However, the persistence of multiple forms of poverty, growing inequalities and environmental degradation remain among the major obstacles to sustainable development worldwide, with social and economic exclusion and spatial segregation often an irrefutable reality in cities and human settlements."[78]

Informality in Habitat-III has been understood as poverty which is spatially contained. Such linking put the focus on spatial segregation and devising a national policy framework for spatial integration. Thus, it has put the focus on inclusive development and reiterated previously discussed (in Habitat I & II) strategies of innovative financing, participation, and planning. The main thematic was that the urbanization process is excluding certain groups of people, therefore focused spatial planning (instead of larger economic concerns) would be able to remedy this situation. An urban policy and a capable market were seen as agents that could play a crucial role in this. Furthermore, while the academic debates on informality were moving to intangible understanding, the policy debates started focusing more on the tangible physical manifestations with respect to slums and inadequate infrastructure.

1.1.4. Southern Perspective and Informality

The informal domain, from its initial conceptualization, was largely being investigated in cities of the so-called Global South. At the same time, there is a

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[77] 'New Urban Agenda (Habitat-III)', United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Quito, Ecuador: United Nations, October 2016).

[78] 'New Urban Agenda (Habitat-III)', 3.

growing call for shifting the theoretical foci of urban theory from the North to the South. Not only because the theoretical progress in the North is based on small set of metropolises in Europe and North America, which is presented as universal, but also because the research in the South is more and more driven by concerns raised in the North. Connell[79], in her intriguing outline of the development of sociology (and social science in general), illustrates how the questions asked and the concerns raised in the South were different but were consequently over time marginalized. The classic metropole-periphery debate is slowly taking a centre stage. Scholars like Robinson[80], Watson[81], Roy[82], and Connell[83], to name a few, have been arguing for newer theoretical projects emanating from the South. First, to look at the fastest urbanizing part of the globe without making the assumptions based on the cities of the North. Second, to read research from/on the developing cities, as Connell puts it, by taking "them seriously as theory – as text to learn *from*, not just *about*"[84]. Robinson[85] argued this, in the context of developmentalism and the project of modernity. Robinson (Connell as well) painted modernity as a synonym of the West. She argued:

> " … assisted by the expansion and dominance of Western economic, political and cultural forms, the assumption that being 'modern' involves being 'Western' proliferates both in the academic literature, and in popular discourse…"[86]

In developing the case for decolonizing the urban theory she further argued:

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[79] Raewyn Connell, *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*, Reprinted (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011).

[80] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

[81] Vanessa Watson, 'The Case for a Southern Perspective in Planning Theory':, *International Journal of E-Planning Research* 3, no. 1 (2014): 23–37.

[82] Roy, 'Slumdog Cities'.

[83] Connell, *Southern Theory*.

[84] Connell, viii.

[85] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

[86] Robinson, 19.

"If being modern is to be contemporary, to embrace change and dynamism, then the condition of modernity is present in every dynamic, changing society."[87]

Robinson critiqued the global-city literature and argued that because such a framework of analysis puts few of the cities from industrialized countries in the forefront of what it is to be urban, and therefore, all other cities are seen as deviant cases. Thus, we need to study cities as ordinary, which she proposes can be done by a comparative approach. Connell, on the other hand, used a much broader literature towards a call for the Southern turn. She analysed the theories developed in the North and discussed them as a genre. She analysed the genesis of the theories developed in the North (even those, like Bourdieu's work, which had a large ethnographic component from South) and outlines:

"The consequences of metropolitan geopolitical location can be seen, I suggest, in four characteristic textual moves: the claim of universality; reading from the centre; gestures of exclusion; and grand erasure."[88]

Connell outlined how the theories emanating from the North always have a universal tone, devoid of time and place. That is, they are applicable everywhere (in any context) and at any time (timeless). She argued that these universal claims emanate partly because things are seen from the centre (metropolis). It is the concerns raised in the metropolis that becomes the object of study in the South, therefore enhancing these universal theories further. For this to happen, of course, certain issues need to be excluded that are not a concern in the metropolis. Connell developed a fantastic summary of concerns for example, regarding colonialism in the South and outlines them either as gestures of exclusion or grand erasures, when it reaches the North or the urban theory.

Connell's pointing of metropolitan concerns is a strong point to reflect upon. That is, the concerns of the metropolis becoming the concerns of the periphery.

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[87] Robinson, 19.

[88] Connell, *Southern Theory*, 44.

In that sense, there is no point in having a different theoretical tool of enquiry if the objective of the enquiry remains the same. She outlined through an array of social scientists from Middle East, India, South America, and Africa, and argued that their concerns and the questions they were interested in were very different from what was being asked in the metropolis. Thus, Connell's call for a southern turn is fundamentally different from that of Roy[89] and Robinson[90]. Roy and Robinson are more concerned with the epistemology, on how we know the South (or non-North cities). Contrarily, Connell is more concerned with the ontology, on what is there to be known.

Roy's arguments sprang from the position of a planner or a planning theorist[91] [92] [93]. She was one of the first to bring the shift in arguments about looking at the urban depending on the context (either North or South). In one of her earlier works, Roy[94] compared the outlook of planners on the issues of poverty in the United States and in India. She highlighted how poverty in the United States is pictured as a population that is dependent on the state, while the same issue in India, is coloured with heroic entrepreneurship. Developing such a conceptualization, she garnered the idea of political agency to informality. She theorized informal as a state of exceptions and illustrated how it is the domination of one group, which determines the categories of legitimacy and illegitimacy. Building a case against de Soto's prescription of land rights, she argued that the planners in the Global South (especially India in this case), should learn to work with the state of exception (which is informality). Developing these ideas further in one of her later works[95], she argued that planning in India is not about forecasting and management of growth, but

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[89] Roy, 'Slumdog Cities'.

[90] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

[91] Ananya Roy, 'Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization', *Planning Theory* 8, no. 1 (1 February 2009): 76–87.

[92] Ananya Roy, 'Strangely Familiar: Planning and the Worlds of Insurgence and Informality', *Planning Theory* 8, no. 1 (1 February 2009): 7–11.

[93] Ananya Roy, 'Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning', *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71, no. 2 (30 June 2005): 147–58.

[94] Roy.

[95] Roy, 'Strangely Familiar'.

about management of resources through the process of informality. This management includes various processes, including that of the un-mapping, where land is un-mapped (e.g., from agriculture/rural to urban) in a process to realize certain politically driven development goals. Developing the notion of informality, she illustrated that (i) informality is not synonymous with poverty (ii) informality is a state of deregulation and not an unregulated space, and (iii) the state in itself is enmeshed in informality. She presented a clear outline on how to engage with the cities of the South (or India) from the perspective of a planning theorist and highlighted how informality should be understood when seen from the metropolis.

These epistemological and methodological investigations came together to what Roy called subaltern urbanism. She began by drawing on the difference between global cities (which are the nodes of global capital and thus developed) and the megacities (which are the fast-growing cities of the South characterized by underdevelopment). She argued how megacities are the subalterns of urban studies, as they mark the "limits of archival and ethnographic recognition"[96]. She defined subaltern urbanism as a project to garner political agency to the subaltern and make the subaltern visible/heard using Spivak, whom Roy quoted extensively. Spivak[97] has argued that it is not that the subaltern cannot speak (or needs external help to speak), but when she speaks, there is no one to hear or no one wants to hear or has the privilege, to not hear. These conceptualizations emanate from the need to be able to understand the Southern cities (world cities) with the concerns and questions raised in the metropolis, therefore, presented a very innovative epistemological breakthrough.

On the other hand, Parnell (and Robinson)[98], developed a different narrative towards southern theory. They argued that the concerns of neoliberalism and

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[96] Roy, 'Slumdog Cities', 224.

[97] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 66–111.

[98] Parnell and Robinson, '(Re)Theorizing Cities from the Global South'.

the centrality of the state in understanding the southern cities have overshadowed many other facets in these cities, a point stressed later by Le Galès[99]. They built their study to bring about the plurality of concerns from the Global South. They started with the assertion that not all Northern theories are irrelevant in the South and the much visible southern concern of poverty is global (even in Global North), which is related to larger global systems and capital flows. They attempted to devise the methodology to develop an ontology of southern theory (which is contrary to Robinson's earlier work[100], where the concern was epistemological probing). They illustrated how the focus on policy research (development practice) shows the concerns raised in the South. They highlighted the almost polar disparity between views of the academic community and the development agencies. It is through this dichotomy that they developed a case for southern theory, that is to ask the questions that emanate from the South and not to find ways to answer the questions of the metropolis in the periphery, as was argued by Connell[101]. Furthermore, Watson[102] developed a similar argument with regard to planning theory. She began by highlighting the inadequacy of urban planning (with its roots in the minority of Northern cities) and argued how the conflicting rationality between the government (or governance systems), the techno-marketing-driven market, and the informal drive for survival, can be an entry point for the southern turn. She developed this further, along with de Satgé[103] using case examples from Langa in Cape Town.

As discussed above, the drive to devise a new epistemology to understand the South is a classic case of viewing the periphery from the metropolis. It is an attempt to understand, how the periphery is different from the metropolis, as

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[99] Le Galès, 'Neoliberalism and Urban Change'.

[100] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

[101] Connell, *Southern Theory*.

[102] Vanessa Watson, 'Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues', *Urban Studies* 46, no. 11 (October 2009): 2259–75.

[103] Richard de Satgé and Vanessa Watson, 'Implications for Southern Planning Theory and Practice', in *Urban Planning in the Global South*, by Richard de Satgé and Vanessa Watson (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 187–219.

presented by Schindler[104] in his recent article. Schindler argued how the cities of the South are different from that of the North. By developing these tropes of Southern cities, Schindler falls into the very trap he set out to escape. Arguing the politics of development of such tropes via clustering of people and places, which restricts the investigations merely to what Lefebvre[105] called 'representation of space', Simone argued:

> "Particular spaces are linked to specific identities, functions, lifestyles, and properties so that the spaces of city become legible for specific people at given places and time."[106]

Further, Comaroff and Comaroff, problematized the notion of the South itself. They conceptualized it as a relation arising from the hegemony of the North (as pointed by Connell and Robinson as well). Discussing the case of Euro-American corporations' indulgence in political affairs of African democracies, they argue:

> "… in the complex hyphenation that links economy to governance and both to the enterprises of everyday life, the contemporary world order rests on a highly flexible, inordinately intricate web of north-south synapses, a web that both reinforces and eradicates, both sharpens and ambiguates, the lines between hemispheres…. This is why "the south" cannot be defined, a *priori*, in substantive terms. The label bespeaks a *relation*, not a thing in or for itself. It is a historical artifact, a labile signifier in a grammar of signs whose semiotic content is determined, over time, by everyday material, political, and cultural processes, the dialectical products of a global world in motion."[107]

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[104] Seth Schindler, 'Towards a Paradigm of Southern Urbanism', *City* 21, no. 1 (2 January 2017): 47–64.

[105] Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

[106] Simone, 'People as Infrastructure', 409.

[107] Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa*, Radical Imagination (Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm Publ, 2012), 47. (original italics)

Thus, it is a logical fallacy to develop a southern turn by epistemological probing. The alternate way would be for an ontological enquiry – on deriving questions from the South itself. Connell elaborated on this point, but failed to point towards any methodology, probably because her aim was to trace an intellectual history of social sciences. Parnell and Robinson, paved the way by discounting the dominant question (as they did by subverting neoliberalism, with all due respect to its importance). Further, Watson pointed towards looking at conflicts between various rationalities. With these concerns, the next section will develop the research problematic for this thesis.

1.2. Research Problematic

In 2009[108], the Government of India launched the largest ever unique identification card/number system titled *Aadhaar* (a Hindi word for foundation). It is a 12-digit number assigned to citizens upon registering their biometric details in a national register. Nonetheless, *Aadhaar* is not an acknowledgement of the citizenship nor a proof of address, yet it is to become the basis for multiple programmes run by the government as well as private bodies (which was not evident by 2015). A senior researcher from a reputed research centre in Delhi, told me (in 2015) [with a lethargic tone], how he is not going to get this new card because he does not want to deal with this "trouble of biometrics and all". At the same time, the residents of Jagdamba Camp and Chirag Dilli, where I was doing my fieldwork at that time, seemed very enthusiastic about getting enrolled. At the local tea stall, the residents of Chirag Dilli were discussing the documents required for this '*Aadhaar* Card' as it came to be referred to. Intense questioning on how to get the address proof, where to go, and whom to approach for online appointments were the vividly discussed queries. Not once did a doubt about why one needs this card, or why one should miss working hours to get it made, come up. Why were the residents of Chirag Dilli or Jagdamba Camp, willing to lose a day's work

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[108] The scheme was launched in 2009 by the then Congress government. Until 2014, it was promoted on a test/expansion mode, even though, it was opposed by the then opposition, Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP). In 2014, when BJP came to power, it started mobilizing the scheme further, including a legislation to back the scheme which was passed by the parliament in 2016.

(therefore one-day income) to get this card (with no apparent benefit at that time), while the senior researcher, who could get it made without any monetary loss was hesitant? Or in a more abstract manner, why were some citizens so keen on getting registered by the state (in this case registration of their body via biometric details), while others took it as a trouble? By 2016, the Government made *Aadhaar* mandatory for an array of services, from Government subsidies to even getting a mobile phone connection (including for the ones already allotted). All hell broke loose, and petitions were filed in the Supreme Court of the country alleging violation of privacy among others. The previous question becomes even more complicated: why are some citizens willing/eager to get registered by the state even by incurring monetary loss, while others are incurring monetary loss (with respect to court cases and legal fees) to not get registered by the state? Further, why has the state, taken such brutal strategies to register the citizens?

This thesis is not about *Aadhaar*, biometrics, or even privacy, but it deals with this notion of registering with the state. It deals with the politics of the State's and the citizens' move to register or not, i.e., the politics of informality. As discussed in the introduction, if informality is a practice not registered by the state, while formality is, then it opens up a plethora of questions far beyond housing and planning.

Looking from the metropolis, the periphery is an anomaly to the norm. As discussed in the previous section, formality is how things should be and informality the opposite. Thus, emerges the need for developing newer/different epistemologies to understand this alien thing – informality. For example, in an urban setting, formal housing is the norm and the informal slum an anomaly worthy of investigation for its deviance. This example of formal-informal dichotomy with respect to formal housing and informal slum gets further problematic with regard to the *Aadhaar* discussion above. None of the two cases above – of citizens who oppose getting registered, as well as those who pursue getting registered – could be categorized as a norm or anomaly. The *Aadhaar* example shows, what informality will plausibly look like when it

is not an anomaly – devoid of the urge to develop epistemological queries. In such a scenario, what could be the ontological question?

Looking from the metropolis, trying to understand informality, the broader question that gets framed is – how the formal urbanization process and the formal city operate in the presence of informality, or a slightly complex notion of, how the formal urbanization process and the formal city negotiates, controls, or works with informality. I do not have an answer to the previous question of how to get out of my own metropolitan gaze, but I do believe that acknowledging this gaze is the first step towards getting out of it. Therefore, here I will present an experimental approach. What if we invert the above question (of how the formal urban and urbanization process operates in the presence of informality)? Which is to say that the aim is not to understand informality by epistemological tweaking of the formal urban/urbanization, rather the aim be to understand the urban/urbanization using informality. The concerns raised by Robinson[109] and Connell[110] were in light of our understanding of modernity, modernity as a quintessential trope of Western urbanism. Taking cues from history, even though swamped by the urban-rural distinctions, Wirth[111] and Simmel[112] did develop a distinct understanding to the urban, which is beyond its contrast to the rural. Then, if informality is to be seen without the metropolitan gaze, we can start with three main hypotheses. First, informal is not an anomaly. Second, informality is not a way of life, as shown with the anecdote in the introduction of this section as well as of that of the thesis, on how it is highly varied, differentially connoted, and vehemently sought or discarded (sometimes by the same actors). Third, informality is practiced by everyone whether the state, citizen groups,

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[109] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

[110] Connell, *Southern Theory*.

[111] Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (1 July 1938): 1–24.

[112] Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life (1902)', in *The Blackwell City Reader*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 2nd ed (Chichester, West Sussex, U.K. ; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

individual, rich, or poor. With these hypotheses, the thesis is set to explore how to understand the urban and the urbanization process through informality.

As the working definition of informality in this thesis, is based on the status of its registration or not by the state, it becomes eminent, to understand the position of the State with respect to informality. Further, as discussed above, informality has been conceptualized as a governance tool[113], a means of marginalization by the State[114], and the negotiations/fight by this marginalized population against the State[115]. However, the development of the concept of informality by the state itself, remains a research gap. Further, informality has been conceptualized beyond marginality[116] as a mode of production of the urban[117]. Therefore, to understand the urban and the urbanization process through informality, we also need to uncover how the informal practices affect the urbanization process and produce the city (beyond laying claims on the urban). Such practices are to be read with people in the centre[118], i.e., people as practitioners of both formal and informal practices. Thus, emanating the need to understand how these practices are preferred by various actors and under what circumstances.

Therefore, the larger research problematic of understanding the urban via informality leads to the following three sub-questions:

(i) How informality manifests in the State's understanding of the urban?

(ii) How do the practitioners of informality affect the urbanization process?

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[113] Roy and AlSayyad, *Urban Informality*.

[114] D. Asher Ghertner, *Rule by Aesthetics: World-Class City Making in Delhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire'.

[115] Arabindoo, 'Bajji on the Beach: Middle-Class Food Practices in Chennai's New Beach'; Bhan, *In the Public's Interest*.

[116] Bayat, 'Radical Religion and the Habitus of the Dispossessed'.

[117] Benjamin, 'Occupancy Urbanism'.

[118] Simone, 'People as Infrastructure'.

(iii)   How informal or formal practices are preferred and how they garner their connotation?

These questions are broad probes; the thesis aims to dwell deeper into one particular aspect delineated from each of these three sub-questions. The first question is probed using the development of the idea of a slum in the Indian parliamentary debates. The second, using the informal *momo* vending and manufacturing, and how it produces the city, in and beyond the spaces it physically occupies. Third, looking at a neighbourhood scale to understand how actors practice various formal and informal practices and how it garners specific meaning to them as well as others.

1.3.   Structure of the Thesis

This is a thesis by article, the three articles presented in chapter four, five, and six become the core of this document. Each of these three articles represents a deeper engagement with the three broader questions raised in the previous section. The format of the articles (including figure and heading numbers) is modified from that of the journal standards to fit the thesis document, without any other modification in the content of the manuscript. Each of these chapters start with the authorship and the publication status at the time of printing this thesis, and ends with a reflective postscript.

The first three chapters of this thesis present the broader framework through which the articles (chapter four, five, and six) are to be read. The first chapter titled 'Introduction' outlined the basic arguments, the theoretical conceptualizations, and the research problematic of this thesis. The second chapter presents the methods of both the data collection and analysis. The third chapter titled 'Context', begins by introducing the historical development of the city of Delhi and describes how it plays a role in understanding urban informality. Thereafter, it presents the case study locations and provides a brief description of various facets therein.

The fourth chapter titled 'Informality and the Indian Parliament', dwells on the first sub-question – How informality manifests in the State's understanding of the urban? The chapter takes the debates on slums and informality, during

the question & answer session in the upper house of Indian Parliament (from 1953 until 2014). Using a Foucauldian framework, it outlines how historically the idea of slum and informality has been understood and constructed in the parliament. The paper also discusses how these understandings reflect on the policy framework and legislation.

The fifth chapter titled 'Informality and the city' deals with the second sub-question – How do the practitioners of informality affect the urbanization process? It takes the case of *momo* manufacturing and vending in Delhi. Using a Lefebvrian framework of production of space, it argues how this informal practice is firstly, tightly enmeshed with multiple formal practices, and secondly, how it produces the city (both physically and mentally) in and beyond the physical spaces it occupies.

The sixth chapter titled 'Informality and the neighbourhood' deliberate the third sub-question – How informal or formal practices are preferred and how they garner their connotation? This chapter takes the services – solid waste management and water supply system, in a slum settlement and tries to uncover the influences of various actors both inside and outside of the settlement, by mobilizing Bourdieu's theory of practice.

The seventh chapter is the conclusion to the thesis. It tries to bring in the overall results of the research and also reflects on the arguments initially raised. As an exercise, it also puts forwards a policy outlook and future research agenda.

2. METHODS

How do we understand the urban via informality without the metropolitan bias? What I refer to here as the 'metropolitan bias' is a pithy substitute for what Robinson called "biased assumptions and practices of contemporary urban theory"[119]. If urban theory is the lens to understand the urban and we are to enquire the ontology – of what is there to know – in the Global South, then the eminent question that arises is – who else, other than the privileged researchers are trying to understand the urban? This question can be seen as a driving schema behind developing the agenda for methods used in this thesis.

In a democracy, one of the primary actors vested with the power and responsibility to improve human condition is the politician. After independence in 1947, India plunged into a modernizing drive, governed by an ethos that later came to be referred to as the Nehruvian era, of establishing institutions and large-scale state planning. In the late 1940s when India had an all-time low literacy rate, malnutrition, and other social evils of a newly formed nation, the then Central Government instead invited Albert Mayer in 1949 to plan/design the new city of Chandigarh, which was later taken over by Le Corbusier. This new city was to become the icon of a modern India, far from the colonial image of the snake charmers (a debate revived by the cover image of Said's[120] seminal book). Without going into the details of the then existing ideological debates between Gandhi and Nehru concerning the urban and the rural[121], one can see a strong theorization of urban among the Indian polity. If we have to look at what questions were being asked in the South as Connell[122] points to, or to provincialize the intellectual hegemony as pointed out by Robinson[123], then the theory building process undertaken by the politicians

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[119] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2.

[120] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

[121] Gyan Prakash, 'The Urban Turn', *Sarai Reader* 2, no. 7 (2002).

[122] Connell, *Southern Theory*.

[123] Jenny Robinson, 'Postcolonialising Geography: Tactics and Pitfalls', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 24, no. 3 (November 2003): 273–89.

becomes immensely important. Nonetheless, such an exercise needs to move beyond analysing the policies or the ideologies of the dominant leaders. For a plural conceptualization, I refer to the parliamentary debates. This, along with various legislations and government documents, constitutes the first of the two datasets for this thesis. This secondary archival dataset is created to investigate the first research sub-question of – How informality manifests in the State's understanding of the urban?

The politician's conceptualization of the urban, emanates from the need to take actions for others (primarily). This action orientation requires a clearer impression of the larger urban concerns, which compels them to articulate this, even though at times vaguely. The vignette with which this thesis started in the Introduction section is an example of this. However, the residents conceptualize the city in a different manner. Their conceptualization emanates from the practices they incur either for themselves or for others. For example, Ms Patidar's concern with the slum children or Vikram's concern with bribery, emanate from the practices they incur in their daily life. Such concerns could be delineated for a theoretical understanding from the resident's perspective. Residents take part in the city-building process by their practices at various levels, from access to services to building organizations to political activism. Therefore, for the latter two research sub-questions (How do the practitioners of informality affect the urbanization process? How informal or formal practices are preferred and how do they garner their connotation?), I take the practices of the residents as a dataset. The aim was to understand the life stories of people living in the city. As the State compartmentalization of the city is based on various settlement types, the thesis does look at specific places and people. Nonetheless, the aim is not to conceptualize them as such and consider such grouping of people and places only as a given context. This primary qualitative dataset was built through fieldworks conducted in two parts (i) May 2015 until August 2015 (4 months) (ii) October 2016 until December 2016 (2 months).

During the interviews in the field, consent for using the interviewee's identification was explicitly sought in all cases. Nonetheless, all the names

used in this thesis are pseudonyms except otherwise mentioned or of those from the archive of parliamentary debates (which is a public document). Each of the core papers (chapter four, five, and six) has a brief methods section.

2.1. Methods Used for Archival Data Collection and Analysis

The archival study is designed on three interrelated datasets, the parliamentary debates, the Five-Year Plans, and the third dataset consisting of a bill, a policy document, and a funding program.

The first dataset, the parliamentary debates is an archive from the *Rajya Sabha*. The Indian Parliament consists of two houses, the lower house called the *Lok Sabha* to which 545 members are elected for a five-year term, and the political party (or a coalition) with the majority of members, forms the Central Government (Federal Government). The upper house, on the other hand, called the *Rajya Sabha*, is a smaller house with 245 members. The house does not count towards forming the Government, even though its members can become ministers. *Rajya Sabha* also known as the Council of States is not dissolvable, and the members are nominated for a term of six years, a third of whom retire every two years. The members of *Rajya Sabha* are not directly elected by the citizens, but nominated by the state legislatures. Except for government formation and money bills (pertaining to government expenditures), *Rajya Sabha* has equal powers as *Lok Sabha*. All bills (except money bills) need to be passed in both the houses to become a law.

The debates chosen for this archive are from the question-answer sessions of *Rajya Sabha* from 1953 until 2014 (from the first session until the end of the last completed government). The question-answer session is a special session at the beginning of every working day when members can ask the government any question related to the executive. This is considered a robust archive for the following reasons –

(i)   Question-answer sessions provide the members opportunity to ask questions that are independent of the bills being presented in the parliament. This embeds the archive with necessary diversity.

(ii)   The *Rajya Sabha* is a continuous house with only a third of its members retiring every two years, unlike the *Lok Sabha* where the entire composition changes every five years or less. This provides continuity in the debates without sudden changes in the house's composition. Even though the general trend is that the opposition parties ask questions more often than the ruling party members, the continuity of the members is seen as a factor of coherence here.

(iii)   As members of the *Rajya Sabha* are elected by the legislature in different states, at any given time the political affiliations and alignments of members in *Rajya Sabha* is more diverse than that of *Lok Sabha*. This aspect adds multiple perspectives and positions to the archive.

The debates were extracted from the *Rajya Sabha* online database using the key words: 'slum', '*basti*', '*JJ*' (varying combinations), and 'informal' in their content. *Basti* is a Hindi word for a township, while *JJ* is short for *Jhuggi Jhopri* (different spellings used) meaning slum hutments. However most of the debates were discussing slums even when using the term informal (see appendix 4).

This focus on debates pertaining only to slums, presents a danger of not understanding the scale of those debates in the larger frame of governance priorities. To overcome this issue of possible biases due to the isolation of the data source, the second dataset of Five-Year Plans was introduced. From 1951, the Union Government has operated the economy through five-year perspective plans for fund allocation purposes and planning economic measures. There are 12 of these plans (apart from three one-year-plans), and they present an overview of the government priorities. In this archive, it is intended that the five-year plans will put the overall perspective and scale to the findings from the parliamentary debates. The five-year plans are referred only to understand the parliamentary debates better, they do not become the object of analysis in themselves.

The third dataset is a set of the following three documents (i) a bill (ii) a policy, and (iii) a funding program –

(i) The slum area (improvement & clearance) bill 1956 (including the discussions over the bill)

The slum area (improvement & clearance) bill 1956 is the first bill regarding slums formulated in independent India. This bill firstly establishes how to identify slums, and what action can/need to be taken in this regard. This bill (now an act that is still applied) was adjusted with multiple additions over time, without changing the core. This bill also became the template for many State Government bills with respect to slums. The original bill is taken to develop the concerns that were addressed at the beginning of a slum policy in India.

(ii) The National Housing Policy 1988 (including its revisions in 1994, 1998 and 2007)

National Housing Policy is an important document in this dataset as it was revised four times, which provides an overall view of the government's action plan regarding the issue of housing in a chronological order. The policy does not have any legal bearing, and housing is a State Government subject. Nonetheless, this policy is a key document that streamlines funding and policies of the Central Government for assisting the State Governments.

(iii) Rajiv Awas Yojana 2009[124]

Rajiv Awas Yojana 2009 is a funding program, which started after the declaration of the President of India for a 'slum-free India'. This program was implemented as a mission with high government priority. The program outlines certain measures to make cities slum-free, and in this regard, provides the local governments with partial funding. Urban development is a State Government subject in India. This program signifies a new trend in the late 2000s of increased

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[124] Projects approved under Rajiv Awas Yojana are still funded by the new government which took charge in 2014. However, for future projects a new scheme titled 'Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana' was introduced. This scheme is very similar to Rajiv Awas Yojana, with an additional mandate to incorporate private developers and use land as a resource.

spending of the Central Government on urban issues, via funding

the State Governments and Urban Local Bodies.

The analysis was carried out first of the parliamentary debates (dataset 1). The debates over 61 years were broken down into sets of roughly 10-year periods, as analysis groups. Thereafter each decade was analysed using an open-coding[125] system. The open codes were thereafter thematically arranged to derive patterns from the data (see appendix 5 for the list of codes). These findings were collated and thereafter compared with the datasets 2 & 3 for additional insights. Datasets 2 & 3 were used to update the findings, as well as put the findings within the larger context of other government priorities. A preliminary report was then prepared of the results. The same procedure was carried out for the rest of the decades which resulted in five reports describing the results. These reports were then analysed using a selective coding system to consolidate themes and derive a periodization. This periodization was overlaid with three other periodization already existing in the data, namely (i) different Prime Ministers, (ii) different political regimes (different political parties, coalition governments, emergency period, pre-post economic liberalization), and (iii) slum funding (direct Central Government funding, block allocation to State Governments, funding via Central Government missions). This overlay resulted in a periodization which is being used to formulate the arguments in the form of an article as presented in Chapter 4.

2.2. Methods Used for Primary Data Collection and Analysis

The primary data collection was done in three stages. These stages were not carried out in a chronological order but there was considerable revisiting of the stages based on the progress and understanding of the situation on the field. The first stage was to form an initial understanding of the selected settlements (selection of fields is discussed further below in section 3.2). The second stage was to understand broader concerns of the people living in these settlements. Results from the first two stages were analysed to extract specific cases from the neighbourhood. In the third stage, these specific cases were further

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[125] Juliet M. Corbin and Anselm Strauss, 'Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria', *Qualitative Sociology* 13, no. 1 (1990): 3–21.

investigated. During these three stages, a total of 115 people were interviewed (counting the numbers in both formats: groups and individually) with; 31 from Malviya Nagar, 44 from Jagdamba Camp, and 40 from Chirag Dilli (see Figure 1 and appendix 2 for details). Apart from these three stages, a parallel investigation with the politicians and bureaucrats was also carried out.

All the interviews were carried out in Hindi and then later translated as field notes. No voice/video recordings were made as this practice was seen with suspicion. For details of guiding questions see appendix 3.

Stage 1: Initial data collection regarding the settlements was done using transect walks. The paths for these transect walks were identified using two methods. First, a set of random aimless walk that Anderson describes as "bimbling"[126] was done to have a broad understanding of the field. While bimbling, the stops at local kiosks were used as an opportunity to discuss demographic categories and housing situation with the shopkeepers. Second, a set of predetermined paths were drawn on a map and followed on site. The paths were drawn to cover the parts of the site which could be identified as having different morphology as viewed on the satellite imagery. The aim of the transect walks was two-fold. First, to understand the house types and different areas within the settlement and second, to identify locations within the settlements where people congregate. The house type was used to have an initial understanding of the settlement and to be able to identify a diverse set of respondents later. This initial understanding of the settlements is outlined in section 3.2. The congregation locations were necessary for the participant observation.

There were various locations which were found suitable for participant observations during the transect walk (see appendix 1). In Malviya Nagar these were (i) the main market (ii) neighbourhood parks, and (iii) local tea stalls (outside of the main market). In Jagdamba Camp these were (i) local shops at the entrance, and (ii) a local daily need shop inside the settlement. In

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[126] Jon Anderson, 'Talking Whilst Walking: A Geographical Archaeology of Knowledge', *Area* 36, no. 3 (September 2004): 257.

Chirag Dilli these were (i) tea stalls in the *chowks*, (ii) *momo* eateries, and (iii) *momo* stalls. The procedure followed on all these locations were to buy tea (or other consumables) from the shop and interact with the shopkeeper as well as others present there. These interactions were random and not initiated with any agenda, especially at the tea stalls where there was almost always been an already ongoing conversation.

Stage 2: The second stage in primary data collection was done using group discussions (non-focussed) and personal interviews. The discussions were done around the theme of life stories. The groups consisted of diverse actors who happened to be present at a given location. The research objective of identifying stories of people and places was first presented to the respondents. Thereafter the actors were probed to describe how the settlement came into being, what changes were taking place, and what their daily activities were. These interactions were open-ended and the objective was to gather the concerns and observations which the community felt important.

Thereafter, individual interviews were conducted using snowball sampling. During the interviews, there was considerable hindrance to be able to talk to female respondents. It was for this reason that a female research assistant was hired to conduct similar interviews. These interviews outlined the stories of how people came into the settlement, what changes they felt were happening in their neighbourhood, etc. Based on these random interviews, certain key actors, such as the *Pradhan* (community leader) in Jagdamba Camp, older residents of Chirag Dilli, and NGOs in Malviya Nagar were identified. Interviews with these key actors were further carried out as discussed in stage 3.

The data from the first two stages were roughly analysed to find two key cases. First, the presence of *momo* manufacturing in Chirag Dilli, and second, the case of access and management of solid waste and water supply in Jagdamba Camp where an NGO from Malviya Nagar was involved.

Stage 3: The cases drawn from the first two stages were enquired into deeper at this stage. This also means that the methods used in the first two stages

were carried out again but this time with the specific intent of understanding the case highlighted in each of the settlements.

Transect walks (bimbling) were carried out again. However, this time, the walks included considerably more pauses to talk with the various shopkeepers. All the talks at this stage were focussed on the case being probed. This generated a broad understanding of the issue which formed the basis for the interview questions. Thereafter, semi-structured interviews were conducted using both snowball sampling and identifying key actors. The key actors were selected based on the maximum variation sampling[127], for example, during the transect walks, the partisan behaviour of the *Pradhan*, when reporting errors in the water supply system came up. For maximum variation in the sample, the interviewees included; people who believed so and those who did not; people whose water supply system were resolved, expected to get resolved, and had no hope of getting resolved; and finally, the *Pradhan* himself was interviewed. These semi-structured interviews were supplemented by non-focussed group discussions.

Parallel Investigation: Along with the interconnected three stages described above, I also carried out a parallel investigation. This parallel investigation was to understand the perspective from the administrator's point of view (a view from the top). In this regard, semi-structured interviews were carried out with questions largely pertaining to the issues under the purview of the respective interviewees. Seven interviews were conducted with the following actors; (i) the Urban Development Minister (of Delhi) was interviewed, to understand the overall priorities of the government as well as the executive's understanding and ideologies regarding various citizen groups and urban issues; (ii) the Mayor (South Delhi Municipal Corporation) was interviewed, to understand the municipality's attitude towards various urban issues; (iii) a Commissioner Planning (retired) (Delhi Development Authority) was interviewed as he was the one who headed the drafting of the current Master Plan in Delhi, therefore, to understand the aims, biases, and issues as realized

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[127] Michael Quinn Patton, 'Purposeful Sampling', in *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, 2nd ed (Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1990), 169–86.

by the planning authority; (iv) an Executive Engineer (Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board) was interviewed as DUSIB is responsible for the upkeep of the slums in Delhi; (v) two Political workers (of the ruling party in Delhi) were interviewed to understand how the executive gathers data and knowledge about the issues of people on the ground; (vi) an Assistant Commissioner, Delhi Police was interviewed to understand the operation of police and their understanding of various settlement types in Delhi.

Analysis: Initial analysis of the primary data began during the fieldwork itself. The initial data collected were transcribed as field notes and interview transcripts. This data was coded with descriptive codes[128] (in vivo codes) to derive recurring themes. These themes governed the further data-collection process (as already described above). When the interviews started reaching empirical saturation, then analytical codes were laid on top of the descriptive codes to identify specific cases (e.g., water supply, garbage, resident welfare associations, momos, etc.). The focus of this analysis was to formulate a research based on a case study approach[129]. The case studies thus identified were probed further using interviews (a list of interviews can be found in appendix 2). These interviews and initial qualitative data were analysed together after the fieldwork. The case studies thus developed were used to dwell into the arguments regarding urban informality and were developed into the three core papers herein, details of which are mentioned in the respective chapter four, five, and six. However, there are multiple other cases that could further be developed, which are not part of this thesis due to its by-article format. This is the primary reason why the case studies formulated from Malviya Nagar find less room in the papers.

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[128] Meghan Cope, 'Coding Transcripts and Diaries', in *Key Methods in Geography*, ed. N. J. Clifford, Shaun French, and Gill Valentine, 2nd ed (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2010).

[129] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 3rd ed, Applied Social Research Methods Series, v. 5 (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2003).
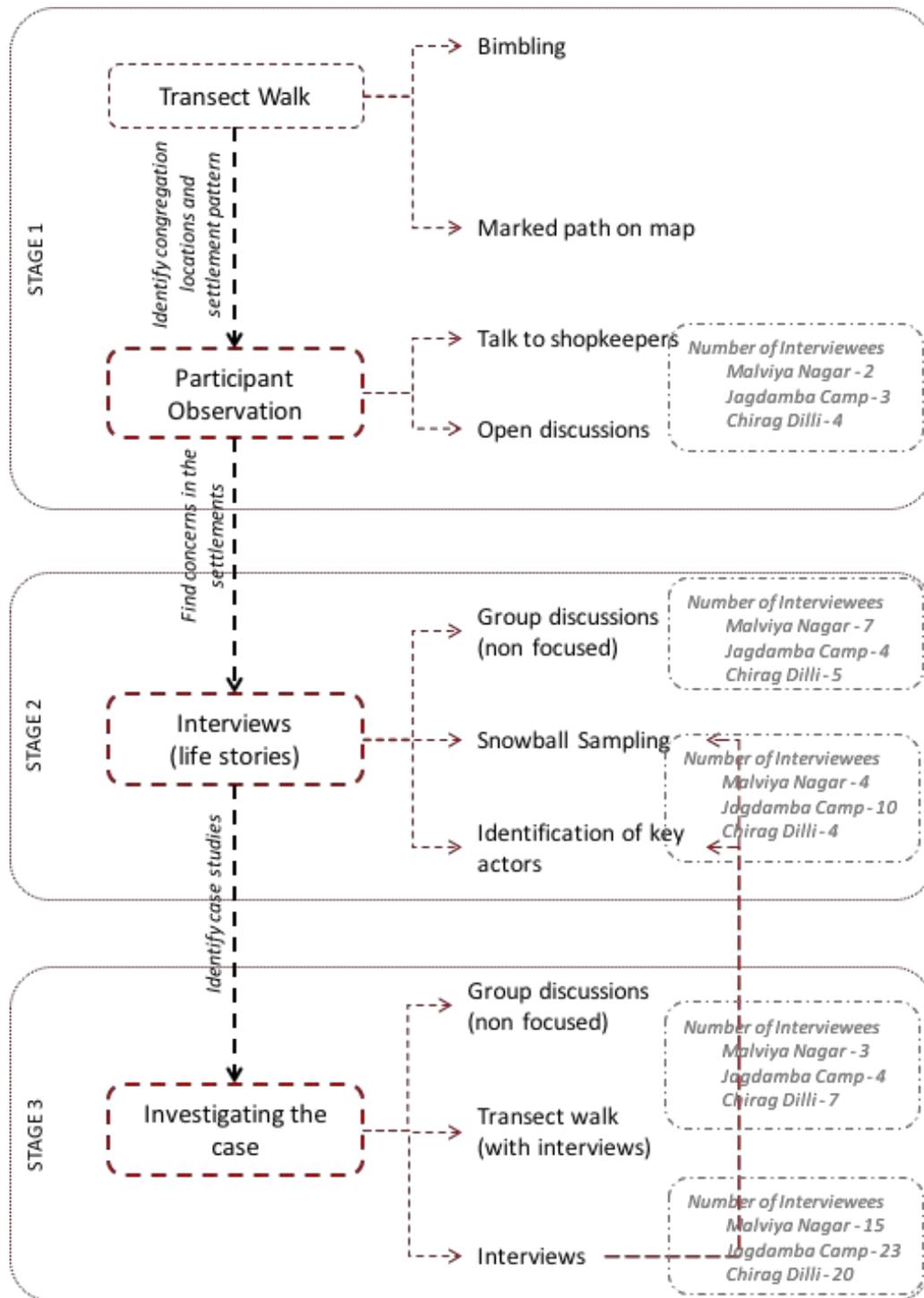
Figure 1: Diagram illustrating the methods

(©Author)

2.3.   Entering the Field and Other Methodological Concerns

My first fieldwork was during the peak Delhi summer of 2015, due to which I was wearing a cotton *kurta* and linen pants. I walked into Jagdamba Camp and started talking to the shopkeeper at a small kiosk inside the settlement.

After few exchanges, the shopkeeper asked me if I was there to take stock of the poor conditions of the slum, his exact words being '*jhuggi ki gandigi*' (literally translates as 'dirtiness of the slum'). I was caught off-guard and I tried explaining that I am a researcher and I am studying slums. I was not sure, what I was looking for, neither did I know why I was looking at this particular settlement. The shopkeeper nodded in a manner that he understood and called me an NGO *wala* (a person from the NGO). My attire resembled that of what NGO and social workers usually wear. I soon realized the potential of the attire and articulated an introductory statement to my research. At that time, my methodology was not clear nor were the theoretical positioning, for it was an inductive research and informality have no colloquial Hindi equivalent. Therefore, I resorted to saying that I am a student and I am writing a book on Delhi. It was not entirely true, but was closest to what I intended to do. Later during the interviews, I had to add one more specific disclaimer that I do not work for the government or the NGO. This was needed for three particular reasons, first, it relieved me of the questions and suggestions regarding the strategies to improve the settlement. These suggestions almost always referred to cleaning of the garbage. Second, this made the emphasis on writing a book more prominent and the respondents moved beyond the immediate sanitation requirements to more about themselves and their lives. Third, this made my position ethically clear that I would have very little impact on their lives. The third aspect also helped the respondents to open about their lives in the settlement beyond listing me the problems or taking me as agent who is there to glamorize or pity on the grim realities of their life. It made it easy for them to talk without apparent value judgements. During the interview process, I was not able to gain the confidence of the female residents, which prompted me to hire a female research assistant. The research assistant was given guiding questions, which I formulated from my own interviews. Thereafter, she went into the settlement alone and conducted the interviews in a similar fashion to that of mine. The interviews were initially transcribed by the research assistant, which I updated based on our interaction during the debriefing sessions. These debriefing sessions were

very important because a lot of missing details from the transcript came out during these sessions.

I followed a similar pattern in the settlement of Chirag Dilli and Malviya Nagar. In Malviya Nagar, the interviews were made after the prior appointments, as people were more sceptical of what I was doing. Malviya Nagar has a big rental population and I was lucky to personally know a few of them. I used this network to get in touch with other residents for semi-structured interviews. My research assistant was earlier a resident of Malviya Nagar, this also helped in conducting the interviews.

In Chirag Dilli, most of the momo workers were young boys. Here, I shifted from my *kurta*, to shorts and t-shirt. Choosing of an attire is at the border of what could be considered as ethical practice. On one hand, I am used to dressing both in a *kurta* as well as a t-shirt, but, on the other hand, during the interviews I was cautiously choosing between the two. After all, as Raban[130] would have said, we choose our uniforms in the city. The Chirag Dilli attire made the respondents of the momo industry very comfortable, I felt a part of them. I started the conversation in the same manner as in Jagdamba Camp, my opening question was on the recipe of the momos. Other respondents in Chirag Dilli were primarily men and were open to questions, both individually and in groups. The only problem I faced was during the built structure documentation. The houses during the day were primarily occupied by women, and I was not welcome inside. My training as an architect did help, as I assumed certain details of the house from the elements visible from outside. However, during my second field trip, I hired a female research assistant who was an architect. She was able to gain access to the houses and document it to some accuracy. Her sketches were later used to reinforce the details and eliminate the errors in my initial outline of the housing typologies.

During the interviews, one of the principal concerns I faced was not to influence the respondent. This was particularly difficult, at times, given the highly racial and gendered usage of the language. I could not put my point of

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[130] Jonathan Raban, *Soft City* (London: Picador, 2008).

view and I had to act as if it did not bother me. Furthermore, due to maximum variation sampling, occasionally, I became the respondent for the residents, a concern dealt by Smith[131] while discussing research on indigenous communities of New Zealand. For example, in Jagdamba Camp there was a conflict between the *Pradhan* and the NGO (discussed further in chapter 6). During my second meeting with the *Pradhan*, he clarified his position (as him being right here) and suggested that I should meet the 'NGO lady'. I had already met Ms Patidar, the so-called 'NGO lady', which I had to admit to the *Pradhan*. He immediately asked, 'so what did she say?' Not answering is being dishonest to the *Pradhan* who told me so much and answering to it would have been both dishonest to Ms Patidar, as well as resulted in additional conflict. In these situations, the colloquial Hindi helped me a lot. I replied, '*vo bas aise hi boli*'. This literally translates as 'she just said like that'. Of course, it does not make any sense in English, but in Hindi it is a very polite and accepted way of not saying anything yet saying something.

I grew up in India and had lived in Delhi for close to six years. This did not give me any relief from my metropolitan gaze, but did help me in the field. I could drink tap water or savour momos from the streets, without getting sick. This was a great asset, especially in Jagdamba Camp, where drinking water from a house elevated me from the status of an outside researcher to a guest. The interviews where people first offered me water, probably because of the Delhi summer, were the ones where the respondents talked in greater detail. Further, closer connection with the field helped me in asking questions which concerned the respondents in a way that it would open the conversation to other topics.

When I was writing the proposal for the PhD, I took Delhi as a case almost pre-decided and unquestioningly. I could not even think that studying another city was possible until I saw the variety of thesis being carried out in Switzerland. This has been both an advantage and a disadvantage for the thesis. I had the

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[131] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London ; New York : Dunedin, N.Z. : New York: Zed Books ; University of Otago Press ; Distributed in the USA exclusively by St. Martin's Press, 1999).

advantage of already being familiar with the context and having existing social networks. I knew how to approach people from certain neighbourhoods, how to quickly hire a research assistant, and how to navigate. These very advantages became disadvantages when I was analysing the data. While writing the papers, I realized that I have made field notes of only the interviews and not the multiple other interactions, for example, those that led me to design the interview questions or those which were not substantial enough to form a document, were not well documented. While writing the papers, I did remember many of the incidences and anecdotes, but a more structured approach from the beginning in this regard would have been useful. I assume that this gap existed because of my closeness to the context, where I understood everyday gestures and took them for granted as I grew up with them. During the writing period, I realized that producing an appendix to trace the path of my fieldwork showing how the inductive research unfolded would have been useful, but I did not have enough documentation for this.

Another data unease arises from doing a thesis by article. The articles, by design are very focussed. Thus, there is considerable amount of data and literature that does not get represented in them. In the introduction, I have tried to bring out the theoretical concerns which guided this thesis, but I could not devise a way to present the 'unused' collected data in the thesis without writing another paper. For example, the field site of Malviya Nagar is immensely underrepresented in the thesis due to the way the articles are framed. It is also partially because while writing these papers, I had not envisaged the complete schema of the thesis. Furthermore, being an inductive research, there is a lot of qualitative data from all the three sites which has not been presented here.

In the following chapter I will discuss the context and case study locations, which will make these concerns clearer.

An Old Delhi street.

(© Author)

3. CONTEXT

This thesis draws upon cases from the city of Delhi. Delhi being the capital of India, with overlapping governance systems, provides a rich context for the research intended. Following India's independence in 1947, there was a huge influx of people from West Pakistan to Delhi. Even though, land and housing are State Government subjects in India, Delhi at that time being a union territory, was governed by the Central Government. Thus, the ground-level management of the sudden exponential increase of population in the capital was under the Central Government. This led to a series of legislations and policies being formulated, essentially taking Delhi as a model. These legislations were later adopted by different states with minor changes, making the study of Delhi's urbanization a keystone in understanding the contemporary urban situation(s) in India.

3.1. City of Delhi and Urbanization in India

To have a broader understanding of the city of Delhi, we need to look at three key issues. First, how the colonial governance system disrupted the indigenous cities and produced everlasting effects on the minds and lives of the people. Second, how this colonial legacy was taken forward post-independence and especially with respect to Delhi via the unusually complex governance system. Third, the Master Plan and the spatially segregating terms it invented that are now in the vocabulary of the common residents. These three aspects are necessary to understand the core chapters of this thesis, but they are in no way comprehensive to fully understand the urban context of Delhi.

3.1.1. The British Legacy

Colonialism was not an urban project, but resulted in, greatly (re) configuring the urban landscape of the colonized land. Indian cities are no different and have a long history of urban colonial interventions. This section does not

intend to develop a critical reading of the colonial city model[132], but is framed to deliver a general understanding of the urban context. A possible archival time point to start the story of the British legacy in India would be 1817 when the classic work titled 'The History of British India'[133] by James Mill was first published. Mill's work became the standard for the colonial government officials to understand and act upon India. Mill followed the tone of higher moral duties of the British to civilize the Indians by the colonization process, as Sen notes:

> "Mill disputed and dismissed practically every claim ever made on behalf of Indian culture and its intellectual traditions, concluding that it was totally primitive and rude. This diagnosis went well with Mill's general attitude, which supported the idea of bringing a rather barbaric nation under the benign and reformist administration of the British Empire."[134]

Thus, the Indian cities, where the colonial officers set base, were divided into two enclaves, one exclusive and the other one ordinary. The first enclave was dedicated to higher officials of the British East India Company (henceforth Company) and very few powerful and wealthy Indians. The second enclave was for the lower-ranking officials of the Company and ordinary Indians. However, these two enclaves were part of the same city and not physically detached or geographically distant but with clear distinctions. This spatial division changed after 1857. In 1857, the lower-ranking soldiers of the Company revolted, what came to be later referred to as the *Sepoy* Mutiny by the Company and the First War of Independence by the Indians. The revolt started in the cantonment of Meerut in the contemporary state of Uttar Pradesh and spread across most of north India. The small kingdoms who were under the dominion of the Company joined the revolt. It is, however, interesting to note that the capital of the Company's India was the port city of Calcutta (now

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[132] Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London ; Boston: Routledge & Paul, 1976).

[133] James Mill, *The History of British India, 6 Vols.*, 3rd ed. (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1826), http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/1867.

[134] Amartya Sen, *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture, and Identity* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005).

Kolkata), but the centre of the mutiny became the erstwhile Mughal capital, Delhi. The mutineers (largely the *sepoys*) came to Delhi and gained the support of Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. Zafar at that time was just a notional emperor, who was referred to (mockingly) as the king of the Red Fort (i.e., with control, over only his fort and not even the city of Delhi).

The British always understood India as a society divided along caste and religious lines (as highlighted by Mill). The move by (largely Hindu) *sepoys* to capture, the then politically irrelevant Delhi, and name the Muslim king as their head was a big blow to the British understanding of India. Further, the war fought in the lanes of Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi) were hugely in favour of the *sepoys*. The Company army was disciplined and trained in battlefronts, but their training fell apart in the organic (and often confusing) urban form of Shahjahanabad as Menon notes:

> "The British realized that they had come within a hair's breadth of losing their empire in urban areas because their organic morphology made them difficult to control. There was a concerted effort thereafter to rebuild Indian towns on more familiar terms that they could 'understand'"[135]

After the mutiny was nipped, the governance of India was transferred from British East India Company to be directly under the Crown of Britain (henceforth British). With this mutiny, the British learnt two main factors which influenced the urban landscape (i) the power of notional importance (from the fact that Zafar was appointed the King of India, even though there were far more powerful kings and queens who were part of the mutiny) (ii) the need to develop a better understanding of the urban, to control it (due to its poor performance in urban areas in controlling the mutiny). From the first point, the newly appointed representative of the crown, started massive inventions of traditions to mould the political landscape. Cohn, in his essay outlines, how post 1857, from new rituals to titles and concessions were

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[135] A. G. K Menon, 'The Complexity of Indian Urbanism', *Seminar*, no. 579 (November 2007).

invented by the British to displace the position of the Mughals from the minds of its Indian subjects. He wrote:

> "Starting in 1858, as part of the re-establishment of political order, Lord Canning, the first viceroy of India, undertook a series of extensive tours through North India to make manifest the new relationship proclaimed by the queen... At these durbars Indians were granted titles such as Raja, Nawab, Rai Sahib, Rai Bahadur, and Khan Bahadur, presented with special clothes and emblems (khelats), granted special privileges and some exemptions from normal administrative procedures, and given rewards in the form of pensions and land grants for various actions such as the protection of Europeans during the uprising and the provision of troops and supplies to the British armies."[136]

This led to a new political order, where the British were established as *de facto* administrators of the urban areas and the local rulers as notional heads – governing from a distance. With this change in the administration there were massive physical urban interventions as well. The new order required new institutions, which were intentionally sited at the centre of old cities demolishing the older fabric. The majority of old towns in north India saw colonial urban inserts in terms of a *Nai Sadak* (New Street), a geometrically straight street cutting across the old fabric, giving it some sense of geometric legibility. This new street ended with the industrial icon of a clock tower referred to as the *Ghanta Ghar*. This "haussmannization"[137] along with Mill's interpretation of Indian heritage played a great role in putting the traditional fabric in a negative light. The cities in North India, due to intense heat waves, were designed with a compact built form of mutually shading adjoined

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[136] Bernard Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, Canto Classics (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 167.

[137] D. Rodgers, 'Haussmannization in the Tropics: Abject Urbanism and Infrastructural Violence in Nicaragua', *Ethnography* 13, no. 4 (1 December 2012): 413–38.

buildings and small street networks. Such urban form was labelled parochial, inefficient, and later even slum-like.

As for Delhi, Zafar was exiled to Burma and all his heirs killed. There were massive demolitions inside the walled city of Shahjahanabad. The *Nai Sadak* was built so was the *Ghanta Ghar* (the *Ghanta Ghar* of Delhi is now no more, as it got damaged due to poor maintenance and was eventually demolished in the early 1950s) and the new town hall. The huge Mughal gardens in Shahjahanabad were replaced with the new railway station. These urban inserts were emblems of the dominance of Britain, ones which had never been seen in India.

With the takeover of the cities, the British also faced the challenges of municipal issues. In Delhi, post 1857, the British moved outside of Shahjahanabad, into a settlement north of it called the Civil Lines (see Figure 2). The rich British neighbourhood of Civil Lines, dotted with plush bungalows, was, of course, well ventilated and sparsely populated with all the basic services. It was the native Shahjahanabad that faced all the problems. To tackle this, in 1876, 'The Handbook on Town Planning' by the Public Works Department was released for the official implementation. Based on developments in town planning in Britain at that point, the handbook was mainly intended to intervene in urban areas to improve public health conditions. The two major points for this were, access to sunlight and ventilation, which is different to how traditional north Indian built fabric operated. The traditional buildings were attached to each other and faced narrow streets. This layout mutually shaded the interiors of the house and kept them cool. The terraces (roof tops) of these buildings were heavily used for social purposes. The much-revered lighting and ventilation inside the house was irrelevant, as residents in traditional settlements spent most of their time (sometimes even slept) on the terrace. This was, however, ignored in the new Public Works Handbook. Menon[138] claims that this handbook is the basis for many contemporary planning practices in India. Consequently, the traditional

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[138] Menon, 'The Complexity of Indian Urbanism'.

urban fabric of buildings attached together came to be seen as a threat to public health and isolated buildings were preferred. This notion was further reinforced, as after the 1857 *Sepoy* mutiny, the British officials and the rich Indians started to live in exclusive enclaves that had detached buildings (bungalows) contrary to the tight-knit traditional fabric where poor people lived.

The British decided to move their capital to Delhi in 1911, a site north of Shahjahanabad was chosen for the new Delhi. This site was, however, later abandoned and New Delhi came up, to the south of Shahjahanabad. Nonetheless, with the British capital moving and the decision of making a New Delhi, Shahjahanabad started to be referred to as Old Delhi. People from across India (especially from Calcutta) started to flow into Delhi, as Dupont has noted:

> " … the population of the Delhi urban agglomeration increased from 200,000 in 1911 up to 700,000 in 1941, with an increasing growth rate."[139]

As Old Delhi was already segregated for the poor, it became the obvious housing option for the masses who arrived at the city. Poverty-stricken and dirty, Old Delhi became a concern for the government. Thus, in 1935, Arthur Parke Hume was commissioned to study and suggest remedial measures for the problem of congestion in the old city, something which Ghertner[140] would have called aesthetic governmentality. Based on the conservative surgery methods as developed by renowned town planner Sir Patrick Geddes (who was famous in India at that time), an authority was formed to act upon this, to be called the Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT). Improvement trusts were the institutional mechanism through which the British colonial government implemented planning across its colonies[141]. Conservative surgery meant

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[139] Véronique Dupont, 'Socio-Spatial Differentiation and Residential Segregation in Delhi: A Question of Scale?', *Geoforum* 35, no. 2 (March 2004): 158.

[140] D. Asher Ghertner, 'Calculating without Numbers: Aesthetic Governmentality in Delhi's Slums', *Economy and Society* 39, no. 2 (May 2010): 185–217.

[141] Partho Datta, 'How Modern Planning Came to Calcutta', *Planning Perspectives* 28, no. 1 (January 2013): 139–47.

specifically targeting certain problematic urban areas and intervening often with frugal resources. This method gave the option to act very locally, which suited the authorities at that time for whom Old Delhi was too complicated. Even though the DIT had powers to relocate people, it was intended that alternate measures for accommodating the relocated population would be provided. Due to the Great Depression of 1930s and then the advent of the 2nd World War in 1939, the financial constraints always restricted alternate housing measures for populations relocated by DIT. This practice may be seen as a state sponsored cleaning drive of the city, where the (so-called) diseased parts of the city were demolished and thrown out (surgically removed) for the larger good of the city.

Parallel to this, the new administrative capital of New Delhi was inaugurated in 1931. The majestic New Delhi created a clear hierarchy of settlements. As per the planning norm, the higher the category of the officers, the closer they lived to the main axis (Raj Path) of New Delhi, where the then Viceroy house was located. Thus, new enclaves were formed for different officials and the Indian princes, giving a clear identity to a person based on the place/settlement where he/she lived. New Delhi was planned in such a manner that it literally and metaphorically wanted to disconnect itself from Old Delhi. The planners left a patch of land (now called *Ram Lila Maidan*) as a mark of this segregation[142]. The desired urban form was that of New Delhi with avenues, trees, segregated housing, and the unwanted and problem-ridden urban form was that of Old Delhi with small alleys, poor people, and mercantile streets.

3.1.2. Post-Independence Planning and Delhi's Governance

After India's independence in 1947, there was a massive increase in Delhi's population because of the partition of India and migration from West

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[142] Such planning exercises were a norm of the colonial planning across various colonies. For example, La Fontaine writes about this with respect to Congo's capital Kinshasa (Léopoldville) – '…two distinct parts: European and Congolese. The original European quarter of Kalina was separated from the African town… by a *cordon sanitaire* of uninhabited ground, consisting of the golf course, the botanical gardens, and the zoo. This arrangement was designed to prevent the spread of African disease into white residential areas.' J. S. La Fontaine, *City Politics: A Study of Léopoldville, 1962-63*, African Studies Series 1 (Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press, 1970), 19.

Pakistan[143]. The 1941 Census records approximately 918000 (9.18 Lakhs) people in Delhi, which grew to 1744000 (17.44 Lakhs) by the 1951 Census[144]. Most of these migrants were accommodated in the walled city of Old Delhi and there arose a massive crisis of high density, which the DIT was not able to handle. The 1951 Birla Committee, established to enquire the irregularities in DIT, mainly attributed this to the lack of overall planning and suggested the establishment of an umbrella organization to look at the city as a whole. This led to the formation of the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), through an act in 1957. DDA, a professional body directly under the Central Government with almost no direct political accountability to the citizens, became one of the largest actors of the planning apparatus and did it through the drafting of the Master Plan and acquiring land for its implementation.

Delhi was a union territory until 1991 when it was given few rights; Delhi as of today cannot be considered a full state and is officially referred to as National Capital Territory of Delhi (NCTD). To briefly outline the governance system in Delhi, there are three main governance layers. The Lieutenant Governor (LG), who is the head of the state and not elected, but appointed by the Central Government. Then the Legislative Assembly, which is elected and whose members elect (based on the majority of a political party) the Chief Minister and other ministers. There are five municipalities, which can be clubbed into three sets. The first set consists of (i) North Delhi Municipal Corporation (ii) South Delhi Municipal Corporation, and (iii) East Delhi Municipal Corporation. To this first set, the corporators are elected, but the secretaries (from the elite Indian Administrative Services) are appointed by the Central Government. The second is the Cantonment Board, which is directly under the Defence Ministry of the Central Government. This board looks after the defence land in the city. The third is the New Delhi Municipal Council, whose jurisdiction is largely the erstwhile British New Delhi. The New Delhi

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[143] Anil K Chanda et al., 'The Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorized Occupants) Bill, 1958' 12 March 1958, Rajya Sabha Debates, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/570395.

[144] 'Govt. NCT Delhi', Government Portal, accessed 9 April 2015, http://www.delhi.gov.in/wps/wcm/connect/DoIT_Planning/planning/economic+survey+of+dehli/content/demographic+profile.

Municipal Council is completely constituted by Central Government appointees and three ex-officio members. The three ex-officio members are the Chief Minister of Delhi, a member of the Delhi Legislative Assembly (nominated by the ruling political party), and a member of the *Lok Sabha* (nominated by the ruling political party). Municipalities in general are responsible for an array of licences and services like solid waste management.

The main planning body, the DDA, is under the LG and indirectly controlled by the Central Government. The DDA drafts the Master Plan, which is a statutory document designed on the principles of a land-use plan. In conjunction with the Master Plan, building byelaws are applied, which govern construction of individual buildings. The municipality is responsible for the implementation of building byelaws. The municipality gives building sanctions based on the byelaws formulated by the DDA. At the same time, services like water, electricity, and public transport are all under the Delhi government. This presents a complex set of administrative roles and statutes, an example of this would be the slums. The land on which the slums come up are of various government bodies (but largely of the DDA), the issue of slums is under the purview of the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB), which is under the State Government. Nonetheless, the DUSIB has a very minor role in the larger planning as it is being looked after by the DDA, which is under the Central Government. Furthermore, it is the responsibility of the respective municipality to evict the nonconforming slums as per the DDA Master Plan, as well as to take care of the solid waste management system.

The primary factor for access to services, land tenure, and the resulting real-estate value are dependent on the settlement types. These settlement types also become the basis for differential treatment by the various agencies discussed above. These settlement types are the product of DDA's Master Plan as discussed in the following section.

3.1.3. The Master Plan and Settlement Types

The DDA is primarily a spatial planning body initially constituted with the responsibility of drafting the Master Plan. For the ease of spatial planning in

future, DDA started to acquire land even before the first Master Plan was drafted. As DDA acquired huge tracts of land in Delhi, most of the population increase that could not get accommodated, started squatting on land around existing settlements that happened to be DDA land. However, these squatting practices were not limited to the urban poor.

The first Master Plan for Delhi in 1962, was a plan based on land-use planning techniques and can be read as a regulatory plan as opposed to a plan which acts like a facilitator. Accordingly, the land in Delhi was divided into zones without taking the political boundaries of a ward (ward being the smallest area demarcated for electoral purposes, which elects ward councillors of the municipality). These zones were further divided into areas with specific land use, e.g. there are residential zones where only residential activity can take place. Such zones were determined by the DDA based on planning standards and it does not take into account the already existing uses, e.g., there are multiple shops and professional offices (like architects, lawyers, doctors, etc.) operating from residential areas. It was in the 2001 Master Plan, that the mixed use (specifically referring to commercial uses in residential areas) was mentioned. However, the mixed nature of use was heavily restricted.

The Master Plan regulation or the subsequent building byelaw arising from it, tries to regulate the haphazard growth of the city. This is in line with the first Master Plan of Delhi, where the opening line of the introductory chapter started with the phrase, "To check the haphazard and unplanned growth of Delhi…"[145]. Nonetheless, these regulations often tend to be negotiated either through formal or informal channels. Although these regulations are outside the ambit of electoral/political scrutiny, they are still negotiable. Often these negotiations are difficult for the urban poor, unless they form a significant mass, to make local politicians interested (including other reasons).

After the first Master Plan in 1962, subsequent Master Plans started to refine the image of Delhi, based on the collective memory of the urban middle class,

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[145] Ministry of Home Affairs, 'Delhi Master Plan, 1962', *Gazette of India*, 1 September 1962, i.

to an extent that the vision statement for the 2021 Master Plan (the current Master Plan) is to create a 'world class city', even though the core of the new plan is essentially that of the 1962 Master Plan, as Nigam notes:

> "In part, this desire of the city planners to make Delhi into another global metropolis, may be ascribed to the rapidly emerging 'new global order'. In a sense, what marks this new global order is the 'de-territorialization' of the third-world metropolis, a sundering of its ties with its national location and its integration into the network of a handful of global cities."[146]

In this sense, the image for the Indian metropolis is now being copied from global experiences. The images or the vision statements get discussed and electorally critiqued, while the basic structure of land-use planning, as a statutory tool remains the same, neither publicly deliberated nor politicized. It is, however, to be noted that the Master Plan does have a provision for public participation. This participation is conducted via an open public call for objections before notifying the Master Plan. These objections are recorded, but the action on them is taken in a technocratic manner without democratic deliberations, moreover, the objections or suggestions are at the onus of the planning agency to accept, reject, or modify without any explanation.

An interesting case to understand the regulatory Master Plan and its contestation would be what is referred to as the sealing drive. In 1985 an environmentalist filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court of India, regarding the nonconforming uses in residential areas as per the Master Plan of Delhi: a typical example of what Baviskar[147] calls bourgeois environmentalism. In a broad stroke, the argument was that the Master Plan does not allow commercial use of/in residential properties, however, such violations are going unchecked by the DDA. During the court proceedings, the court realized that none of the state authorities took responsibility for these violations (as

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[146] Aditya Nigam, 'Dislocating Delhi: A City in the 1990s', in *Sarai Reader 01: The Public Domain,* ed. Raqs Media Collective, 01 (Delhi: Sarai, CSDS, 2001), 40, http://sarai.net/sarai-reader-01-public-domain/.

[147] Baviskar, 'The Politics of the City'.

mentioned with regard to the complex administrative boundaries, in the previous section), as a recent judgement in this case recounts:

> "This Court noted that according to the Delhi Government it is not the function of the State Government to implement the Master Plan. According to the Government of India it is not the implementing agency …. According to other statutory authorities in Delhi, they too avoided shouldering any responsibility for inaction. Each of these authorities of the State was shifting their stands, as convenient, without any regard for statutory provisions and in blatant breach of the rule of law. This Court darkly hinted that in all this there was connivance with industry for extraneous considerations."[148]

In 2004 (and again in 2006) the Supreme Court appointed a Monitoring Committee to look into the matter and gave it the quasi-judicial powers to order sealing of the properties in violation of the Master Plan. In 2006, the Monitoring Committee ordered sealing of properties across Delhi, which were in violation of the Master Plan (residential properties with commercial use). The traders started a massive protest against this, during which few traders even died due to police action. These protests exerted pressure on the government and consequently, the DDA brought in a modification to the Master Plan, effectively to counter the court order of the sealing drive. This is not a unique case, in late 2017, upon court orders, the sealing drive commenced again. This resulted in protest in a similar fashion and by early 2018, the DDA has assured a modification to the Master Plan to stop the sealing of commercial properties. Without going into the details of this example, what we can see here, is how the technocratically designed Master Plan with no inbuilt political platform, gets, nonetheless, contested. Such contestations get manifested in different manners across different cities. For example, in Mumbai, in response to the new development plan envisaged for 2014-34, massive demand for participation from the public mushroomed, including platforms like 'Hamara

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[148] M C Mehta Vs Union of India and others, I.A. Nos. 93010 and 93007/2017 (Supreme Court of India 2017).

Shehar Mumbai Abhiyaan'[149], which came up with its own model plan. Baitsch[150] makes a detailed outline of these citizenship claims and contested participatory regimes in cases from Mumbai.

The Master Plan of Delhi is based on the assumption that city planning is a technical issue and planning is the professional solution. It assumes that the planner can have a larger outlook of the city, trace its population growth, and plan in a manner, such that the present and future needs are fulfilled. For example, commerce is a service, which has a specific quantitative requirement in any given area. Therefore, the planner (as per the set standards) can demarcate an area as commercial or markets to reflect the percentage of such usage required in a particular locality. Further, new development land can be marked, acquired and developed over a period of time to cater to the needs of the future. The Master Plan serves as a statutory document which makes the planner's vision into laws. Therefore, anything outside of the Master Plan becomes illegal, in a very similar manner to the elaboration of the State by Scott[151].

One of the crucial requirements for this planning paradigm to work is a clear land title. The Master Plan devises regulations, which are enforced using the mechanism of the official building permits. A building permit is a certificate issued by the municipality, which endorses that the proposed design of the building is as per the Master Plan stipulations, therefore, officially permitted to be constructed. For such a permit, the municipality has to check for two elements. Firstly, that the design conforms to the Master Plan regulations, which is an easy task, thanks to the detailed building byelaws. Secondly, as the building permit is a legal document allowing construction, it can only be issued to the legal owner of the land on which it is proposed. Therefore, in this process of building permit, a clear land title becomes indispensable. This is where the

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[149] 'Hamara Shehar Mumbai Abhiyaan', Hamara Shehar Mumbai Abhiyaan, accessed 8 March 2018, https://hamarasheharmumbai.org/.

[150] Tobias Stefan Baitsch, 'Incremental Urbanism: A Study of Incremental Housing Production and the Challenge of Its Inclusion in Contemporary Planning Processes in Mumbai, India' (École polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne, 2018).

[151] Scott, *Seeing like a State*.

issue starts. Delhi existed much before 1962 and developed complex land ownership patterns and statutory compliance (one such case is discussed in Chapter 5). Due to varying land ownership patterns, the Master Plan ought to devise various settlement types. These settlement types could further, have different legal status to be able to accommodate the ambiguities in the land title. This differentiation brings huge differences in the real-estate values of plots in different settlement types.

As Delhi was growing, DDA started acquiring farm lands from surrounding villages. The farm lands had clear land titles, but inside the village (houses), the land titles were very complicated or non-existent. This absence of land titles was circumvented by the Master Plan by excluding it from the plan itself. Thus, formed the settlement category of the 'Urban Village'. Urban Village boundaries were delineated and they were exempt from requiring building permits, thereby, circumventing the issue of land titles altogether. Other villages, which were outside the 'urban' demarcation of DDA were christened as 'Rural Villages'. As the DDA was acquiring land from villages and building housing or other projects, the villagers realized the monetary potential of their land. Those who owned farm land (usually villagers) plotted it themselves (or via intermediaries) and sold it to private individuals. The land legally belonged to the villagers, therefore the transaction is valid. On the other hand, these lands were marked as farms (or empty land) in the Master Plan, therefore, there could not be any buildings. Nonetheless, the new buyers built houses on that land and started living. Due to its precarious nature, these settlements were affordable to the masses and it filled the housing gap. Legally, DDA can demolish these settlements, but it becomes politically non-viable. Therefore, the new category of 'Unauthorized Colonies' came into being. Bhan[152] has shown, how these Unauthorized Colonies mushroomed just outside of the various Master Plan boundaries. He claimed that they are not due to absence of the planning but because of the planning, i.e., the planner is the planner of the unplanned. Furthermore, as the settlement grew, the residents of

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[152] Gautam Bhan, 'Planned Illegalities - Housing and the "Failure" of Planning in Delhi: 1947-2010', *Economic and Political Weekly* 48, no. 24 (June 2013): 58–70.

Unauthorized Colonies formed citizen groups to demand various municipal services. After various land mapping processes, some of these colonies were recognized, and came another category of 'Regularized-Unauthorized Colony'.

In 1956, the parliament of India passed a law[153] that gave government the authority to declare an area as a slum. This was required because there were no planning regulations which could justify an action on buildings on private land (as most of the, so-called slums, were on private land at that time). According to this law, any area termed as a slum is bound to have an intervention. Immediately after the law was passed, many areas of Old Delhi were declared as slums and many were demolished as well. The legal complication here is that any area called as a slum is to be dealt according to the 1956 law. However, over the years, slums mushroomed all over the city, which the government was unable to take care of (demolish and rehabilitate). Thus, the areas initially declared as slums came to be known as 'slum designated areas', while the slums which came up later – as the Master Plan did not want to get entangled in legal complications with the 1956 law – were titled '*JJ Cluster*s' (*JJ* stands for *jhuggi jhopri*, a Hindi term, literally translates as 'impoverished hutments', which is an equivalent of the slum). Now, of those people who were relocated from these two categories, were resettled in settlements which were called '*JJ* resettlement colonies'. Due to the fear of slum dwellers selling their allocated land and moving back to the city, the government gave only leases. As on lease, it was simpler to demarcate these settlements in the Master Plan not to be required to follow regular laws. Now, because of all these settlement types, those settlements which largely follow the Master Plan or were developed by DDA were called 'Planned Colonies'. This was a very brief introduction to eight settlement categories[154] in Delhi (i) Urban Villages (ii) Rural Villages (iii) Unauthorized Colonies (iv) Regularized Unauthorized Colonies (v) Slum Designated Areas (vi) *JJ Cluster*

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[153] The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act 1956

[154] Apart from these settlement types which follow different rules as per the Master Plan, there are also some areas marked as 'special zones'. These special zones are marked in the Master Plan for specific development purposes e.g. certain parts of/close-to Old Delhi to be developed as habitable heritage zones.

(vii) *JJ* Resettlement Colonies, and (viii) Planned Colonies. The usage of the term 'colony' maybe a reminiscent of the colonial era!

3.2. Fieldwork Locations

Figure 2: Map of Delhi with fieldwork sites
1. Malviya Nagar, 2. Jagdamba Camp, 3. Chirag Dilli (traced by the author on a Google map)

One of the main critiques raised by Connell[155] and Robinson[156], while arguing for a case towards southern theory is the universal tone of urban theory; that which in its present form is devoid of time and place, applicable anywhere and at any time. In this context, how do we investigate the urban using informality, without again confronting the logical impossibility of addressing a small case

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[155] Connell, *Southern Theory*.

[156] Robinson, 'Postcolonialising Geography'.

while drawing conclusions about an entire region? Thus, the generalizability[157] of the case was the main concern in selecting the fieldwork locations. Accordingly, the aim for identification of the fieldwork locations was to have a diverse set of settlement types in close proximity and the interaction between these settlements. A location which could qualify to be a critical case, which Flyvbjerg defines as; "having strategic importance in relation to the general [research] problem"[158].

For the selection of fieldwork locations, there were two main constraints. First, the time allocated for fieldwork, which as per the initial planning of the thesis was restricted to six months. These six months were further broken into two periods; a period of four months for initial fieldwork and an additional two-month period to fill the data gaps. The second constraint was the size of the field site. The field site was intended to have multiple settlement types, but this had to be manageable to be able to practically conduct interviews and travel between settlements without wasting much time in travel.

Based on these concerns, selection of the fieldwork location started with elimination of some settlement types. It was decided based on how unlikely, could the site be for generalizability. For example, the settlement type of Slum Designated Areas, pertain only to some parts of Old Delhi and does not exist elsewhere in Delhi. Similarly, Rural Villages are dependent on agriculture but heavily influenced by the urbanization process. Nonetheless, the case of Rural Villages is unique with respect to its rural status and economy, and its urban proximity. Thus, the settlement types of Slum Designated Areas and Rural Villages were initially eliminated. Further, in Delhi, the government intends to regularize all the Unauthorized Colonies. Therefore, it was strategically decided to focus either on Unauthorized Colony or on Regularized Unauthorized Colony. The Unauthorized Colonies were given preference because they were going through the process of regularization and it was anticipated that this process will deliver richer case studies. Thus, the

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[157] Bent Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again* (Oxford, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[158] Flyvbjerg, 78.

fieldwork began with five settlement categories of (i) Urban Villages (ii) Unauthorized Colonies (iii) *JJ Cluster* (iv) *JJ* Resettlement Colonies, and (v) Planned Colonies.

During the scoping field trips, it was realized that the most difficult settlement type to interview residents was a Planned Colony. Consequently, the Planned Colony of Malviya Nagar was selected due to pre-existing connection with some residents. As Malviya Nagar became the first base, adjacent settlements of Jagdamba Camp (*JJ Cluster*), Chirag Dilli (Urban Village), and Khirki Extension (Unauthorized Colony) were identified. *JJ* Resettlement Colonies are usually far outside the city and could not be found close to Malviya Nagar. The *JJ* Resettlement Colony of Savda Ghevra was initially selected, as it is the latest of the *JJ* Resettlement Colonies and is still being built by victims of various slum demolition drives across the city. However, it takes a minimum of three hours to reach Savda Ghevra from Malviya Nagar by public transport. For this practical reason, Savda Ghevra was dropped from field locations after a few visits. Further, after few initial interviews in the locations, the cases developed happen to focus on three settlements vis-à-vis Malviya Nagar (Planned Colony), Jagdamba Camp (*JJ Cluster*) and Chirag Dilli (Urban Village) (see Figure 2 for location and Figure 3 for further details). Therefore, the settlement of Khirki was also dropped for the sake of deeper investigation of the other three sites.

Following is a brief description of the three sites. During the initial visits to the site, the main aim was to develop a general understanding about three aspects. First, physicality of the location in terms of house types and community spaces. Second, people living there, in terms of who owns, who rents. Third, other special aspects of the settlement, for instance the built heritage of Chirag Dilli or construction quality of houses in Jagdamba Camp. The description of the three sites are for a general overview of each settlement and is not meant for a comparative understanding of the three field-sites.
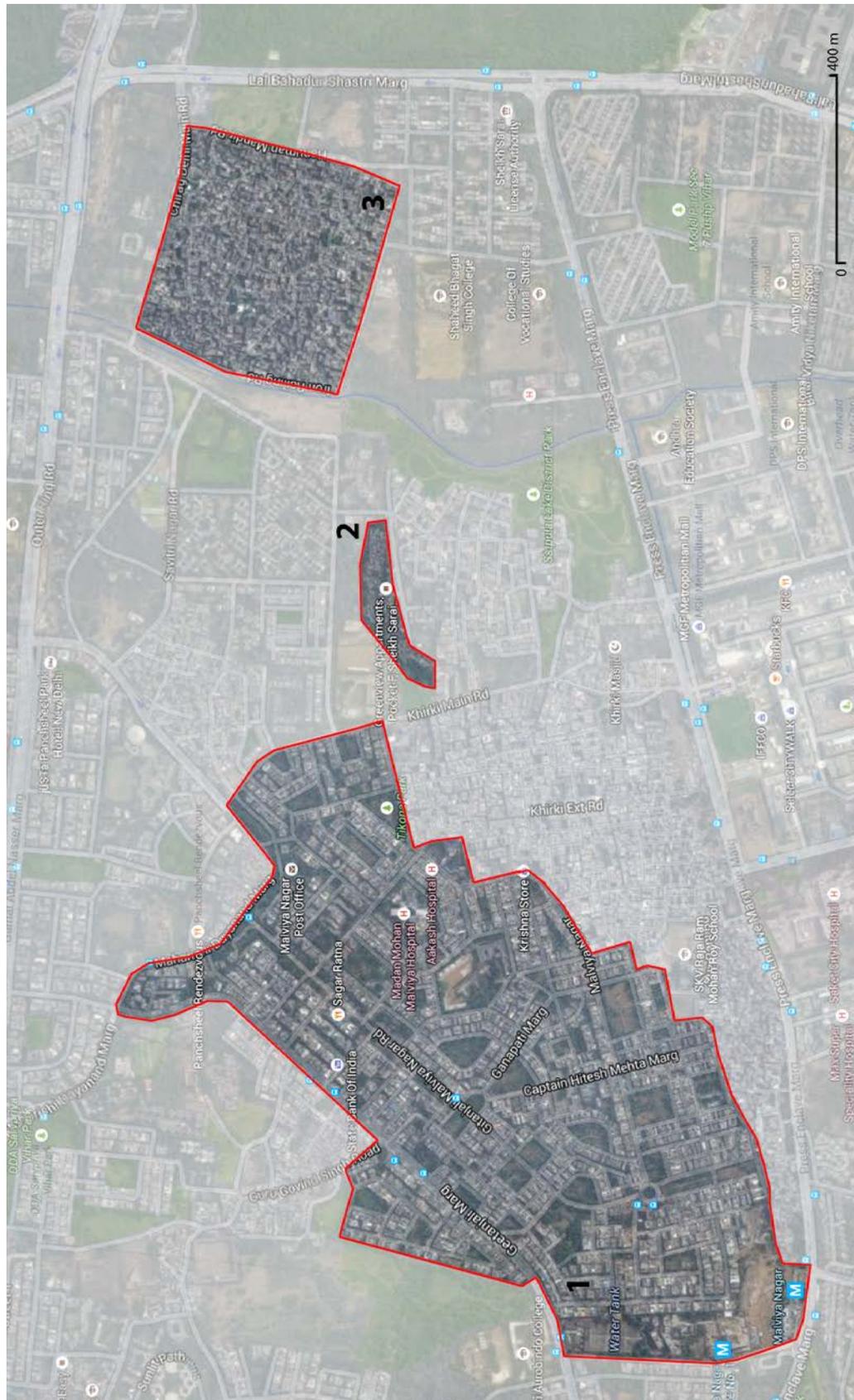
Figure 3: Map showing fieldwork sites
1. Malviya Nagar, 2. Jagdamba Camp, 3. Chirag Dilli (traced by the author on a Google map)

3.2.1. Malviya Nagar

Figure 4: Typical Malviya Nagar Residential Street

(© Author)

Malviya Nagar was planned during the 1950s to settle refugees from West Pakistan. Over a period of time the settlement has grown, and now is a mix of people from different cultural backgrounds. A significant number of houses in Malviya Nagar are built as mid-rise apartments of up to four floors, at times subdivided between members of the same family. Recently (maybe due to its location in bourgeoning South Delhi and availability of rental space) a number of expatriates have started to live in Malviya Nagar. Most of these expatriates are from Afghanistan (who come here mainly as part of medical tourism) and from various African nations (mostly for business purposes).

Malviya Nagar is a typical middle-class Planned Colony in Delhi, with gated enclaves, on-street illegal parking, a market in the centre of the settlement, and small parks scattered around. As generally Planned Colonies go, there are numerous Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) in the area, representing and undertaking local action on behalf of residents, their main aim being upkeep of common areas in general and the local parks in specifics. This has resulted in some well-maintained and sanitized parks, as well as gated neighbourhoods, where gates (on public roads) remain closed at times determined by the respective RWAs, usually after 10 p.m. until morning.

3.2.1.1.   House Types

In Malviya Nagar, there are essentially three types of houses.

The first one being the 'joint family house'. These are houses in which the plot is developed as a multi-storey building, where each of the siblings and the

parents, get a floor to themselves, with or without common shared amenities. This type is most common among business families as most of the siblings end up looking after the family business.

The second type is a 'builder-owner collaboration'. This type usually arises when the owner is unable to bear the cost of construction and the builder invests by buying a share of the land (in the form of floors proportional to the land value) in exchange for building up the property. After completion, few (usually 2) floors are given to the owner and rest are kept by the builder. The builder either rents or sells the apartments. On the other hand, most of the time the land owner, keeps one of the apartments for himself/herself and gives the rest on the rent.

The third type is 'investment house'. These are the houses built by the land owners, purely as a financial investment and not to live. Most of the houses are given out on rent and very few are sold. These houses are developed to maximize the number of dwelling units possible, resulting in poorly designed apartments.

3.2.1.2.   The Renting Process

Usually the renting happens via a complex, interdependent, and informal network of brokers. The renting market is owner driven, thus the owner finds some local broker and make him/her in-charge of renting the place. The broker gets renters through his informal network. Once the renter takes an apartment, the broker gets one month rent as fees from the renter, which is then (if so) distributed among all the brokers who were linked to getting the renter an apartment.

Some of the brokers have real-estate offices, but most of the transaction happens through the informal layer of brokers who operate through local networking.

There are basically three types of rent agreements that are done between the owner and renter. The rent agreement is usually for 11 months, this is because after one year the renter tends to accrue rights as per the rent control act

(discussed further in Chapter 5). An 11-month lease means that at any given time, the renter would have been renting the apartment for less than a year. With every new rental agreement, the rents are increased (customarily 10%, but could be higher).

The first type is the formal procedure of a lease document, where the rent agreement is registered at the local courts. Such a registration, apart from the stamp paper cost also incurs a stamp duty (tax) on the amount of the rent. This is the least preferred method and only commercial leases and few owners adopt this method.

The second type is a notary authorized lease document. On the stamp paper the lease is printed and signed by the renter and the owner, and a Notary Public establishes the validity of the signature. This is a semi-formal set up as the agreement is formalized, but is not registered with any state agency like the court.

The third type is the same as the second, but without a Notary Public approval. A lease agreement is prepared on a stamp paper and is signed by both renter and owner. It is an informal agreement between them. As the owners or the builders who are renting the property has strong networks in the settlement, so they are very confident on taking informal actions against the renters who breach the contract.

3.2.2. Jagdamba Camp

Figure 5: Typical Jagdamba Camp street

Jagdamba camp is a *JJ Cluster* built on a narrow patch of land along the *nullah*[159] initially by construction workers who came for the construction of Apeejay Public School in Sheikh Sarai during the late 1970s. Jagdamba Camp today is walled on all sides and is well hidden from the surrounding neighbourhoods with very few entry points (two main entrances and one small entrance which is seldom used).

Figure 6: Rough Sketch of Jagdamba Camp Layout and house plots
Blue: Nullah; Red: North Wall; Yellow: South Wall (traced by the author on a Google map)

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[159] *Nullah* is the term used for small water features of Delhi. *Nullah* means a drain, but the term *nullah* is generally used in Delhi to refer to the numerous drains which are natural or built mainly during Tughlaq era (1320–1413). Thus, the term *nullah* is distinct from a drain (e.g. open waste water drains). *Nullahs* in Delhi usually start from the ridge and fall into the Yamuna River. Most of the historic monuments are built along these *nullahs* on a highland.

3.2.2.1. Initial Settlement

The construction labourers were brought to the construction site by a builder who did not provide them any accommodation. This plight of labourers was converted into opportunity by two landlords who built labour housing for them and charged a daily rent. Ramji Lal and Hari Chand, who were from the nearby village independently set up a few sheds for the labourers. It is to be noted that, at that point, land was not seen as a resource, it was the sheds which the two landlords were renting.

Labourers used to pay 25 paisa per day out of INR 3.60 which they used to earn daily. Ramji Lal had around 20 to 25 units and Hari Chand had around 30 to 35 units that were on rent. Rents were collected daily, thus, for ease of doing business, the two landlords constructed a hut respectively for themselves to live close to the sheds. The rented sheds were made on the southern side of the demarcated school boundary (see Figure 6). Most of the labourers were fresh in the business and took this job as an opportunity to settle in the city.

The labourers were hired on a daily wage, this meant that during monsoons when construction slowed down, they were left without any income. Many settlers by that time had small support systems via domestic animals and kitchen gardens. Furthermore, many of the labourers also started looking for other jobs. As the job diversified and savings accrued, the labourers started moving out of the rented sheds to their own huts nearby. This continued and more and more people started doing this, to save money that they were paying as rent. It should again be noted that grabbing the land was not the intent, it was thought that there is more than enough land (in this barren countryside of Delhi). The sizes of the plots were dependent on how big they could build their shacks, which in almost all the cases were really small, with a maximum of 18 square metres (extrapolated from the current plot sizes).

As the school construction proceeded the school built its boundary wall, which became the first walling of the settlement on the northern side of Jagdamba Camp. The story of the rest of the north wall is disputed, some residents said that it was built by the masons of the settlement by pooling in money, because

it was at this time when massive slum demolitions were going on in Delhi, and they wanted to hide in the low-lying areas of the *nullah* behind the wall. Others believe that the agencies who owned the land next to the school built the wall to stop people encroaching into their land. In any case the north wall was built in a piecemeal way, as of today there is a three-metre-high wall on the north side of the settlement (see Figure 6).

In 1989 the then Prime Minister of India V P Singh ordered a survey of slums in Delhi, which remains one of the first and till date most reliable survey done on slums of Delhi. The purpose was to identify the number of houses in the slums so that they could be rehabilitated in the future and as a short-term goal, their encroachment could be limited/contained. During this survey, each house was given a metal plate nailed to their doors as a mark of the house being surveyed. This metal token, commonly known as 'V P Singh Token' or just 'Token' is even today revered as an identity document of the proof of pre-1990 existence by residents and government alike.

It was after the V P Singh survey that the settlement was named Jagdamba Camp, and thus a new *JJ Cluster* was born in official documents. To stop further encroachment the southern side of the settlement was marked, where a wall was built by the residents later[160]. The southern side beyond the *nullah* was being used by residents of Jagdamba Camp for subsistence farming. This wall cut off their access to the readily available farmland. However, there was little resistance to this move, since the residents were optimistic about receiving new permanent housing.

What started as rental sheds by local landlords now was an official *JJ Cluster* which was contained in the north and south by massive walls. This linear settlement got contained within the walls and started to grow internally. All the open and interstitial spaces were slowly taken up by new settlers or by the extensions of the existing families.

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[160] As recounted by most respondents during field interviews. There were some respondents who, however, claimed that the wall was built by the municipality.

Most of the women from the neighbourhood now work as domestic help in the neighbouring settlements. Many of them are associated with multiple houses, bringing in considerable share (sometimes more than 50%) of the household income. The men are either daily wage labourers or are engaged as drivers/caretakers in the neighbouring areas. Some residents even have shops and utilities, generally catering to the neighbourhood itself.

Further, most of the residents are willing to rent out any extra space as a means to additional income. The renting process happens via an informal introduction process, by which someone who lives in Jagdamba Camp introduces the renter to the owner. There is quite a diversity in Jagdamba Camp, but due to this introduction process, there are many people from the same community (usually regional and religious affinity) who tend to agglomerate.

3.2.2.2. House Types

Figure 7: Placement of houses in Jagdamba Camp

(© Author)

Most of the houses were built incrementally by the residents themselves. Although there is a growing use of contractors who operate from within the settlement. As the population grew the size of the houses came down and

people started building more floors. As of today, the plot size (frontage to the street) varies from 1.5 metres to 4.5 metres, and the depth of the plot varies from two metres to four metres. This makes the largest plot 18 square metres and the smallest plot as meagre as 3 square metres. These plots are not always rectangular, and the measurements are approximate. The diversity of plot size is very high and there is no concentration of bigger or smaller plots in a given location.

The initial huts were built as far from the *nullah* as possible because the land slopes higher closer to the *nullah*. As newer settlers arrived, the land closer to the *nullah* started getting filled, with those who came after the 1990s building on top of the *nullah* by channelizing it. Thus, the later settlers were concentrated more on the low-lying flood-prone areas of the settlement. This area, having constant flooding issues, therefore is regarded dirty and is a cause for class separation within the settlement.

Initially the houses were built as single unit huts and slowly it grew as the family grew and/or the income increased. Based on the size, the houses can be categorized as three types—

The first type would be the basic hut type, where four walls are made out of brick and an asbestos sheet is laid on top. These houses exist only in very small plots and very few in number.

The second type is the laying of a concrete roof. This is a big jump in the budget, because as laying of the roof also means that there need to be provision for a staircase (a concrete roof means eventually building new rooms on top).

The third type is building rooms on top of the concrete roof. This type range from building a single floor on top or incrementally going up to third or fourth floor. This stage comes as and when the family grows and each floor is given to a married son.

Another way to analyse the house type is through its placement. In general, there are three ways they are placed.

The first type are units facing the street. They are sometimes above or sometimes below the street level. These are the majority of houses being built in an incremental manner. The second placement type is bridging over the street. This happens when a house owner gets enough money to buy the roof of his/her neighbour. In some cases, the neighbour is across the street, and thus the upper floor of the buyer, spans across the street (see Figure 7). The third placement, which possibly came the last, is to put a slab on top of the *nullah* and build on top of it. Building on top of the *nullah* is particularly interesting because for one person (unit) it is very difficult to bear the cost of concreting the *nullah*, so usually the covering of the *nullah* with a concrete slab is a collaborative effort.


Figure 8: Sketch showing the ground floor being below the street level in Jagdamba Camp
(© Author)

3.2.2.3.   Flooding and Change in Grading

One of the main issues with the topography of the settlement which is sloping towards the *nullah* is the high possibility of flooding streets. To overcome this, over years, concrete was filled on the streets to raise its level to avoid flooding. This has led to a situation where many houses are below the street level, with the added issue of soft land and shallow foundations (sinking of the house), some are even one floor below the street (see Figure 8). This becomes extremely risky because of the chances of flooding and once that happens, there is no way to get the water out other than manually removing it.

Many of the construction work that now happens in the settlement are to raise the level of the house. So, they fill the lower floor and build a new floor on top. Yet there remain many houses which are below the level of the street.

3.2.3. Chirag Dilli
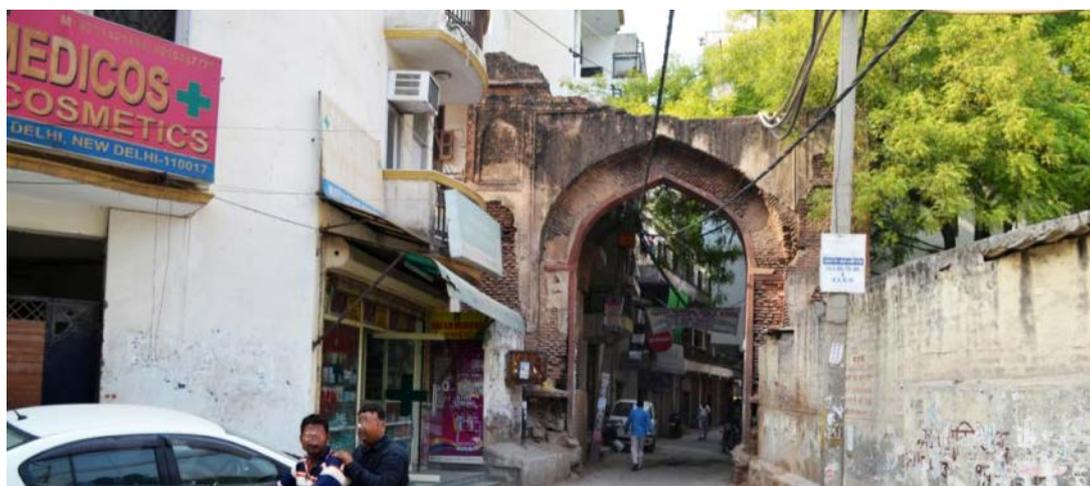
Figure 9: One of the entrance streets to Chirag Dilli

(© Author)

Chirag Dilli was built around the 14th-century Sufi saint's *Dargah* (shrine) who was popularly referred to as Chirag-e-Dilli (Light of Delhi). It consisted of a square fortification with a gate on each side. Chirag Dilli today is an Urban Village with hardware shops around in the periphery, and neighbourhood shops scattered inside. The streets leading from the gates to the *Dargah* are still dominant and are laid out with more commercial establishments.

The settlement also hosts multiple cottage industries, one of the most dominant ones are the manufacturing of *momos* (dumplings). This industry also employs many migrants, usually from Nepal and Darjeeling (further discussed in Chapter 5).

Urban Villages are exempted from building byelaws. Chirag Dilli can have remunerative commercial buildings wherever the owner pleases, but the pattern of commercial growth is governed by the urban fabric. Chirag Dilli is essentially a square in the layout, which arises from the old boundary wall (very little of which remains today). There is a road which circumvents the settlement, and then there are four gates. The circumventing road is wide enough, so the main commercial establishments (usually hardware shops, wood works and metal workshops) envelop the settlement on north, east and south side. The western side, where the new (poorer) migrants have settled, have smaller shops. The western side is also where the *nullah* (drain) is. Apart from the periphery, the interiors mainly have commercial establishments which cater to the neighbourhood itself.

3.2.3.1. Monuments and *Chowks*

Figure 10: Remnants of the old Chirag Dilli wall
(marked in red) Picture taken from the road circumventing the settlement. (© Author)

One of the most interesting aspects of the fabric of Chirag Dilli is the presence of numerous *chowks* of varying scales. A *Chowk* is essentially a road intersection where there is a sense of place, with presence of open space which is much wider than the street itself. Each *chowk* had a different characteristic in Chirag Dilli, for example, the *chowk* next to the *Dargah*, probably the

biggest in Chirag Dilli, is a mix of multiple uses. There are vegetable vendors and a large number of men who gather there to play cards. Residents claim that the character of the *chowk* changes during *Urs* (the yearly festival at the *Dargah* held on the death anniversary of the Sufi Saint buried in the *Dargah*). For some other *chowks* the character changes throughout the day, when different activities dominate based on the time of the day.

Chirag Dilli is a historic precinct, the *Dargah* being the living heritage; there are the four gates and the wall. There are also few unidentified mausoleums, which are now encroached upon by the residents. The whole settlement even though follows the pattern of the wall is at least one plot depth beyond (outside) the original historic wall (see Figure 10). The residents claimed that there is nexus between local politician and the police, because of which certain monuments are given on rent to the migrants.

3.3. Endnote

This chapter has outlined the major contours of the context with the primary aim of facilitating the reading of the core chapters (chapter four, five, and six). The first part of the chapter outlined a broad overview of the urbanization process and the city of Delhi and situated the core chapters in broader context of Delhi's development history. The events, details, and descriptions in this chapter were specifically chosen to complement those presented in the core chapters. In this regard, many facets were excluded, for example, the influence of Mughal Urban Planning on the British interventions, or the details of initial interviews in Khirki or Savda Ghevra. The second part has attempted to outline the fieldwork process and present a broad stroke image of the settlements studied for this thesis. This chapter acts as a window to the wide range of concerns that were taken up during the thesis process. In the following chapters I will present the three research papers, which were written as individual manuscripts, therefore, even though they do become part of the larger argument, they can be read independently. In the concluding chapter, I refer back to the concerns raised here and attempt to reinforce the broader argument.

The broad fea-
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...e details could be

...the Jamuna Bazar
...amuna Bazar slum
...leared.

...er cent. of the slum
...could not be taken
...this area without up-
...ccupations, should be
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...ew bund;

...notification under section
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...he land across the river
...he bund be issued.

...ecessary, a small grant, say,
...may be given to each family
...e to move to Jhilmila or
...from the Jamuna Bazar Area.

...m Clearance in the Jama
...Area, with particular refer-
...o the removal of fish and kabari
...—In regard to the clearance of
...lums in the Jama Masjid area it
...decided that the work should be
...edited.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN: May
I know, Sir, whether the Government
has decided to set up a slum clearance
board and if so, whether its person-
nel has been finalised?

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR: Speaking
subject to correction, I think that is
a question to be addressed to the
Ministry of Works, Housing and Sup-
ply.

SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM:
May I know, Sir, if this committee
has recommended the allocation of
some money for social work and for
initial expenditure in social welfare
centres?

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR: Firstly,
there was no committee. Secondly, it
was not one of the items on the
agenda, to furnish money to social
workers. Their idea was to see how
best to bring about slum clearance as
early as possible.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Put the question
in English.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN:
May I know from the hon. Minister,
how long a period will be taken in
removing all these slums from Delhi,
if this was decided by this conference?

श्री डी॰ पी॰ करमरकर : यह श्रभी कहना
मुश्किल है ।

‖[मौलाना एम॰ फारूकी : स्टेटमेंट

से यह जाहिर होता है कि देहली के खंडहरों
को साफ करने के सिलसिले में श्रब तक जो
कार्यवाही हुई है उसमें फलां जगह से लोग
जमुना बाजार खिसकाये गये हैं । क्या गवर्नमेंट
यह बतायेगी कि उनके लिए कोई श्रलहदा
जगह का भी वह इंतजाम कर रही है ?]

श्री डी॰ पी॰ करमरकर : जनाब, कोई
खिसकाये नहीं गये है, खुशी से गए हैं ।
बाजार से चंद श्रादमी श्रौर जा रहे हैं ।

श्री वेककीनन्दन नारायण : क्या मंत्री
महोदय से मैं यह जान सकता हूं कि इस कांफरेंस
में कोई मियाद तय हुई है जिसके श्रन्दर दिल्ली
के तमाम स्लम्स हटा दिये जायं ?

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‖[ ] Hindi transliteration.

4. INFORMALITY AND THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

4.1. Preface

This chapter presents the first paper of the thesis. It is an exploration of the first research sub-question of – (i) How informality manifests in the State's understanding of the urban? Initially, this question was planned to be developed using interviews with politicians of the various political parties in India. However, it was realized that such an exercise would only illuminate the contemporary situation. Contrarily, using of the parliamentary debates would outline a long, chronological, and politically diverse account of how informality manifests in the State's understanding of the urban.

The archive for this paper was extracted with multiple key words including informality (see section 2.1 for further details). However, the debates were all related to slums (figuratively or literally) and it grouped people and places against the theoretical position of this thesis. The state's approach to informality was found to be embodied in the concept of slum as a physical place. Therefore, it became eminent, to take slums as a case to explore the research question mentioned above.

The main focus during the analysis has been to learn from the text and not about it. The questions being asked and the answers delivered were seen as an attempt to theorize the urban by the actors involved. Thus, by this process I try to uncover, how various rationalities manifested and affected the physicality of the city and the urbanization process.

Authorship Statement: Single author.

Submitted to: 'Social & Cultural Geography', in July 2018.

Title: The making of slums: An analysis of debates in the Indian Parliament, 1953–2014

4.2. Abstract

Slums are a highly debated topic with an ever-shifting political position. This article traces this shift and the discursive construction of slums, from the debates from the first Indian parliament in 1953 to those in the one completed most recently in 2014. It analyses the archival data from the question hour of the upper house and complement it through the analysis of slum-related policies and legislation. Using the Foucauldian framework of governmentality and biopolitics, the article outlines the historical progression of the debates, the rationale around the conceptualization of slums, how they have been transformed into policy and/or legislation, and how the latter have changed the initial rationale in turn. The article shows how, over a period of 61 years, the slums were created in the parliament and how they have been transformed from a political subject into a technical object. During this process, furthermore, the article illustrates how the State has made itself indispensable to the issue, thereby narrowing the policy focus.

Keywords: slums; governmentality; parliamentary debates; calculation; problematization; India.

4.3. Introduction

In 1957, during a debate in the *Rajya Sabha* – the upper house of the Indian Parliament – one parliamentarian posed the following question: 'What is the definition of a slum, and which areas are declared slum areas?'[161]. The debate transcripts do not reveal whether this was a genuine enquiry for a better understanding of the issue or a pointed critique of slum conceptualization via a rhetorical question. Whatever the intent of the parliamentarian, the Chairman of the House (Speaker), instead of letting the minister reply, mocked the question by asking back: 'What is the definition of a slum? Physical or mental

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[161] Amolakh Chand, 'Slum Clearance in Delhi' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 2 September 1957), 2690, Rajya Sabha Debates, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/572219.

slum?'[162]. Contrastingly, by the early 2010s, there were multiple slum definitions resulting in data mismatches. Replying to one such question of data discrepancy between two survey departments, the minister stated that:

> … the Government is aware that the Census Office and the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) have come up with different estimates of India's slum population … The NSSO has covered only *two types* of slums i.e. Notified and Non-notified while Census has considered *three types* of slums, viz. Notified, Recognized and Identified[163] (emphasis added).

This excerpt shows a shift in the way slums were defined in the parliament, from a universally understood phenomenon to multiple precise definitions.

Slums have been the focus of international action for the betterment of marginalized populations, as exemplified through the three Habitat reports[164]. The emphasis was to improve human lives in and around undesirable settlements, using the term 'informal settlements' in the first report and 'slums' in the latter two. By contrast, Perlman's[165] work has shown that slums (or favelas) are the symptoms of larger economic disparities and that action on the slum itself will not yield any results if not accompanied by measures to reduce inequality. Nonetheless, the fascination with improving the slums or with building cities without slums continues, both as a political slogan and as a

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[162] Chand, 2690.

[163] R P N Singh [Minister of State in The Ministry of Home Affairs], Indian National Congress (INC)] cited in Smriti Zubin Irani, 'Differing Estimates of India's Slum Population' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 19 February 2014), 17, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/630918.

[164] 'The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (Habitat-I)', United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Vancouver, Canada: United Nations, June 1976);

'United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat-II)', United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Istanbul, Turkey: United Nations, June 1996);

'New Urban Agenda (Habitat-III)', United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Quito, Ecuador: United Nations, October 2016).

[165] Janice E. Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro*, 1. paperback print, Campus 235 (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1979).

policy paradigm. Therefore, the first question that this article engages with is, why States focus so much on slum improvement while it has been well known (at least since the late 1970s) that this cannot be the remedy to marginality.

Slums are a highly politicized topic in India as elsewhere. Over the years, the State has devised means to measure, categorize and map them, to enable rational action. The changes in the definition, as pointed from the excerpt at the beginning of this section, is a point in case and different slum definitions across various countries is another. The way slums are being defined is varying, i.e., the way they are understood, has been changing. Resulting from varying definitions, a slum today may not be a slum tomorrow or a slum in one country would not be considered a slum in another. For example, the government, defined parts of Old Delhi as slums in the mid-1950s that by the late 1990s were declared a special heritage zone. Therefore, the second question that this article engages with is, how slums are discursively produced.

To discuss the above two questions, the article analyses parliamentary debates from the upper house in India. It seeks to show how different definitions and measurements have shaped state actions on slums, and how these actions, in turn, have shaped government rationality in a cyclic process. The government rationality here is understood as the '…number of principles and rules which are above or dominate the state and are external to it'[166]. Interestingly, this shifting rationality towards defining slums reveals to have had a stronger policy impact than government changes (changes in the head of state or of the political parties) contrary to the arguments of Sharan et. al.[167] in the context of Chennai. Further, the article traces the journey of rationales, leading to what Taylor and Broeders[168] has called 'datafication' of the global South.

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[166] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*, ed. Michel Senellart, François Ewald, and Alessandro Fontana (Basingstoke [England] ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4.

[167] Tara Saharan, Karin Pfeffer, and Isa Baud, 'Shifting Approaches to Slums in Chennai: Political Coalitions, Policy Discourses and Practices: Shifting Approaches to Slums in Chennai', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 6 April 2018.

[168] Linnet Taylor and Dennis Broeders, 'In the Name of Development: Power, Profit and the Datafication of the Global South', *Geoforum* 64 (August 2015): 229–37.

The following section develops the theoretical framework of this article based on the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and biopolitics. The subsequent section describes the methods and outlines the archive selection and its scope. Thereafter the presentation and discussion of the results are broken down into four sections with four identified eras, which are explained below in the methods section (i) early-1950s until late-1960s (ii) early-1970s until mid-1980s (iii) mid-1980s until late-1990s, and (iv) early-2000s until 2014.

4.4.   Statistics, Governmentality, and the Slum

Critiquing the usage of the term 'slum' in the United Nations' 'Cities without Slums' initiative, Gilbert[169] argues that the use of statistics to investigate slums renders them an absolute entity and a condition, while they should be, like poverty, conceptualized in relative terms. According to him, the notion of a slum is relative to its context, thus there cannot be a static and ubiquitous slum definition. Therefore, measuring slums is a political undertaking that is linked with the intent to act. In Gilbert's analysis, the acting upon slums is to eliminate them. He concludes that:

> To make real sense, the baseline definition of a slum, like poverty, has to be both absolute and relative. But if slums are relational and as much a figment of the mind as a physical construct, then it is difficult for any government or international organization to eliminate them [or to act on them][170].

Other researchers have argued that to intervene, in a society or in the urban development, the State needs to count and produce knowledge regarding the governable subjects[171]. It is through this knowledge creation that neoliberal

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[169] Alan Gilbert, 'The Return of the Slum: Does Language Matter?', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31, no. 4 (7 December 2007): 697–713.

[170] Gilbert, 700.

[171] D. Asher Ghertner, 'Rule by Aesthetics: World-Class City Making in Delhi', in *Worlding Cities* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 279–306;

governance systems transform slums into a technical problem of population and numbers[172]. Foucault described this process as biopolitics through knowledge:

> … "biopolitics," by which I meant the attempt, starting from the eighteenth century, to rationalize the problems posed to governmental practice by phenomena characteristic of a set of living beings forming a population: health, hygiene, birthrate, life expectancy, race… We know the increasing importance of these problems since the nineteenth century, and the political and economic issues they have raised up to the present.[173]

Foucault uses the mid-nineteenth-century England's health legislations to develop his arguments. Biopolitics, as the progression by which a population is produced and is rendered knowable to the State. Therefore, the slum can be understood as quintessentially a concept of the State. The slum, as a spatial category and as a population, needs to be known by the State so that the latter becomes able to act on it. That is, the slum as a knowable/recognizable subject has to be produced by the State for it to intervene. This idea of government dealing with a population is further explored in Foucault's notion of governmentality:

> [by the term governmentality I mean] The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of

Stephen Legg, 'Governmentality, Congestion and Calculation in Colonial Delhi', *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, no. 5 (October 2006): 709–29;

James C Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

[172] John Harriss, *Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital* (London: Anthem Press, 2002).

[173] Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, 317.

knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.[174]

The key focus here is on measurement (including categorization and classifications) as a result of knowledge creation. Foucault's[175] own analysis shows, how with a certain rationality, the measurement tools are expended and produces specific governance knowledge, and this knowledge, in turn, changes the initial rationality. To understand the position of slums, it is necessary to look first into what was getting measured and the rationality behind it, the knowledge this measurement produced, and finally how this knowledge changed the initial rationality over time. This article attempts to explore this cyclic process. Thereby biopolitics is understood as the process that produces slums as a knowable subject, and governmentality is seen as the process of conducting the conduct of this subject.

Developing the Foucauldian framework, Miller and Rose[176] have introduced the concept of intellectual technologies. Discussing the role of language, they argue that:

> Vocabularies and theories are important not so much because of the meanings that they produce, but as intellectual technologies, ways of rendering existence thinkable and practicable, amenable to the distinctive influence of various techniques of inscription, notation and calculation.[177]

They articulated the methodological framework in a twofold process. First, investigating the rationality of the governance, i.e., to uncover the rationale which drives the State to act, or consider a specific case as an issue to be dealt

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[174] Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 102.

[175] Foucault, 'Governmentality'.

[176] Peter Miller and Nikolas S. Rose, *Governing the Present: Administering Economic, Social and Personal Life*, Reprinted (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).

[177] Miller and Rose, 51.

with. Second, investigating the techniques of the inscription, notation, and calculation which are employed to understand this identified issue. This twofold process is further broken down into six questions by Legg[178], which he used to unpack the process of slum governance in colonial Delhi. Legg uses these questions to operationalize how the colonial state devised policies to govern the population from a distance. Using the core tool of calculation, he outlines the questions as –

> [1] What is to be calculated? (Episteme) [2] How are calculations envisaged and presented? (Visibility) [3] Who is calculating and who is being calculated? (Identities) [4] How are governmental calculations put into practice? (Techne) [5] How are calculations thrown into question? (Problematizations) [6] What sort of calculations distribute resources within a regime? (Ethos).[179]

Therefore, we can see an expanded understanding of governmentality and biopolitics that not only govern the action on slums, but also transform the questioning of/on slums. Exploring this notion of governmentality to examine the 2010 Arab spring, Bogaert[180] describes how neo-liberalization unfolds with respect to Casablanca slums. Discussing the neoliberal shift in reading the slum subjects, he argues that

> … poverty and social inequality are seen as mere technical problems that can be resolved through market-oriented approaches that reflect the requirements of efficiency, expertise and the best cost-benefit analysis. The social problems of slum dwellers have been reduced to a housing problem that can be measured and calculated.[181]

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[178] Legg, 'Governmentality, Congestion and Calculation in Colonial Delhi'.

[179] Legg, 710.

[180] Koenraad Bogaert, 'The Problem of Slums: Shifting Methods of Neoliberal Urban Government in Morocco: The Problem of Slums: Urban Government in Morocco', *Development and Change* 42, no. 3 (May 2011): 709–31.

[181] Bogaert, 728.

Bogaert's work looks at the relationships between poverty and slums, arguing that it is because of the inclusion in the neoliberal economic system that the poor are disenfranchised, rather than due to their exclusion. His analysis of Casablanca slum governance over 30 years illustrates the long-term policy process leading to the development of the neoliberal governmentalities.

It is useful to juxtapose Legg's analysis of the colonial government's slum conceptualization with that of Bogaert's neoliberal shift. Legg[182], shows how the colonial State related health and well-being to Delhi's high-density neighbourhoods. Therefore, the whole focus of State intervention fell on decongesting these neighbourhoods via relocating residents evenly across the city of Delhi. Likewise, Bogaert's[183] analysis shows how the State causally linked poverty and social inequality to housing issues, thus the focus on housing improvement for poverty alleviation. These analyses point to two main aspects; first, irrespective of the plurality of the issue at hand, in both the cases, the State reduces the issues to a specific aspect on which it can act – a project. For the State to act on Delhi's health and well-being issues, it devised the project of decongestion. Thus, the State mobilizes intellectual technologies to render the project (Delhi's decongestion) as the obvious solution to multifarious problems of health and well-being. Similarly, the diverse issue of Casablanca's poverty and inequality is reduced to housing. Furthermore, when the State starts to act on these projects, understandably, other related aspects surface. In Delhi, for example, the issue of the emotional relationship to ancestral property/land, which discouraged the residents to be relocated, was dealt with force by the State to be able to ply by the project of decongestion. This results in the second aspect whereby, in its need to act on these projects, the State's initial rationale is sidelined by itself, to be able to execute the project. There are multiple other examples of how the State takes up a concern and breaks it down to a project. For example, Arabindoo[184] argued how the State's move to reduce poverty in India has focused on the eradication of slums,

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[182] Legg, 'Governmentality, Congestion and Calculation in Colonial Delhi'.

[183] Bogaert, 'The Problem of Slums'.

[184] Pushpa Arabindoo, 'Rhetoric of the "Slum": Rethinking Urban Poverty', *City* 15, no. 6 (December 2011): 636–46.

although the government statistics itself show that only about half the urban poor live in slums.

However, these cases require a further expansion of the framework to consider the State's legitimacy to act on certain issues. In Legg's case, for example, one has to ask, how the issue of health and well-being of private citizens became a State concern and how the State legitimized itself to act on these issues. Referring back to the vignette at the beginning of the introduction of this article, one needs to examine the reasons why the State in the 1950s was unwilling to have a slum definition and why this changed over time so that (competing) slum definitions became the norm by the late 2000s. Gilbert's[185] concerns regarding the usage of the term slum is understandable, as it opens up the question of what the slum (project) is a front for. The State action on slums is not to act on slums itself, but it is a project that emanates from other concerns, e.g., the concern of poverty as shown by Arabindoo[186] and Bogaert[187] or health and well-being as shown by Legg[188]. Therefore, it is important to uncover the process of how certain concerns are taken up by the State and how this leads to particular projects. In this article, I trace this process to understand what concerns are framed by the State to act on slums. As we have to understand slums in their relative dimension, this analysis also points to the State's theorization of the urban more generally.

4.5. Methods

India's Constitution defines the division of responsibilities between the Central Government[189] and the State Governments. Urban development and thus the issue of slums are the State Governments' prerogative. However, the Central

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[185] Gilbert, 'The Return of the Slum'.

[186] Arabindoo, 'Rhetoric of the "Slum"'.

[187] Bogaert, 'The Problem of Slums'.

[188] Legg, 'Governmentality, Congestion and Calculation in Colonial Delhi'.

[189] The Constitution uses the term 'Union Government' for the government at federal level, and 'State Government' at state level. Nonetheless, parliamentarians, media, and the general public use the term 'Central Government' for the union/federal government. In this article, the terms Central Government and State Governments are used.

Government has been interfering from the beginning of independent India in urban development and slum issues through advice, directives and funding schemes, and model legislation. This article looks at how these interventions have been shaped at the Central Government level in the parliament.

The Indian parliament, designed after the Westminster model, consists of two houses/chambers. The upper house is called *Rajya Sabha* with a constitutional provision of maximum 250 members, and the lower house, the *Lok Sabha*, has a maximum of 552 members. The *Rajya Sabha* has equal powers as the *Lok Sabha*, except in money bills. Furthermore, for the formation of the Central Government, only the majorities in the *Lok Sabha* are considered. Unlike their counterparts in the lower house, *Rajya Sabha* members are indirectly elected by State Legislators for a six-year period, one third of its members retiring every two years. *Rajya Sabha* composition has continuity of members compared to *Lok Sabha* where all members are (re-) elected every five years or less.

Every working day of the parliament begins with the question hour when the members have the opportunity to ask questions to the ministers. Typically, these questions are independent of the legislations being currently discussed in the parliament and they therefore present a diverse set of issues raised by the parliamentarians. Such debates from the question hour from 1953 (the first session) until 2014 (the last session of the most recently completed government) form the article's main dataset. It consists of a total of 1228 debates. These debates were identified by searching for the words 'slum', *'basti', 'JJ'* (varying combinations)*,* and 'informal' in their content. (Henceforth, these selected debates are referred to as *Rajya Sabha* debates). The debates used these terms interchangeably and almost always referred to slums either figuratively or literally. *Basti* is a Hindi word for a township/neighbourhood, while *JJ* is short for *Jhuggi Jhopri* (different spellings used) meaning slum hutments. To understand these debates in their wider context, policy documents and five-year plans have also been analysed. To gauge the position of the quoted member, their name and party affiliation are mentioned, the

latter were found on the *Rajya Sabha* website[190]; in the case of the quoted ministers, their ministry and party affiliation are indicated.

The results are discussed in four conceptual periods (i) early-1950s to late-1960s (ii) early-1970s to mid-1980s (iii) mid-1980s to late-1990s (iv) early-2000s until 2014. These eras have emerged from the analysis of the archive and the subsequent mapping of the trends in the slum-related debates (see Figure 11). Each of these sections conceptually categorizes different government rationalities in a chronological order. However, the identified eras do not represent a static conceptual framing of the timeline, but they are to be seen as a heuristic device. The boundaries of the four eras are not fixed but overlapping, and the dividing lines of this timeline are amorphous.

4.6. The era of epidemiology: From early-1950s until late-1960s

At independence in 1947, British India was divided into two countries, India and East-West Pakistan. The partition led to large-scale migration to-and-from either side. A large number of people moved from West Pakistan to Delhi and settled into the Old Delhi *katras*. *Katras* are compact private neighbourhoods developed during the Mughal era. Due to a high residential demand from post-partition migrants, the *katra* owners divided the already compact buildings into multiple tenements with very little sanitation provisions. Resource-constrained migrants came to live in these high-density neighbourhoods that lacked civic amenities[191].

Delhi at the time was administered directly by the Central Government, which encouraged the *Rajya Sabha* to discuss the issues of Old Delhi *katras*, which

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[190] Rajya Sabha Secretariat, 'List of Former Rajya Sabha Members Since 1952', Rajya Sabha, 2014, http://164.100.47.5/Newmembers/alphabeticallist_all_terms.aspx.

[191] The poor housing condition of Old Delhi was not a result of partition-led migration alone. The density upsurge and deterioration of amenities have already been a concern in British India. For further details on the pre-independence era see Stephen Legg, 'Postcolonial Developmentalities: From the Delhi Improvement Trust to the Delhi Development Authority', in *Colonial and Post-Colonial Geographies of India*, ed. Saraswati Raju, M. Satish Kumar, and Stuart Corbridge (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 184–204, and Nipesh Palat Narayanan, 'Critique of The Post Colonial Indian Capital City-State', *Shelter*, 2014, 1–8.

were often referred to as slums. Two related concerns were expressed in the *Rajya Sabha*: (i) the lacking civic amenities, mostly ascribed to increasing population densities and deteriorating building conditions; and (ii) the negative impact of these conditions on the citizens. Both points reflect a reasoning similar to the one raised in the wake of the First World War in Britain[192], pointing to a colonial continuity in the debates. Deficient amenities and neighbourhood congestion due to high density were taken as the major slum-defining factors. By contrast, other causes for the development of slum-like conditions, such as migration induced by religious and caste violence, poverty, and exclusionary planning (both economic and spatial), were largely ignored in the debates. The framing reduced the issue of slums to their physical aspects (lack of civic amenities, overcrowding) and thus associated the slum to a circumscribed endemic physical space. This is strikingly similar to the approach towards slums in the early 1900s England, which Garside articulates as:

> The poverty of those trapped in the slums by the mechanisms of the urban land and labour markets had come to be seen not as structural and inevitable but as pathological and preventable.[193]

The initial parliamentary debates imply a latent truism related to identifying and categorizing settlements as a slum. For example, to a question about slum clearance and existing petitions, the minister replied:

> Not as such [there has been no petition for clearing the slums], but visits to slum areas give ample proof of the demand for better conditions…[194]

The discourse of slums as something self-evident marks the *Rajya Sabha* discussions until 1956. At that time, the government's control over these areas

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[192] W M Frazer, 'Housing and Slum Clearance', *Journal of the Royal Sanitary Institute* 54, no. 7 (1933): 376–87.

[193] Patrica L. Garside, '"Unhealthy Areas": Town Planning, Eugenics and the Slums, 1890–1945', *Planning Perspectives* 3, no. 1 (January 1988): 27.

[194] Amrit Kaur [Health Minister, INC] cited in Savitry Devi Nigam, 'Clearing of Slums in Delhi' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 13 September 1955), 2782, Rajya Sabha Debates, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/580801.

was limited as most *katras* were on private land. In 1956, the Central Government introduced the Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Act (henceforth the 1956 act) that gave the government power to notify a particular area as a slum. The 1956 act was similar to the 1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act of England, but gave more power to the government to interfere in private property. Once notified, the government was legally entitled to intervene; it could order demolitions and mandate the land owner(s) to rebuild the dwellings. During the presentation of this bill, the minister summarized previous slum preoccupations as –

> The city of Delhi is now overcrowded, and in certain areas the conditions are extremely detrimental, not only to health and morals, but also to the safety of the people living in those areas. The buildings are of a ramshackle character, dilapidated and hardly fit for human habitation. There are no amenities of any type, neither drinking water, nor light, nor roads, nor drains. So, they are an eyesore. And what is much worse, they are dangerous to the very safety, health and morals of the people, not only those who live there, but also those who occupy houses in the neighbourhood.[195]

The slum was theorized as an epidemic to be contained, a view that can be found from the early 1950s until late 1960s in the *Rajya Sabha* debates. During this era, the term 'slum area' was most frequently used. The connotation was that slum areas, like contaminated areas, need special treatment. This outlook and terminology create a two-fold conceptualization. First, slums were primarily conceived as a health issue, an endemic location in the city, resulting in around 33 percent of the slum-related questions in the *Rajya Sabha* to be directed to the Health Ministry during that period. See figure 11 for details, where the (i) government programmes (ii) political regimes (with respect to the Prime Minister and the political party), and (iii) frequency of questions asked,

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[195] Govind Ballabh Pant [Home Minister, INC] cited in Govind Ballabh Pant, 'The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Bill, 1956' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 18 December 1956), 2974, Rajya Sabha Debates, Rajya Sabha Debates, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/575530.

are overlaid on a timeline. Second, slum demolitions, which were common in this era, were seen as rescue operations.

By framing slums as a public health issue, the State legitimized and delineated its action via slum demolitions without any consultation or participation of the residents. Discussing democratic principles in planning, Garside[196] has argued that due to the World Wars, politics in Britain was against totalitarian planning ideas of both fascist and the communist ideologies, which paved way for more democratic planning paradigm. However, Indian politics did not see such aversions and the state took responsibility for improving the situation via totalitarian plans.

The 1956 act represents the first step of the State to provide itself with the instruments for acting on slums, as they could now be demarcated and notified. This also led to a questioning of the above-mentioned self-evident nature of slums: Because there was no official slum definition provided in the 1956 act, parliamentarians increasingly contested the demarcation of certain areas as a slum. Therefore, what started as clear understanding of the problem (the slum) and the precise solution (slum demolition) started to become contested and politicized after the 1956 act.

It should, however, be noted that any focused attempt to define slums was regularly avoided, as shown with the example in the introduction. This period was marked by more qualitative anecdotal debates that either indirectly contest the idea of slums or added to its conceptualization through various political positions. The following excerpt serves as an example:

> Raghubir Sinh [INC]: May I know, Sir, what is the position in respect of the new slums being created for want of repairs and of roads as well?
>
> D. P. Karmarkar [Minister of Health, INC]: Sir, a road out of repair is not a slum…[197]

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[196] Garside, "Unhealthy Areas".

[197] Venkat Krishna Dhage, 'Slum Clearance in New Delhi' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 19 November 1957), 218, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/571612.

Furthermore, in the same debate a more direct probing occurs –

> W. S. Barlingay [INC]: In respect of that part of Old Delhi for which there is no scheme for underground sewerage, may I ask whether that will not be regarded as a slum area?

> Chairman: It is a matter of definition.[198]

These debates present an interesting paradox: while there seems to be a consensus on the conceptualization of slums as infected areas, it proved difficult to concretely delimit slums in a physical space, as opposed to the intent of the 1956 act. The subject of the slum was not clearly formed. The idea of infected areas was so embedded that the various issues raised (cf. above two quotes) were subsumed within the all-encompassing action of slum clearance, e.g. –

> Dalpat Singh [Other]: … what special arrangement the Government is making in the matter of drinking water and medical facilities, in view of the unhealthy localities in the various cities? …

> B. S. Murthy [Minister of State in The Ministry of Health and Family Planning and Minister of State in The Ministry of Works, Housing and Urban Development, INC]: Sir, once the slums are cleared, the insanitary conditions will *automatically* disappear and water supply and other facilities will be provided.[199] (emphasis added)

In this era, these contestations on slum conceptualization can be roughly classified into three clusters (i) aesthetics (ii) deficiencies, and (iii) legitimacy. Aesthetics refer to the nonconformity of neighbourhoods to the modern visual standards. The problem of slums is often referred to as an 'eyesore', which the then Home Minister also uses in the first quote of this section. The aesthetic contestation was also related to larger concerns of image consciousness and

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[198] Dhage, 220.

[199] Krishan Kant, 'Slum Clearance Schemes' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 31 March 1970), 3, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/491049.

development. In 1970, drawing attention to the media coverage, a parliamentarian emphasized –

> A. D. Mani [INC]: May I ask the Minister whether his attention has been drawn to the description in the foreign press that Calcutta is the biggest slum in the world, and it is a disgrace to us. In view of the fact that Calcutta is the centre of our export trade and also the centre of the engineering industry, may I know whether he would persuade the Prime Minister to make a block grant to the State of West Bengal for constructing tenements to remove the slums which are infesting the city of Calcutta?[200]

These aesthetic considerations resurge again during the early 2000s in the judiciary debates. Bhan[201] have discussed this phenomenon in the context of Delhi, where citizenship rights of slum dwellers have been suspended in the court of law using the aesthetics argument, making slums worthy of demolitions.

The second cluster relates to the deficiencies of sanitation related infrastructure in a neighbourhood to recognize it as a slum. As shown previously, there were multiple debates that point to infrastructure deficiencies as a slum identifier, which is intertwined with the politics of aesthetics. For example, in a debate titled 'Slum clearance in New Delhi', the question was framed using the phrase 'dirt and squalor'[202] instead of the term 'slum'. Even the then Health Minister replied with the same framing. Swanson[203] has discussed a similar pattern with regard to the South African

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[200] Kant, 3.

[201] Gautam Bhan, *In the Public's Interest: Evictions, Citizenship and Inequality in Contemporary Delhi*, Geographies of Justice and Social Transformation Series 30 (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2016).

[202] Dhage, 'Slum Clearance in New Delhi', 215.

[203] Maynard W. Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', *The Journal of African History* 18, no. 3 (1977): 387–410.

sanitation discourse. He linked these concerns arising from colonial planning ideologies, comparing similar cases in Dakar, Paris, and London.

The third cluster portrays slums as illegal and therefore illegitimate. The settlements may not be illegal, but the discourse renders them so. In a 1960 debate, for example, Maheswar Naik [INC] points to slum growth by stating:

> While the aim of the Government is to clear the city of slum conditions, why is it that the Government were not vigilant before these unauthorized constructions came into being?[204]

Such framings do not directly label the slum as illegal, but implicitly constructs such an understanding by linking slum growth to lack of vigilance by the government.

To sum up, the slum was initially understood as a self-evident concept in this era. Hence, the 1956 act had no clear slum definition, but it opened up vigorous contestations on defining the idea of slums in the legislature. Conceptualized through the lenses of aesthetics, deficiency, and illegality, attempts were made to politically contest and pluralize the State action. These debates also led to the construction of a slum subject albeit not precise.

4.7.   Slums as necessary but improvable evil: From early-1970s until mid-1980s

In the 1950s and 1960s, the government was attempting to demolish and rebuild all the slums. To resettle the relocated slum dwellers, land needed to be acquired and developed. In the early 1960s, the government decided to massively buy land to facilitate planning[205], which was later referred to as

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[204] Maheshwar Naik, 'Unauthorised Constructions in Class IV Colonies' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 3 March 1960), 2570, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/561665.

[205] Venkat Krishna Dhage, 'Prime Minister's Letter to Chief Ministers of States about the Development of Cities' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 18 February 1960), http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/562101.

'socializing land'[206]. In Delhi, the Central Government acquired so much land that by the 1970s most of the newly emerging slums were located on government land[207].

While the slum clearance programmes continued, various problems related to slums became more evident thanks to the debates post the 1956 act. By the early 1970s, the focus on health issues became diversified and other slum-related problems, including employment, education, infrastructure, and other amenities like water supply and waste management, were addressed. Concern for these issues started to problematize the previous emphasis on aesthetics, the lack of amenities, and the illegality of slums. This changing problematization of slum also cast doubt on the project of slum relocations, as a parliamentarian pointed out:

> Krishan Kant [INC]: … Sir, what you are actually doing is you are removing them from one slum and putting them in another where the conditions are very clumsy and insanitary and they are away from their places of work. May I know what the Government of India is going to do about it?[208]

To a similar probing, the minister replied:

> H. K. L. Bhagat [Minister of State in The Ministry of Works and Housing, INC]: (a) The constructions have been allowed in accordance with the approved layout plans, which again are in accordance with the Master Plan and the zoning regulations. It is not correct to say that the clusters of small houses have become slums.[209]

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[206] A. G. Kulkarni et al., 'National Housing Policy' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 9 August 1972), 12, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/473058.

[207] Cedric Pugh, 'Housing and Land Policies in Delhi', *Journal of Urban Affairs* 13, no. 3 (October 1991): 367–82.

[208] Kant, 'Slum Clearance Schemes', 2.

[209] Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha, 'Construction of Second Storey on DDA Flats in Janakpuri' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 24 March 1976), 23, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/438176.

The government's evasion of such criticism by pointing to the planned nature of the resettlements became the norm. The fact that a resettlement was planned got uncritically equated with the neighbourhood being legitimate, desirable, and better. Town planning has become the main governance tool for dealing with slums in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Further, planning became a tool to discursively produce the slum, that is, slum as outside of planning, which continues till date. For example, Ghertner[210] discusses how illegal real-estate development gets legitimized by claiming that it was planned while slums are penalized for similar or even lesser degree of illegality in contemporary India.

Furthermore, the increased recognition of multiple slum-related problems shifted the discourse towards an acknowledgement that to solve the problem of slums, one requires better understanding. The government's standpoint moved from one of resolve (to remove and resettle slums) to one of uncertainty, leading to the adoption of 'pilot projects'[211], which can be seen as a stop-gap solution because the project of slum relocation seemed no more viable.

The high cost and ineffectiveness of slum relocations further encouraged the government to shift its focus towards providing basic amenities in slums, which changed the discourse on slum demolitions. For the first time, demolitions were interpreted as a government action that reduces housing stock. Slums were no longer seen as epidemic areas but as potentially improvable localities. It became therefore worthwhile and necessary to improve the substandard houses and amenities for the upgrading of the slum dwellers' living standards.

However, from June 1975 until March 1977, India was under an emergency rule, where the democratic processes were momentarily suspended. During

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[210] D Asher Ghertner, 'India's Urban Revolution: Geographies of Displacement beyond Gentrification', *Environment and Planning A* 46, no. 7 (2014): 1554–71.

[211] Krishna Chandra Panda, Mahendra Kumar Mohta, and Biharilal Naranji Antani, 'Development of Jhhuggi-Colonies in Delhi' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 2 December 1970), 5, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/484522.

this time, brutal slum demolitions took place, especially in Delhi[212]. After the emergency, there was massive support in the *Rajya Sabha* to discard the slum demolition policy completely. Multiple questions were raised to understand the status of slum dwellers who had been evicted during the emergency period. Nonetheless, there was a continuity in the discourse of slums as housing stock a few years before, during and after the emergency period.

The discursive shift towards slums as improvable localities also led in 1972 to a slum improvement scheme, the Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS). EIUS outlined a framework for the provision of basic amenities such as toilets, drinking water, roads, etc. Similar to the 1956 act, EIUS did not provide any definition of slums. However, the material implications were very different. While the notification of an area as a slum under the 1956 act implied the possibility of eviction for residents and a liability for the local property owners to invest in improvements or pay for demolitions, a neighbourhood delineated as a slum under the EIUS received investments from the Central Government for civic amenity improvements. Consequently, the definition and delimitation of slums were no longer questioned and contested. Instead, the debates in the *Rajya Sabha* became centred on the quality and adequacy of the government provisions in the demarcated slum areas. Questions became focused on details of the scheme and its impact on the quality of life of the slum dwellers. Typical questions would be:

> … whether Government have prepared a massive plan on slum improvement programmes to be undertaken in the country in next five years[213]

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[212] Emma Tarlo, *Unsettling Memories: Narratives of the Emergency in Delhi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[213] Devendra Nath Dwivedi [INC], Ambika Soni [INC] cited in Devendra Nath Dwivedi and Ambika Soni, 'Plan on Slum Improvement Programmes' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 29 November 1978), 48, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/425666.

: … whether Government have made any survey of the living standard of the people in various States;[214]

During this period, the channelling of slum-related government funding changed as well. From the early 1950s to the late 1960s, the slum schemes by the Central Government consisted of budget allocation to the State Governments. These were tied funds to be utilized only towards purposes set by the Central Government. However, many State Governments repeatedly failed to utilize the centrally allocated funds. Due to these failures, the Central Government momentarily transferred slum redevelopment's full responsibility to the State Governments in 1969 and simply allotted a block amount of untied funding to the State Governments, that is, without giving directions on the specific use of these funds. The State Governments were free to decide on how best to spend this money on the redevelopment of the slums.

In 1982, however, the Central Government included slum redevelopment in its 20-point programme (TPP), a list of 20 issues to be prioritized. As slum improvement is officially a State Government subject, its inclusion in the TPP meant that a central ministry could define targets and goals and then evaluate the implementation and impact of the State Government actions and projects (using data provided by the State Governments). The Central Government used the EIUS to implement the TPP regarding slum improvement and measured its success mainly in terms of the number of people getting access to basic amenities. This focus represents a major shift from the previous emphasis on slum demolitions. More generally, through the introduction of this monitoring system, which Miller and Rose[215] would call an intellectual technology, the Central Government was able to discipline the State Governments.

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[214] Sadashiv Bagaitkar [Janata Party (JP)] cited in Sadasiv Bagaitkar, 'Living Standard of the People' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 7 December 1978), 128, Rajya Sabha Debates, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/424100.

[215] Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present*.

The slums were seen as amorphously distributed in the city, and the government's role was to identify the deficiencies and cure the symptoms therein.

For the provision of civic amenities, however, more comprehensive slum data was required. Rather than gathering slum population data for their intended removal, the discussions now shifted towards quality issues in slums. In addition to the already existing slum quantifications, the slum surveys added information on how many people (within slums or outside) have access to water, are employed, etc.

Nonetheless, there was no slum census. Further, the debates shifted to a more general understanding of the urban situation. The government resorted to sample surveys, or reports by planning organizations, producing gross approximations, as the following reply excerpt suggests –

> Sunder Singh Bhandari [Jana Sangh (JS)], L K Advani [JS], Ram Lakhan Prasad Gupta [JS]: … (a) [What is] the state-wise number of slum dwellers during the last three years, year-wise; (b) the number of slum areas in the country which have no provision for public conveniences; …

> Bhishma Narain Singh [Minister of Works and Housing, INC]: Though no accurate figures are available, it has been estimated that about 20 percent of the urban population may be living in slums…Statistics in regard to slum areas without public conveniences are not available.[216]

To sum up, there are three major discursive shifts in this era distinguishing it from the previous one. First, the slum is understood as a neighbourhood that houses people rather than as an infected area from where people need to be rescued. Therefore, larger housing-related issues, such as education, employment, health, and sanitation, got embedded in the problematization of slums. Second, the complex phenomenon of the slum was discussed within a

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[216] Sunder Singh Bhandari, Lal Krishna Advani, and Ram Lakhan Prasad Gupta, 'Statewise Number of Slum Areas for Slum Dweller' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 26 November 1980), 207, Rajya Sabha Debates, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/402458.

larger urban framework compared to the previous era. Questions of slum growth were related to city growth rather than to anecdotal references to the urban poor squatting on available land. Third, these two shifts demanded a more comprehensive understanding of urban growth and mechanisms for the State to investigate urban growth towards producing a knowable subject of slums.

4.8. Cities as Engines of Economic growth: From mid-1980s until late-1990s

The demand for a broader understanding of urban growth and development encouraged the Central Government to appoint a National Commission on Urbanization (NCU), which submitted its report in 1985. Outlining its focus, the minister recounts:

> The Commission came up with specific suggestions on a broad range of policy interventions necessary to bring about more efficient urban settlement management which could generate rapid economic growth with equity and social justice.[217]

Prior to the NCU report, the situation of cities was seen as a liability and the policies were focused towards bringing the social good to the population. By contrast, the NCU report represented cities as engines of economic growth, whereby spending on cities was now understood as an investment for a higher economic growth trajectory of the country. This discourse was quickly adopted in the *Rajya Sabha* where economic aspects of government actions were highlighted. In 1986, answering the question regarding the slum situation, the minister stated:

> Dalbir Singh [Minister of State in The Ministry of Urban Development, INC]: ... A comprehensive study has been undertaken on the dimension of

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[217] M Arunachalam [Minister of State in The Ministry of Urban Development, INC] cited in Ramdas Agarwal, 'National Commission on Urbanisation' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 6 December 1991), 214, Rajya Sabha Debates, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/238428.

investments in slum improvement and urban development programme and its efficacy and impact on the quality of life of slum dwellers. The study will enable the Government to review and if necessary modify its schemes.[218]

It is noteworthy that slum improvement funds were being referred to as 'investments' in the above quote and elsewhere, while earlier they were called either 'grant' or 'spending'. More generally, development and the economy became the crucial elements in the discussions (as can be seen from the quote above). A similar debate was revived at a global scale by early 2000s with the Millennium Development Goals (Goal 7, Target 11). Huchzermeyer[219] has argued that how the alliance between World Bank, United Nations Environmental Programme, and UN-Habitat, resulting in the Cities Alliance, sought to make cities bankable and competitive. As a result, the slogan of 'cities without slums', which essentially entails converting the cities to bankable entities and removal of slums, was geared towards attracting foreign direct investment. However, the Indian economy was not open to foreign direct investment until the early 1990s, therefore the discussion shows the state as the primary investor.

While the understanding of slums as a complex phenomenon in the urban milieu continued in this era, town planning, which earlier was considered a crucial solution, was de-centred. Instead, the complex urban issues, including the slums, were now to be dealt with by the larger policy framework, as the following excerpt illustrates:

Sheila Kaul [Minister of Urban Development, INC]: … the haphazard growth of cities including growth of slums are dependent on a complex set of factors and not town planning aspects alone … inadequate local financial resources to provide civic amenities and develop infrastructure

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[218] D B Chandre Gowda, 'Slum Dwellers' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 8 August 1986), 184, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/324519.

[219] Marie Huchzermeyer, 'Troubling Continuities: Use and Utility of the Term "Slum"', in *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*, ed. Susan Parnell and Sophie Oldfield (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014).

networks in anticipation of future developments and imbalances in the location of employment-generating activities and in the access to economic and social opportunities. No generalization is therefore possible regarding the causal nexus between haphazard growth of cities and neglect of town planning or basic amenities.[220]

The NCU recommended the provision of amenities and affordable housing irrespective of the legality of land tenure in slums. This changed discourse of the urban, as a phenomenon to invest in, implied that interventions in cities were no longer based on or justified by a social model but by an economic one. The Central Government started focusing on larger policy frameworks. In 1988, for example, the first National Housing Policy was introduced in the *Rajya Sabha*. However, the first housing policy was heavily critiqued due to its isolated focus on shelter (house making), as one member, Yashwant Sinha [JP], argued:

> … There is a wide difference between shelter and housing and this is something which has to be clearly understood … when we are discussing the housing policy we cannot discuss shelter in isolation. The housing policy must include within its ambit the overall economic policy of the Government.[221]

Even when critiquing the policy, the member brings the focus to the larger economic frame as developed by the NCU. Nonetheless, this narrow scope of the first housing policy was revised and a second housing policy was introduced in 1994. The second housing policy took a broader approach, including wider issues such as land, finance, infrastructure, NGO involvement, etc., under its purview. It was again revised and replaced by the third national housing policy in 1998 that took a further neoliberal turn and positioned the government as a facilitator of housing production rather than as a provider.

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[220] Ahmed Mohamedbhai Patel and Suresh Pachouri, 'Neglecting Town Planning' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 19 August 1994), 29, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/205741.

[221] Mohsina Kidwai, 'Resolution: National Housing Policy' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 22 November 1988), 201–2, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/273491.

These national level policies brought back targeted funding from the Central
Government towards slum redevelopment, with the introduction of the
National Slum Development Programme (NSDP), launched in 1996. The NSDP
envisaged funding from the Central Government for a wide range of social and
physical infrastructures, as well as housing improvements. The NSDP was
targeting only the notified slums[222], therefore, the contestation of 'what a slum
is' did not resurface in *Rajya Sabha*. Instead, the questions shifted to
programme efficacies. A key aspect of the efficacy-related questions was the
need to understand the larger impact of the government programmes, the
housing deficit, or reduction in slum population. The government was able to
answer by giving, for example, the number of houses built under the NSDP,
but was not able to gauge its impact as the total number of slums in the
country was not known.

In this era, slum improvement became a means to achieve larger economic
growth. Therefore, the questions inside parliament were mainly related to the
economic context of the country. Furthermore, there was an increasing demand
for a more data-driven understanding of the situation. Slums were now
reduced to stress points of an investment curve.

4.9. Rights-Based Discourse: From early-2000s until 2014

The call for more slum data eventually led to its inclusion in the national
census of 2001. The census took a broad outlook and categorized slums as – (i)
notified: slums notified by government agencies; (ii) recognized: slums
recognized by the government agencies, but not notified, such as
neighbourhoods marked as slums (or similar names) in master plans; (iii)
identified: slums identified by the census officers as per the definition of the
Census Office[223]. This broad range of definitions brings a wide array of
settlements to the fold of what was rendered as slums. In part motivated by

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[222] Notified under the 1956 act or its derivative.

[223] Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 'Census of India : Census
Data 2001 / Metadata', Census of India website, 2001,
http://censusindia.gov.in/Metadata/Metada.htm.

the availability of census data, the provisions of the NSDP was extended to all kinds of slums and a new scheme called Valmiki-Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) was launched in 2001.

Further, the census data became a tool for the parliamentarians to question the performance of the government. It was for the first time that the magnitude of the issue could be visualized through reliable statistics, and the effectiveness of government schemes could be assessed quantitatively. In this era, the discussion around slums took a further neoliberal turn, that is, it developed an excessive focus on statistics and managerial efficacies[224], and as a result the translation of the slum subject from a political, to a technical one.

As investments in cities were now realized to yield economic growth, the Central Government launched in 2005 the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), the largest urban funding scheme till date. The scheme also had a slum development component, targeting largely basic services. Being the largest urban funding scheme (INR 50,000 Crores[225] over 7 years)[226], JNNURM became the focus of *Rajya Sabha* debates on slums. Furthermore, the scheme was designed as demand driven, i.e., the cities needed to demand funds for specific projects. A central government body scrutinized funding applications that needed to be channelled through the State Governments, which now designed (usually via external consultancy firms) the JNNURM projects. The Central Government's main responsibility became fund management, through which it could nonetheless indirectly influence outcomes. Thus, the debates in the *Rajya Sabha* shifted to operational issues of JNNURM, for example, on how much money was allocated to each city, how much of it is being utilized, and how this process could be improved for better outcomes. Similarly, qualitative contestations on

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[224] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 'Neoliberalism and the Urban Condition', *City* 9, no. 1 (April 2005): 101–7.

[225] INR 1 Crore (100,000,00) = EUR 125,000.

[226] Debolina Kundu, 'Urban Development Programmes in India: A Critique of JnNURM', *Social Change* 44, no. 4 (December 2014): 615–32.

slums got side lined and statistical data on slums took centre stage. Questions as below became common occurrence in the *Rajya Sabha*:

> Murli Manohar Joshi [Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)], Ram Jethmalani [BJP]: … (a) whether it is a fact that the number of people living in slums have increased in the metro cities of the country specially in the cities having ten lakh population during last five years;[227]

> Rama Chandra Khuntia [INC]: … (a) the number of houses for urban poor that have already been constructed, state-wise and year-wise; (b) the details thereof and coming five years target, state-wise and year-wise; [are presented below in the table][228]

The above two examples show not only the demand for statistical data but also demonstrate how both the question and the answer are framed using the census data categorizations.

At the same time, the availability of statistical data made it possible for the government to reduce the complexity and ambiguity regarding slums. By the late 2000s, the Central Government had arrived at a structured reply to the ever-occurring questions about the causality of slum growth. The following points by the minister figure multiple times across different debates during this era –

> Details of factors of growth of slums

> (i) Inappropriate system of urban planning … (ii) Sky-rocketing land prices … (iii) Increased urbanization leading to pressure on the available land … (iv) Natural increase in the population of urban poor and migration … (v) Absence of legal framework/policy for security of land tenure and provision of land and housing … (vi) Absence of programmes of affordable housing to the urban poor … (vii) Lack of adequate

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[227] Murli Manohar Joshi and Ram Jethmalani, 'People in Slums in Metro Cities' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 1 March 2007), http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/30492.

[228] Ramachandra Khuntia, 'Houses for Urban Poor' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 2 August 2009), http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/287519.

investment in infrastructure and basic amenities in informal
settlements…[229]

Further, the census data pinpointed the deficit in housing numbers that
showed that 99% of the urban housing deficit was occurring in the low income
or economically weaker sections. Other slum-related issues problematized
before, for example, education or employment, or the causes pointed in the
quote above, were dwarfed by the alarming housing deficit numbers. The
deficit was morphed into the motto of 'affordable housing for all' in the fourth
national housing policy[230]. This motto was put into action by the Rajiv Awas
Yojana (RAY) in 2011, which was the largest Central Government funded
scheme specifically targeting slums. Thus, the problematization of slums got
reduced back to housing. It is not that issues of education, employment or even
malnutrition were not being discussed, but these discussions took place beyond
the spatial confinements of the slums. Consequently, the only concern left with
the spatially marked idea of slum was housing.

RAY introduced the idea of property rights to slum dwellers and made the
tenure right, a mandatory factor for using the funds, building on a very similar
argument championed by de Soto (2002). The government believed that by
garnering property rights to the slum dwellers, they will become part of the
neoliberal capital market capable of bringing socio-economic uplift by
themselves. RAY promised a 'slum-free India' within five years, as India's
President declared in her joint parliament session of 2009[231]. As RAY started
with the claim to make India slum free in five years, it made *Rajya Sabha*
discuss the progress towards this goal, even after the dropping of the five-year
frame later. An agenda similar to the first era where the government wanted

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[229] Kumari Selja [Minister of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, INC] cited in
Janardhan Waghmare and NK Singh, 'Slum-Free India' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 16
July 2009), 78, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/287495.

[230] Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation, 'National Urban Housing and
Habitat Policy', Policy Brief (Government of India, 2007).

[231] Pratibha Devisingh Patil, 'President's Address to Both the Houses of Parliament'
(Lok-Sabha Archives, 4 June 2009), Parliament of India,
http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Debates/Result15.aspx?dbsl=10.

to demolish and rebuild 'all' slums, resulting in multiple questions on the time frame for achieving this goal.

Furthermore, RAY was designed similarly as JNNURM: The State Governments could demand funding for specific projects, thereby taking the responsibility off the Central Government. This led to a massive increase in questions related to statistics on RAY fund usage by various State Governments. A typical answer post-2011 had more than five pages of tabulated data. Compared to the late 1990s there was at least a three-fold increase of tabulated data in replies. Data presentation became so frequent that the government even planned for a slum index that would help measure its performance. The *Rajya Sabha* discussed such an index in the early-2010s[232], yet it was never created. The debates were dominated by management driven questions and their statistics driven answers. By contrast, the questions which contested or probed the idea of slums or that of the government policies dropped to minuscule numbers.

In this era, there was the same belief as in the first era (early-1950s until late-1960s) that slums can be eradicated from India's cityscapes. In the first era it was to happen though demolition and rebuilding, and in this era it was via a mix of various upgradation strategies. In the first era, this belief resulted in a highly politically contested notion of what is understood as a slum. By contrast, by the late 2000s and early 2010s, the slum was produced as a knowable subject through statistics. Therefore, even though the Central Government policies were right-based, the discourse of slums in the *Rajya Sabha* shifted to that of managerial efficacies. With (i) measuring of slums by numbers, and (ii) precise, pointed, and uncontested recitals of the causes of the growth of slums, the slum subject was rendered a technical issue. Furthermore, this technical issue was to be dealt with designing demand-led innovative funding mechanisms.

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[232] Sanjay Raut, 'Slum Upgradation Index' (Rajya-Sabha Debates, 2 May 2013), 15, http://rsdebate.nic.in/handle/123456789/626779.

4.10. Conclusion

Within the four identified eras outlined in this article, we see a gradual change in how the subject of the slum was rendered comprehendible to the State. These intellectual technologies made it possible for the State to develop a policy framework on slums. In the early 1950s, the goals were to demolish the slums, rebuild them, and rehouse its inhabitants elsewhere. The demolition agenda was cast aside by the early 1970s and the thrust shifted to providing amenities along with the already existing housing development focus until the mid-1980s. By the mid-1990s, in addition to amenities, larger planning and housing issues came into view; by the late 2000s this got complemented by a willingness to give property rights to slum dwellers. Looking at the slum discussions in the *Rajya Sabha* from this angle of action towards slums, they present themselves as a 'progressive move forward': from demolishing slums to provide property rights to slum dwellers. However, this narrative varies when one looks into *how* slums were discussed and the changing political space they occupied over this course of time. In the early 1950s there was no definition of slums, but the planned government action required slum demarcation. Therefore, slum definitions became highly contested with various political positions in the legislature. By the early 1970s, it was realized that demolishing all slums was not feasible. Thus, the policy shifted towards providing amenities and there was less of a need to demarcate slums. The discussions moved to numbers that represent a lack of amenities in slums and as well as in other neighbourhoods of Indian cities, reflecting a general understanding of the links between slums and urbanization. By the mid-1980s, the need to develop an urban vision was reinforced and eventually met through the NCU. At the same time, the debate shifted to regard cities, including slums, as investment avenues for larger economic growth. By the late 2000s, this new discourse resulted in the creation of various funding schemes and a demand-driven policy framework. In parallel, the discussion shifted to statistical debates on managerial efficacies. Thus, we see the gradual transformation of the socio-political subject of the slum into a technical object that can be dealt with technocratically. Furthermore, by problematizing the slum since the 1950s, the State has made itself indispensable to lead related

interventions. Only selected aspects of slums were problematized (for example, housing, amenities, land tenure) so that the ensuing policies focused only on these issues.

The dangers of using slums to drive anti-poverty policies of a government have been discussed by various authors[233]. However, the Indian state continues to devise such policies and it remains a major producer of the slum as a discursive construct, necessary to underpin its slum policies. The focus on inadequate or discriminatory state action and inefficient policies need to be diversified towards the study of discourses that are responsible for the generation of these actions and policies. This article therefore was an attempt to expand our research focus towards the ideologies in which the state operates and under which the slum gets defined and made into a governable subject.

Slums need to be understood as a category produced by the State so that it becomes able to intervene. Therefore, the focus of the State will always be dependent on these categories. To impact the lives of people living in slums, an effective step would also be, to challenge how the slum is discursively produced and to question the categories of the State. There is a significant amount of literature on the material conditions of and in slums as well as on the social and economic realities. By contrast, there is a gap in understanding slums as a discursive practice. This article is a modest step towards filling this gap but there is a further need to understand the production of slums through discursive practices, its link to urban poverty, and its effects on initiatives to eradicate and/or uplift slums.

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[233] Gilbert, 'The Return of the Slum';

Marie Huchzermeyer, *Cities with 'Slums': From Informal Settlement Eradication to a Right to the City in Africa* (Claremont, South Africa: UCT Press, 2011);

Gareth A. Jones, 'Slumming about: Aesthetics, Art and Politics', *City* 15, no. 6 (December 2011): 696–708.
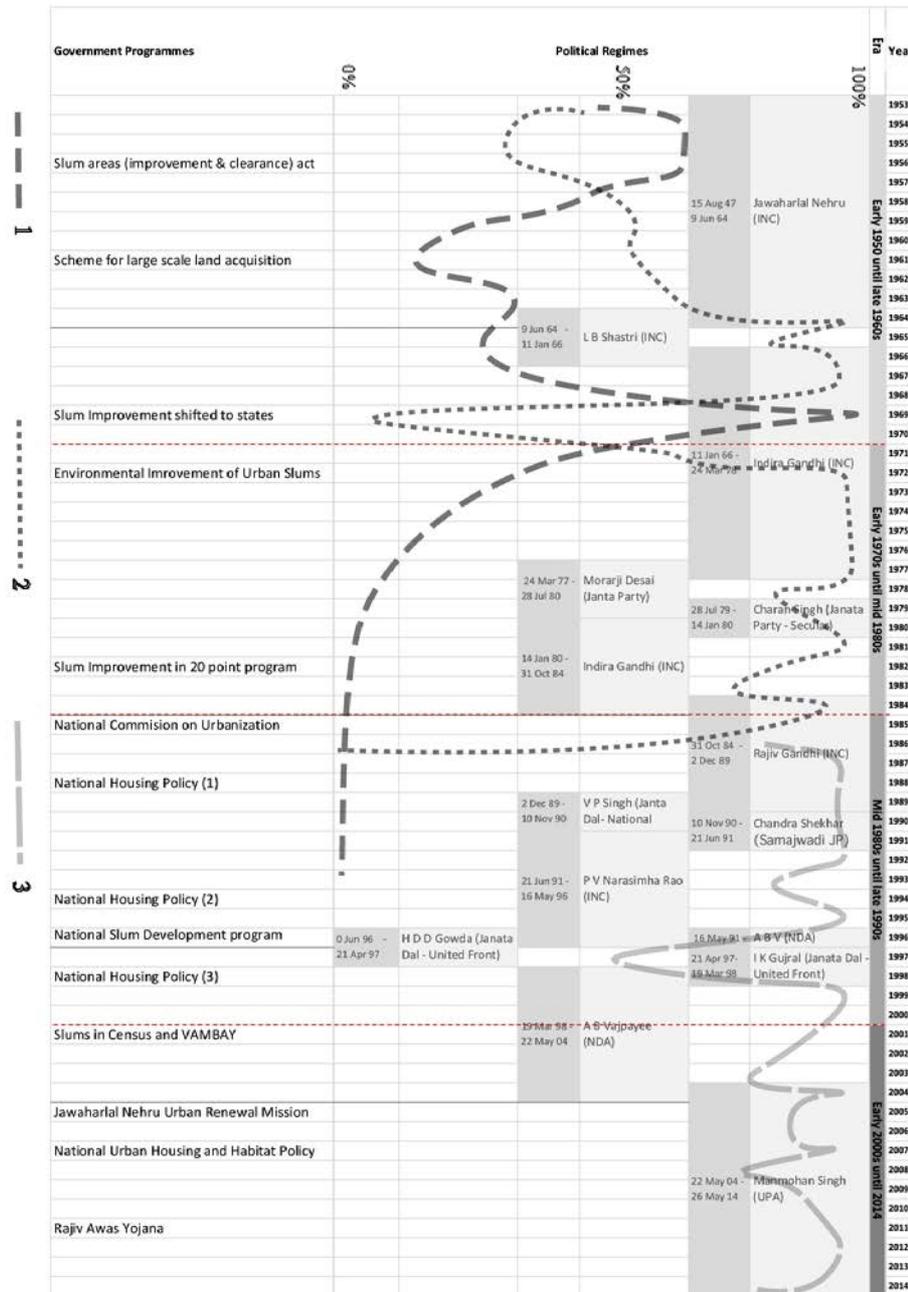
Figure 11: Rajya Sabha questions overlapped with the various Central Governments

Line 1: Questions in Rajya Sabha on slums directed towards Health-related ministries: (i) Health (ii) Health & Family Welfare (iii) Health, Family Planning and Urban Development

Line 2: Questions in Rajya Sabha on slums directed towards Works-related ministries: (i) Works & Housing (ii) Works & Housing & Health & Family Planning (iii) Works & Housing & Supply & Rehabilitation (iv) Works, Housing & Supply (v) Works, Housing & Urban Development

Line 3: Questions in Rajya Sabha on slums directed towards Urban-related ministries: (i) Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (ii) Urban Affairs and Employment (iii) Urban Development (iv) Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation (v) Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation

Lines 1, 2, & 3 are converted to the percentage with respect to all the questions analysed herein.

NDA – Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) led National Democratic Alliance; UPA – Indian National Congress (INC) led United Progressive Alliance; JP – Janata Party

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The analysis of this article ends in 2014, when a new right-wing government took power in India. One of the main urban missions of the current government is to create 'smart cities', mainly developing technology-driven solutions to urban issues, supported by even intensified data production and management. An analysis of the period from 2014–2019 will be stimulating to see how the city has further been transformed into a technical, and even digitalized, object.

4.11. Postscript

The paper was written with the intent to describe that the state cannot be looked into as a fixed entity, rather as fluid and constantly changing its position. As shown in the paper, the position of the state is a relatively independent of the political party which forms the government. The focus is drawn to discourses and problematizations of slums and how they drive the policy outlook. Throughout the period of 61 years, from 1953 until 2014, one constant factor is that the problematization of slums is done in a manner to make the state indispensable. Nonetheless, the factors responsible for the slums to occur, have been changing in the discourse, from the early 1950's migration issues, to the 1970's irresponsible slum dwellers, to early 2000s larger economic systems.

Making of the state as an indispensable entity (even in the neoliberal era) is an important factor to be looked into when analysing the state with respect to, specifically the slums or informality in general. The problematization of the slum, therefore, is broken down into factors onto which the state can intervene, either directly or indirectly, rather than a holistic analysis. It presents a key element towards understanding informality on who problematizes it and how. It has to be noted that throughout, the said period, even though there were

multiple slum demolitions, the debates in the parliament were pertained on how to help the slum dwellers. If the parliamentarians all want to help the slum dwellers improve their life, then how do they still exist? Such a questioning is a step outside of the metropolitan gaze which looks at the developmentalist state as a reason for the housing crisis in/of slums when compared to advanced economies. I do not intend to paint a glorified picture of the state, rather to broaden the outlook on the state. It is not that if the politicians move out of the developmentalist ideology, things will change, because the issue here lies with the larger discursive constructs rather than individual powerful actors. To see any change in the *status quo*, merely garnering political agency to the urban poor or reversing the effects of primitive accumulation[234] via subsidies and affordable housing will not suffice, rather we need innovative ways to restructure the discursive construct. Restructuring the discursive construct does not mean reviving the old Sartre-ian idea of becoming voices of those who do not have one. Rather it takes more from Spivak[235], who pointed that the subaltern can speak, but one cannot hear them speak. Therefore, we need to devise strategies in a manner that the deaf ears can become capable of hearing what the subaltern is speaking. This paper, on one hand is a deeper investigation of the first research sub-question, and, on the other hand, the re-problematization of the same.

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[234] Partha Chatterjee, 'Democracy and Economic Transformation in India', *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 16 (2008): 53–62.

[235] Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak'.

A Chirag Dilli street.

(© Author)

5. INFORMALITY AND THE CITY

Figure 12: Workers making momos in Chirag Dilli

(© Author)

5.1. Preface

This paper looks into the second research sub-question of – How do the practitioners of informality affect the urbanization process? Certainly, many aspects such as the global capital flows (and neoliberalism), state interventions, and population configurations, etc. affect the urbanization process. Nonetheless, this article tries to build an alternative narrative. The core hypothesis being that there is a plurality of aspects that effect and drive urbanization process and shape our cities. If informality is one such factor, then how does the urbanization process unfold with respect to informality's interventions? The aim here is to illustrate the impacts of informality in and beyond the mere locations, which its practitioners occupy.

Authorship Statement: Co-authored with René Véron.

This article was initially developed by me using assemblage theory by situating the case in the realm of informal economy and was titled 'Shadow economy, informal production of the city and the case of momo production in Delhi'. It was presented at the conference titled 'Cross-border Exchanges and the

Shadow Economy' hosted by the International Institute for Asian Studies and was held at Leiden University, Netherlands.

Thereafter, the paper was discussed with René and we changed the focus entirely on informal production of the city. The fieldwork was conducted by me and René added considerably to the conceptualization and building of the arguments.

Title: Informal Production of the City: Momos, Migrants and an Urban Village in Delhi

5.2. Abstract

This paper attempts to understand the production of the city through informality. In particular, informal practices related to the momo (dumpling) industry, concentrated in the 'urban village' of Chirag Dilli, are analysed in their dialectic relationship with formal planning and legislation in Delhi. We use a Lefebvrian framework that views city-making as an interaction of formal representations in the form of master plans, etc., informal and formal spatial practices (including momo production and living patterns) and representational (imagined) spaces related to neighbourhoods and the city.

Drawing on primary qualitative data, we examine how informality informed the formal planning. The uneven application of state legislation, in turn, fostered particular informal practices (such as momo manufacturing) and the emergence of a distinct urban morphology and of new cohabitation practices. The informal momo industry also altered the representational associations made with both the Chirag Dilli neighbourhood and the city of Delhi.

The paper shows how informal practices constantly interact with formal frameworks to co-produce urban space and consequently the city. We argue that informal practices are not necessarily in conflict with formal planning or

subverting it, but that they play a central role in their own right for the production of space.
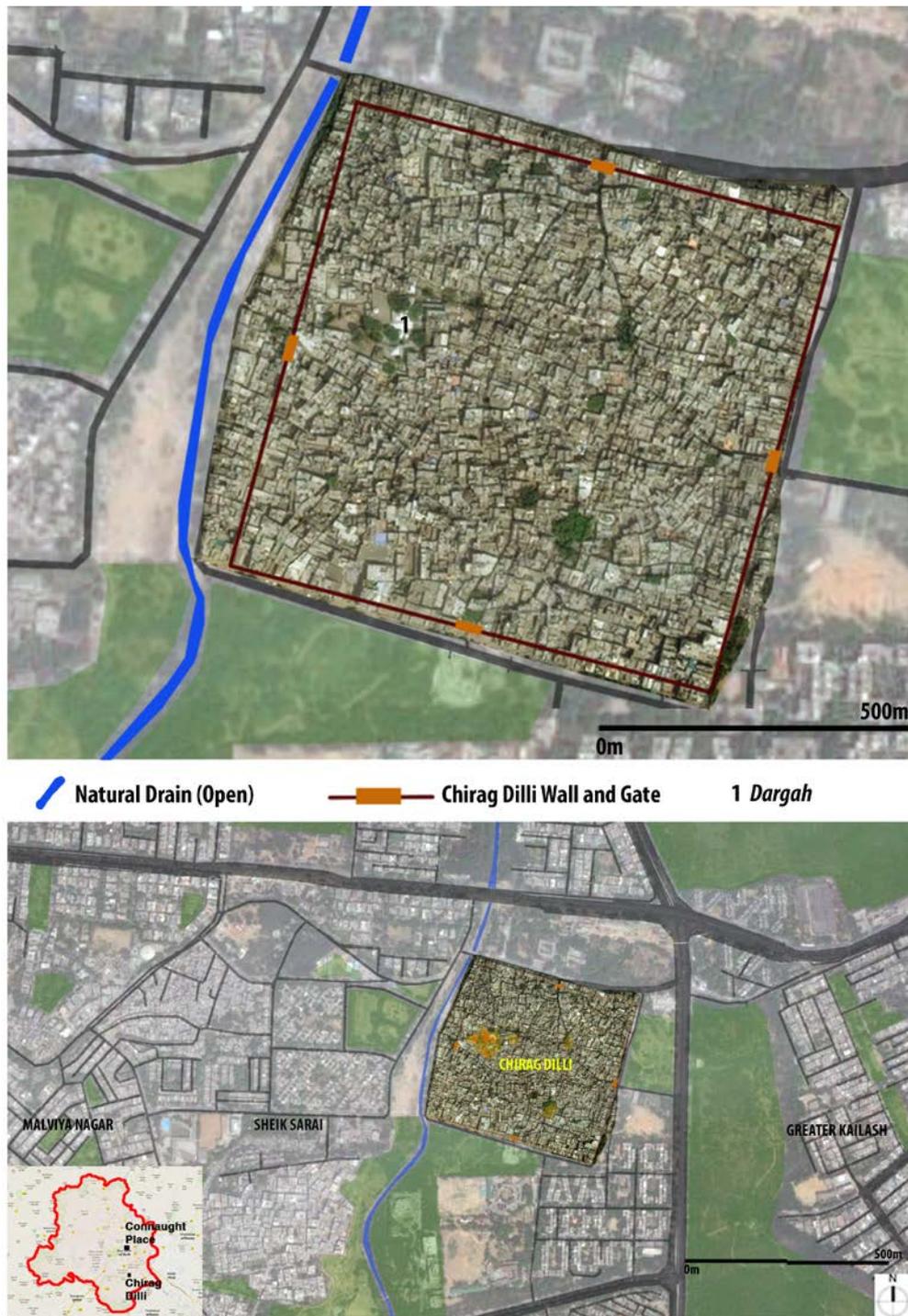
Figure 13: Location map of Chirag Dilli
(traced by the author on a Google map)

Key words: Urban development, informality, housing, economic clustering, production of space, Delhi

5.3. Introduction

"I sell it because it sells" points out Vikram who produces momos from a small apartment in the neighbourhood of Chirag Dilli, and sells them 13 km away in Connaught Place, the centrally located commercial area of India's capital.

These dumplings with vegetarian and meat stuffing, originally from Tibet, Nepal, and India's north-eastern region, have become Delhi's quintessential street food over the past years. Today, momo stalls flock metro station entrances, markets, and street corners all over the city, and corporate executives, small business owners, taxi drivers, and students alike frequent them. These dumplings have become the object of the urban imagination, as demonstrated through dedicated food festivals in prestigious locations and food reviews in major local English-language newspapers.

Delhi's burgeoning middle-class, who are generally more associated with 'modern' ambitions to create a 'world-class city'[236], adore the dumplings, although they are sold mainly by informal vendors and are produced by petty entrepreneurs and migrant workers from Nepal and Darjeeling. Mostly, the manufacturing units are located in Chirag Dilli, a densely populated 'urban village' with an organic settlement pattern and a population of about 25,000 in South Delhi.

This article attempts to understand the production of the city through such interactions of formal and informal practices, and imaginations in and on Delhi. Without emphasizing the influence of capitalism nor the analysis of class relations, we thereby refer to Lefebvre's triad of the production of urban space through the dynamic relationship between (i) daily spatial practices or perceived space, (ii) representational or lived space and (iii) conceived space or the representation of space (e.g. maps, models, etc.)[237] and argue that 'the city', understood as a plural set of socially produced and overlapping spaces, is

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[236] Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire'.

[237] Lefebvre, *The production of space.*

intrinsically co-produced[238] informally. This view goes beyond seeing the state and its planning apparatus as the dominant actor in conceptualizing and shaping the city[239]. It represents also a partial departure from much of the urban informality literature that sees the informal sector as 'the other', either as a stifled economic segment[240] or the urban service delivery champion[241].

For this paper, the little dumplings form an entry point that connects a web of interrelated informal and formal spatial practices of production, sale, and consumption, but also of housing construction, interregional and international migration. This myriad of practices is linked to historical and recent plans that depict today's Delhi and also to urban imaginaries of diverse actors, such as state bureaucrats, urbanites, petty entrepreneurs, and migrants. We argue that the informal momo manufacturing alters not only Delhi's foodscape but also spatial practices of its residents and collective memories of its places, thus reinforcing the informality's diversity, both as a practice as well as of the resulting space.

In section 5.4 of this paper, we develop a theoretical framework drawing on the Lefebvrian concept of the production of space to expand the understanding of urban informality. Section 5.5 describes the methodology, including a justification for taking food (or a food item) as an entry point in understanding the plurality of urban informal practices and a discussion of the methods used for data collection. Sections 5.6-5.8 present the empirical core of this paper, structured in line with the Lefebvrian framework, and examining the production of space as a cyclical process combining informality and formality. Section 5.6, describes how informality influenced the formal representation of space (conceived space) via Delhi's Master Plan and, in particular, the category of 'urban village'. Section 5.7 examines perceived space (spatial practice) through the interrelations between informal momo production, building

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[238] We use the term 'co-production' to denote informality as one of the many factors producing the city.

[239] Bhan, *In the Public's Interest*; Roy, 'Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities'.

[240] de Soto, *The other path*.

[241] Bayat, 'Radical Religion and the Habitus of the Dispossessed'.

typologies, uneven applications of city regulations and legislations in Chirag Dilli, adaptations to material housing stocks, and living forms. Section 5.8 discusses the abstract and symbolic values associated with lived space (representational space). It assesses how the clustered momo manufacturing altered the geographical perceptions of the urban village and the city as a whole. In the conclusions (Section 5.9), we refer back to the literature on urban informality and elaborate on our call for placing informality at the centre of the analysis of the production of the city.

5.4. Informality and the Production of the City

This paper builds on recent literature on urban informality in India that shows how the state uses the conceptualization of informality to oppress and delegitimize marginalized populations[242] and that examines the complex and ideologically charged conflicts and negotiations between the state and different groups of citizens[243]. However, much of this literature puts the formal representation of space, via master plans, city development plans, municipal bylaws, government policies, etc., at the centre of the analysis. These studies see the state – including its representation of space and compartmentalization of neighbourhoods and people into specific categories, such as 'slums' or 'planned colonies' – as ever-present and determinant of informality. It renders urban informality (and urban poverty) visible by pitching it against the state[244], although Roy[245] shows how the state itself is enmeshed in, and constituted of, informality. Bhan, for example, links his analysis of the planning's failure to urban poverty and informality:

> "I am interested particularly in the ways in which failure intertwines
> with some more familiar objects of urban theory when studying cities of

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[242] Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire'; Roy, 'Slumdog Cities'.

[243] Bhan, *In the Public's Interest*; Ghertner, *Rule by Aesthetics*.

[244] Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire'; Bhan, *In the Public's Interest*; Ghertner, *Rule by Aesthetics*; Roy, 'Slumdog Cities'.

[245] Roy, 'Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities'.

the global South: informality and illegality, both of which are closely seen as the most visible manifestation of the failure of planning."[246]

Through this link to planning failure, the conceptualization of informality runs the risk of becoming epistemologically limited to formal planning. Although these scholarly frameworks are relevant and important in their intent and impact, they tend to identify urban informality as a consequence of, a reaction to, or a negotiation with, the formal representation of space by or within the state.

Building upon this literature, this paper attempts to decentre the state further from the analysis. We try to assess urban informality's role, as a proactive force in its own right, in the co-production of the city, yet in a dialectical relationship with formality. For this purpose, we refer to Lefebvre's triad of the production of space.

According to Lefebvre[247], the production of space occurs through the dialectical relationship between lived, perceived and conceived space. In this triadic framework, the notion of spatial practice (perceived space) refers to the everyday practices; representational space (lived space) denotes the mental constructions and descriptions of a space or a city, including the symbolic and cultural associations made with that space; and the formal representation of space (conceived space) includes maps, plans, models, designs, etc. by planners and bureaucrats. The Lefebvrian triadic dialectic puts practices, perceptions and representations at an equal level of importance for the production of space [248]. This allows overcoming simplistic dualisms, for example, 'people versus state', 'practices versus planning' or 'bottom-up versus top-down'. Massey[249]

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[246] Bhan, *In the Public's Interest*, 46.

[247] Lefebvre, *The production of space*.

[248] Christian Schmid, 'Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic', in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, ed. Kanishka Goonewardena et al., trans. Bandulasena Goonewardena (New York: Routledge, 2008).

[249] Doreen B. Massey, *For Space* (London: SAGE, 2005).

developed this notion of space further by articulating it as a multifaceted, continuous and cyclical process and by embedding it in time. She argues:

> "…we recognise space as always under construction. Precisely because space on this reading is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed. Perhaps we could imagine space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far."[250]

The significance of Lefebvrian project of space as Schmid[251] outlines "… lies especially in the fact that it systematically integrates the categories of city and *space* in a single, comprehensive social theory, enabling the understanding and analysis of spatial processes at different levels". Massey[252], further enmeshed time, space, and politics in developing her conceptualization, specifically arguing for centrality of space in a globalising world. Further, Goonewardena et. al.[253] revisited Lefebvre, proposing a reading of Lefebvre beyond his own writings and beyond more orthodox Marxist interpretations of Lefebvre prevalent in those works that were translated into English[254]. Locating urbanization as the centre of analysis, they concluded:

> "… Lefebvre offers a view of the urbanization process that is distinct from most others.… In order to grasp the specific character of the urbanized world, a fundamental reorientation of analysis is required: the city has to be embedded in the context of society as a whole. Seen from this perspective, the focus of the analysis changes, from the city as an object to the process of urbanization and its implications." [255]

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[250] Massey, 9.

[251] Schmid, 'Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic', 27–28.

[252] Massey, *For Space*.

[253] Kanishka Goonewardena et al., eds., *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

[254] Goonewardena et al., 285.

[255] Goonewardena et al., 290.

Focusing on the process of urbanization through a Lefebvrian lens also permits the complexification of the notion of informality, which we understand, following McFarlane[256], as a set of practices that are not registered with the state (e.g., selling food without a license, buying land without registration, building a house extension without permit, etc.). Following Lefebvre, (informal) practices influence spatial perceptions and representations through their material imprint in lived space, and vice versa, and they are thus involved in the production of space. More specifically, the Lefebvrian dialectic, helps us to understand (i) informality as a co-producer of space in dialectic relationship with other agencies, rather than as a simple consequence of, reaction to, or negotiation with, the formal agencies of the state; and (ii) the production of space (including that of a city) as a cyclical (rather than a linear cause-effect) process.

Using Lefebvre's theories to study informality is not new. Various authors referred to his concept of the production of space, or his call for the 'right to the city'. Studying informal vendors in Dar es Salaam, for example, Babere[257] argues how a 'new city' emerges as the street vendors try evading the municipality. The author describes various interactions between informal sellers, municipality, and other users to argue that the former produces the city, particularly after official trading hours. Such a positioning brings informality (and the urban poor) at par with formal agencies, showcasing the production of another city, elsewhere in time. Babere also criticizes the municipality's move pushing the informal vendors to the city outskirts, thus impinging on their right to the (main) city. Koster and Nuijten[258], further broaden this conceptual framework of the production of the city, they argue for the right to the city for the urban poor, including for informal practices:

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[256] McFarlane, 'Rethinking Informality'.

[257] Nelly John Babere, 'Social Production of Space: "Lived Space" of Informal Livelihood Operators; the Case of Dares Salaam City Tanzania', *Current Urban Studies* 03, no. 04 (2015): 286–99.

[258] Martijn Koster and Monique Nuijten, 'Coproducing Urban Space: Rethinking the Formal/Informal Dichotomy', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 37, no. 3 (September 2016): 282–94.

"Rather than depicting marginalized urbanites as a nuisance to or a target group of formal planning, we consider them as coproducers of urban space who have a right to the city. In other words, we argue that the right to 'coproduce' the city, through formal as well more informal channels, lies at the heart of the Lefebvrian call for the right to the city."[259]

Using the term 'co-production', Koster and Nuiten, not only bring informality at par with formality, but also conceptually merge the space where formal and informal agencies operate. Nonetheless, they claim that "… it is often in the 'informal city' where the poor assert their right to coproduce the city"[260]. Unfortunately, this conceptualization links the urban poor to informality (and informality to the urban poor) and limits the space (co-)produced by informal practices to the spaces physically occupied by the poor. These and other studies on the co-production of urban space put emphasis on the resistance of informal city dwellers (or the urban poor). The urban poor claim right to the city through direct opposition and subversive practices. While we share these important concerns, this type of theorization has also encouraged development policies and strategies to try removing informality or bringing it into the formal fold by conceptualizing them as the 'other', evident from state policies to regularize, modernize and formalize informality[261].

Moving beyond the idea of applying Lefebvre's framework to a separate 'informal city' (or to a city 'afterhours'), Kudva[262] follows more closely what we believe was Lefebvre's original intent and points out usefully that:

"The vast literature on informal settlements … focuses on the production of deeply inequitable urban settlements and the mechanisms for the provision of better housing and services, but pays much less attention to

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[259] Koster and Nuijten, 284.

[260] Koster and Nuijten, 286.

[261] Ash Amin, 'Telescopic Urbanism and the Poor', *City* 17, no. 4 (August 2013): 476–92.

[262] Neema Kudva, 'The Everyday and the Episodic: The Spatial and Political Impacts of Urban Informality', *Environment and Planning A* 41, no. 7 (2009): 1614–28.

understanding the relationship of fast-growing informal settlements to the larger patterns of urban spatial growth."[263]

Kudva argues for keeping 'space' as the central concept in analysing informality and its politics. Her empirical work shows how the production of space in places of informality (where informal work and informal shelter come together) structures politics. She unpacks this using both the everyday life and the episodic conflicts of state action against informal practices. Drawing upon the cases of the closing of cottage industries in Delhi and the textile mills in Ahmedabad, she shows how the development of the local economy and of new neighbourhoods occurred in parallel with new environmental politics (in Delhi) and with broken structures and communal riots (in Ahmedabad). Thus, Kudva links informality not only to the material production of the city, but also to changed economic strategies and political structures. Her focus on space opens up conceptual possibilities of studying informality's contribution to the production of the city beyond its material dimension (i.e., construction through informal labour) to include legislative tools, imaginations, and practices.

Taking a cue from Kudva and building on the existing literature on informality and the production of space that focuses on the spatially and temporally limited co-production of the city by the urban poor, we analyse urban informality more broadly in a plurality of lived spaces, that is, in and beyond the city's 'informal settlements' and even in abstract, representational space. This implies a conceptualization of urban informality that is delinked from particular places (i.e., informal settlements or slums) as well as from particular groups of people (i.e., the urban poor). As McFarlane brings it to the point:

> "…framing informality and formality as practices means dispensing with both the idea that informality belongs to the poor and formality to the better off, and the associated idea that informality and formality necessarily belong to different kinds of urban spaces."[264]

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[263] Kudva, 1617.

[264] McFarlane, 'Rethinking Informality', 105.(McFarlane, 2012: 105)

In this perspective, urban informality can be found in the practices of any actor in the city, i.e., the same person can conduct both formal and informal practices. This view also avoids placing informality as a residual ('not yet formal') or as the 'other' category, and suggests a dialectical relationship between formality and informality.

Furthermore, this conceptualization implies that the "right to coproduce the city"[265] has to be put in perspective with the fact that the city is already being coproduced by informal practices, beyond the physical space occupied by the urban poor or informal squatters. However, this is of course not to paint a glorified picture of urban informality nor to deny the problems occurring in the spaces occupied by the urban poor with respect to health, sanitation, citizenship, etc.

In this paper, we are particularly interested in how informal practices not only coproduce physical-material space but also influence representational (imagined) space and the representation of space, which in turn shape informality in a dialectical way. This argument is illustrated further below in the case of the relationships between momo manufacturing and consumption, changing urban imaginaries in and on Delhi, and some elements of the city's Master Plan. Thus, our analysis goes beyond the common interpretation of informality as a result of, or an opposition to, state-led planning to an understanding of informality as dialectically intertwined with formality.

5.5. Methodology

In accordance with our theoretical framework on urban informality, we take spatial practices as a starting point for the analysis, rather than the urban poor or a particular informal settlement. More specifically, we take the spatial practices around momos as an entry point to examine the physical and representational production of Delhi and its neighbourhoods. Food appears like a useful way into a Lefebvrian analysis, as it not only relates to physical-material everyday spatial practices (cooking, serving, vending, eating, etc.) but also to representational (imagined) space and geographical 'collective

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[265] Koster and Nuijten, 'Coproducing Urban Space', 284.

memories'[266]. Nandy[267], for example, shows the symbolic role of food as a constituent of self-definition (e.g., through public dining of a pan-Indian diet) and of collective memories (e.g., people who left their homes after the partition of British India remember the "lost village…through food"[268]. As we have seen in the introduction, momos too, have increasingly become a collectively imagined part of the Delhi's geography. Momos, and food more generally, are of course only one small element in the co-production of the city – others could be historical monuments, tourist trails, language, (cottage) industries and so on. Momos serve here more as a heuristic tool to unveil the influence of informal practices on the production of Delhi, starting from the 'urban village'[269] of Chirag Dilli, where momo production is concentrated.

Fieldwork in Chirag Dilli and other locations relevant for momos was conducted from May until August 2015 with a follow-up visit from October until December 2016. During these periods, semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with about 40 respondents. We interviewed 13 self-employed momo entrepreneurs, that is, eight owners of momo manufacturing units who are also involved first-hand in making and vending the dumplings, as well as five owners of momo eateries. Furthermore, we conducted interviews with 11 labourers in the momo industry; seven workers in manufacturing units and four servers and cooking staff in eateries. These workers were all migrant labourers (from Nepal and from the North-East of India) self-identifying as coming from outside Delhi and associating Delhi predominantly with work. The interviews focused on the life stories of the self-employed entrepreneurs and the migrant labourers and their daily routines of working and housing, as well as on the momo business and the relationships with the neighbourhood. All the interviewees were living in Chirag Dilli. In addition to people working

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[266] Jeffrey Andrew Barash, *Collective Memory and the Historical Past* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016).

[267] Ashis Nandy, 'The Changing Popular Culture of Indian Food: Preliminary Notes', *South Asia Research* 24, no. 1 (1 May 2004): 9–19.

[268] Nandy, 17.

[269] 'Urban village' is a settlement category in the master plan of Delhi. These were essentially villages that became engulfed during the urban expansion of Delhi.

in the momo industry, we carried out seven semi-structured collective interviews with a total of 16 non-migrant Chirag Dilli residents who had been living there for a long time (often their entire life). Additional insights were gained through participant observation.

The interviews and informal conversations were conducted in Hindi by the first author, recorded later as field notes, and translated into English. All the names used are pseudonyms.

5.6.   How informal spatial practices affected the representation of space in Delhi's Master Plan

Lefebvre's discussion on the production of space is inherently linked to critiquing the space, as Schmid[270] beautifully phrases, "Space does not exist 'in itself'; it is produced". It is this production aspect that brings the critical reading of representation of space, as Lefebvre points out:

> "Knowledge falls into a trap when it makes representations of space the basis for study of 'life', for in doing so it reduces lived experience. The object of knowledge is, precisely, the fragmented and uncertain connection between elaborated representations of space on the one hand and representational spaces (along with the underpinnings) on the other..."[271]

In this section, therefore, we attempt to read the formal representation of space, particularly through the Delhi Master Plan, along with spatial practices and representational space. The Delhi Master Plan[272] is an archive of the formal representation of space; it has statutory powers and puts together the present and future imaginations of the city. As any other representation of space that serves the purpose of governing and developing spaces and populations, the Master Plan is a simplified abstraction that

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[270] Schmid, 'Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic', 28.

[271] Lefebvre, *The production of space*, 230.

[272] Ministry of Urban Development, 'Master Plan for Delhi—With the Perspective for the Year 2021', *Gazette of India*, no. S.O. 141 (7 February 2007).

compartmentalizes places and people into static categories, such as slums, urban villages, planned colonies, or economically and socially weaker sections, migrants etc. These abstractions are essential for current planning notions in Delhi and elsewhere, but by their very nature eliminate nuances.

The current Master Plan's vision is to make Delhi a "world-class city"[273] which is imbued with liberal ideas of equity and participation[274], and associated with both a beacon of modernization and state brutalization[275]. This section focuses on the creation of the Master Plan category: 'urban village'. This categorization was influenced by informal land acquisition practices in the 19th century and as we shall see in Sections 5.7 and 5.8, this categorization influences the production of contemporary Delhi. To understand Delhi as "a simultaneity of stories-so-far"[276], we also need to look at the history of Chirag Dilli.

Chirag Dilli was built around a 14th century-Sufi-Saint shrine popularly referred to as *Chirag-e-Dilli* (Light of Delhi). In 1729, the emperor Mohammed Shah Rangila built a square fortification wall around the tomb, as an offering to the *Dargah* (shrine), with a gate on each side. In the early 1760s, Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded Delhi, during which, many citizens took refuge inside the *Dargah* walls, and they never left, resulting in the village of Chirag Dilli[277]. The second settlement wave occurred in the late 1850s from nearby villages, as

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[273] Ministry of Urban Development, 1.

[274] "Vision-2021 [of the new master plan] is to make Delhi a global metropolis and a world-class city, where all the people would be engaged in productive work with a better quality of life, living in a sustainable environment. … provision of adequate housing, particularly for the weaker sections of the society; addressing the problems of small enterprises, particularly in the unorganized informal sector; dealing with the issue of slums, up-gradation of old and dilapidated areas of the city; provision of adequate infrastructure services; conservation of the environment; preservation of Delhi's heritage and blending it with the new and complex modern patterns of development; and doing all this within a framework of sustainable development, public-private and community participation and a spirit of ownership and a sense of belonging among its citizens." (Ministry of Urban Development, 2007: 1)

[275] Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire'.

[276] Massey, *For Space*, 9.

[277] Maurice Mitchell, Shamoon Patwari, and Bo Tang, *Learning from Delhi: Dispersed Initiatives in Changing Urban Landscapes* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

Gupta[278] mentions: "The village [Chirag Dilli] attracted different people from neighbouring places only in 1857, purely for safety reasons, since, the war of India's Independence was fast spreading"[279]. These informal land occupations by the early residents led to a situation where the legality of land records became very complex. Contrastingly, the farmlands of Chirag Dilli had orderly land records, historically devised for taxation by the Mughals and then followed by the British.

Until today, it is very complicated to sell and buy houses and housing plots in Chirag Dilli (and other urban villages in Delhi) due to the lack of unambiguous historical land records. Thus, properties are almost exclusively passed on through inheritance. Living in one's inherited house leads to a *de facto* property right over the dwelling and its land. As Kumar notes: "possession of house is the main proof of ownership in *abadi* areas [residential areas of urban villages]"[280]

When the first Delhi Master Plan was conceived in the 1960s, the complexity of legal land records in Chirag Dilli and other similar settlements became a hurdle for planning regulations. Modern master plans operate on a clear and documented land titles paradigm, onto which they formulate bylaws and regulations. Lacking clear land property rights therefore impeded modernist city planning. To solve this problem, the planning authority, created a new category called 'urban village'. Since the authorities were not able to declare the informal historical land acquisitions in these areas as either legal or illegal, the Master Plan exempted urban villages from the building regulations formulated in the Master Plan. The residential boundaries of urban villages were fixed; inside these areas, building and other regulations were relaxed compared to the rest of the city. For example, building's renovations and

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[278] S. P. Gupta, 'Sociology of Pottery: Chirag Dilli, A Case Study', *Potteries in Ancient India*, 1969, 15–24.

[279] Gupta, 16–17.

[280] Mukul Kumar, 'Erstwhile Villages in Urban India', *Development in Practice* 25, no. 1 (2 January 2015): 131.

structural transformations do not require municipal approvals in urban villages.

This example illustrates how informality is incorporated in the legal framework. Interpreted in our Lefebvrian framework, we can identify a dialectical relationship between spatial practice (i.e., the informal land acquisitions and house/land transfers) and representational space (i.e., the Cartesian logic underpinning the master planning paradigm) that influences the representation of space (the Master Plan). Such a reading of the representation of space, conceptualizes informality as a category that is not unilinearly dependent on, but stands in a dialectical relationship with, the state.

These interrelationships between the lived, perceived and conceived continue to shape the production of space in Delhi. The lack of bureaucratic hurdles in Chirag Dilli and other urban villages renders the physical housing infrastructure more modifiable and adaptable to new circumstances than elsewhere in the city. "Differential norms"[281] also apply in regard to use restrictions. According to the latest 2021 Master Plan, mixed use (i.e., commercial activities in residential areas) is allowed anywhere in urban villages whereas in most other settlement types, it is only permitted in buildings on wide roads and in demarcated market areas.[282] This implies that it is very easy for property owners in an urban village to rent their property for carrying out commercial activities, including manufacturing or serving momos. Furthermore, the relaxed building and use regulations in urban villages reduce overhead expenses for bureaucratic red-tape, bribery, etc., rendering the commercial and residential rents cheaper than elsewhere in the city. (Unofficial mixed use and unapproved renovations certainly take place elsewhere in Delhi, but as they are deemed illegal as per Master Plan, officials

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[281] Ministry of Urban Development, 'Master Plan for Delhi—With the Perspective for the Year 2021', 86.

[282] Differential norms are accorded in the Master Plan to additional settlement categories, such as regularized unauthorized colonies, resettlement colonies and special areas.

often need to be bribed for turning a blind eye, thus increasing expenses and uncertainty for property owners.)

Chirag Dilli's representation as an 'urban village' in the Master Plan influenced the area's physical development. The above-mentioned exemptions, together with general cultural and demographic processes, led to massive morphological transformations here. For example, with the generally observable shift from extended to nuclear families, most of the *Havelis* (large old courtyard houses) were demolished and replaced with new 'modern' buildings with smaller detached apartments since the beginning of the 1990s (see Figure 14). Initially, the owner families normally occupied these buildings. Since the 2000s, however, more and more flats have been rented out to small-scale informal entrepreneurs and migrants seeking cheaper rental options than available in the surrounding areas. (Chirag Dilli got surrounded by new settlements built by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) from the 1950s to the 1980s: Malviya Nagar in 1950s, Greater Kailash in 1960s and Sheik Sarai in 1980s (see Figure 13). These 'colonies' cater only for a narrow bracket of middle-class residential owners and, as per Master Plan, use is largely limited to be residential.)

To sum up, the case of Chirag Dilli, and urban villages more generally, shows that the land acquisition and the resulting messiness of property rights influenced the formulation of the Delhi Master Plan. The state was not able to abstract informality for the purpose of the Master Plan. Here, informality preceded the Master Plan and was not simply a response to it (i.e., resistance). This case, therefore, broadens the arguments often put forward in the literature on informality in India[283] to acknowledge the existence of urban informality beyond and partly independent from formal planning and the constraints it poses on people and their activities. Furthermore, the exemption from planning rules (rather than their implementation and imposition) encouraged the further development of informal construction, rental and

[283] Bhan, 'Planned Illegalities - Housing and the "Failure" of Planning in Delhi: 1947-2010';

Roy, 'Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities'.

commercial practices, as we will see in the following sections. It is therefore not the space left out of the ambit of planning, or the planning strategies alone, which produce urban informality; rather, informality plays an active role in the production of space and thus the resulting city in an on-going cyclical process.

5.7. How informal spatial practices shaped the production of alternate housing types

As indicated in the previous section, "people from outside", as an elderly long-term resident put it, started seeking rental options in Chirag Dilli by the early 2000s. Some, including momo entrepreneurs, were also looking for commercial space.

Vikram's story (see introduction quote), whose father originated from West Bengal and came to Delhi in 2001, is a point in case (we illustrate our arguments with Vikram's case throughout, as he represents a typical momo entrepreneur). From his inherited tea stall in Connaught Place (central Delhi), Vikram started selling momos. He soon realized that it is more profitable to produce them himself and thus started manufacturing momos from his rented apartment in nearby Paharganj. However, it was difficult to conduct business there. In 2011, he shifted his residence and momo production unit to Chirag Dilli, 13 km (about 45-minute drive) away from his tea stall, which he kept. As he explains:

> 'It was not possible to work in the Paharganj apartment. The neighbours complained, sometimes they called the police, and I did not find any boys [hired workers] … There is everything here [in Chirag Dilli], from material to labour to access vehicles. It is far from Connaught Place, but it is much more convenient to work here.'

The Chirag Dilli momo cluster[284] developed through the mutually reinforcing relationship between manufacturing centres, neighbourhood shops providing

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[284] There are two types of momo units: momo-manufacturing-centres and momo-eateries. The manufacturing centres run their own retail outlets (street-vending points) elsewhere and/or sell to other street vendors. The eateries make dumplings at a much smaller scale alongside other snacks; they serve them in a small room and as take-out. The manufacturing centres are usually run by an entrepreneur and one or

raw materials (e.g., utensils, flour, vegetables etc.) and migrant workers into an 'ecosystem' conducive for the momo industry. Both house owners (often shop owners) and renters (momo entrepreneurs and workers) benefited from the cluster so that initial complaints from other neighbours were ignored and silenced. The so-called momo industry nuisances (e.g., concentration of young men, smell of cooking meat etc.) became a locally accepted norm. This clustering has been facilitated by the dialectics between perceived, conceived, and lived space: Cultural perceptions and expectations on Chirag Dilli changed; relaxed building codes in the urban village rendered the housing stock more malleable and adaptable to this burgeoning industry; and entrepreneurs and workers adopted new forms of collective living (see below).

Local house owners capitalised on the opportunities from growing commercial and residential space demand, including from the momo industry, by converting their larger houses (*havelis*) into multiple small rental apartments and creating ground-floor shops (see Figure 14). Chirag Dilli thus offers a variety of rental options today, from single-room studios to multi-room apartments and ground-floor commercial spaces (shops), restaurants and even small manufacturing units. A long-time resident explained:

> 'We were not very rich. Initially [in 2000s] everybody started giving up their land to builders [small-scale local developers] and in return got multiple apartments and shops built [the developer keeping a few of the apartments for himself in lieu of a cash payment]. This led to easy income in the neighbourhood. Later, when people had money, they began building on their own [using a contractor rather than a developer]. Now very few *havelis* are left, everyone wants to build and earn rent.'

This new architectural infrastructure facilitated the emergence of the momo cluster, and vice versa. The very common layout of apartments, locally referred to as 1-BHK (one bedroom, hall, and kitchen), is suitable for momo

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two permanent workers. The entrepreneur and the permanent workers also act as vendors. Apart from that, there are 5-15 casual workers (hired on a daily wage basis). The eateries are operated by an entrepreneur with help from one or two casual workers.

manufacturing, as well as for many other, including residential, uses. Vikram, the momo producer, comments:

> 'We just need a hall, a kitchen and a toilet for making momos, so we easily fit into any apartment in Chirag Dilli. The only factor is that the rent should match the profit we make.'

This flexibility of the housing stock, together with the exemption of Chirag Dilli from use regulations, creates a situation where flats can shift easily between commercial and residential uses. This interchangeability is important for the property owners because of the Delhi Rent Control Act of 1958, from which urban villages are not exempt. Initially intended to protect the tenants from arbitrary rental hikes, this legislation prohibits rent increases without the tenant's written consent. However, landlords throughout Delhi responded to this law by limiting leases to 11 months or less. Subsequent short-term leases are offered, mostly with a 'customary' 10% increase in rent, or the flat is given to a new tenant able to pay the market rate. While this (informal) practice is ubiquitous in Delhi, the particular housing stock and exemption from use restrictions allows Chirag Dilli property owners to rent their apartments not only to families but also to commercial momo manufacturing units. Indeed, momo entrepreneurs frequently shift within the neighbourhood to avoid higher rents given their tight profit margins. Vikram, for example, moved his manufacturing unit twice between his arrival in 2011 and 2015. Moving operations is relatively easy for the momos manufacturing units as they do not have heavy machinery. Furthermore, the entrepreneurs already established in Chirag Dilli find new rental space through their local networks, including the shopkeepers and workers who supply the raw materials. This

particularity of conceived, perceived, and lived space in Chirag Dilli leads to a higher tenant turnover than in most other parts of Delhi.

Furthermore, the constant shifting of momo entrepreneurs and other tenants provides the opportunity for the landlords to regularly renovate the flats and adjust them to market demands. Interestingly, the demand of momo manufacturers for ceramic floors (as they facilitate cleaning and provide more comfort to the workers who sit on the floor) and other amenities, such as running water and a functioning kitchen, has contributed to the general
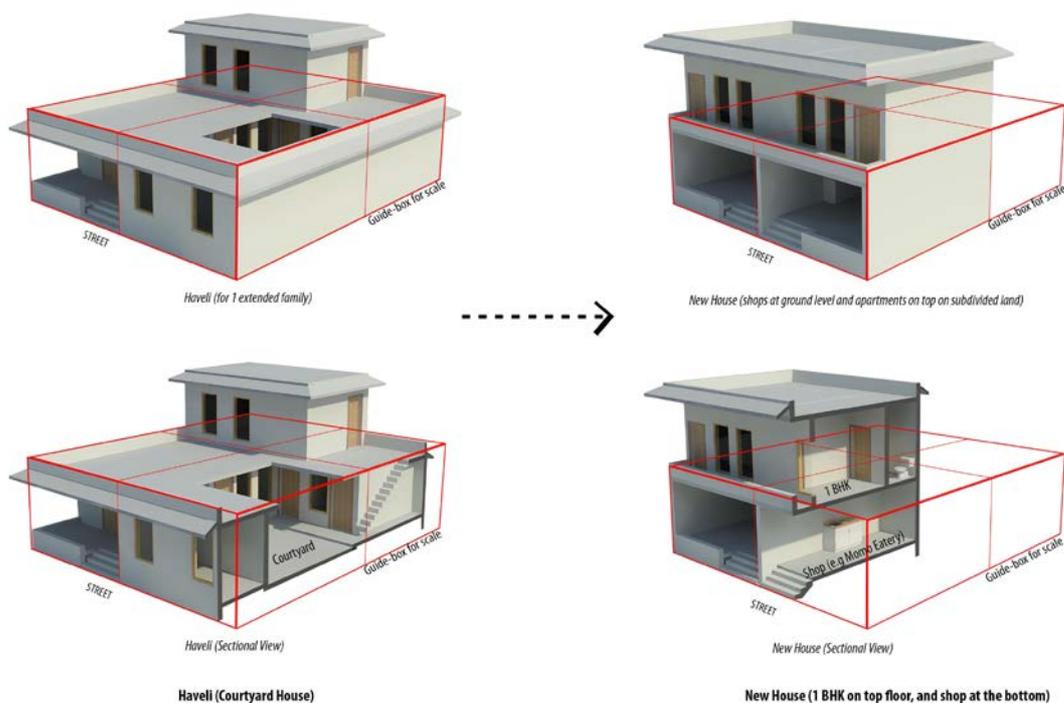
Figure 14: Haveli divided into ground floor shops (e.g., for momo eateries) and into 1-BHK flats above (e.g., for momo manufacturing).
(This graphical representation is simplified; usually, there are more floors to the new houses).
(© Author)

improvement of the housing stock in Chirag Dilli. As of now, informality has created good-quality living conditions for momo entrepreneurs and workers here; it remains to be seen whether episodic moments of state interventions or gentrification processes will bring this to an end (as shown by Kudva[285]).

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[285] Kudva, 'The Everyday and the Episodic'.

The momo industry also brought about new living arrangements in Chirag Dilli. The entrepreneurs normally use their rented 1-BHK flat for both working and living. Producing momos, cleaning utensils, doing the accounts, cooking for the workers, eating and sleeping all take place in the 1-BHK flat. For practical and economic reasons, the momo entrepreneurs also live together with their permanent worker, as they require close contact throughout the day and until late at night (to sell the momos elsewhere in Delhi).

Thus, momo manufacturing created a new housing type that combines factory space with a residence. This is the resultant of both the spatial practice of momo- entrepreneurs and the representation of space with respect to Chirag Dilli. The dual use of flats is unregulated in urban villages while elsewhere in Delhi, commercial activities and residential use has to be separate by law.

Furthermore, the free accommodation provision to the permanent workers acts as a perk. The apartments, having running water and a working kitchen, present decent living spaces. Being small-scale momo factories, they are also cleaned on a daily basis and ventilated. The average person in the surrounding slums may earn more than a permanent momo worker,[286] but they generally

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[286] According to our own field data from 2015-16, a typical family of four in the nearby slum of Jagdamba Camp earns INR 19,000 (about EUR 250) per month (husband: INR 7000, wife: INR 12,000). A permanent momo worker earns INR 4000-6000 (circa EUR 50-80) per month. The conversion to EUR follows bank rates; the actual purchasing power varies widely on site.

live less comfortably, confirming that informal practices do not always lead to poor housing conditions.

The 1-BHK layouts also prove to be suitable for the casual momo workers, who have arrived in Chirag Dilli since the early 2000s as well, mostly from Nepal and the north-eastern states of India. They live in shared accommodation of five to ten persons occupying the same type of 1-BHK flats used by the manufacturing centres and other residents. Thanks to the high number of persons per flat, the rents become affordable to the workers even though their salaries are low and despite the increasing rents due to improving housing stock. These shared apartments also become the nodes of social networks for exchange of job prospects, contributing to the economic and ethnic clustering. As informal jobs are available and housing is shared, the transition from outside the city to the momo industry is very smooth. As Guddu, a young casual momo worker, who recently came from his native village in Nepal where he studied at the local high school, explains:

> 'My friend [who already worked in Chirag Dilli] was visiting his family in Nepal and asked if I wanted to join him. I convinced my father and we came to Chirag Dilli. I shared his bed in the apartment on the first day and on the second day, he introduced me to an owner who hired me to make momos. Now I have my own bed, and I live in the same apartment. It is cheap; we share food and other expenses. We are all friends so it is a good time-pass.'

Landlords welcome the migrant workers as they fit the existing 1-BHK flat structures and are able to pay the rent thanks to the employment opportunities in the momo industry. These migrant workers invariably intend to go back to their hometown in future; Delhi represents primarily a work place and only a transitory living place for them. This makes them ideal renters for the house owners: migrant momo workers have low expectations from the flat and put few demands on the landlord, and they can be evicted easily. One landlord told us that:

'These momo people rent a lot. It is hassle free because they are young
boys, so don't complain a lot or argue. It is also easy to ask them to move
out of the flat, as opposed to, say, a family.'

As discussed, the 1-BHK rental apartments are very malleable to different
uses: they can be used for momo manufacturing as well as for housing of momo
entrepreneurs, permanent workers, casual workers, and others. Flats used for
commercial purposes in Chirag Dilli sometimes shift (back) to residences. For
example, a casual worker of Vikram now lives in the space previously rented
for his manufacturing unit. They now benefit from an 'upgraded' apartment
with ceramic floors. Generally, the constant shifting of tenants and the shifting
between uses both improve the quality of the housing stock and increase the
rents.

The interactions of conceived, perceived and lived space led to the following
four processes: (i) the development and constant improvement of housing stock;
(ii) the oscillating use of this housing stock between commercial and residential
property; (iii) the adaptation and differentiation of living arrangements in the
same kind of housing units; and (iv) the economic clustering of momo
manufacturing. The representation of space as per Master Plan and the rent
control act motivated informal practices of short-term leases that led to high
tenant turn-overs and the opportunity to adjust and improve the housing stock.
At the same time, the representational space (urban imaginaries) of the casual
workers rendered Delhi as a work place. This derives from them identifying
themselves as migrants, who have a clear idea of a distant home where they
want to go back (irrespective of how long they have lived in Delhi). Such a
representational space affects the spatial practice in terms of their willingness
to live collectively without complaining to the owner. The landlord exploits this
situation by creating a rental market that is in constant flux (both in terms of
change of tenants and increasing the number of tenants in case of casual
workers). These situations reinforce our earlier argument on understanding
the city as dialectic and constantly under production.

5.8. Representational space: multiple and changing imaginaries on Chirag Dilli

As seen in the introduction, an emerging street foodscape in general, and momos, in particular, has come to contribute to a sense of urbanity in the view of different social classes in Delhi. This urban imaginary is of course juxtaposed with many other ones, including that of Delhi as an emerging world-class city. In this section, we will discuss how representational space (urban imaginaries) are produced with respect to the perceived and conceived space discussed in the previous sections.

While momo manufacturers find it preferable to work and live in Chirag Dilli, they attempt to sell the dumplings from retail outlets (tea stalls, mobile kitchens, etc.) elsewhere in Delhi to access a larger market. These retail outlets usually pop-up in the afternoon. Vikram, for example, brings momos to his tea stall in Connaught Place at 3pm to sell them until around 9pm or whenever all the dumplings are sold. Momo vending changes the character of the street. People gather to eat and the footpath is converted to a social, public place. These practices not only change the city's foodscape, but also the representational space or the urban imaginary associated with Delhi.

However, to establish a vending spot outside Chirag Dilli requires strong social networks to avoid harassment by the authorities and excessive bribery. Vikram, for example, uses his inherited footpath teashop in Connaught Place, where he grew up and has established a strong social network. His local social network is the result of spatial practices over years to establish relationships with the neighbouring shops as well as the local police and municipal inspectors. It is not that Vikram is able to avoid paying bribes, but they are set at a fixed rate and are thus predictable (cf. Schindler[287]). Informal social networks are key because the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and

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[287] S. Schindler, 'Producing and Contesting the Formal/Informal Divide: Regulating Street Hawking in Delhi, India', *Urban Studies* 51, no. 12 (1 September 2014): 2596–2612.

Regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014, which foresees the protection of small retailers from eviction[288], remains not implemented.

Other momo producers, who lack social networks elsewhere in Delhi, tend to start an eatery in Chirag Dilli. Raj, the owner of a momo eatery, commented:

> 'I know how to make momos and that selling them on streets is more profitable than running a 'hotel' [momo eatery]. When I started selling, the police harassed me and the owners of the nearby shops complained about garbage even though I cleaned it up. It is too much tension to sell momos on streets, so I am now happy with my hotel business [momo eatery].'

The migrant workers associate a different representational space. For example, Guddu, a casual momo worker whom we met in the previous section, described Delhi as a place of economic fortune, like many other migrant casual workers in the momo industry. Recounting his move to the city, Guddu explains:

> 'In our village when someone goes to Delhi, it is seen as a good employment venture. When we go back to Nepal [on yearly holidays] we have money [savings from working the whole year], people see us with respect. So when in Delhi we try to save as much money as possible.'

This urban imagination of Delhi (and of Chirag Dilli) as a site of making money and savings results in specific spatial practices (as discussed with respect to housing choices in the previous section). Returning and visiting momo workers depict Chirag Dilli as a place of job opportunities to their friends and kin back in Nepal and Darjeeling. In a similar vein, entrepreneurs associate Chirag Dilli with economic opportunities as Vikram reported to us: "My friend told me that to make momos, one need to be in Chirag Dilli."

There is a scalar shift in the way these two particular imaginations work. The migrant momo workers see Chirag Dilli as a hub of opportunity and build their

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[288] Ministry of Law and Justice, 'The Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014.', *Gazette of India* Part II, Section I, no. No. 8 (4 March 2014).

image of Delhi based on this representational space. Momo eatery owners, contrastingly, see Delhi in general as a restrictive space where they are hindered to run a business due to the informal practices of officials. For them, Chirag Dilli is an exception where they can operate more freely, in part due to its representation as an urban village. Further, the people who enjoy momos on the street, build a mental foodscape imagery of Delhi. This foodscape imagery is based on the momos and the temporal changes it brings to the street and is devoid of what happens in Chirag Dilli (as evident from the numerous newspaper articles). By contrast, the Master Plan represents Chirag Dilli as a heritage zone in the city, proposing a "specific heritage complex"[289] there. Finally, the residents both welcome the financial benefits from the changing work/live space and lament and imagined past glory of the urban village. The presence of the momo industry definitively changed their representational space of the neighbourhood. This is most evident through the narratives of the house owners and old residents on the momo eateries. The sprawling eateries in Chirag Dilli offering dumplings and other snacks have changed the eating habits of its residents. One resident re-constructs a nicer past as:

> 'Those days [during his youth, in the late 1980s] there were no momos, and very few shops. We used to eat from the *halvai* [sweet-maker]. These days kids eat momos and *chaumin* [Chinese-style noodles]. It is all over the place now [slightly angry and contemptuous tone].'

The recent changes in the food and cityscape of Chirag Dilli seems to have led to a romanticized view of the urban village before the arrival of momos. The old residents, though they benefit from the momo industry, produce an urban imaginary where the old eras of the neighbourhood with *havelis* are re-imagined. Following Appadurai[290] and Nandy[291], we argue that the changed foodscape of Chirag Dilli not only alters the settlement but also its collective

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[289] Ministry of Urban Development, 'Master Plan for Delhi—With the Perspective for the Year 2021', 64.

[290] Arjun Appadurai, 'How Histories Make Geographies', *Transcultural Studies*, no. 1 (19 October 2010): 4–13,

[291] Nandy, 'The Changing Popular Culture of Indian Food'.

imagination. By using the term 'these days', the resident quoted above is not only referring to the physical changes in the settlement, but also the change in the lived experiences of the residents. Here, momos have considerably altered the symbolic meanings and associations.

This section showed that a city or a neighbourhood is more than the images being projected by the formal representation of space (e.g., through the Master Plan). There is a multiplicity of representational spaces constructed by different groups of people. This multiplicity of representational spaces, further translates into various spatial practices (see section 5.7), resulting in both tangible and intangible aspects of the city. The type of city that is illustrated through this dialectic is one where the 'otherness' of informality dilutes to form one of the many factors producing the city. In the case of Chirag Dilli, many of these representational spaces have been shaped by the informal practices related to the momos industry in their dialectical relationship with the formal representation of space.

5.9. Conclusion

Following Lefebvre, we analysed the production of the city through interactions between the 'representation of space' (particularly through the Delhi Master Plan), 'spatial practice' linked to the momo industry in Chirag Dilli (e.g., production and vending practices, living patterns, rental practices) and 'representational space' (e.g., multiple imaginations of Chirag Dilli and its relation to Delhi). Thereby we found that informality is a crucial element in the production of the city. At the larger city scale, for example, informal occupation and resulting informal property relations in Chirag Dilli influenced the formal Master Plan, which created the 'exceptional' category of urban villages and exempted these from many formal clauses. In turn, the Master Plan, as well as related legislations and spatial exemptions, reshaped formal and informal practices (e.g., altering housing stock and use). Furthermore, we have shown how largely informal activities linked to the momo industry led to morphological changes (e.g., the improved housing stock) as well as the emergence of new living forms in Chirag Dilli. We represented this urban neighbourhood as both a space of exploitation and of achieved social

possibilities. Finally, we have described how momos and related informal practices created a plurality of representational spaces of Chirag Dilli and of Delhi that goes beyond the imagination of the city as an emerging world-class metropolis.

Through this analysis, we also challenge some of the existing literature on urban planning and on urban informality that puts much emphasis on the (governmental) planning apparatuses (including the master plans) as the key producer of the city, either through their omnipresence or through their absence. The first type of literature refers to the (often violent) implementation of the plan that criminalizes large sections of society and many informal practices. Informal settlements, or informality more generally, are defined, determined and created by a formal planning apparatus, without which they would not exist[292]. In another strand of literature, urban informality emerges and strives in the ruptures of the formal city making process, in those interstices where planning is absent. Thereby, informality is seen as the normality in developing cities[293]. Here, we put the emphasis on the variety of informal practices, such as those of momo entrepreneurs and workers, and on the dialectical relationships between them. Further, we broaden the argument that informality is not just a purview of the urban poor and it impacts beyond the physicality of the neighbourhood.

Taking this approach, we intend to avoid rendering informality as the 'other' (pre-modern in a linear timeline towards being modern) in understanding the urban. Contrasting informality to the formal representation of space carries the danger of decentring it in the urban debate. Researchers have shown how informality is not just a realm of urban poor, but there exists a gap in a clearer formulation on how to study informality. Therefore, we used informality as a

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[292] Bhan, 'Planned Illegalities - Housing and the "Failure" of Planning in Delhi: 1947-2010';

Patrick Heller and Mukhopadhyay Partha, 'State-Produced Inequality in an Indian City', *Seminar*, no. 672 (August 2015);

Roy, 'Urban Informality'.

[293] AlSayyad, 'Urban Informality as a "New" Way of Life'; Sen, 'The Unintended City'.

tool to understand the city rather than the other way around, that is, starting with the state, the city or the master plan to understand informality. Thereby, we have shown that informality co-produced temporal social spaces, settlements, foodscape and imaginations of a city in their dialectical relationship with formal planning and state legislation.

Imagining a future city, Amin argues in his 'telescopic urbanism' for the city of collective rights that:

> "A first step towards a politics of the staples understood as shared infrastructural rights across the urban territory is to turn the telescope the right way round so that the whole city comes back into view, revealing the multiple geographies of inhabitation and their interdependencies, showing business consultancy city and slum city as part of the same spatial universe."[294]

We positioned this paper in line with this spirit, but reasoning that to 'shift the telescope'; one needs to first shift the discourse. We cannot talk about collective rights as long as the disfranchised and their practices are seen as the 'other', who needs to be mended for the rest of the city to flourish. Walking a tightrope between glamorizing informality (or poverty) and an activist fight against the grim realities of hardship and violence, we propose to first work towards the shift in the way we study and position informality, that is, beyond the material spaces its practitioners occupy.

5.10. Postscript

The starting intent of the paper was to de-centre the State in the analysis of urban informality. Taking a cue from Parnell and Robinson[295], who, even

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[294] Amin, 'Telescopic Urbanism and the Poor', 486.

[295] Parnell and Robinson, '(Re)Theorizing Cities from the Global South'.

though agreed with the impact of neoliberalism, experimented with a narrative without it. In a similar approach, this paper attempted to understand the city, by considering the State as just another actor among many others who produce the city. This mode of enquiry was very helpful in investigating the effects of informality on the urbanization process. Firstly, it highlighted the impact it has on the city beyond the material spaces occupied by the informality. Secondly, it broadened this effect by demonstrating the impacts of all three of the spatial triad. It highlighted how the conceptualization of the city, the experiential quality, as well as the physicality of the neighbourhood are affected by informal practices.

This paper took the informality discussion beyond the two established notions of (i) informal practice as a survival strategy which needs improvement, as they are the people who are left out of development, and (ii) informality as a domain of champion entrepreneurs, who with frugal resources are making economic contribution. In this manner, informality can neither be looked as something that need to be overcome, neither as a factor which needs help for improving itself. It further problematizes the second research sub-question (how do the practitioners of informality affect the urban/urbanization process?) into how we recognize the role of a plural set of informal practices which contribute to the urbanization process without falling into the trap of gentrification.

Jagdamba Camp.

(© Author)

6. INFORMALITY AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Figure 15: A typical neighbourhood street of Jagdamba Camp

(© Author)

6.1. Preface

The final paper looks into the third research sub-question of – How informal or formal practices are preferred and how they garner their connotation? As informality is being practiced by a multitude of actors from/in various contexts, this paper is not an attempt to outline it in all its diversity. However, here I situate the case in a local context of the neighbourhood and its immediate surroundings, aiming to explore the above question in depth. This paper develops the idea of informality as a practice and attempts to make it a contextually situated conceptualization.

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Title: The production of informality and everyday politics: A case from drinking water and solid waste management in Delhi

6.2. Abstract

Urban informality is a complex phenomenon and recent literature points to the need for developing a new theoretical framework to analyse and interpret empirical observations. This paper uses Bourdieu's practice theory to theorize informality as a set of practices and analyse two case studies from Jagdamba Camp, Delhi (India), and its surrounding neighbourhoods. The first case is on practices around a community-managed water supply system and the second on practices around solid waste management. The case studies, based on data collected through qualitative fieldwork in 2015 and 2016, point to multifaceted interactions between formal and informal practices that result in manifestations of in/formal practices in the locality's everyday politics. The paper argues that informality is not linked to particular people or places in an essentialist way, but dependant on the field in which these actors operate.

Keywords: Informal practices, urban informality, everyday politics, Bourdieu, Delhi

6.3. Introduction

> *In June 2015, an NGO started cleaning the garbage dump in Jagdamba Camp, to convert it into a community space so that it can be used as an open-classroom for the neighbourhood kids. The local leaders of the Jagdamba Camp, vehemently protested against this appropriation of government land. However, the municipality sided with the NGO; despite the informal and arguably illegal land appropriation.*

Two questions or puzzles emerge from this example that provides a backdrop for this paper: Why would a state actor support informality? And why would the local leaders oppose garbage clearing that leads to the betterment of their own neighbourhood?

Such a questioning derives its roots from an unblemished understanding of what is objectively good, in this case, a clean open-classroom being better than

a garbage dump. This further implies a critique of modernity's ethnocentric understandings that disenfranchise many parts of developing cities by labelling them informal[296]. Furthermore, in her book *Ordinary Cities*, Robinson[297], building on Santos[298], appeal to shift towards a more situated theoretical approach to study cities in the developing world. Conversely, informality has largely been studied in the cities of the so-called South. This call for more theoretical projects from the South and the already existing focus on informality from the cases situated in the South presents the theoretical premise for this paper.

Furthermore, urban informality has largely been studied using two empirical categorizations. First conceives urban informality through confining it to specific classes of people (e.g. the urban poor, subalterns, etc.) and/or second, to specific places (e.g. slums, unauthorized colonies etc.). Yet, the example cited above suggests that these associations are not always as clear-cut. Attempting to breaking this association and following a grounded approach, this paper proposes to analyse urban informality through practices. I argue that the role of fields in which actors operate is as central to informality than the actors themselves or the places they inhabit.

This argument is built upon two case studies located in and around Jagdamba Camp (hereafter JC), a squatter settlement in Delhi, that look at the practices and everyday politics around water supply and solid waste management. JC's water supply is a community-based system managed by the local community leader(s) and maintained by the state government's Water Authority[299] while solid waste management is officially under the purview of the municipality. These interlinked case studies will point to the role of various practices in

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[296] Gareth A. Jones, 'Slumming about: Aesthetics, Art and Politics', *City* 15, no. 6 (December 2011): 696–708.

[297] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

[298] Santos, *The Shared Space*.

[299] The water supply system in Delhi is under the purview of the Delhi Jal Board, which was constituted in 1998, incorporating the previous Delhi Water Supply and Sewage Disposal Undertaking. As the cases discussed in this paper stretch over a period of both before and after 1998, the term 'Water Authority' is used.

reshaping the formal service delivery systems, thus coproducing urban informality and influencing everyday politics.

Drawing upon the case studies, I will discuss three aspects of the production of urban informality: (i) its unintentional character, (ii) the amorphous nature of what is rendered formal and/or informal and its inter-changeability, and (iii) the different fields, where production of informality is facilitated or contested. These three threads do not represent different categories of the production of informality but rather point to its plurality, more generally, using urban service delivery as an entry point and Bourdieu's[300] Theory of Practice as a heuristic tool.

The following theoretical section provides first a literature review on informality arguing against actor- and place-centred approach and for practice-oriented views of informality. This is followed by a section describing the qualitative methods used to study in/formal practices and one that presents the case studies on water supply and on solid waste management in JC. The section thereafter articulates the two case studies to reinforce the arguments for a practice-oriented view of informality. Finally, I conclude the paper by linking the cases back to the politics of informality.

6.4.   Towards a Practice-Centred Thinking of Informality

Cities (or parts thereof) that defy the Western norms of modernity (or that of the developmentalist state) form separate categories in the literature. Robinson bases this on the "biased assumptions and practices of contemporary urban theory"[301], largely drawing from the understanding of modernity. Challenging the idea of taking modernity as a synonym of the 'West' she reiterates:

> "Assisted by the expansion and dominance of Western economic, political and cultural forms, the assumption that being 'modern' involves being

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[300] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Reprint 1995, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[301] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*, 2.

'Western' proliferates both in the academic literature and in popular discourse…"[302].

This resulting bias of urban theory marginalizes cities of the developing world and their informality. Thus, overshadowing the nuances of informality vis-à-vis: its amorphous nature with respect to who practices it and why; its complex power relations beyond state agencies; and social aspects of desirability and avoidance of informal practices.

6.4.1. Informal People and Informal Places

Informality discussions have their roots in the 1970s debates on the informal sector. The focus was on labour migration, unemployment, and poverty[303]. Hart's famous delineation of informality[304], which resonates in multiple sources as a definition, clumps together the urban poor, their livelihoods and their habitat, and puts these at the centre of the discussion on the informal economy. He claims that having been "denied success by the formal opportunity structure, these members of the urban sub-proletariat seek informal means of increasing their incomes"[305]. Informality thus got attached to the urban poor or, more generally, to the marginalized and disenfranchised sections of society, and the places they inhabited.

This association with particular social groups and with particular places has ever since dominated empirical frameworks to study informality, even of those in critical contemporary academic literature, although Roy broadens its scope to bring to light the informal and illegal means incurred by the urban elites as well:

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[302] Robinson, 19.

[303] Caroline O.N. Moser, 'Informal Sector or Petty Commodity Production: Dualism or Dependence in Urban Development?', *World Development* 6, no. 9–10 (September 1978): 1041–64.

[304] "It is this world of economic activities outside the organised labour force which is the subject of detailed examination here." Hart, 'Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana', 68.

[305] Hart, 67.

"Informal urbanization is as much the purview of wealthy urbanites as it is of slum dwellers. These forms of urban informality — from Delhi's farmhouses to Kolkata's new towns to Mumbai's shopping malls—are no more legal than the metonymic slum. But they are expressions of class power and can therefore command infrastructure, services and legitimacy"[306].

The inquiry into the differences within informality (by the elites and the poor) leads her to use urban informality as a heuristic device to understand the hegemony of the developmentalist state. This hegemony is expressed through the 'valorization of elite informality' and the 'criminalization of subaltern informalities'. This theorisation aptly highlights how the state and its agencies mobilize informality to delegitimise the urban poor. Other authors added to this perspective. For example, Ghertner[307] examines the judiciary-assisted demolitions of Delhi slums showing how the state actors' aesthetic sensibilities become a tool to judge and govern informality of the marginalized and thus criminalize it. Baviskar[308] makes the links between the planning logic and the criminalization of the marginalized, specifically the migrants on the one hand, and Delhi's middle-class desire to be a 'world class city' driven by what she called 'bourgeois environmentalism', on the other. This manner of theorisations has two major implications. First, they put informality as a mode of urban governance or governmentality[309]. Second, they see the actions of those involved in informal practices primarily as negotiations with the state. For example, as Roy and AlSayyad argue:

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[306] Roy, 'Slumdog Cities', 233.

[307] Ghertner, *Rule by Aesthetics*.

[308] Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire'.

[309] Roy, 'Slumdog Cities';

Roy, 'Strangely Familiar';

Ananya Roy, 'Urban Informality: The Production of Space and Practice of Planning', in *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Planning*, ed. Randall Crane and Rachel Weber (Oxford University Press, 2012);

Jan Nijman, 'Against the Odds: Slum Rehabilitation in Neoliberal Mumbai', *Cities* 25, no. 2 (April 2008): 73–85.

"If formality operates through the fixing of value, including the mapping of spatial value, then informality operates through the constant negotiability of value and unmapping of spaces."[310]

These negotiations are conceived with respect to its practitioners, such as formation of collective bargaining structures[311]; conflict with state or other agencies[312]; or circumventing the state for its operation[313]. Despite the diversity of these perspectives, they have in common the focus on the informal actor's (collective or individual) capacity to negotiate and navigate with and within the state.

In the context of deceptive linking (by the media) of poverty to radicalization and Islamic militancy, Bayat[314] articulates informality as the habitus of the dispossessed. He argues how the urban poor opts for informal practices because they are compelled to do so:

"It is true that many of the inhabitants of informal communities pursue an 'informal life.' … they tend to function as much as possible outside the boundaries of the state and modern bureaucratic institutions… This is the case not because these people are essentially non- or anti-modern but because the conditions of their existence compel them to seek an informal way of life. That is so because modernity is a costly enterprise. It requires

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[310] Roy and AlSayyad, *Urban Informality*, 5.

[311] Bhuvanaswari Raman, Eric Denis, and Solomon Benjamin, 'From Slum to Ordinary Neighborhood in a Provincial Town of South India: Resident-Induced Practices of Participation and Co-Production', in *Rethinking Precarious Neighborhoods*, ed. Agnès Deboulet (Paris: AFD, 2016), 211–31;

Darshini Mahadevia, 'Tenure Security and Urban Social Protection Links: India', *Ids Bulletin-Institute of Development Studies* 41, no. 4 (July 2010): 52–62.

[312] Bimal Kanti Paul, 'Fear of Eviction: The Case of Slum and Squatter Dwellers in Dhaka, Bangladesh', *Urban Geography* 27, no. 6 (1 September 2006): 567–74;

Véronique Dupont, 'Slum Demolitions in Delhi since the 1990s: An Appraisal', *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 28 (12 July 2008): 79–87;

Arabindoo, 'Bajji on the Beach: Middle-Class Food Practices in Chennai's New Beach'.

[313] Bayat, 'Radical Religion and the Habitus of the Dispossessed'; Babere, 'Social Production of Space'.

[314] Bayat, 'Radical Religion and the Habitus of the Dispossessed'.

a capacity to conform to the types of behaviour (adherence to strict disciplines of time, space, contract and so on) that most poor people simply cannot afford."[315]

It is important to unpack what Bayat calls 'habitus of the dispossessed', in light of Roy's highlighting of 'elite informality'. If habitus of the urban poor push them to practice informality, then how do we understand elite informality? If informality is not to be understood as a domain of a specific set of people and those involved in informality are practicing it due to the 'conditions of their existence', then we need a different framework to understand this. Rodgers, in his discussion of the coproduction of urban spaces in the Global South, presents a more complex picture of the actor-independent nature of urban informality:

> "Focusing on individual agency is also obviously a means of bridging the binary thinking about formal and informal processes that dominates mainstream thinking. Even if these different domains can be conceptually distinguished, they are generally populated by the same individual social agents who move from, and participate in, different events, situations and processes, sometimes sequentially, sometimes at the same time or sometimes as connectors."[316]

The fact that the same individual social agents populate both formality and informality makes it necessary to look beyond the habitus of these agents. Why does the same individual practice informality in one case but formality in the other? To overcome this conundrum, we need to look at the practices of these agents (focusing on individual agency, as Rodgers put it) to understand informality, formality and their relationships. A practice-oriented perspective will allow for a conceptualization of informality where the individuals are not labelled informal, rather are seen as actors who can practice both informality and formality. By contrast, it is easier to define a practice as either formal or

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[315] Bayat, 587.

[316] Dennis Rodgers, 'Towards a Political Economy of Urban Coproduction', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 37, no. 3 (September 2016): 398.

informal. We define formal practice pragmatically as something that is registered with the state, and informal practice as something that is not. However, it should be noted that the state here is not a monolith, but a topological state, which incorporates informality within as argued by Ghertner[317].

This conceptual and empirical focus on practices can be further justified by a brief description of JC. The settlement began when people squatted on an empty piece of land. Occupying this land was an informal practice. Today, however, the houses are equipped with metered electricity supply and the residents pay their electricity bills. Paying the bills is a formal practice that includes going through formal financial systems. Furthermore, many JC residents work without formal contracts as housemaids in the surrounding settlements. Simultaneously, some residents are government employees working within the formal wage systems. One could list many other formal and informal practices (and I will do so in regard to water supply and solid waste management), but these examples already point to the difficulty in defining JC or its residents as either informal or formal. It is easier to delineate individual practices through this binary, but the settlement and its residents as a whole seem to be resulting from the mesh of in/formal practices.

6.4.2. Informality as a Set of Practices

McFarlane[318] in his work on 2005 Mumbai floods, proposes to study informality and formality through practices. He takes a cue from Ingold's[319] idea of the 'meshwork' and conceptualizes the informal-formal as a mesh of practices that is perpetually in the making and without fixed identities:

> "…framing informality and formality as practices means dispensing with both the idea that informality belongs to the poor and formality to the better off, and the associated idea that informality and formality

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[317] Ghertner, 'When Is the State?'

[318] McFarlane, 'Rethinking Informality'.

[319] Tim Ingold, *Being Alive Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (London; New York: Routledge, 2011).

necessarily belong to different kinds of urban spaces. Thinking of informality and formality as practices rather than as pre-existing geographies allows us to understand the ways in which geography helps to determine the particular politicisation of these practices."[320]

In this paper, I draw upon Pierre Bourdieu's[321] theory of practice as a heuristic framework to extend McFarlane's theoretical perspective on informality. This theoretical extension allows going beyond the non-contextualized association of informality with specific people and places to include the consideration of not only practices but also fields. Building on Bourdieu, Schatzki[322] has elaborated practice as "an open-ended, spatially-temporally dispersed nexus of doings and sayings." Bourdieu's theory of practice builds on the concepts of field, doxa, habitus, and capital. These four key concepts are interrelated and therefore need to be defined with reference to each other. Society is seen as a set of fields within which agents carry out their practices. Bourdieu uses the metaphor of a sports field, which constitutes an arena with its own social identity and a positional context in which particular practices appear reasonable:

> "the field … is clearly seen for what it is, an arbitrary social construct, an artefact whose arbitrariness and artificiality are underlined by everything that defines its autonomy…"[323].

Fields are not mutually exclusive and different fields intersect. The key aspects that define them are their rules, which Bourdieu calls doxa. Doxa is the historically produced understanding (the rules) of the field that are socially shared. Doxa and field are interrelated, "the fundamental presuppositions of the field … is the very definition of doxa"[324].

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[320] McFarlane, 'Rethinking Informality', 105.

[321] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

[322] Theodore Schatzki, 'A Primer on Practices', in *Practice-Based Education: Perspectives and Strategies*, ed. Joy Higgs et al. (Boston: Sense Publishers, 2012), 14.

[323] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, Reprinted (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990), 67.

[324] Bourdieu, 68.

However, the socially shared doxa is not universal. Not all agents in a field necessarily accept the doxa voluntarily. Rather, doxa is imposed by those who have more capital (power):

> "Doxa is a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view…"[325].

Bourdieu sees power as embedded in the actors by virtue of the capital they accumulate. He understands capital beyond its Marxist material association with economic activity and theory to also include social and cultural frameworks[326]. Furthermore, capital is an endowed resource and its value depends on the field in which the actor is acting. Additionally, power is enacted through habitus, which guides the actors' practices. The habitus is internal to the actor, as Dovey[327] explains "The habitus is not cognitively understood but rather internalized and embodied".

I conceptualize informal and formal practices unfolding in multiple fields, each with their own doxa. There are certain fields where the doxa favours formal practices and other fields where the doxa favours informal practices. Theorizations of informality as a governmental tool (discussed in the previous sub-section) suitably highlights state brutality and its ideological bearings. However, the centrality of the state in these analyses inhibits an attention to the plurality of informality that we find in a number of studies. For example, Arabindoo[328] studied the cultural and socio-political aspects of informality's link with lack of governance by the middle-class; Schindler[329] highlighted the

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[325] Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 57.

[326] Craig Jeffrey, '"A Fist Is Stronger than Five Fingers": Caste and Dominance in Rural North India', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26, no. 2 (June 2001): 217–36.

[327] Kim Dovey, *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 32.

[328] Arabindoo, 'Bajji on the Beach: Middle-Class Food Practices in Chennai's New Beach'.

[329] Seth Schindler, 'Beyond a State-Centric Approach to Urban Informality: Interactions between Delhi's Middle Class and the Informal Service Sector', *Current Sociology*, 23 September 2016.

nexus between the middle-class and the informal service providers, which legitimises them. Furthermore, a practice oriented framework does not only allow the decentring of the state from the study of informality, but it can also depict the state as a set of multiple fields. Finally, the practice framework makes it possible to; (i) analyse the same actors who indulge in both formal and informal practices; (ii) outline the socio-cultural aspects that outline the understanding of the state and the relationship with its agencies; and (iii) points to the multifaceted interactions of various actors leading to the production of informal practices.

Informality as a practice is dependent on both the doxa of the field and the habitus of the actors. However, the habitus has different value depending on the field in which it is operating. Therefore, informality as a practice has more bearing on the doxa than on the habitus. Furthermore, informality in this framework is not seen as an oppressive device used by the state, neither as a condition in which people are stuck because of their socio-economic class. Hereafter, I will use these theoretical understandings to examine the practices as they unfold in and around JC. First, however, I will outline the methods that were applied to collect data on contextualized practices in JC.

6.5. Methods

For the study of informality as a practice, I take everyday politics as an entry point, which Kerkvliet defines as:

> "Everyday politics involves people embracing, complying with, adjusting,
> and contesting norms and rules regarding authority over, production of,
> or allocation of resources and doing so in quiet, mundane, and subtle
> expressions and acts that are rarely organised or direct."[330]

This article looks at everyday politics around two service systems in JC, that is, water supply and solid waste management. The material aspects of water

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[330] Benedict J Tria Kerkvliet, 'Everyday Politics in Peasant Societies (and Ours)', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36, no. 1 (January 2009): 232,

supply and solid waste management are seen here as mediums to uncover practices, in line with Schatzki's methodological outline:

> "Practices are more ethereal than are material entities. Whereas material entities and activities can be directly perceived (this requires knowledge of the bundles to which they belong and of teleology as well as motivation), practices must be uncovered… To acquire this knowledge, the investigator has no choice but to do ethnography, that is, to practice interaction-observation."[331]

The data presented in this paper stems from qualitative fieldwork carried out from May until August 2015, with follow-up work done from October to December 2016. During these periods, 33 semi-structured interviews with individual inhabitants and three unstructured group interviews with a total of 11 respondents consisting of residents and local shopkeepers were carried out in JC. These interviews were conducted in Hindi and later translated. A female research assistant supplemented the interviews to moderate biases due to my positionality being a male. This was helpful for gaining insights into the activities and preferences of female community members and for triangulating the understanding of practices and of everyday politics from different actor positions. The interviews were complemented with participant observation, particularly observations and informal conversation with people in JC over a cup of *chai* (tea). All the respondent names mentioned here are pseudonyms.

In the first phase of fieldwork, life-stories of people in and around JC were collected and archived. Based on initial interviews and conversations, the water supply and solid waste management cases (or fields) were identified as relevant cases illustrating the meshwork of in/formality. In a second phase, more in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted. The respondents were selected through maximum variation sampling[332]. The fields of solid waste management, water supply, and democratic representation were introduced and explained to the respondents with a signifier, i.e., the *dhalaon*

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[331] Schatzki, 'A Primer on Practices', 24.

[332] Patton, 'Purposeful Sampling'.

(garbage dump), *nullah* (drain), water availability, and the RWA (Resident Welfare Association), respectively.

6.6. Case study

JC's inhabitation started with migrating construction labourers in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These migrants came to build the Apeejay School, Sheikh Sarai, which was then in the South Delhi outskirts. Nearby villagers provided makeshift rental housing. The workers soon got out of the rental cycle and built their own shacks between the school's southern boundary-wall and the drain (locally called *nullah*) that flows at some distance (less than 10 meters) parallel to the wall. This took place in the mid-1970s, arguably the most brutal period with massive slum demolitions in Delhi[333]. But the drives to demolish slums did not affect the JC settlers, as their shacks were sufficiently far outside the city at the time.

As the land slope increases close to the *nullah*, the residents constructed their shacks as far away as possible from the *nullah*, thus filling up the settlement's periphery close to the school wall first. The settlers coming later built their houses ever closer to the *nullah*, some who arrived after the 1990s erected their shacks even over the channelled *nullah*.

Government housing and prime real estate surrounds JC today. The southern boundary has shifted across the *nullah* to Pancsheel Vihar's boundary walls, a planned settlement. Malvia Nagar, another planned settlement, lies on the west of JC. High boundary walls from all sides and defined entrance points surround the settlement today and 'hide' it from the main access roads.

Like most other Delhi neighbourhoods, JC has its own Residents' Welfare Association (RWA). RWAs may or may not be registered with the state, but they all work collectively for neighbourhood issues. While JC's RWA is not registered, the residents elect its executive members every five years. The community organizes these elections themselves but a police officer is called in to ensure law and order during these often-tense times. JC refers to the RWA

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[333] Tarlo, *Unsettling Memories*.

chairperson as *Pradhan* (a Hindi word for head/chief). The current *Pradhan*, Abdul Haq, is serving his third term.

6.6.1. Community-Managed Water Supply System

In the 1980s, the local MP (Member of Parliament – at the national level) put in place JC's water supply system, a service that the community had been requesting for years. The system is constituted of two water-pumping stations that extract local ground water, a pipe network, and several community water-taps along the neighbourhood lanes. The Delhi Government's Water Authority was assigned to run the pumps twice a day for two hours each and to maintain the infrastructure. A technician from the Water Authority was designated to operate the motorized water pumps for the allocated time and to report technical faults of the water supply system. However, checking the delivered water quantity was not under anyone's purview.

The motors ran for the stipulated hours, but the water quantity varied each time, predominantly due to the electricity fluctuations. Due to this problem, the women from the community, who generally are responsible for collecting water, were in constant conflict with the technician. As a consequence, the technician stopped coming to the neighbourhood in the late 1990s. As the motors were encased in locked pump-houses, JC was without water.

At that time, Abdul Haq already was JC's RWA *Pradhan*. He and other RWA members started negotiating with the Water Authority. As the technician vehemently refused operating the pumps in JC, the RWA offered the Water Authority its free service to operate the pumps. This offer was eventually accepted and the keys to the pump rooms were handed over to the RWA, and *de facto* to the *Pradhan*. The RWA now operates the pumps, but the ownership of the water supply system still lies with the Water Authority, which also repairs any defects.

However, some inhabitants are not happy with the way the RWA manages the water supply system. In particular, the *Pradhan* is seen as partisan when it comes to report technical defects to the Water Authority leading to uneven and poor maintenance of the system. Ahmad, a resident, for example, has a water

pipe leaking next to his house. As he is not 'in good terms' with the *Pradhan*, he believes that the pipe is not being repaired because of the *Pradhan's* strategical and deliberate inaction. The *Pradhan*, on the other hand, portrays himself as neutral and fair.

Water supply is still limited, but the *Pradhan* in general acts on the residents' complaints and runs the motors, when necessary for altered hours in order to compensate for power cuts. There is general agreement that water supply is now more regular; criticism is directed mostly to the fact that the RWA and its *Pradhan* dominate the system.

The *Pradhan* himself regards it as one of his major achievements to have improved water supply and brought the system under community control. He maintains that the water supply system is better managed now, not least because he has a personal interest in it as a JC resident. He also claims to be very accessible to the community in case of any water supply (or other) issues. There are display boards at both entrance gates to JC that show all RWA members' names and photographs.

Clearly, there are differing local views on the community-based water supply management. Such discords and disagreements also reflect the relationship the community has with the RWA more generally. While some residents were satisfied with the RWA and identified it as their own, others pictured it as a hub of favouritism and power.

6.6.2. Solid Waste Management

Solid waste management is another important JC community issue. Some residents dump their household solid-waste directly in the *nullah*, which flows through the centre of the neighbourhood. This causes the drains to clog, resulting in neighbourhood flooding during heavy rains. The RWA started to negotiate with local politicians and eventually managed to get a municipal garbage dump (locally called *dhalaon*) built on the small access road connecting the settlement and the main road near the entrance to JC. This position renders the *dhalaon* invisible from the main road, which is probably also a reason for its irregular clearing.

Despite the *dhalaon*, garbage is still dumped in the *nullah*. All the residents we talked to condemn this practice as it adversely affects the whole community. The blame for this practice is invariably put on the 'other': long-settled residents accuse the more recently arrived residents, who live closer to the *nullah*; the latter claim that some residents would ask their children to take the garbage out to the dump but that their children would just dump it in the nearer *nullah*. One older resident, Giriprasad, puts it as follows:

> 'Earlier it used to be nice and very clean here. Now the new residents came and made this settlement crowded and polluted. They don't have any civic sense and dump their garbage in the *nullah*.'

Conversly, the residents living near the *nullah*, claim that they are the ones who suffer the most as they are closer to the *nullah*. Therefore, they would use the *dhalaon*. The settlement layout is narrow and long, which means that anyone can reach the *nullah* within less than a minute's walk. Everyone practically has access to the *nullah* for throwing garbage.

The other major problem related to JC's solid waste management is the irregular clearing of the *dhalaon*, leading to garbage overflows. An NGO running education programs in JC took note of this. The NGO head, Sushila Patidar, negotiated directly with the municipality and was able to convince them to install garbage bins on the main road next to JC with the intention to replace the *dhalaon*. By changing the location of the garbage collection point, from within the neighbourhood with a narrow access road to the more visible main road, the NGO expected that the municipality would feel obliged to collect the garbage regularly.

The NGO workers also planned to clean the old *dhalaon* site and to convert it into an open classroom cum community space. The idea was that this would encourage the community to take ownership of the site and to keep it clean. The NGO managed to organize volunteers from various schools in Delhi and a few municipal workers for the daylong task in June 2015.

However, as the team started the operation, the *Pradhan*, joined by some RWA colleagues, asked the volunteers to stop the work. A violent conflict arose

between the NGO and the RWA, and only after a police intervention the *dhalaon* could be cleaned. Sushila and the NGO volunteers were perplexed and did not understand the reasons for this opposition. Conversely, the *Pradhan* claims that he believed that the NGO was trying to grab their land. He took issue with the fact that the residents helped the NGO and circumvented him and the RWA. The *Pradhan* further claimed that the JC residents are ignorant and may fall for tricks by outsiders (referring to the NGO).

Furthermore, it proved to be a challenge to motivate the JC inhabitants to use the new bins. Again, the *Pradhan* was behind this resistance. He used his community influence and asked people to keep using the old *dhalaon*. Many followed suit; others dumped their garbage in the newly allocated bins. Thus, there came into existence two solid waste collection points.

6.7. Informality beyond people and places: Who practices it, why and when?

From the case description in the previous section, four main sets of actors are identifiable; (i) *Pradhan* and the RWA, (ii) Sushila and her NGO, (iii) State actors, that is, the Water Authority and the Municipality, and (iv) the JC residents. Each of these actors are related through the cases of water supply and waste management in JC.

The JC RWA is neither registered nor does it have a charter of association. Thus, the RWA could be labelled as an informal group without formal legitimacy or accountability. Still, the Water Authority negotiated with the RWA and the community accepts the *Pradhan* as their representative despite some discords. For example, Ahmad, a resident who has his issues with the *Pradhan* explains: "The *Pradhan* does what he wants and does not listen to us. But what to do, we have to tolerate him." Despite his dislike, Ahmad still accepts the *Pradhan* as the legitimate community leader. The *Pradhan* defends his legitimacy through the election process:

> 'Our RWA is not like others. We have regular elections and a policeman is called to make sure that the elections are fair. No one can doubt the

process. We work for the community and anyone can contact us at any point as we live here itself.'

While the elections to the unregistered JC RWA are unchartered, they follow the formal election practice. First, they imitate the five-year formal electoral cycle to the local councils and to the state and national parliaments, a practice which Homi Bhabha[334] would call 'mimicry'. Second, the presence of the police officer renders the elections legitimate to the residents. This is a formalization of the political identity of the informal *Pradhan* and the RWA. This is further reinforced by the display boards at the entrance of JC with contact details of all RWA members. In a different context, discussing the (illegal) access to the composite resource of local ponds, Cornea, Zimmer, and Véron discusses the relational mechanism of political identity. They illustrate how "A mechanism of control that is generally reserved for the state is mimicked and enacted by a private actor in his attempt to use capital disincentives to control access"[335]. Such practices are further discussed by Varley[336] where she shows how for land transactions, people often mimic the legal framework, thereby making it more legitimate if not legal.

The perceptions of legitimacy by the Water Authority, in turn, is linked with acceptance from the JC residents. Thus, the apparently informal RWA is able to render itself legitimate in a field with a doxa of formal practices, illustrating the amorphous nature of what is termed as formal and/or informal.

Further, when the water supply system in JC stalled after the departure of the appointed technician, the RWA started negotiations with the Water Authority. Despite its ostensibly informal nature, the RWA was seen by the Water Authority as a viable alternative water supply system operator. Being an elected representative (as seen by the community), the *Pradhan* has a highly

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[334] Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', *October* 28 (1984): 125.

[335] Natasha Cornea, Anna Zimmer, and René Véron, 'Ponds, Power and Institutions: The Everyday Governance of Accessing Urban Water Bodies in a Small Bengali City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, August 2016, 405–6.

[336] Ann Varley, 'Private or Public: Debating the Meaning of Tenure Legalization', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26, no. 3 (2002): 449–61.

valued cultural capital. This allowed him to negotiate with the Water Authority and eventually it appeared legitimate that he would possess the keys and operate the municipally owned pumps. As the *Pradhan* recalls:

> 'There was no water and something needed to be done. I am the *Pradhan* whom people elected to act on their behalf. I had to fight on behalf of the people. Not having water even for a day is difficult, so we negotiated with them [Water Authority]. When the technician refused, I asked the authorities to give the keys to me, and I told them that my men and I could operate it. They saw the logic of this and accepted the proposal. Now I operate the pumps without any payment.'

It can be seen here that the *Pradhan* presents himself as the community's sole and legitimate representative and he showcases his implication as voluntary work and engagement for the larger communal good. Residents, on the other hand, resorted to their collective body for addressing the issue when they suffered from the deficient water supply. Ramu, a local inhabitant, explains:

> 'When there is no water, which is the basis of our life, then dissent [between the residents] disappear. When so many people live together, of course, there will be issues among them. But during crisis, we had to stand together and support the *Pradhan*. Everything said and done, he at least restored the water supply in a situation when no one listen to us anyways.'

Ramu pointed to individual residents' powerlessness; they need someone like the *Pradhan* to represent them in front of the authorities, due to the lack of cultural capital accrued individually.

The handover of the water pumps' operation in JC has not been officialised or registered with the state. It represents an informally negotiated deal between the Water Authority and the RWA. The operation of the pumps by the *Pradhan* represents an informal practice, i.e., the water supply system has become informalized without any actor specifically aiming for it. Informality here is beyond the understanding of it as a hegemonic governance tool, rather its legitimacy is accrued by various factors, including that of the doxa of the field.

The *Pradhan*, being the point of contact between the community and the Water Authority, elevated himself as the most important person of the informally elected RWA. As the RWA is now responsible for reporting the water supply system's faults, the *Pradhan* uses this (social capital) to gain community allegiance (cultural capital). However, he acts selectively to report the supply system faults, based on the actor who is affected. In the above-cited example of Ahmad, the *Pradhan* has never reported the issue to the Water Authority, although the water leakage next to his house leads to damp walls, structural damage on the house, and other maintenance issues.

The majority of people who are not politically active find it more convenient to follow the *Pradhan*'s instructions than opposing him. This leads to a situation where the *Pradhan* can mobilize the community on various occasions. When his power gets contested (e.g., by the NGO's initiative to clear the *dhalaon* without his consent or involvement), the *Pradhan* stages a conflict.

The *Pradhan's* legitimization of his position vis-a-vis and due to the Water Authority, and in turn the usage of this legitimacy to demand community allegiance, presents a specific case of citizenship formation. It is not the habitus of the individual community members, but that of their collective tolerance of and taming by the *Pradhan* that gave the JC community access to water. The helplessness presented by Ramu and the community backing portrayed by the *Pradhan* not only presents the complexity of urban resource access but also the varied forms of citizenship claims (both collective and individual) with the state.

Apart from the RWA's role in governing the conduct of the residents, there are certain customs that developed over time in the community. According to our observations, only a few residents still dump their garbage in the *nullah*. It has become customary not to throw garbage in the *nullah* or to portray this practice as 'bad' due to its harmful consequences on the whole community. Interestingly, the residents portray this practice as 'uncivil' rather than as physically harmful for the settlement e.g., due to flooding. Garbage dumping in the *nullah* thus becomes a sign of incivility, which degrades the residents' social capital rather than residents' health and physical conditions. This

position of earlier residents towards new settlers within JC is very similar to Ghertner's[337] illustration of the attitude of the middle-class and that of the judiciary towards slums. The habitus of the urban middle class in Delhi is very different to that of the JC residents, yet the power relationship manifests in similar manner when analysed over different fields, illustrating the perception of a certain practice in leading to the creation of certain doxa that further control this practice. The residents adhere to this custom, at least to show outrage at the practice of garbage dumping in the *nullah* and to blame the 'other', in order to safeguard their social capital. This makes the residents value the formal practice of garbage dumping in the *dhalaon,* even though it is not regularly cleaned.

As described above, the NGO wanted to clear the *dhalaon* site and transform the place into a community space. To this end, the municipality was mobilized to help cleaning the *dhalaon* and to install garbage bins in an alternate location. The registered NGO and the municipality are primarily formal actors, and the *dhalaon* is a government property. Depositing garbage in, and the organized collection from, the government-owned *dhalaon* can thus be seen as a formal practice. *Dhalaon's* conversion into a community space initiated by the NGO and municipal actors, however, can be interpreted as an intended shift from formal practice (dumping and collecting garbage) to an informal practice (extra-statal community space). The involvement by the NGO legitimised this project of informal land grabbing for the municipality. Schindler[338] showed a similar pattern where he illustrated how the informal street hawkers and waste pickers were legitimized by the interventions from middle-class organization (to their own interest), therefore, calling for a relational approach to complex overlaps between various formal and informal practices.

Nonetheless, the NGO internalized this project as an attempt to improve the physical condition of the neighborhood, as Sushila, the NGO head, states:

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[337] Ghertner, *Rule by Aesthetics.*

[338] Schindler, 'Beyond a State-Centric Approach to Urban Informality'.

'It is terrible to see the huge garbage pile in front of the slum. We are into education, and if we can reclaim the *dhalaon,* then it will benefit everyone. The kids will have a classroom; as well the community will have an open space.'

Due to her highly valued habitus, Sushila convinced the municipal officials of her plans. However, the *Pradhan* vehemently opposed this project:

'She [Sushila] is provoking residents here. She has a big house in Malviya Nagar. She just wants to stage shows so that she can get money for her NGO. She was planning to illegally acquire our land. As she lives in a concrete house and speaks English, she sounds legitimate to the municipal officials.'

The *Pradhan*'s observations of Sushila's Malviya Nagar house, an adjacent planned settlement and her speaking English are indicative of her habitus. His comment about 'provoking residents' show that he feared that the NGO project could undermine his own cultural capital. Furthermore, *Pradhan's* claim of illegal land grabbing was not only ignored by the municipality but it contrarily helped the NGO clean the *dhalaon* and provided bins for the project. The *Pradhan* who was perceived as legitimate by the state agencies to hand over water supply, was discarded when it came to cleaning of *dhalaon.* Contrarily, *Pradhan* successfully mobilised the community to continue their practice of using the *dhalaon,* despite of the NGO's efforts to use the alternate bins.

To sum up, we see three main patterns emerging here, (i) subjugated by the *Pradhan,* the community was not able to question his authority in negotiating with the state actors on their behalf, for services legitimately they accrued as a citizen group, (ii) even though in an ostensibly informal position, the *Pradhan* was able to legitimately garner access to the formal water supply system from the state, (iii) contrarily, the same *Pradhan* failed in stopping the illegal land-grabbing by the NGO (which was aided by the state actors). The habitus of the actors involved did not change in the cases discussed above, but the field in which they operate did. Informality, therefore, is to be read as a manifestation of the doxa and not completely dependent on the habitus.

6.8. Conclusion

Through the water supply system and solid waste management cases in JC and its surroundings, I discussed the production of informality. These intertwined cases show, firstly, how theorizing informality using practices decouples the need to associate informality with specific groups of people or places. This opens the analytical possibility to understand how the same actors practice both formality and informality in different fields. Secondly, this approach allows us to reveal a more nuanced understanding of urban informality that is different from both the state centric view of informality as a governance tool and the poverty centric view of informality being a way of life in which actors are trapped. It questions the politics of defining informality, as well the multiple positionalities that frame it, arguing towards a situated, plural, and provincialized mode of inquiry.

If urban theory needs to move towards the so-called global South, as Robinson[339] argues, then the enquiry needs to start by overcoming fixed categories based on the pre-existing ideologies of the developmentalist state that ignore the plurality of actors. Pointing to the binary drawn between western and other cities, she illustrated that the former become "sites for the production of urban theory" and the later "objects for developmentalist intervention"[340].

This paper took an entry point to the everyday lives of JC via what Schindler[341] calls "city-specific metabolic configurations which impact the everyday lives of their residents in particular ways". If non-western cities are to become sites for the production of urban theory, then these cities need to be engaged with, to first challenge our existing categories developed elsewhere, formal-informal being one such epistemological categorization.

Urban informality is ever present in the ways cities operate and urbanization processes unfold in much of the agglomerations in the world. These informal

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[339] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

[340] Robinson, 2.

[341] Schindler, 'Towards a Paradigm of Southern Urbanism', 60.

practices, as shown in the paper are collectively produced by multiple actors in everyday life and their everyday politics of access to social, cultural, and economic capital. Further research on urban informality through this framing and via various other entry points will surely show more complex interactions between formal and informal practices as well as what is perceived as formal or informal.

6.9. Postscript

The starting intent of the paper was to develop an outlook on informality which is away from the spatial justice perspective. This led to a more neutral enquiry of informal practices. The results showed that informal practices are dependent on the field in which the actors operate and not so much on the habitus of the actors. This helps in understanding the preference, connotation, and contextual specificity of the informal practices.

The governing definition of informality for this thesis has been practices which were not registered by the state. The aspect of registration was grasped as an uncontested notion. Contrarily, this paper showed how this notion of being registered with the state, or being formal, is a diverse process. For example, for me, the researcher observing from outside, the RWA is informal as it is not registered with the state, while for the residents, it has formal connotations due to the presence of the police person during elections and the five-year electoral cycle. Whose notion about the RWA is valid, the residents who believe in its formality and live by those conceptualization, or the outlook of the researcher, for whom it is informal with formal meanings? Thus, the paper which set out to dwell deeper into how informal or formal practices are preferred and garner their connotation, problematized the hypothetical definition of informality itself. It further raises the question, if informality as a practice has varied and sometimes contesting conceptualizations, then how

does, it figures into urban theory? It therefore is not enough to decolonize the Western notion of urban theory, rather for a Southern turn, we need to question the very positionality of the researcher. The researcher, whom we have made the sole custodian of producing theory and knowledge.

Jagdamba Camp lane with water outlet.
(© Author)

7. CONCLUSION

7.1. Informality as a Practice Beyond Being an Anomaly

This thesis initially started with the aim of learning from informal settlements and envisaged an inductive research methodology. The term 'informal settlement' soon became the point of contention, because no settlement in Delhi is fully formal or informal, with respect to the land, built form, and the services therein. Therefore, early on, arose a need to develop a notion of informality beyond the realm of planning and physicality of the city, i.e., without the suffix – settlements. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, the working definition of informality was taken to be, a practice which is not registered with the state. This definition has a threefold purposefulness (i) it moves away from the planning related understanding of informality, therefore, broadening the operational utility of the term (ii) it builds a notion of informality that does not groups, or associate with, certain people (like the urban poor) or certain places (like the slums), and (iii) it helps conduct an unprejudiced analysis of the phenomenon, which distances itself from both the economic championing of informality as a space of innovation and the activist fight for the rights of the urban poor.

With the conceptualization of informality as a practice, the thesis moved on to the discussions of southern theory. How does one write about the city in the South without it being a voyeuristic approach from the metropolis? The approach that was followed here was to enquire into the ontology of the southern city rather than about the epistemological tools used to understand informality (i.e., seeing the southern city as an anomaly to the metropolis). This approach became crucial for the thesis because of the way the working definition of informality was framed, where the query on 'why informality exists?' became irrelevant.

If we look at various human endeavours, from larger informal-sector related notions of employment, taxes, housing, to more interpersonal ones of that of marriage, friendship, to broader communal aspects of citizenship and rights, they are all either a fight to register or not register with the state.

Furthermore, certain practices, say friendship, have become a norm not to be registered with the state (almost globally). This broad outlook on informality may seem like moving away from the core urban questions, but if studying the urban is to be understood as a critical interpretation of human relationships and behaviours, as Wirth[342] would have argued, then informality cannot be seen as merely an anomaly to the modern city (model). Rather, informality can become the core of how we conceptualize and understand the urban. Such a perspective derives from what Comaroff and Comaroff calls "critical estrangement" and defines as "...the effort to defamiliarize, distance, astonish, thus to strip the ordinary of its self-evident ordinariness"[343]. Therefore, when we look at informality as a practice, for example with the friendship example below, we strip off the ordinariness of this practice (i.e., not registering friendship with the state) and questions the norm of certain other practices (e.g., biometric details, land, house, etc.) to be registered with the state.

Urban informality as a term creates countless mental images of Third World cities being in dismay or fighting to overcome marginalization. Viewed as a practice, however, we recognize that informality exists around the globe and that it is neither an anomaly nor necessarily undesirable. This perspective not only challenges conceptual categories, such as the rich versus the poor, to *understand* informality, but it also overcomes such empirical categories to *study* informality. That is, informality can be studied without looking at the urban poor or the places they inhabit, but as a generalized human endeavour. This perspective therefore puts human relationships at the centre to understand the larger social concerns and consequently the urban. If there is a conflict in getting registered with the state, then this conflict could be seen as a cue to re-examine the established norms of the modern metropolis[344].

The motive here was neither to re-examine the modern metropolis by looking at emerging world cities, as was the case with Koolhaas'[345] Lagos, nor to

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[342] Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life'.

[343] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Theory from the South*, 19.

[344] Watson, 'Seeing from the South'.

[345] Koolhaas et al., *Mutations*.

compare cities as provoked by Robinson[346]. Rather, my purpose was to broaden the understanding of informality to an extent that it no more is an anomaly, yet seeing the processes that lead to framing informality as an anomaly. An example of this anomaly would be, how registering certain practices such as friendship seems absurd, while registering courtship (marriage) is often equated with a question of citizenship rights (especially with same-sex marriages), in our modern societies. In this framework, certain practices have become in certain contexts – a norm, for example, registering a job via a legal contract is a norm for the software engineer living in Malviya Nagar, but is beyond the imagination (nor desired) by the housemaid living in Jagdamba Camp. However, these norms are changing, for example, there are multiple awareness programmes from the state to get police verification of employees, especially housemaids and other servants, i.e., to register the housemaid with the state. With newspapers reporting crimes linked to 'poor people' more and more households are now moving towards this police verification. Such a move towards normalizing the registration with the state is an example of the processes that lead to framing informality as an anomaly over time. Thus, in the thesis I take the position that studying these practices and how they garner their meanings could be seen as a step towards an urban theory with a dilution of the metropolitan bias. AlSayyad's[347] historical narrative of how informality existed before the formal, or Scott's[348] analysis of how societies inherently changed because of registration by the state are important steps towards such a conceptualization.

Looking from the South, Connell[349] pointed to the hegemony of social-science theory emanating from the North. Robinson,[350] on the other hand, pointed to this bias, but situated herself at the border of Southern theory building. She argued for studying every city as ordinary, wherein we should compare various

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[346] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

[347] AlSayyad, 'Urban Informality as a "New" Way of Life'.

[348] Scott, *Seeing like a State*.

[349] Connell, *Southern Theory*.

[350] Robinson, *Ordinary Cities*.

cities to dilute the bias in urban theory. For both Connell and Robinson, the South was a political notion. Contrarily, Comaroff and Comaroff[351] developed the idea of south as a condition and argues that such conditions (say poverty, homelessness, etc.) exist in both North and South. In this way the geographical location of the North-South divide becomes problematized. The position of this thesis is built on the interstices of these core arguments. Agreeing with Robinson on not to construct a counter-hegemony of the South, I nevertheless acknowledge the hierarchy in the system of knowledge production. Thereby cities need to be seen as ordinary, but within the existing hierarchies. This position is necessary to contextualize as well as render transparent the 'biases of the researcher in the knowledge production' as Storper and Scott[352] has argued. Comaroff and Comaroff interestingly problematized the situation further, but positions South with negative tropes. Thus, the thesis breaks informality into (ordinary) practices, pointing to its existence in both the North and the South and challenging the existing connotations. For example, the friendship example questions the notion of informality being negative and by extension the requisite to understand the desirable connotation of, e.g., registering one's house.

With, the above-mentioned problematization, the thesis moved to answering the overarching question of, how to understand the urban/urbanization process through informality. This was further broken down into three sub-questions –

(i)   How informality manifests in the State's understanding of the urban?

(ii)   How do the practitioners of informality affect the urbanization process?

(iii)   How informal or formal practices are preferred and how they garner their connotation?

These three sub-questions were addressed through specific cases: parliamentary debates on informal settlements, informal food manufacturing

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[351] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Theory from the South*.

[352] Storper and Scott, 'Current Debates in Urban Theory'.

and vending, and in/formal access to municipal services, respectively. These cases were presented in the three core papers of the thesis. In all the three papers the notion of informality as a practice has either formed the main conceptual tool or the basis of an enquiry into it.

In the first paper (Chapter 4), we saw how the state focusses on informality. It presented the case of how, via the problematization process by a set of actors, these actors make themselves indispensable to the problem. In this case, the problematization of slums was done in such a manner that the legislature and executive become indispensable when dealing with the issue of slums. We saw, how only the deteriorating physical aspects of the slums drive the policy outlook in the parliament, as it is the one on which the state can act. The core questions of lack of infrastructure (which is also prevalent in settlements other than slums) and urban poverty (which is not limited to slums) become the issues to be fought in the name of urban informality or against it. These issues, which are discussed via slums, unauthorized colonies, etc., have become issues because they do not follow the established registration criteria by the state, for example, in terms of neither land titles nor alignment to the Master Plan, therefore rendering them un-registerable. The first paper highlighted how the notion of informality, via the debate on informal settlements, unfolded within the state and how the state's approach towards it changed over time.

In the second paper (Chapter 5), we saw how informal practices co-produce the city. As discussed above, the causality of informal practices was not the question, rather it was seen as a practice, just like any other. In this sense, we saw in this paper how the informal practices result in not only producing the material space that practitioners of informality occupy, but also in adding to the imagination of the city (or the imagined city), and the way planners operate. The argument was not that planners need to learn how to work with informality, as argued by Roy[353], but that we need to see the urban, as an act of multiple practices, where planners are just one set of actors among numerous others.

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[353] Roy, 'Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities'.

In the third paper (Chapter 6), we saw a more detailed analysis of how informal practices unfold. Through the case of municipal services, it is shown that informal and formal practices are practiced by the same set of actors. Further, these practices, either formal or informal, garner their connotation and desirability (by actors) depending on the field in which they are operating. The paper shows, for example, how the informal RWA becomes the legitimate representative of the residents and, by contrast, how the informal land appropriation by the NGO receives formal municipal support. Informal practices, therefore, are most dependent on the rules of the game, located beyond specific groups of people, places, or the State.

The first paper presented how the state makes itself indispensable and how projects that cannot be registered by it, become undesirable in its view. The second paper showed how reducing informality to practices constructs an alternative perspective on how the city is produced. And finally, the third paper highlighted how informal practices are dependent on the field in which actors operate and that the preference for informal or formal practice is beyond the individual actors.

7.2. Reading the Urban Through Informality

Attempting to outline how to read the city, Mumford famously wrote that the city is a "theatre of social activity"[354]. The aim of this thesis has been to take informality as a means to understand this very theatre. I have already discussed the positioning of this aim with respect to southern theory in section 1.2. The three papers presented here come together towards this aim. Apart from the stand-alone and self-contained arguments made in these three papers, when they are read together, they present the picture of the larger aim of this thesis, that is, how we can understand the urban through informality. (As mentioned in the introduction, I used the term urban in this thesis to represent both the city and the urbanization process.) The three papers together presented three main aspects towards this aim (i) the

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[354] Lewis Mumford, 'What Is a City', *Architectural Record* 82, no. 5 (1937): 94.

conceptualization of the city (ii) the production of the city, and (iii) the management of the city.

The first paper (Chapter 4) used archives, where ordinary voices were missing. It was the politicians who were presenting themselves as the representative of the people. The paper showed the slow transformation of the state and how the slums became governable subjects. In this process, the paper outlined the development of how the parliament understood and constructed the idea of the city. In the 1950s the slums were undesirable eyesores in the city that were to be removed, while by early 2000s the slums were to have property rights within the city. What we see during this shift is the changing idea of the urban, from that of a sanitized postcard image to that of an agglomeration of people. This, however, is not a general shift throughout India and across different groups of people. Through the case of Chirag Dilli, we can see how the Master Plan projects an image of a heritage zone for Chirag Dilli which is very different from that of the migrants who see it as an economic hub. We see a similar conflict in Jagdamba camp as well, where the classroom that the NGO wanted to build was desirable to both the NGO and the municipality. Contrarily, the RWA saw this improvement in the community as a move by the NGO to grab its land. What we see here is a 'theatre of social activities' – from the shifting idea of what a slum is in the parliament, to the city level mapping and exclusion of settlements in the Master Plan, to the local conflicts between various actors.

In the second paper (Chapter 5), we have seen how various social networks and kinship relations form the groupings among people that render economic benefits. The house owners in Chirag Dilli have a thick network of kinship relations. At the same time, the casual workers, form their own groups, not to counter that of the house owner, but as a security network for employment and housing needs. Contrarily the *momo* vendors maintain their network with police/municipal officials for easy dissemination of bribes, which is also a fundamental network for starting a vending point. The way these various groups operate shows how the city gets produced, from the housing changes in Chirag Dilli to the temporal nature of streets, the imagination of the city of

Delhi, and even the Master Plan. Furthermore, we realize from the first paper how the discourses in the parliament led to a certain policy framework that changed the way the city gets produced. From the evictions in the 1950s to building amenities in the 1980s and massive infrastructure investments in the early 2000s, all present a glimpse of how the urban is being produced by state actions. These state actions are not to be seen in isolation, but as shown in the paper, they are subject to discursive constructs. Contrarily, in the case of Jagdamba Camp we see how the concerns of the NGO result in a situation that differs from its original intent – the plan for a community classroom was not realized and the community rather ended up with two garbage dumps.

In the third paper (Chapter 6), we have seen a conflicting scenario between various social groups. The conflict between a formal group (the NGO) that consists of actors who are not residents of Jagdamba Camp and the local RWA formed by the residents, reshaped/reinforced resident groupings and political alignments. The state actors, in this case the municipality, form an external entity with varying alignments with the groups mentioned above on a case to case basis. The paper shows, using the examples of water supply and solid waste management, how the city gets governed. However, it is not to be read as the hegemony of one group over others. For example, the RWA was powerful enough to garner the working rights over the public water supply system (and did use it to exert its dominance over the residents), while the same RWA failed when making the legitimate case against land grabbing from the NGO. At the same time, the NGO was able to garner support from the municipality but failed in making the Jagdamba Camp residents compliant to its plans to build a community space.

When the three papers are read together, they bring forward two main observations. First, the concerns they deal with are interrelated; for example, the production of the city is also influenced by the parliamentary debates and by the provision of urban services and many other formal and informal practices. The city is also understood/conceptualized through civic amenities. Second, while the starting point of each of these papers was a specific research sub-question emanating from the main research question, each paper further

re-problematized the larger question of how to understand the urban/urbanization process through informality.

The first paper points to the problem of change. If discursive constructs are a main driving force of state action that is independent of individual actors, then how can there be any positive change? The second paper democratizes the role of various practices in the production of the city, but it nonetheless, solicits how to recognize and facilitate the plural practices that produces the city and influences the urbanization process. The third paper gets into the conceptualization of these practices and addresses the politics of informality (varying conceptualizations, which sometimes are contradictory) and questions the positionality of the researcher. Grouped together, these provocations can manifest themselves in numerous theoretical and empirical endeavours. As an experiment, I briefly develop policy implications based on these reflections in the next section. This is an attempt to both see how these incitements may be translated into policy and serve as a means to further explore and understand the research presented in this thesis.

7.3. Policy Implications

Towards the end of 2017, the Government of India decided to create a National Urban Policy (NUP). India never had a NUP before, but a precursor could be the National Urban Commission of 1986 (also discussed in Chapter 4), which has influenced the policy framework ever since. The new NUP is a result of India's involvement in Habitat III, which recommends its member states to form a high-level urban policy to tame haphazard urban growth. The UNHABITAT recommendations[355] on the NUP point to four broad tasks: (i) identifying urban development priorities (ii) envisaging future development (iii) coordinating among various actors, and (iv) increasing and coordinating investment. These recommendations for a high-level urban policy fall clearly under the paradigm that sees the cities of the Global South as haphazardly growing without any formal control (even though the document calls for a

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[355] UN-HABITAT, 'National Urban Policy: A Guiding Framework by UN-HABITAT' (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2015), https://unhabitat.org/books/national-urban-policy-a-guiding-framework/.

paradigm shift!). These cities thus need to be tamed and their development focussed, so that global capital can manifest its magical transformative powers more efficiently and 'sustainably'. Moreover, it puts an urbanist (planner, designer, etc.) at the centre of its agenda, as the one who would know how best to design for the future, which has also been the focus in Habitat-I and II. However, the critique of the UNHABITAT report is not the motive of this section, even though this section moves out of the paradigm of the Habitat reports.

This section tries to build a brief policy outlook for the forthcoming NUP in India. The intention is to discuss a few points of the NUP based on element of my analysis of urban informality and not to develop guidelines for the whole policy. The motive in doing so is twofold. First, it is a very brief experiment to outline how an inductive research that was not designed for policy formulation can do so. Second, it aims at further emphasizing the concerns raised in the thesis with respect to the materiality of the urban situation in India. Here I assume that the NUP, like other policies of India, will not have any legal bearing and will not be binding for the government. Rather, it is a vision document for the various other strategies and projects to align itself according to the larger urban agenda. In this sense, it is a preamble to legislations and to particular development schemes.

7.3.1. Policy Aim

The first step for any policy framework would be its aim, that is, a response to the question on why one needs a policy in the first place. The following three concerns arise from the core papers of this thesis. The first paper points to how the state has made itself indispensable by the way it formulated the issue of slums. It therefore has narrowed down to the physical aspects of housing, namely building more houses, tenure security, and providing infrastructure. Furthermore, the slums in the Indian parliament have been transformed from a social issue to a technical issue. Currently there is an increased momentum in this regard with the launching of Smart Cities Mission and the linking of every government service with *Aadhaar* Cards from mid-2010s onwards, thereby searching for technological answers to social problems. The second

paper, on the other hand, looks at the actors beyond the state. It shows, how beyond large housing projects, tenure, and infrastructure, the people themselves are creating cities. These actors are not only responsible for the material aspects of the city, but, also for its imagined qualities and on the planning process as well. The first paper is State centric, the second one people centric. The third paper, contrarily, builds a narrative beyond the people. It shows how the people act, depending on the field in which they are acting. The rules of these fields are not constructed just by government regulations, but by the politics of people acting in them. Here, we can put together the three narratives, the indispensable state, beyond the state, and beyond particular groups of people, for a policy intent for the proposed NUP. With these concerns, there arises three questions which can form the guiding probe for the policy aim:

(i)   How the problematization of the informal (and the slum as well) can be taken beyond the state and how the state's role be contested?

(ii)   How the role of other actors in urbanization be recognized and facilitated?

(iii)   How the fields can be restructured for a more democratic and egalitarian platform for informal practices?

Since the beginning of India's independence, land, housing and the issue of slums were State Government subjects. Nonetheless, the Central Government has been allocating money for urban/slum improvements, from unsystematic allocations in the 1950s to the more mission based development schemes from the 2000s onwards. However, this money was always underutilized by the State Governments. Furthermore, housing or issues of slums have never been an election issue during national elections (except for grand gestures like promises to create a million new urban jobs that largely play to the pithy aspirations of India becoming 'world class' or a 'global superpower'). Still, there existed an urban-related ministry with the Central Government all along. During the state elections (as India still is two-thirds rural), there are a multitude of other issues (even in highly urbanized states like Delhi). During the municipal elections, by contrast, the efficiency of urban service delivery is

often an important issue, which seems to make sense, as the primary role of municipalities is in this field. Without further elaboration of the situation, we can see that there is a political leakage when it comes to the urban issues. Urban issues become either sweeping electoral reference points for grand projects (e.g., the promise in the 2014 general elections to build 300 new smart cities) or become reduced to local technical issues as to render already existing services more efficient and cheaper (e.g., the call for efficient and cheap electricity and water supply during the 2013 Delhi state elections). Therefore, a NUP should first look at reforming the political structure in such a way that urban issues can get a political platform. This would not only make the government accountable, but also encourage innovation and activism from below to counter what Amin calls the "business consultancy urbanism"[356] (which is similar to that of the UNHABITAT report mentioned earlier, wherein there is the least interest in those parts of the city that do not feed into international competitiveness and business growth). This should be done in a manner that reflects both the larger national concerns as discussed in the first question as well as local level as discussed in the third question. Such a position becomes even more important considering the current debates in India to have simultaneous elections at the national and state levels. Such a reformed system would present a risk for even stronger political leakage of urban issues.

In the first paper, we have seen that the state has over time made itself indispensable to actions on slums via its monopoly over the role of problem definition. We can further argue that the market forces in the neoliberal era problematize the slums in a manner, that they too have become, now indispensable. Thus, we need a new political platform, by which I mean a facilitation of various actors to take part in the problematization of the urban. When dealing with southern theory, we argue for the need to de-colonize Western theory, which defines what it means to be urban. Nonetheless, there is little resistance to the dominance and hegemony of certain classes (researchers included) in being the sole and legitimate representatives for

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[356] Amin, 'Telescopic Urbanism and the Poor', 476.

problematizing the urban (both in North and South). Even at a global level, all the three Habitat-I, II, & III reports, already identify the (urban) problems and therefore proposed mechanisms to solve these identified problems. It is this dominance and hegemony that need to be contested. Therefore, it is extremely crucial to have multiple actors and groups who define and contest the urban question, to avoid what Pithouse called in the South African context – progressive policy without progressive politics[357]. Thus, the first policy aim would be – to provide a political platform at various levels for urban issues of varying scale.

Though India is democratic, a city in India is not. Since independence (and even before); Indian cities were the domain of experts, those assumed to know best what people need. In Delhi, the DDA is the overarching planner who drafts the Master Plan and decides what is best for the city. DDA has no direct political check, because it falls under the Central Government, whose performance is not judged by the electorate on the failures of DDA. This nexus between the Master Plan, development authority and technical expertise are copied on to almost every Indian city. Development authorities of most cities in India are directly under the State Government and are largely constituted of technical experts. This being said, the second paper presented in this thesis shows the multifarious practices by people who coproduce the city. It is shown how the technical expert is only one factor for the city production process and the term production here encompasses far more than material construction. The second policy aim therefore would be, to provide a participatory city building process where these various actors can collaborate and coordinate.

Participation has become a catchphrase for development agencies, including the DDA and all Habitat I, II, & III reports. We have to be aware of the existing critiques of this process, for example, studying the development projects in Cape Town, Amin concluded: "Community mobilisation clearly does

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[357] Richard Pithouse, 'A Progressive Policy without Progressive Politics: Lessons from the Failure to Implement "Breaking New Ground"', *Stads- En Streeksbeplanning = Town and Regional Planning,* 2009, no. 54 (2009): 1–14.

not always produce tangible gains and cannot be romanticised"[358]. These critiques were also taken care of while designing the participation strategy of Habitat-I in 1976 which termed it 'indispensable element in human settlement' and tried to develop mechanisms to dilute the critique:

> "Public participation is an integral process and therefore it should not be divided into partial participation as this would lead to the current general conception of participation as a way of cheap local labour, or as a mechanism for the solution of partial problems at the local level."[359]

However, the Habitat reports fail to take a democratic and citizen centric viewpoint devoid of metropolitan bias. Rather than suggesting solutions to the problems identified at international level, it would be more productive to design mechanisms to give citizens the right to derive and prioritize their own problems.

Furthermore, such democratization of process has been experimented before. The previous Delhi government had a programme called *Bhagidari* (partnership in Hindi) and the current Delhi government runs a programme called *Mohalla Sabha* (neighbourhood meetings in Hindi). However, both the programmes were/are engaging with residents of a particular neighbourhood to decide on how best to spend already allocated money at the neighbourhood level. In *Bhagidari* the RWAs were partners and in *Mohalla Sabha*, all the registered voters of the neighbourhood are invited. Therefore, both the consultation systems involve only the residents that too only on how to solve already identified issues, rather than on the problematization.

In modern city life, people do spend a lot of time outside of the neighbourhood they live in and the daytime users of a part of the city are marginalized in both the systems. Contrarily, the aim mentioned above is not to form a social audit system but rather a platform for all those who already produce the city to be able to contribute further. In this scenario, the planner/urban designer is just

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[358] Ash Amin and Liza Rose Cirolia, 'Politics/Matter: Governing Cape Town's Informal Settlements', *Urban Studies* 55, no. 2 (February 2018): 283.

[359] 'The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (Habitat-I)', 34.

another actor among someone like Vikram who sells momos in Connaught Place, but does not live there. The idea is not to have a political agency (which will be garnered via the first aim) but rather to have a plurality of voices other than just those of the technical planner/expert, powerful residents, or the politician. However, this plurality of voices will not be devoid of dominance by certain classes, for example, the dominance, of say middle class wealthy environmentalists in evicting poor slum dwellers via the judiciary[360] [361]. Such power imbalances have been the concern since the foundation of the nation, most distinctly by the chief architect of the Indian constitution Bhimrao Ambedkar, who called for affirmative action[362] favouring the political participation of the people belonging to the scheduled castes. Thus, the aim of participation is futile unless the component of affirmative action is inbuilt to be able to participate without dominance or hegemony. It is not intended that there will be a system without domination, but the system should allow for contestation and changing of this domination.

From the three problematizations above, we have narrowed down to two aims:

(i)   To provide a political platform at various levels for urban issues of varying scales.

(ii)   To provide a participatory city building process.

The first aim democratizes the problematization of the urban and the second one offers ways to work with this problematization.

7.3.2. Policy Framework

In this scenario, it will be contrary to its aim if the NUP (consequently the Central Government) proposes this particular political platform, mentioned in the previous section. Therefore, the first step for the Central Government will

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[360] Asher D Ghertner, 'Nuisance Talk: Middle-Class Discourses of a Slum-Free Delhi', in *Ecologies of Urbanism in India: Metropolitan Civility and Sustainability*, ed. Anne M Rademacher (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Press, 2013), 249–75.

[361] Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire'.

[362] Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste: The Annotated Critical Edition*, ed. S Anand (New Delhi: Navayana Publ., 2014).

be to move out of the current role as an advisor who invests money, to an interlocutor for the formulation of this political platform via institutional reforms.

One of the first plausible steps in this regard would be to make the city government (municipality in case of Indian cities) solely responsible for the city. That is to say that the plan maker is to be the same as the plan implementer. This kind of independent city structures are seen widely across Europe. However, it is a result of a long history of city-states in Europe, which is not the case in India. Moreover, post-independence in India, most of the prominent politicians moved to Central or State level politics leaving an unfilled capacity gap at municipal level. Therefore, this structure will take time to develop after its implementation. The urban politics of large urban dreams, of smart cities, of innovation hubs, of metro trains, exist at the Central Government level. The counter narrative of those who oppose this is what is missing. The narrative of local issues, the issues of alternate living forms, gentrification due to metro rail, or demolitions due to planning norms, which do not have a space for political deliberation (until a crisis arises).

Let us take the example of Jagdamba Camp on how such a platform and participation will manifest itself. The NGO wanted to clean the Jagdamba Camp garbage dump to create an open classroom. The RWA resisted, and the residents had differing views. The municipality sided with the NGO, probably because, for a middle-class municipal bureaucrat, a clean classroom appeals more than a garbage dump. Furthermore, the proposal wanted to relocate the garbage dump to the main road which would have forced the municipal workers to clean it on a regular basis. In a hypothetical situation of an existing political platform and participatory city building process, this conflict would have unfolded in a different manner. The municipal officer could have put forward his opinion, but could not lament this as a decision. On the other hand, those residents who sided with the NGO have a disadvantage in speaking against the *Pradhan*. Therefore, their opinion needs to be taken in a different format, rather than say in an open meeting. Such an opinion taking would have to be done anonymously by a third party, a very similar to *amicus curiae*

in the judicial system. The participation clause here will have to be built upon a legal mandate for various demands, for example, involvement of urban designers and state planners in this issue, or protection for the vulnerable groups. These deliberations would have brought forward various issues of various concerned citizens and would have resulted in a democratic decision-making process. The obvious question that arises here is – would it have changed the outcome? The concern here is not the outcome, but the process through which this issue gets politicized. It may not have an immediate impact on the project at hand. Nonetheless, it will have a long-term impact on how the city works and how the urban gets problematized.

By political platforms and participation, I am not pointing to a collaborative decision-making process on *how* things are done, but a politics of *what* things are to be done.

7.4. Reflections on the Thesis

The thesis focused on understanding the urban via informality. As discussed in section 7.2, the three core papers had their own intent viz., the conceptualization, production, and management of the urban. Further, the cases discussed in each of the articles individually could also be discussed via any of the other three articles. It is the writing format which constrains the argument limit to just one for each article. It therefore points to diverse positions through which the urban could be studied and informality be problematized. The claim here is not that informality should always be used as a means to understand the urban, rather it points to multiple positions possible to understand the complexities of the urban.

As the focus of the thesis was informality and it was positioned away from marginality, there were many aspects of marginality related to informality that were not presented in the thesis. Certain informal practices do get connoted as undesirable and results in marginalizing state actions. In the first paper, I discussed the discursive construction of slums in India. Nonetheless, for this to happen, I had to dilute the focus on state actions that in the first place resulted in urban poverty. For example, developing the concept of

'advanced marginality' Wacquant[363] discusses how it is not the macroeconomic structures, but the state structures and government strategies that lead to marginalization (spatial and social) in Chicago and Paris neighbourhoods. For such an argument, Wacquant had to investigate the urban by keeping the state and its action at the centre. Wacquant's arguments highlight newer understanding of the (sub) urban. Nonetheless, such a work will be difficult to produce with the informality centred conceptualization. However, if Wacquant's work is reframed using the main thesis here of understanding the urban via informality, then it would have highlighted, for example, the marginalization of practices (connotation) practiced by black residents of Chicago or preference by the state for gentrification projects in Parisian *banlieues*. Thus, in the larger realm of knowledge production (even within informality studies) needs to encompass multiple theoretical positions. I strongly take the position of stripping the ordinariness of informality to present the politics within, but I would agree that such a process does not encompass all the aspects of the urban in general or of informality in particular. This perhaps is also one of the main aims of southern perspectives, that is, not to make universal claims but to be situated and still contribute to global knowledge production.

Establishing the link with northern theory, all the three core papers herein uses core theoretical conceptualization developed in Europe, namely Foucault, Lefebvre, and Bourdieu. However, the papers use these theories only as a heuristic tool to structure the argument as well as to make the writing more accessible. Such an experiment has led to pushing the boundaries on how these theories are mobilized. For example, in Chapter 5, Lefebvre is used beyond the classic Marxist materialism to an extent that it even evades a discussion of class domination and capitalist appropriation of space. Furthermore, the usage of these well-understood theoretical positions makes the reading of the text more accessible. For example, Chapter 6 could be completely rewritten without any reference to Bourdieu. As a writing exercise, this would lead to a thick

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[363] Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*, Reprinted (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010).

description and make the text more opaque. Therefore, there is considerable merit in heuristically using such theories. Further, these theories have not been used to problematize the context but to present the empirics.

One of the key challenges (of which I am not sure how successful I am) was to theorize from the south by using northern theories (which have a universal tone) heuristically, yet to avoid making universal claims and still contributing to global knowledge production. When I began my thesis, the usual problem that every PhD student faces is how to tell other researchers what I do. I usually started with 'informal settlements' and then narrowed down to 'slums'. Often, upon hearing the word 'slum', the discussion would move to why they exist and how to avoid having them (with all due sympathies to people living in the slums). To my astonishment, this was never my concern. Not only that these questions did not interest me, I was not even willing to think about them and neither did my supervisor asked me to. On the other hand, I did not want to romanticize slums, for I know the kind of hardships faced in these settlements. It was Connell's[364] book that gave rationalization to this astonishment – on how to ask questions standing in the south. I assume I did ask the questions without the metropolitan bias by concentrating on the ontology. But in doing so, the development of a methodology in line with theorizing from the south would have been a useful contribution of this thesis. In retrospect, such a methodology may start with an exploration of the site without questions, perhaps a bit like my first fieldwork phase that was mostly about collecting life stories of people.

Further, all the sub-questions of this thesis are 'how' questions. At a personal level, however, I wonder what would happened if I would have asked 'what' and 'why' questions. 'How' questions are more exploratory and probably fit better with the problematic of ontology discussed in the introduction. However, I am assuming the slippage of 'why' questions were due to my closeness to the context. I was not comparing the context to anything else; it was what it was.

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[364] Connell, *Southern Theory*.

7.5. Future Research Agenda

The concerns raised in this thesis have larger goals, including asking questions from the South, in this regard, the working definition of informality – as a practice not registered by the state – was helpful. Such a definition opens up further research interests. Let us take the example of the election of the *Pradhan* in Jagdamba Camp. The community, even those who are against the *Pradhan*, do not question the legitimacy of the institution and participates as well as negotiates with it as such. The presence of a police person as well as the five-year electoral cycle makes the RWA formal to the community. However, I conceptualized it as an informal institution with formal connotations for the community. This juxtaposition puts the power of the researcher in question. If state is understood as a temporal and topological[365] construct, then whose notion of the RWA is valid, researcher's or the community's? It points to the metropolitan bias as well as dominant position of certain classes (researcher) in the domain of knowledge production. This disquiet opens up three main future research agendas. First, on how these varying positions are accounted for. Second, if there are multiple position, how to write about informality, without such writing becoming opaque and inaccessible. Third, keeping the first two agendas in the picture, there arises a need to develop further innovative practice-centred methodology for informality research.

This thesis has focussed on Delhi and narrowed the cases from specific locations with different legal status. Such an urban tissue (of three different settlement types in close proximity) may be a special case from Delhi. In this regard, one of the ways to explore the above mentioned future research agendas would be to broaden the context. Such a broadening of the context is not to have a comparative study, but have multiple viewing platforms. For example, growing up in India, I never noticed the head-nod south Indians are apparently famous for, or the cow(s) on the road. I saw these two facts through my eyes, but my brain never registered them. Further, it took a person from outside the context to point this to me and for me to notice. There is a considerable advantage of studying a context as an outsider. This is not to

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[365] Ghertner, 'When Is the State?'

ignore the advantage of studying a context one grew up in. For example, I was having dinner with a French family, and after the dinner, a tray with cheese was brought to the table. I asked the person sitting next to me if she wants some of the cheese I am anyway cutting. On approval, I cut a piece for me, one for her, and two more just in case someone else wants some. The table started laughing at my behaviour, as it is not a norm to cut cheese for others, let alone for the whole table. They tried a lot to make me understand this (and later many others), but to this day I do not know why one is not supposed to cut cheese for others at the table, I just take it as one of the many cultural traits which an outsider simply does not understand.

I envisage the future research to follow the main traits of this thesis, a multi-scalar approach (from the parliament to the local neighbourhood), which looks at the relationship between people and its impact, both at local and national levels. With these concerns, but with the agenda to broaden the context, it would be interesting to carry out similar inductive research in cities with similar British colonial background and governance complexity of being a national capital. In this regard, I intend to juxtapose the cases of two South Asian cities: Delhi (the capital of British India from 1911 to 1947 and thereafter the capital of independent India), and Colombo (capital of British Ceylon from 1815 to 1948 and thereafter the capital of independent Sri Lanka)[366]. The two selected cities share the British colonial background and a broader regional context but they differ in their contextual specificities and post-independence development trajectory. Delhi and Colombo were, as capitals, the focus of the British planning system and colonial disenfranchisement. After independence, these cities continued to be in the limelight of their respective governments as to project the image and ideology of the emergent nation. This is influenced by both the knowledge produced during the historical progression of scientific planning interventions and the context-specific politics. Contemporary Delhi, for example, aspires to be a world-class city, presenting Indian modernity's unique expression and Colombo

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[366] The official capital of Sri Lanka is Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte, which is a suburb of Colombo.

is presented as a sustainable Megapolis reflecting the island nation's development aims. However, both of these cities also face contestations to their official aspirations, in various forms, from both the civil society and the disenfranchised citizens.

By juxtaposing these similar (British colonial) yet divergent (post-independence development trajectories) cases, I aim to develop a more in-depth and nuanced understanding of (i) how individuals, communities, and state agencies, operate within certain planning ideologies[367] and development discourse; and (ii) how the knowledge to operate, negotiate, and appropriate certain urban spaces gets produced and operationalized within post-colonial planning systems.

The political project behind such a research is to be in the larger realm of southern theory. Which is to decolonize the bias of informality emanating from modernity, for registering one's body and house with the state to remain as absurd as registering friendship. Further, not only to grapple with the theory being devised by few economically important cities, but to provincialize and acknowledge the hegemony and monopoly of the researchers him/herself. Therefore, to not only question the outside (theory from the North), but to question the self and make this as a methodological premise for the research.

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[367] Slavoj. Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London; New York: Verso, 2008).

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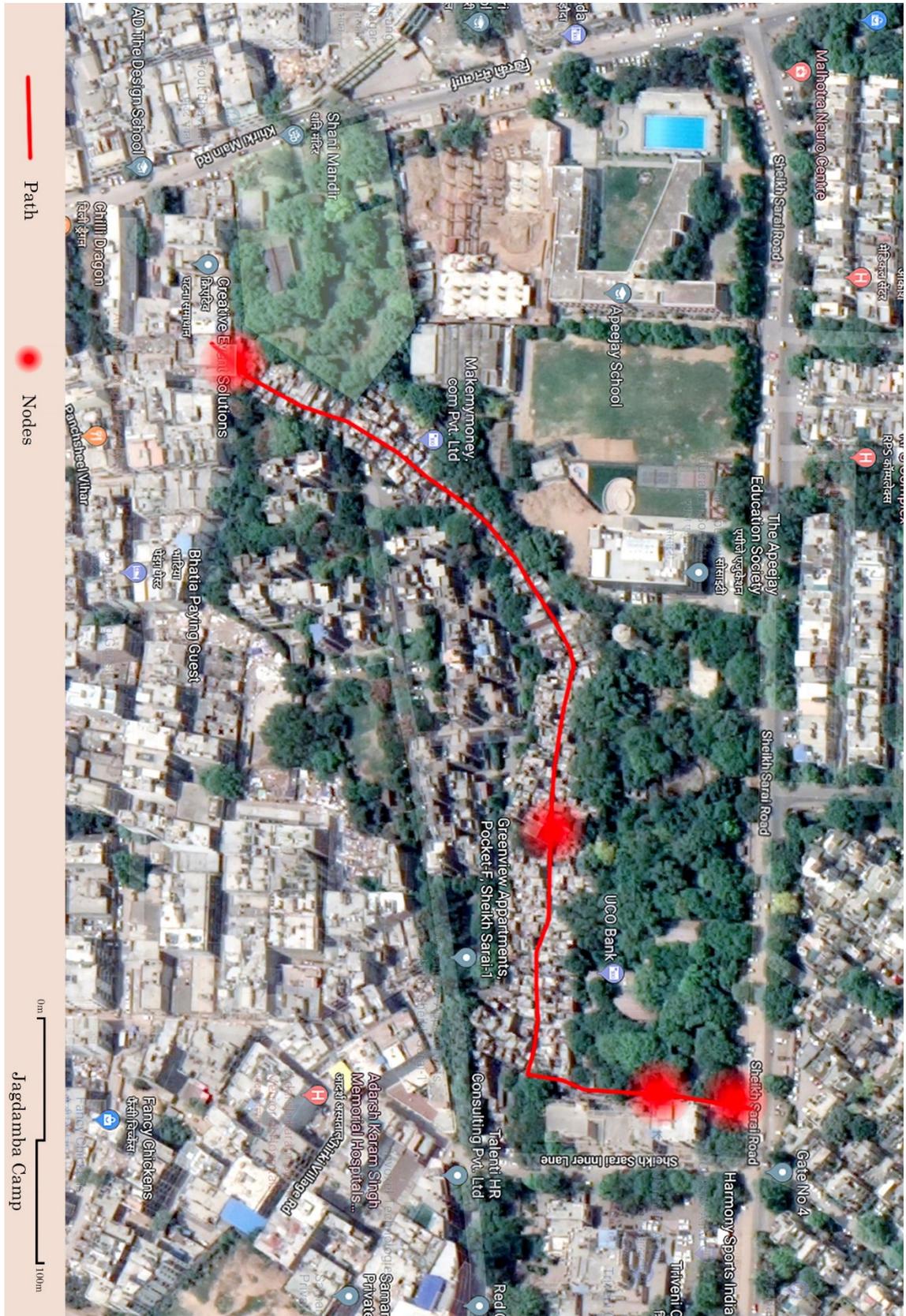
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APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Sl. No.	Interview Code	Interviewee/ Location	Interview Type	No. of people
1	OD_MN-01	Malviya Nagar Shopkeepers	Open Discussion	2
2	GD_MN-01	Malviya Nagar Shopkeepers	Group Discussion (non-focussed)	2
3	GD_MN-02	Malviya Nagar Tea Stall		2
4	GD_MN-03	Malviya Nagar Residents		3
5	LS_MN-01	Malviya Nagar Resident	Semi Structured Interviews on Life Stories	1
6	LS_MN-02	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
7	LS_MN-03	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
8	LS_MN-04	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
9	CA_MN-01	Malviya Nagar Residents	Group Discussion (Case)	3
10	SI_MN-01	Malviya Nagar Resident (NGO)	Semi Structured Interviews	1
11	SI_MN-02	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
12	SI_MN-03	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
13	SI_MN-04	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
14	SI_MN-05	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
15	SI_MN-06	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
16	SI_MN-07	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
17	SI_MN-08	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
18	SI_MN-09	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
19	SI_MN-10	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
20	SI_MN-11	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
21	SI_MN-12	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
22	SI_MN-13	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
23	SI_MN-14	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
24	SI_MN-15	Malviya Nagar Resident		1
25	OD_CD-01	Chirag Dilli Shopkeepers + Residents	Open Discussion	4
26	GD_CD-01	Chirag Dilli Residents	Group Discussion (non-focussed)	2
27	GD_CD-02	Chirag Dilli Momo Stall + Owner +Resident		3
28	LS_CD-01	Chirag Dilli Resident	Semi Structured Interviews on Life Stories	1
29	LS_CD-02	Chirag Dilli Resident		1
30	LS_CD-04	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Worker		2
31	CA_CD-01	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Worker	Group Discussion (Case)	2
32	CA_CD-02	Chirag Dilli Tea Stall + Residents		3
33	CA_CD-03	Chirag Dilli Momo Eatery Workers		2
34	SI_CD-01	Chirag Dilli Resident	Semi Structured Interviews	1
35	SI_CD-02	Chirag Dilli Resident + Shopkeeper		1
36	SI_CD-03	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Owner		1
37	SI_CD-04	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Owner		1
38	SI_CD-05	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Owner		1
39	SI_CD-06	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Owner		1
40	SI_CD-07	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Owner		1
41	SI_CD-08	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Owner		1
42	SI_CD-09	Chirag Dilli Momo Eatery Owner		1
43	SI_CD-10	Chirag Dilli Momo Eatery Owner		1
44	SI_CD-11	Chirag Dilli Momo Eatery Owner		1
45	SI_CD-12	Chirag Dilli Momo Eatery Owner		1
46	SI_CD-13	Chirag Dilli Momo Eatery Owner		1
47	SI_CD-14	Chirag Dilli Momo Eatery Worker		1
48	SI_CD-15	Chirag Dilli Momo Eatery Worker		1
49	SI_CD-16	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Worker		1
50	SI_CD-17	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Worker		1
51	SI_CD-18	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Worker		1

52	SI_CD-19	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Worker		1
53	SI_CD-20	Chirag Dilli Momo Manufacturing Worker		1
54	OD_JC-01	Jagdamba Camp Shopkeeper	Open Discussion	3
55	GD_JC-01	Jagdamba Camp Tea Stall	Group Discussion (non-focussed)	2
56	GD_JC-02	Jagdamba Camp Residents		2
57	LS_JC-01	Jagdamba Camp Pradhan		1
58	LS_JC-02	Jagdamba Camp Shopkeeper		1
59	LS_JC-03	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
60	LS_JC-04	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
61	LS_JC-05	Jagdamba Camp Resident	Semi Structured Interviews on Life Stories	1
62	LS_JC-06	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
63	LS_JC-07	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
64	LS_JC-08	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
65	LS_JC-09	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
66	LS_JC-10	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
67	CA_JC-01	Jagdamba Camp Residents	Group Discussion (Case)	2
68	CA_JC-02	Jagdamba Camp Tea Stall		2
69	SI_JC-01	Jagdamba Camp Pradhan		1
70	SI_JC-02	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
71	SI_JC-03	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
72	SI_JC-04	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
73	SI_JC-05	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
74	SI_JC-06	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
75	SI_JC-07	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
76	SI_JC-08	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
77	SI_JC-09	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
78	SI_JC-10	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
79	SI_JC-11	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
80	SI_JC-12	Jagdamba Camp Resident	Semi Structured Interviews	1
81	SI_JC-13	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
82	SI_JC-14	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
83	SI_JC-15	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
84	SI_JC-16	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
85	SI_JC-17	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
86	SI_JC-18	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
87	SI_JC-19	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
88	SI_JC-20	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
89	SI_JC-21	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
90	SI_JC-22	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
91	SI_JC-23	Jagdamba Camp Resident		1
92	OT_EX-01	Urban Development Minister (of Delhi)		1
93	OT_EX-02	Mayor (South Delhi Municipal Corporation)		1
94	OT_EX-03	Commissioner Planning (retired) (DDA)	Semi Structured Interviews	1
95	OT_EX-04	Executive Engineer (DUSIB)		1
96	OT_EX-05	Political workers (Ruling Party, Delhi)		2
97	OT_EX-06	Assistant Commissioner, Delhi Police		1

APPENDIX 3: GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

			Interaction Details		Questions	
Sl. No.	**Type**	**Site**	**Interviewee**	**Sl. No.**	**Guiding Questions/leads for conversation**	
1	Open Discussions (Initial scoping talks)	Malviya Nagar	Shopkeeper	1	What kind of things are sold and how much? (conversation starter)	
				2	Where do you get the material to sell from?	
				3	How to get a house for rent here?	
				4	Who rents apartments here?	
				5	Are there different resident groupings? RWAs?	
				6	How is it during festival season?	
		Chirag Dilli	Shopkeeper + Resident	1	What kind of things are sold and how much? (conversation starter)	
				2	Where do you get the material to sell from?	
				3	How to get a house for rent here?	
				4	Who rents apartments here?	
				5	What kind of shops operate in this area?	
		Jagdamba Camp	Shopkeeper	1	What kind of things are sold and how much? (conversation starter)	
				2	Who buys from your shop?	
				3	Who lives nearby?	
				4	Where do you get the material to sell from?	
				5	Do residents here get everything from here or do they have to go out?	
2	Group Discussion (non-focussed) (To understand the settlement)	Malviya Nag	Shopkeeper + Tea Stall + Residents	1	Who are the owners and renters in Malviya Nagar?	
				2	Where are most people originally from?	
				3	How many RWAs are there? How do they function?	
		Chirag Dilli	Residents	1	Who are the owners and renters in Chirag Dilli?	
				2	Has the settlement changed over time?	
			Momo Stall + owner + resident	1	What do you think about Chirag Dilli compared to other settlements nearby?	
				2	How often do you eat momos? What else do you eat from street stalls?	
		Jagdamba Camp	Tea Stall	1	Who are the owners and renters in Jagdamba Camp?	
				2	Where do most people buy their groceries from?	
			Residents	1	Where are most people originally from?	
				2	How did Jagdamba Camp come into being?	
3	Semi-structured Interviews (to gather life stories)	Malviya Nagar	Residents	1	What is your story of settling down in this settlement	
				2	When did you come? How did you come? Where did you come from? Why did you come to this specific settlement? Initial Days?	
				3	Are you renting your house or owning it?	
				4	Renting: How did you find a place here?	
				5	Renting: How many brokers did you consult and how many houses did you visit?	
				6	Renting: How much time did it take you to finalise this?	
				7	Renting: What documents you need to rent a place here?	
				8	Renting: What is the process of renewing rent agreement?	
				9	Renting: How is your relationship with the owner?	
				10	Owning: What was the situation of the house when you bought it?	
				11	Owning: When did you refurbish it/extended it? Did you use a contractor or an architect?	

			12	Owning: The procedure of buying a place. (entire process and documents required and people involved)
			13	Owning: Do you give some space for rent? How many tenants? How do you get tenants? How do you manage them? Any help from brokers? (entire process)
			14	Issues in the settlement (physical as well as non-tangible like bribing etc.)
			15	Family structure (who works where, what do the kids do, number of members, Joint or nuclear family etc.). If joint family then, how many kitchens, how is the house arranged? (each floor to a family, or mixed?)
			16	Basic Access and usage pattern (which school, which hospital, groceries, clothes etc.)
			17	How do you celebrate festivals (or when someone gets married)
			18	How do you repair your house? (process and concerns) (Contractors, or labour etc.)
	Chirag Dilli	Residents	1	How long have you been living here?
			2	How was your childhood?
			3	What changes do you see in the neighbourhood?
			4	How do you celebrate festivals (or when someone gets married)
			5	Is it very different during Urs? Has it changed over time?
			6	Are there many joint family structures here?
			7	Do you eat from the eateries or cook at home? How often?
		Momo Worker	1	When did you start living here?
			2	How did you start working in the momo sector?
			3	How often do you eat momos?
			4	How often do you go back home? Send money?
	Jagdamba Camp	Shopkeeper + Residents	1	What is your story of settling down in this settlement? Why here? How? Initial days?
			2	Where were you before coming to this settlement?
			3	Were you married? Where did you get married and how your housing requirement changed after that?
			4	Why/How did you settle in this settlement. (Enquiry into owning and renting process of the place.)
			5	Basic amenities (electricity, water, schools, medical services, political head - pradhan etc.) (Specific dates)
			6	Family structure (who works where, what do the kids do, number of members etc.) Also, how housing requirements changed with increase in family members.
			7	Access (which school, which hospital etc.)
			8	How do you celebrate festivals (when someone gets married)
			9	How do you rent a place? (how did you?) (process and concerns) (Documents required and proofs)
			10	How do you buy a place? (how did you?) (process and concerns) (Documents required and proofs)
			11	How do you repair your house? (process and concerns)
			12	If they own the house, who built it? How was it built? (Contractor, self?). In what stages were the houses built and are there events linked to the construction (like marriages etc.)?
			13	Was the living cost cheaper when they moved to Jagdamba Camp from any other part of Delhi? (Indirect questions, groceries, rent, transport etc.)
			14	Why you chose this specific spot in Jagdamba Camp for your house? (or renting)
			15	Where do you work? Now, before…

4	Group Discussion (to get details of the case)	Malviya Nag	Residents	1	Who are the renters and owners in this place?
				2	What is the process to rent an apartment here?
				3	What is the process to buy a house here?
		Chirag Dilli	Momo Worker	1	How are the momos made?
				2	Who is making them and where?
				3	Where do you sell them? How much?
			Tea Stall + Residents	1	Why are there so many momo manufacturing place here?
				2	Who is running the momo place?
				3	Who are the other renters?
				4	How often do you eat momos?
		Jagda mba Camp	Tea Stall + Residents	1	How is the water supply system here?
				2	How is the RWA elected?
				3	How is solid waste cleaned?
				4	Does the nullah overflow during monsoon?
5	Semi Structured Interviews (to gather data on the identifies cases)	Malviya Nagar	NGO	1	How did you start the NGO?
				2	What are the main activities of the NGO?
				3	What does your NGO do in Jagdamba Camp?
				4	Do you get a lot of volunteers?
				5	What do you think about Jagdamba Camp?
				6	What is your opinion on the garbage situation of Jagdamba Camp?
				7	What is your opinion about the people living in Jagdamba Camp?
				8	How is your relationship with the Pradhan?
			Residents	1	How did you move to Malviya Nagar?
				2	Who are the renters in Malviya Nagar?
				3	What role do the property dealers play in renting the place?
				4	What are your expectations from the renters? Property dealers?
				5	Do you think that property prices going up is a good sign?
				6	What is your opinion on your RWA? How is it formed?
				7	What is your opinion on the neighbouring settlements around Malviya Nagar?
				8	How is the solid waste managed in your house?
		Chirag Dilli	Residents	1	When did the momos manufacturing start happening in the settlement?
				2	How was life before the momo boom?
				3	Do you rent space to the momo people? What do you think about them? By what process?
				4	Why do you still live in Chirag Dilli?
				5	How often do you eat momos?
				6	Why are the momo manufacturers all situated in Chirag Dilli?
			Momo Manufacturing + Eatery, Owner	1	How are the momos made?
				2	How long have you been working in the momo industry and why?
				3	Where do you live? The full details of rental process and housing needs and life style.
				4	Time-line of activity. This would mean to write in detail from the time they wake up till the time they sleep, all the activities and the places where they happen.
				5	If you are not from Delhi, then why you came to Delhi? When? How?
				6	Why did you start a momo business? Why nothing else?
				7	When did you start? How? (initial steps and investments)
				8	Is there any permission required? Is there harassment from police?
				9	How do you hire your employees? Do you get Police verification done for them?
				10	How do you search for employees?

				11	What is the payment structure and why? (monthly, weekly, random)
				12	How do you decide on the point of sale?
			Momo Manufacturing + Eatery, Worker	1	How long are you working in the momo industry and why?
				2	Where do you live? The full details of rental process and housing needs and life style.
				3	Time-line of activity. This would mean to write in detail from the time they wake up till the time they sleep, all the activities and the places where they happen.
				4	If you are not from Delhi, then why you came to Delhi? When? How?
				5	What is the payment structure? (monthly, weekly, random)
				6	What happens if you urgently need money?
				7	What is your free time and what you do? (entertainment)
				8	Why don't you open your own momo stall?
				9	Where do you set-up your stall? Where is the point of sale?
		Jagdamba Camp	Pradhan	1	What is the role of the RWA? Why Jagdamba Camp needs it?
				2	What is the process to form RWA & Pradhan?
				3	Why did you choose to become Pradhan?
				4	What are your concerns as Pradhan?
				5	How does the water supply works?
				6	How does the solid waste management works?
				7	What issues do people in the settlement have?
				8	How do you negotiate with the government for services?
				9	Why are there garbage bins outside the settlement?
				10	How is your relationship with people who did not vote for you?
			Residents	1	Issues (physical as well as non-tangible like bribing)
				2	Basic amenities (Toilet). How? Where?
				3	How is the water supply?
				4	Water Supply: When did it start & how it was established?
				5	Water Supply: How it works?
				6	Water Supply: What are the timings for the supply?
				7	Water Supply: Is the quantity and quality enough?
				8	Water Supply: Government's role?
				9	Water Supply: Pradhan's role?
				10	Water Supply: Are you happy with this?
				11	Water Supply: Issues over water supply?
				12	Water Supply: Do you use booster pumps? How it works?
				13	Water Supply: Do neighbours fight over water?
				14	Where do you throw your garbage?
				15	Garbage: Where do you throw their solid waste (e.g. kitchen waste etc.)?
				16	Garbage: Who cleans it?
				17	Garbage: What happened to the Dhalaon at the entrance?
				18	Garbage: How are the new bins placed outside the settlement?
				19	Garbage: Role of the Pradhan in it? Role of external agents (NGO, Government etc.) in this.
				20	Garbage: Do people throw their garbage in the nullah?
				21	Your relationship with Pradhan? Happy, angry etc. and why? (Also, other RWA members)
				22	How is the Pradhan elected?
				23	Why do you need a Pradhan?
				24	What are the roles of the Pradhan?

6	Focused Interviews (to understand the role of various actors)			Urban Development Minister (of Delhi)	1	What are your concerns as a minister?
					2	How do you gather the situation on ground?
					3	What are the overall priorities of the party?
					4	Do you see slums as a problem? Why?
					5	What is your position regarding the slums of Delhi and where does this concern come from?
					6	What is your take on slum demolitions?
					7	Why adarsh basti scheme? Why deal with solid waste, which is MCD domain? Why there is no housing component in it?
					8	Politically slum comes in news only during demolitions. How do you politically justify standing by the slum dwellers?
					9	Technically a slum is on govt. land, i.e. encroachment. So as many formal colonies encroach on govt. land. If you protect the slums, what is your position on the encroachment on formal colonies?
					10	If there are no political, legal and monetary restrictions, what will you do to the slums in Delhi?
					11	How can slums be improved when land belongs to centre, and state & municipal government belong to different political parties? (long + short term)
				Mayor (South Delhi Municipal Corporation)	1	What are the priorities of the MCD?
					2	Do you see slums as a problem? Why?
					3	What are the provisions for the slum dwellers?
					4	What is your take on slum demolitions?
					5	What is your position regarding the slums of Delhi? Because – Mostly it is on DDA land + Money is with the Delhi Government
					6	If there are no political and monetary consideration, what will be the strategy of the municipality with regard to the slums?
				Commissioner Planning (retired) (DDA)	1	How do you gather the situation on ground for planning?
					2	Do you see informality as a problem? Why?
					3	Do you see slums as a problem? Why?
					4	Who deals with slums and unauthorized colonies in DDA?
					5	DDA has largest parcel of land in Delhi. DDA is apolitical, so how do you deal with Politically motivated demands of Delhi Government, MCD?
					6	What were your concerns as DDA Commissioner (Planning)?
					7	How did you manage to work, when DDA in news is always shown in bad light?
					8	How did you justify to the home ministry? Was there a media/communication strategy?
					9	What was your position regarding the slums of Delhi as a Commissioner (Planning)? Where does this concern come from?
					10	What was your take on slum demolitions?
					11	How do the decisions on slum demolitions take place?
					12	With each master plan, there was a housing deficit. Why was this?
					13	What is the genesis of the term JJ Cluster?
					14	What is your take on the DDA Act 1957 review committee on which you are a member?

					15	Technically a slum is on govt. land, i.e. encroachment. So as many formal colonies encroach on govt. land. If you protect the slums, what is your position on the encroachment on formal colonies?
					16	If there are no political, legal and monetary restrictions, what will you do to the slums & informality in Delhi?
					17	How can slums be improved?
				Executive Engineer (DUSIB)	1	What are the classifications made and how (Legal, executive)? (JJ, Slum, etc.)
					2	What is the organization structure of DUSIB? Who is responsible for slums, unauthorized colonies?
					3	How do you coordinate with other departments? (DDA, MCD, Delhi Government Departments)
					4	What are the overall priorities of DUSIB?
					5	What are your responsibilities as an engineer?
					6	What are the social components of DUSIB?
					7	How do you deal when the land-owning agency is – DDA, MCD, PWD?
					8	Do you see slums as a problem? Why?
					9	What is your position regarding the slums of Delhi? Why?
					10	What is your take on slum demolitions?
					11	What is the method of execution? Money (to consultant, for construction), Consultant hiring, how to monitor, Selection of which slums to work on?
					12	What is your role in Adarsh Basti Scheme?
					13	Technically a slum is on govt. land, i.e. encroachment. So as many formal colonies encroach on govt. land. If you protect the slums, what is your position on the encroachment on formal colonies?
					14	If there are no political, legal and monetary restrictions, what will you do to the slums in Delhi?
				Political workers (Ruling Party, Delhi)	1	What is the organization structure of AAP Volunteers?
					2	How do the concerns of residents get to the executive?
					3	How do you manage the contradictory concerns of the colony residents and the slum dwellers?
					4	How is your relationship with the ward councillor?
					5	What are the overall priorities of the party?
					6	What are your concerns as a local party worker?
					7	What is your position regarding the slums of Delhi? Why?
					8	What is your take on slum demolitions?
					9	If you were given a freehand (no constraints of money, resources, law) how would you deal with the slums?
					10	What is Adarsh Basti scheme?
					11	Technically a slum is on govt. land, i.e. encroachment. So as many formal colonies encroach on govt. land. If you protect the slums, what is your position on the encroachment on formal colonies?
				Assistant Commissioner, Delhi Police	1	What is the organization structure of Delhi Police? (Regarding urban issues)
					2	How does the order for demolition come and what are the decision process? E.g. Delhi Govt. Land, Court order, MCD/NDMC Land, Railway land.
					3	Protocol and Performa for demolition assistance (information, warning etc.)

				4	Role of other agencies - National Human Rights Commission, Municipalities, Delhi Govt., Central Govt., National Green Tribunal, Court
				5	How to judge legal validity of the demolition (Legal status, land record, building rules etc.)
				6	How do you asses how many police personals need to be sent to the field. (e.g. number, rank, gender, equipment etc.)
				7	Is there a training in managing civil demolition (not riot)?
				8	What happens if both the Demolition Agency (say MCD) and Slum Dwellers demand for protection?

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF ANALYSED DEBATES FROM RAJYA SABHA

Sl. No.	Date	Question Title
1	03.Sep.53	Recommendations of the Delhi Improvement Trust Enquiry Committee
2	03.Sep.53	Slum Clearance in Industrial Cities
3	15.Mar.54	Slum Clearance Schemes
4	13.Sep.54	Delhi-Ajmeri Gate Slum Clearance Scheme
5	29.Sep.54	Slum Clearance Schemes
6	18.Apr.55	Slum-Clearance Schemes
7	23.Aug.55	Delhi-Ajmeri Gate Slum Clearance Scheme
8	13.Sep.55	Clearing of Slums in Delhi
9	17.Dec.55	The Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Bill,1955
10	30.May.56	Slum Clearance Scheme for Delhi
11	01.Aug.56	Master Plan for Delhi
12	30.Aug.56	Central Assistance to States for Slum Clearance
13	15.Dec.56	The Delhi Tenants (Temporary Protection) Bill. 1956
14	15.Dec.56	The Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Continuance Bill, 1956
15	15.Dec.56	The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Bill. 1956
16	18.Dec.56	The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Bill,1956.
17	18.Dec.56	The Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Continuance, Bill,1956
18	18.Dec.56	The Delhi Tenants (Temporary Protection) Bill,1956.
19	29.May.57	Master Plan for Greater Delhi
20	29.May.57	Slum Clearance in Delhi
21	12.Aug.57	Setting Up of A National Housing Corporation
22	20.Aug.57	Projects Under the Slum Clearance Scheme
23	21.Aug.57	High Level Talks on Delhi Slum Clearance Scheme
24	02.Sep.57	Slum Clearance in Delhi
25	09.Sep.57	Mysore Slum Clearance Schemes
26	12.Sep.57	Slum Clearance Schemes
27	12.Sep.57	the Delhi Municipal Corporation Bill, 1957
28	19.Nov.57	Slum Clearance in New Delhi
29	21.Nov.57	Slum Clearance Schemes of Bombay
30	12.Dec.57	Loan and Subsidy Allocated Under the Slum Clearance Scheme
31	21.Dec.57	the Delhi Development Bill,1957
32	23.Dec.57	Slum-Clearance Projects in States
33	07.Mar.58	Settlement of Displaced Families in Delhi
34	11.Mar.58	Slum Clearance Committee
35	12.Mar.58	Delhi Improvement Trust Enquiry Committee Report
36	12.Mar.58	The Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorized Occupants) Bill,1958
37	22.Apr.58	Persons Living Above the Mori Gate Drain
38	01.May.58	Sanitary Conditions at Manakpura, Delhi
39	19.Aug.58	Discussion on Break-Down of Water Supply in Delhi
40	20.Aug.58	Report of the Selected Buildings Projects Team on Slum Clearance
41	20.Aug.58	Damage to Government and Private Property in Delhi Due to Heavy Rains
42	27.Aug.58	Master Plan for Greater Delhi
43	01.Sep.58	Loss of Lives as A Result of Collapse of Houses in Delhi
44	01.Sep.58	Report of Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance
45	09.Sep.58	Implementation of Slum Clearance Scheme Sanctioned in 1957-58
46	10.Sep.58	Eviction of Tenants in the Slum Areas of Delhi
47	16.Sep.58	Slum Survey Report Published by Delhi Bharat Sevak Samaj
48	19.Sep.58	the Delhi Rent Control Bill, 1958
49	25.Sep.58	Delegation of Area Around the Ansari Road in Daryaganj, Delhi as Slum Area
50	24.Nov.58	Master Plan for Greater Delhi
51	03.Dec.58	Shifting of Slaughter Houses from Delhi
52	03.Dec.58	Closing Down of Tramcars in Delhi
53	09.Dec.58	Statement Regarding Starred Question No.314 Answered Earlier in the Day Expenditure on Slum Clearance Scheme
54	09.Dec.58	Expenditure on Slum Clearance Scheme
55	23.Feb.59	Tramcars in Delhi
56	02.Mar.59	Community Development Authorities in Urban Area for Slum Clearance
57	10.Mar.59	Execution of Housing Schemes
58	11.Mar.59	The Delhi Panchayat Raj (Amendment) Bill, 1959.

59	28.Apr.59	Training in Slum Clearance by Bharat Sewak Samaj
60	30.Apr.59	Memorandum Submitted to Government by Delhi Municipal Corporation
61	06.May.59	Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme and Slum Clearance Scheme
62	10.Aug.59	Report of the Sub-Group on Welfare on Aspects of Slum Clearance and Municipalities
63	13.Aug.59	Community Development Scheme for Urban Areas
64	25.Aug.59	Increase in Central Aid for Slum Clearance
65	08.Sep.59	Slum Clearance Tn Delhi
66	01.Dec.59	Development of the Kingsway Camp Area
67	09.Dec.59	Progress in Implementing Housing and Slumclearance Schemes
68	09.Dec.59	Slum Dwellers at Rajghat, Delhi
69	18.Feb.60	Prime Minister's Letter to Chief Ministers of States About the Development of Cities
70	24.Feb.60	Slum Clearance Work in Delhi
71	03.Mar.60	Unauthorised Constructions in Class IV Colonies
72	09.Mar.60	Development of Kingsway Camp Area
73	10.Mar.60	Clearing of Unauthorised Encroachment in Kasturbanagar and Kotla
74	19.Aug.60	Market for Slum Dwellers at Jhil-Mil Colony, Delhi
75	22.Dec.60	Slum Clearance Work in Maharashtra
76	09.Mar.61	Appointment of Housing Commissioner in Delhi
77	27.Apr.61	Distribution of Plots of Land in Delhi
78	01.May.61	Slum Clearance/Improvement Scheme
79	02.May.61	Extension of Programme of Community Development to Urban Areas
80	21.Aug.61	Advisory Bodies of Delhi Administration
81	29.Aug.61	Damage Caused to 'Jhuggis' by Rains
82	04.Sep.61	Plots for Jhuggi-Dwellers
83	03.May.62	Houses for Slum Dwellers in Delhi
84	16.Jun.62	Night Shelters for Homeless Persons
85	20.Jun.62	Hut Dwellers in Delhi and New Delhi
86	20.Jun.62	Quarters to Jhuggi Dwellers
87	26.Jun.62	Delhi Hostel Slum
88	28.Aug.62	Slum Clearance Scheme in Delhi
89	28.Aug.62	Slum Clearance/Improvement Scheme
90	12.Nov.62	Allotment of Acquired Land for Shifting Small Scale Industries from Congested Areas in Delhi
91	12.Nov.62	Development of Acquired Land in Delhi
92	12.Nov.62	Acquired Land for Industrial and Commercial Housing in Delhi
93	12.Nov.62	Acquired Land for Slum Clearance in Delhi
94	22.Jan.63	The Delhi Rent Control (Amendment)Bill,1963
95	24.Apr.63	Family Planning Programmes in Villages and Slum Areas
96	20.Nov.63	Central Housing Board
97	27.Nov.63	Changes in Slum Clearance and Jhuggi-Jhompry Removal Schemes in Delhi
98	02.Dec.63	The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Bill, 1963
99	26.Feb.64	Allotments for Housing Schemes
100	02.Jun.64	Slum Clearance Scheme
101	09.Sep.64	Slum Clearance in Bombay City
102	09.Sep.64	Prices for Nazul Lands in Delhi
103	09.Sep.64	Jhuggi-Jhopri Removal Scheme (in Delhi)
104	23.Sep.64	Slum Clearance Scheme
105	02.Dec.64	Slum Clearance Work in Delhi
106	09.Dec.64	The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Bill, 1964continued.
107	09.Dec.64	The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Bill, 1964
108	09.Dec.64	Shifting of Squatters from Pillanji Village in Vinay Nagar, Delhi
109	10.Dec.64	the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Bill, 1964. Continued.
110	23.Dec.64	Night Shelters in Delhi
111	23.Dec.64	Night Shelter for Pavement Dwellers
112	19.Mar.65	Resolution Re Appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to Enquire into Inadequacies of Delhi's Civic Administration
113	24.Mar.65	Integration of Housing Scheme
114	24.Mar.65	Delhi Development Authority
115	24.Mar.65	Houses for Dhobis
116	18.Aug.65	Jhuggi Dwellers in Delhi
117	25.Aug.65	Slum Clearance Scheme
118	08.Sep.65	Integration of Housing Schemes
119	24.Nov.65	Aid for Slum Clearance in Delhi
120	24.Nov.65	Town and Country Planning Organisation
121	26.Nov.65	the Delhi Rent Control (Amendment) Bill, 1964
122	01.Dec.65	Slum Clearance Scheme
123	01.Dec.65	Provision of Dhobi Ghats for Dhobis in Delhi
124	16.Nov.66	Slum Clearance

125	16.Nov.66	Cases Filed Under Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Act
126	29.Mar.67	Government Loan for Jhuggi-Jhonpri Removal Scheme
127	24.May.67	Land Allotment Policy of D.D.A.
128	14.Jun.67	Expenditure on Street Lights Kiosks etc. in New Delhi
129	14.Jun.67	Changes in Housing Policy
130	23.Jun.67	Demolition of Jhuggis of Jamuna Bazar Area in Delhi
131	16.Aug.67	Land Prices in Delhi
132	29.Nov.67	Shortage of Houses
133	13.Dec.67	Land Prices in Delhi
134	13.Feb.68	Squatting on Government and Public Land
135	30.Jul.68	Scheme to Solve Problem of Slum-Dwellers
136	06.Aug.68	Slum Clearance in Delhi
137	25.Feb.69	Central Housing Schemes
138	11.Mar.69	Demolition of Hutments in Slum Areas in Delhi
139	06.May.69	Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme
140	05.Aug.69	City Extensions
141	19.Aug.69	Grants for Slum Clearance
142	26.Aug.69	National Building Code
143	09.Dec.69	Allocation for Housing and Urban Development Under the Fourth Five Year Plan
144	26.Feb.70	Facelift of Katras and Slum Areas in Delhi
145	17.Mar.70	Housing Shortage
146	31.Mar.70	Slum Clearance Schemes
147	28.Apr.70	Assistance for Slum Clearance Schemes
148	18.May.70	Removal of Truck Adda From Malka Ganj, Delhi
149	19.May.70	Slum Clearance Scheme
150	29.Jul.70	Building of Houses in the Slum Areas of Delhi
151	05.Aug.70	Slum Dwellers in the Country
152	05.Aug.70	Slum Clearance Schemes
153	12.Aug.70	Housing Schemes for Middle and Low Income Group People
154	02.Dec.70	Development of Jhuogi Colonies in Delhi
155	31.Mar.71	Slum Clearance in Harijan Colonies
156	16.Jun.71	Housing Problem in Delhi
157	09.Aug.72	National Housing Policy
158	16.Aug.72	Improvement of Slum Areas in Delhi
159	16.Aug.72	Families Residing in the Slums
160	16.Nov.72	Reported Attack by A Group of Armed Police Personnel on A Number of Slum Dwellers and Other Citizens in the Kingsway Camp Locality of Delhi.
161	22.Nov.72	Slum Clearance and Housing Schemes in Delhi
162	22.Nov.72	Beggars Problems in Delhi
163	29.Nov.72	Lease of Land to Slum Dwellers
164	20.Dec.72	Allotment of Quarters to Slum-Dwellers on Lawrance Road, Delhi
165	14.Mar.73	Cities Selected for Slum Clearance Programme
166	14.Mar.73	Re-Development of the Area Around India Gate
167	14.Mar.73	Slum Clearance in Delhi
168	21.Mar.73	Allotment of Quarters to Slum Dwellers
169	02.May.73	Houses for Slum Dwellers
170	09.May.73	Allotment of Land on Lease to Slum Dwellers
171	16.May.73	Slum Clearance in Big Cities
172	29.Aug.73	Jhuggi Dwellers
173	14.Nov.73	Environmental Improvement Projects for Slum Areas
174	28.Nov.73	Slum Clearance
175	05.Dec.73	Development of National Capital Region
176	12.Dec.73	Slum Clearance
177	12.Dec.73	Slum Clearance Schemes
178	24.Dec.73	the Delhi Urban Art Commis Sion Bill, 1973
179	13.Mar.74	Jhuggi-Jhompri Dwellers in the Country
180	24.Jul.74	Utilisation of Funds by Delhi Development Authority
181	24.Jul.74	Working of the Low Income Housing Scheme and Slum Clearance Scheme
182	07.Aug.74	Proposal for A Centrally Sponsored Rural Housing and Slum Clearance Scheme
183	14.Aug.74	Progress of Slum Clearance Programme in Metropolitan Cities
184	04.Dec.74	Slum Board for Delhi
185	18.Dec.74	Slum Clearance
186	19.Feb.75	Budget Allocations for Slum Clearance and Urban Housing Schemes
187	12.Mar.75	Allocation of Funds During- Fifth Five Year Plan for Slum Clearance in Calcutta
188	19.Mar.75	Housing Schemes of D.D.A.
189	30.Apr.75	National Housing Policy
190	07.May.75	Housing Schemes for Urban Population
191	07.May.75	Rural and Urban Housing Shortage

192	07.Jan.76	Zonal Plait D-2 of Delhi Development Authority
193	15.Jan.76	the Delhi Development (Amendment) Bill, 1976
194	28.Jan.76	Demolitions of Unauthorised Colonies
195	05.Feb.76	the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Bill, 1976
196	17.Mar.76	Metropolitan Cities in India
197	17.Mar.76	Ownership Rights of Quarters in Brahmpuri and Andha Mughal in Delhi
198	24.Mar.76	Construction of Second Storey on DDA Flats in Janakpuri
199	31.Mar.76	Repairs and White Washing of Houses' Rented Out by DDA
200	26.May.76	Urban Land Celling and Regulation Act
201	11.Aug.76	Slum Clearance Board Gujarat
202	25.Aug.76	Slums and Slum Dwellers in Delhi
203	25.Aug.76	Ownership Rights of Quarters in Brahmpuri and Andha Mughal in Delhi
204	27.Aug.76	Half An Hour Discussion on Points Arising Out of Answer to Starred Question No. 35 Given on 11th August. 1976 Regarding Redevelopment of Chawri Bazar Area in Delhi
205	22.Jun.77	Transfer of Ownership Rights of Slum Quarters
206	22.Jun.77	Provision of Amenities in Slum Areas of Bombay
207	20.Jul.77	Slum Clearances in Delhi and Other Metropolitan Cities
208	20.Jul.77	Strike by Employees of the Slum Department of D.D.A.
209	16.Nov.77	Demolition of Bungalows in Delhi
210	16.Nov.77	Transfer of Ownership Rights of Slum Quarters
211	23.Nov.77	Slum Clearance Schemes in States
212	23.Nov.77	Resettlement of Slum Evictees in Delhi
213	06.Dec.77	Loans by Nationalised Banks for House Building Purposes
214	14.Dec.77	Transfer of Ownership Rights to Allottees of Quarters in Slum Colonies in Delhi
215	01.Mar.78	Uniform Policy for Slum Clearance
216	15.Mar.78	New Master Plan for the National Capital Region
217	03.May.78	Providing of Houses to Homeless Families
218	03.May.78	Slum Clearance /Improvement Scheme
219	03.May.78	Shortage of Drinking Water in Delhi
220	03.May.78	Transfer of Slum Clearance Department to DMC
221	10.May.78	Houses Built in Slum Areas
222	19.Jul.78	Financial Assistance for Slum Improvement
223	19.Jul.78	Sahibi Nadi Master Plan for Delhi and Surrounding Areas
224	26.Jul.78	Persons Evicted During Emergency
225	23.Aug.78	CBI Enquiry Against the Former Superintending Engineer of the DDA
226	22.Nov.78	Increase in Incidence of Malaria in Delhi
227	29.Nov.78	Plan on Slum Improvement Programmes
228	07.Dec.78	Living Standard of the People
229	13.Dec.78	Demand of Development Charges by the DDA. From Unauthorised Plot-Holders
230	20.Dec.78	Complaints Regarding Horticulture, Electricity etc. by the Residents of the Pataudi House Complex, Canning Road, New Delhi
231	20.Dec.78	Inspection of the Pataudi House Complex, New Delhi
232	20.Dec.78	Slums in Metropolitan Cities
233	28.Feb.79	Beautification of Delhi
234	07.Mar.79	Slums in Delhi
235	07.Mar.79	Drinking Water Shortage in Delhi
236	02.May.79	Eviction Cases Pending Before Slum Authorities in Delhi
237	02.May.79	Repair of Houses in Slum Area
238	02.May.79	Demolition of Shops in Harinagar, Delhi
239	02.May.79	Delay in Framing Urban Land Ceiling Rules
240	03.May.79	People Living Below Poverty Line
241	19.Mar.80	Linking of Madhubani and Other Districts of Bihar With Delhi
242	19.Mar.80	The Friends Central Government Employees Cooperative House Building Society Ltd.
243	19.Mar.80	Slum Clearance
244	26.Mar.80	Holding of ASIAD in New Delhi
245	26.Mar.80	Protection to Slum Dwellers
246	26.Mar.80	Amount Spent on Slum Clearance and Low Cost Housing
247	26.Mar.80	Construction of Houses Under HUDCO Scheme
248	31.Mar.80	Re.Enquiry About the Time at which the Decision About the Dissolution of the Delhi Metropolitan Council Was Taken
249	26.Jun.80	Master Plan Violations on Punchkuin Road, New Delhi
250	26.Jun.80	Development Work of Roads in Delhi
251	02.Jul.80	Transfer of Slum Department to DDA
252	23.Jul.80	Slums Clearance Scheme
253	30.Jul.80	Slum Areas in Delhi
254	30.Jul.80	Unauthorised Houses in Ganga Ram Vatika, Delhi
255	30.Jul.80	Higher Price of DDA Flats
256	30.Jul.80	Amendment of Urban Land (Celling and Regulation) Act, 1976

257	30.Jul.80	Adoption of Ahmedabad Pattern of Housing Societies in Delhi
258	30.Jul.80	Transfer of Ownership Rights of Slum Quarters in Brahmpuri Colony and Andha Mughal, Delhi
259	30.Jul.80	Unauthorised Constructions in Delhi
260	30.Jul.80	Slum Dwellers in the Country
261	31.Jul.80	Discussion on the Working of the Ministry of Planning
262	06.Aug.80	Housing Shortage in the Union Territory of Delhi
263	06.Aug.80	World Bank Aid for Slum Dwellers
264	11.Aug.80	Redevelopment Scheme of Kingsway Camp
265	26.Nov.80	Case of Land-Grab in Delhi
266	26.Nov.80	State-wise Number of Slum Areas for Slum Dweller
267	26.Nov.80	Provision of Houses for Slum Dwellers
268	10.Dec.80	Land Under Occupation in Slum Areas
269	10.Dec.80	Transfer of Slum Department from M.C.D. to DDA
270	10.Dec.80	The Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Amendment Bill, 1980
271	17.Dec.80	Slums Areas
272	17.Dec.80	Rehabilitation of Foot-Path Dwellers in the Cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras
273	17.Dec.80	Urban Community Development Programme
274	25.Feb.81	Improvement in Environments in Urban Areas
275	11.Mar.81	Removal of Unauthorised Slums from Urban Areas
276	11.Mar.81	People Living in Slums
277	22.Apr.81	Unauthorised Construction of Government Land in Delhi
278	22.Apr.81	Right of Ownership to the Allotlees of Slum Quarters in Brahmpuri Colony
279	29.Apr.81	Slum Clearance
280	06.May.81	Housing Schemes for Houseless Under the Sixth Plan
281	06.May.81	Improvement in the Slum Areas in Cities
282	26.Aug.81	Construction of Houses for People Living in Slums
283	09.Sep.81	Implementation of Environmental Improvement Scheme in Slum Areas in Delhi
284	27.Nov.81	Resolution Re. Scheme for Environment Improvement of Urban Slums
285	27.Nov.81	Right of Ownership to Allottees in Colonies in Delhi
286	11.Dec.81	Report of the Ajit Kelkar Committee on Urban Renewal and Slum Rehabilitation in Bombay
287	18.Dec.81	Development of Urban Villages in Delhi
288	18.Dec.81	Construction of Flats on 'Lal Dora' Land in Villages
289	18.Dec.81	Unauthorised Construction at Link Road
290	19.Feb.82	Growing Housing Demand in Delhi
291	19.Feb.82	Improvement of Slums in Urban Areas
292	19.Feb.82	Improvement of Slums in the Capital
293	19.Feb.82	Use of Central Funds by State Government for Improvement of Slums
294	19.Feb.82	Construction of Houses for the Economically Weaker Sections
295	05.Mar.82	Amendments in the Delhi Rent Control Act
296	05.Mar.82	Improvement of Slums in the Capital
297	05.Mar.82	Population in Urban Slums
298	05.Mar.82	Central Grants for Slum Improvement in Metropolitan Cities
299	19.Mar.82	Subsidy to State Governments for Slum Clearance
300	19.Mar.82	Redevelopment of Shah-Jahanabad
301	19.Mar.82	Construction of Tenements for Weaker Sections Living in Slums in Delhi
302	26.Mar.82	Transfer of Work from Delhi Administration to DDA
303	30.Apr.82	Unauthorised Occupation of DDA Land in Todarpur Village, New Delhi
304	30.Apr.82	Shops Attached to the Jama Masjid
305	30.Apr.82	Improvement of Slums in Delhi
306	16.Jul.82	Working of Delhi's Rehabilitation Centres
307	28.Jul.82	Education to Check Population Growth in Slum Areas
308	30.Jul.82	Drinking Water Supply in Netaji Nagar Extension, New Delhi
309	30.Jul.82	Regularisation of Unauthorised Colonies
310	30.Jul.82	Improvement of Slums
311	06.Aug.82	Construction of Community Centre in Basti Sarai Rohilla, Delhi
312	13.Aug.82	Development of Triloky Colony, New Delhi
313	13.Aug.82	Laying of Sewerage Line in Shardapuri, New Delhi
314	13.Aug.82	Slum Dwellers in Different Cities
315	14.Oct.82	Air Pollution in the Capital
316	14.Oct.82	Pollution in Metropolitan Cities
317	22.Oct.82	Requirement of Teachers for Education of Slum Children
318	03.Nov.82	Population Education in Slum Areas
319	05.Nov.82	Social Housing Scheme
320	25.Feb.83	Delhi Rent Control Act
321	25.Feb.83	Development of Slums

322	25.Feb.83	Increased Funds for Housing
323	04.Mar.83	Colonies Categorised as Slums in the Capital
324	04.Mar.83	Development of Slums in the Capital
325	18.Mar.83	Slum Improvement in the Country
326	18.Mar.83	Improvement of Slum Areas
327	18.Mar.83	New Strategy for Slum Improvement
328	22.Mar.83	Improvement in Slum Pockets and Huts in Bombay
329	22.Mar.83	Improvement Works in Slum Pockets in Bombay
330	24.Mar.83	Control of Pollution in Metropolitan Cities
331	25.Mar.83	Improvement of Slums on Central Government's Lands in Bombay
332	26.Apr.83	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers Near Bombay Airport
333	29.Apr.83	Improvement of Slums
334	29.Apr.83	Call to Save Delhi From Becoming A City of Slums
335	29.Apr.83	Unauthorised Construction in the Capital
336	09.May.83	Reference to the Alleged Non Availability of Water in Certain Areas in New Delhi
337	27.Jul.83	Popularising of Family Planning Programme in Slum Areas
338	29.Jul.83	Unauthorised Construction on Footpaths in Delhi
339	29.Jul.83	Slum Improvement
340	29.Jul.83	Slum Clearance in Bombay
341	29.Jul.83	Scheme for Removal of Illiteracy Amongst Slumdwellers
342	29.Jul.83	Allotment of Plots Under Rohini Scheme
343	12.Aug.83	Slum Dwellers in Bombay
344	12.Aug.83	Unauthorised Occupation of Shops at Nehru Nagar, Delhi
345	19.Aug.83	Unauthorised Constructions on Footpath in Delhi
346	26.Aug.83	Urban Community Development Projects
347	16.Nov.83	Setting-up of Child Health Centres in Rural and Slum Areas
348	18.Nov.83	Right of Ownership to Allottees in Colonies in Delhi
349	01.Dec.83	Shelter for Urban Poor
350	02.Dec.83	Unauthorised Construction in Kidwai Nagar
351	02.Dec.83	Working Group on Housing
352	05.Dec.83	Construction of Houses for Industrial Workers in Delhi
353	09.Dec.83	Grant of Slum Clearance to Assam
354	09.Dec.83	Improvement of Slums
355	16.Dec.83	Night Shelters for Homeless
356	16.Dec.83	Development of Katras in Delhi
357	16.Dec.83	People Living in Slums
358	16.Dec.83	'Rehabilitation Residential Leases' in Delhi Colonies
359	24.Feb.84	Improvement of Slums
360	24.Feb.84	Growth of Slums
361	02.Mar.84	Drinking Water to Resettlement Colonies in Delhi
362	02.Mar.84	Sanitation Facilities in Cities
363	02.Mar.84	Poverty in Slums of Bombay
364	02.Mar.84	Welfare of Slum Dwellers
365	02.Mar.84	Clearance of Slums
366	02.Mar.84	Urban Slums
367	02.Mar.84	Cleaning of Slums in Gujarat
368	02.Mar.84	Slums
369	13.Mar.84	Indo-British Agreement on Hyderabad Slum Improvement Project
370	19.Mar.84	Houses for Slum Dwellers
371	19.Mar.84	Problems of Brampuri Colony Delhi.
372	23.Mar.84	Building Bye-Laws of the DDA
373	27.Apr.84	Construction of Underground Station of Motor Vehicles in Delhi
374	04.May.84	Environmental Improvement of Slum
375	04.May.84	Eviction of Slum by Nepa Paper Mills
376	09.May.84	(i)the Delhi Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 1984. (ii) the Punjab Municipal (New Delhi Amendment) Bill, 1984.(ii) the Delhi Development (Amendment) Box, 1984.(iv) the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) (Amendment) Bill, 1984.
377	03.Aug.84	Resentment Among House-Builders Against Bye-Laws
378	03.Aug.84	D.D.A. Project in Rohini
379	03.Aug.84	Lease Hold Rights for People Living in Tenements
380	10.Aug.84	Huts Built on Government Land
381	10.Aug.84	High Value Land Turning Slum Near Shadipur Over-Bridge
382	17.Aug.84	Decongestion of Walled Delhi
383	17.Aug.84	Slum Tenements in Calcutta, Delhi and Madras
384	24.Aug.84	Shelter for People Living in Slums
385	24.Aug.84	Stalls/Platforms in Resettlement Colonies
386	24.Aug.84	Shifting of Dairies in Areas Under the Jurisdiction ofslum Department of DDA

387	18.Jan.85	Slums in Delhi
388	18.Jan.85	Loans for Building Houses by Weaker Sections of the Society
389	18.Jan.85	Milk Booths in Slum /Resettlement Areas
390	18.Jan.85	Unauthorised Construction in Delhi
391	25.Jan.85	Shortage of Housing in Major Cities
392	25.Jan.85	Environmental Improvement of Slums
393	15.Mar.85	Slum Areas in Bombay
394	15.Mar.85	Slum Areas in Delhi
395	22.Mar.85	Recommendations of the Conference on Shelter to Homeless
396	22.Mar.85	Representations from the Association of House Owners and Tenants Regarding Amendments to the Delhi Rent Control Act
397	22.Mar.85	House for Jhuggi Dwellers in the Country
398	27.Mar.85	Blindness Due to Lack of Medical Facilities in Rural and Urban Slum Areas
399	29.Mar.85	Unauthorised Occupation and Misuse of Shops at Nehru Nagar, Delhi
400	10.May.85	Slum Dwellers in the Country
401	10.May.85	Shortage of Dwelling Units
402	10.May.85	Condition of Slums in the Country
403	10.May.85	Land Acquired by the DDA
404	10.May.85	Loan from West Germany for Housing
405	10.May.85	People Living in Slum Areas
406	13.May.85	Industrial Units in Delhi
407	26.Jul.85	Allotment of Land to Ansal Properties
408	26.Jul.85	Water Supply in Colonies of Delhi
409	26.Jul.85	Living Conditions in Resettlement Colonies in Delhi
410	02.Aug.85	Engaging of Private Builders by DDA
411	02.Aug.85	NCR Plan Report
412	02.Aug.85	Clearing of Slums in Delhi
413	09.Aug.85	Slum Dwellers in Calcutta
414	16.Aug.85	Clearance of Encroachments in Public Land in Delhi
415	22.Nov.85	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers
416	06.Dec.85	Slum Clearance in New Delhi
417	20.Dec.85	Development of Gurgoan Town Under NCR Plan
418	20.Dec.85	Unhygienic Conditions in Basti Sarai Rohilla, Old Rohtak Road, Delhi
419	20.Dec.85	Renting of Houses in Old Delhi by the Delhi Development Authority
420	21.Feb.86	Integrated Policy for Urban Development
421	21.Feb.86	Alternative Plots for Jhuggi Dwellers of South Delhi
422	21.Feb.86	Night Shelters
423	28.Feb.86	Funds for Slum Development Programme in Delhi
424	07.Mar.86	Housing Societies in Delhi
425	07.Mar.86	Maintenance of Slum Dwellings in Delhi
426	07.Mar.86	Housing and Slum Improvement Board in the Capital
427	07.Mar.86	Central Assistance for Housing and Slum Problems in Bombay
428	11.Mar.86	Grant of Rs. 100 Crores for Slum Improvement in Bombay
429	29.Apr.86	Bill for Housing for Industrial Workers
430	01.Aug.86	Houses for Delhi's Population
431	08.Aug.86	Slum Dwellers
432	13.Aug.86	Clearance of Slums Near Railway Tracks at Bombay
433	07.Nov.86	Improvement of Slums in the Country
434	07.Nov.86	Demolition of Jhuggis Near Sardar Patel Marg, New Delhi
435	14.Nov.86	Slum Population in India
436	14.Nov.86	Persons Living in Slums
437	21.Nov.86	Unauthorised Construction in Lanes of Khichripur/Kalyanpuri, Delhi
438	28.Nov.86	Amenities to Slum Dwellers
439	28.Nov.86	Slums on Central Government Land in Bombay
440	05.Dec.86	Slum Clearance Ln Cities
441	27.Feb.87	Liquidation of the Tenements of DDA Slum Colonies
442	27.Feb.87	Planned Development of Walled City of Delhi
443	06.Mar.87	Financial Position of the DDA
444	06.Mar.87	Encroachments on Public Land in Delhi
445	06.Mar.87	Civic Amenities in Jhuggies and Slums etc.
446	06.Mar.87	Regularisation of Colonies by the DDA
447	06.Mar.87	Dda Plots Lying Vacant
448	13.Mar.87	Removal of Encroachments in Gautam Nagar, New Delhi
449	13.Mar.87	Amendment in Slum Areas Act
450	20.Mar.87	Ownership Rights to Allottees of Nehru Nagar Slumcolony
451	20.Mar.87	Unauthorised Construction on Government, Land
452	20.Mar.87	Amenities to Slum, Dwellers,
453	20.Mar.87	Urban Basic Services Programme in Delhi

454	08.May.87	Influx of Large Number of People in Delhi
455	08.May.87	Development of Slums in the Metropolitan Cities
456	08.May.87	Implementation of the DDA Schemes
457	08.May.87	Clearance of Slums in Metropolitan Cites
458	08.May.87	Survey of Vacant Lands in the Urban Areas
459	31.Jul.87	Slum Board for Delhi
460	07.Aug.87	Pricing of DDA Flats
461	07.Aug.87	Slum and Footpath Dwellers in Delhi
462	14.Aug.87	Transit Camps Under Slum Rehabilitation
463	14.Aug.87	Supply of Milk in Slum Areas of Delhi
464	14.Aug.87	National Capital Region Plan
465	21.Aug.87	Acquisition of Land by DDA
466	21.Aug.87	Slums in Metropolitan Cities
467	21.Aug.87	Improvement of Slums
468	28.Aug.87	Drinking Water Supply for Delhi
469	28.Aug.87	Ownership Right to Occupants/ Allottees of DDA Slum Quarters
470	28.Aug.87	Slums in India
471	28.Aug.87	Transfer of Property and Land in Delhi
472	28.Aug.87	Illegal Occupation of Plot at Peshwa Road, New Delhi
473	06.Nov.87	Slum Population in India
474	06.Nov.87	Slums in India
475	06.Nov.87	New Housing Policy
476	06.Nov.87	Development of Slums in Delhi
477	11.Nov.87	Reported Selling of Girls Bangladesh in the Slum Areas of Delhi
478	12.Nov.87	Serious Situation Due to Increasing Number of Shelterless People
479	13.Nov.87	Basic Facilities for Sangam Vihar,New Delhi
480	20.Nov.87	Improvement in Living Conditions in Slums
481	27.Nov.87	Slums in India
482	04.Dec.87	People Living in Jhuggi-Jhopries in Delhi
483	04.Dec.87	Ownership Rights to Allottees of Nehru Nagar Slum Colony
484	04.Dec.87	Amount Allocated for Housing and Development of Slums
485	04.Dec.87	Encroachment of Government Land in Delhi
486	11.Dec.87	New Thrust in Housing Programme
487	11.Dec.87	Financial Assistance by HUDCO to Slum Clearance Boards
488	26.Feb.88	Implementation of Action Plan for Walled City of Delhi
489	26.Feb.88	Constitution of the Delhi Housing Board and Delhi Slum Improvement Board
490	26.Feb.88	Amount for Housing and Development of Slums
491	11.Mar.88	Flats/Plots Allotted by the DDA Slum Wing
492	11.Mar.88	Ownership Rights of Houses Built by the Slum Wing, Delhi Development Authority
493	11.Mar.88	Ownership Rights of Flats in Slum Area of Nehru Nagar Market
494	18.Mar.88	Taking Over of Unauthorised Colonies in Delhi
495	06.May.88	Construction of Houses for Slums and Foot Path Dwellers in the Four Metropolis
496	06.May.88	Construction of Houses for the Slum Dwellers
497	06.May.88	Housing Schemes for Slum Dwellers in Delhi
498	06.May.88	Reported Shortage of Houses in the Country
499	06.May.88	Urban Development Works
500	06.May.88	Plans for Basic Amenities in Slums in the Country
501	06.May.88	Shelter for Pavement Dwellers in Major Cities
502	13.May.88	Schemes to Meet the Housing Shortage in Delhi
503	29.Jul.88	Housing Shortage in the Country Due to Slums
504	29.Jul.88	Committee for Regularisation of Unauthorised Colonies in Delhi
505	05.Aug.88	Basic Amenities in Slums
506	12.Aug.88	Increase in Number of Slum Dwellers
507	12.Aug.88	Eviction of Pavement and Slum-Dwellers
508	12.Aug.88	Problem of Slum in Urban Areas
509	19.Aug.88	Delhi Population Being in Slum
510	19.Aug.88	People Living in Slums in Delhi
511	04.Nov.88	Drinking Water Facilities in Resettlement Colonies and Slum Dweller
512	04.Nov.88	Scheme for Slum Dwellers in the Country
513	18.Nov.88	Residents of Slum Settlements
514	18.Nov.88	Shortage of Dwelling Units
515	18.Nov.88	Amount Sanctioned by the Prime Minister for Environmental Development of Slum Areas in Delhi
516	18.Nov.88	Progress Made in the Development of People Living in the Slum Areas of Delhi
517	22.Nov.88	Resolution Re: National Housing Policy--Contd.
518	22.Nov.88	Resolution Regarding National Housing Policy
519	02.Dec.88	Central Scheme on Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums
520	07.Dec.88	Report of National Commission on Urbanisation

521	24.Feb.89	Shortage of Dwelling Units
522	24.Feb.89	Construction of Houses for Poor in Metropolitan Cities
523	24.Feb.89	Homes for Shelteress
524	28.Feb.89	Land Lying Vacant in Naraina Village Under Delhi Cantonment Board
525	03.Mar.89	Jhuggi Jhonpri Population in Delhi
526	03.Mar.89	Failure of Slum Development Schemes in Delhi
527	03.Mar.89	Problem of Increasing Slums in Delhi
528	10.Mar.89	World Bank Assistance for Slum Improvement
529	17.Mar.89	Steps for Betterment of Slum Dwellers
530	28.Apr.89	Resettlement of Slum Dwellers of Old Delhi
531	28.Apr.89	Construction of Houses for Slum Dwellers
532	28.Apr.89	Rise in the Number of Migrants to Delhi
533	05.May.89	Trifurcation of the Delhi Development Authority
534	05.May.89	Slum Clearance Programme in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras
535	21.Jul.89	Launching of A New Scheme for the Urban Poor
536	21.Jul.89	World Bank Assistance for Slum Development
537	28.Jul.89	Price Fixation of Residential Units Built by Development of Slum of Delhi Development Authority
538	28.Jul.89	Construction of Houses During 7th Plan in Delhi
539	28.Jul.89	Committee for Regularisation of Colonies in Delhi
540	03.Aug.89	Problems of Enormous Growth of Delhi's Population
541	09.Aug.89	Land Illegally Occupied by the Slum Dwellers Around Major Airports
542	11.Aug.89	Unauthorised Possession of Land in Anand Parvat
543	11.Aug.89	Ownership Rights to Allottees of DDA Slum Colonies
544	22.Dec.89	Actions Plan for Slum Dwelers
545	22.Dec.89	Slum Population in Metropolitan Cities
546	22.Dec.89	Recommendations of the National Commission on Urbanisation
547	29.Dec.89	Number of Slum Dwellers in Delhi Addicted to Drugs
548	29.Dec.89	Amelioration of Conditions of Urban Slum Dwellers
549	29.Dec.89	Progress of Slum Development in Delhi
550	29.Dec.89	Survey Report Regarding Slums
551	29.Dec.89	Land Allotment to Co-Operative Housing Societies of Slum-Dwellers
552	14.Mar.90	Collecting of House Tax from Slums and Rehabilitation Clusters by M.C.D.
553	16.Mar.90	Prevention of Fresh Encroachment and Coming Up of New Slums in Delhi
554	16.Mar.90	Issue of Ration Cards to Jhonpri and Slum Dwellers in Delhi
555	23.Mar.90	Check on Migration to Big Cities
556	23.Mar.90	Clearance of Slums in Turkman Gate
557	23.Mar.90	Basic Amenities to the Slum Dwellers in Delhi
558	23.Mar.90	Opening of Fair Price Shops in Slums
559	28.Mar.90	Setting Up of Urban Improvement Department by the Delhi Administration
560	30.Mar.90	Slums in the Country
561	30.Mar.90	Unauthorised Encroachments in Delhi
562	30.Mar.90	Development of People Living in Jhuggi Jhopri and Slums in Urban Areas
563	30.Mar.90	Night Shelters in Delhi
564	25.May.90	Allotment of Flats to Slum Dwellers
565	10.Aug.90	New Housing Policy
566	10.Aug.90	Changes in National Housing Policy
567	10.Aug.90	Rapid Mass Transport System for Trans-Yamuna Area
568	17.Aug.90	Dwelling Units for Slum Dwellers
569	17.Aug.90	Provision for Basic Amenities in Slum Areas
570	17.Aug.90	Augmentation of Housing Facilities in Metropoiitan Cities
571	24.Aug.90	Increase in Jhuggi Jhounpris in Delhi
572	24.Aug.90	Clearance of Slums
573	05.Sep.90	Fire in Jhuggis in East Delhi
574	07.Sep.90	Issue of Ration Cards to Slum Dwellers in the Country
575	07.Sep.90	Ownership Rights to Owners of Nehru Nagar Market, New Delhi
576	04.Jan.91	Construction of Dwelling Units by DDA for Slumdwellers
577	04.Jan.91	Slum Dwellers in the Metropolitan Cities
578	04.Jan.91	Unauthorised Construction in Nai Sarak Delhi
579	08.Jan.91	Acute Housing Problem in Delhi
580	11.Mar.91	Changes in the National Housing Policy
581	19.Jul.91	Procurement of Land by Construction Companies in Delhi
582	19.Jul.91	Allotment of Flats to Slum Dwellers
583	19.Jul.91	Allotment of Flats to Slum Dwellers on Cash Down Basis
584	19.Jul.91	Slum Dwellers in the Country
585	02.Aug.91	Trifurcation of D.D.A.
586	02.Aug.91	Encroachment of Public Land in Sangam Vihar
587	02.Aug.91	Allocation for Providing Shelter to Slum Dwellers

588	02.Aug.91	Draw of the Allotment of Flats for EWS by the Slumwing of DDA
589	02.Aug.91	Handling of Problem of Slums by Non- Government Organisation
590	02.Aug.91	Area of Land Under Delhi Development Authority After Encroachment in Sangam Vihar, Delhi
591	13.Sep.91	Encroachment on Government Land in Paschim Vihar, New Delhi
592	13.Sep.91	Allotment of Flats to Slum Dwellers on Cash-Down Basis
593	13.Sep.91	Construction of Houses for Urban Poor
594	13.Sep.91	Water Racket in Delhi
595	29.Nov.91	Improvement of Environment in Jhuggi Jhonpris
596	29.Nov.91	New Housing Projects for Delhi
597	06.Dec.91	Setting Up of A Housing Board for Delhi
598	06.Dec.91	National Commission on Urbanisation
599	06.Dec.91	Shelterless People
600	06.Dec.91	Illegal Conversion of Residential Units into Commercial Units
601	06.Dec.91	Cases Pending with the Slum Wing of the Delhi Development Authority
602	13.Dec.91	Incidence of Land Grabbing in East Delhi
603	13.Dec.91	Unauthorised Construction in Ashok Vihar
604	13.Dec.91	Development of Slums and J.J. Colonies in Delhi
605	20.Dec.91	Encroachments in Shahdra Zone, Delhi
606	20.Dec.91	Master Plan at the Level of Municipal Council
607	20.Dec.91	Transfer of Slum Properties (Evacuee's Property) in Delhi
608	21.Dec.91	The Government of National Territory of Delhi Bill 1991
609	28.Feb.92	Public Parks in Delhi
610	28.Feb.92	Shelterless People in Delhi
611	28.Feb.92	National Commission on Urbanisation
612	05.Mar.92	Issuance of Ration Cards to Slum Dwellers
613	06.Mar.92	Relocation of Jhuggi Jhonpri House-Holds
614	06.Mar.92	Increase in Urban Population
615	06.Mar.92	Allotment of Flats to Slum Dwellers
616	13.Mar.92	Clearance of Building Plans by Municipal Corporation of Delhi
617	13.Mar.92	Programmes to Alleviate Urban Poverty
618	27.Mar.92	Planning Commission's Approval for Investment on N.C.R.
619	27.Mar.92	Demolition of Slums
620	29.Apr.92	Future Administrative Set-Up of Delhi
621	08.May.92	Unauborised Construction in Ashok Vihar, Delhi
622	08.May.92	Sanitation Facilities to Slum Dwellers in Delhi
623	08.May.92	Housing Shortage in the Country
624	08.May.92	Implementation of Metro Plan in Delhi
625	08.May.92	Zonal Master Plan of Delhi
626	08.May.92	Increasing of Urban Population
627	08.May.92	Water Supply in the Capital
628	08.May.92	Functioning of Urban Basic Services
629	08.Jul.92	Crimes in Yamuna Pushta Slum Colony in Delhi
630	10.Jul.92	Free Accommodation to People Below Poverty Line
631	24.Jul.92	Poverty in Urban Areas
632	31.Jul.92	Slum Clearance Scheme in Metropolitan Cities
633	31.Jul.92	Slum Population in Four Metropolitan Cities
634	31.Jul.92	Population of the Persons Living in Slums in Delhi
635	31.Jul.92	Construction of Houses for Jhuggi Jhompri Dwellers in Delhi
636	07.Aug.92	Delhi Rent Control Act
637	07.Aug.92	Slum Improvement Programme
638	27.Nov.92	Uniform Housing Law
639	27.Nov.92	Civic Amenities in Slum Areas
640	27.Nov.92	No. of People Living in Slums in the Country
641	16.Dec.92	Illegal Construction in Chittaranjan Park, New Delhi
642	16.Dec.92	Night Shelters in Delhi
643	18.Dec.92	Jhuggi Jhonpri Clusters in the Capital
644	18.Dec.92	UNICEF Report on Slums
645	26.Feb.93	Number of People Living in Slums in Delhi
646	26.Feb.93	Amendment in Delhi Rent Control Act
647	26.Feb.93	Illegal Erection of Jhuggis at Pant Marg
648	05.Mar.93	Charter of Demands Submitted by Slum Dwellers
649	10.Mar.93	Electricity Connection to Jhuggi-Dwellers
650	12.Mar.93	Encroachment of Public Lands, in Delhi
651	19.Mar.93	Possession of Ridges by DDA
652	31.Mar.93	Sanitary Condition in Slum Areas of Delhi
653	28.Apr.93	Fixing Responsibility of Growth of Slums in Delhi on Shos
654	30.Apr.93	Population in Slums in Metropolitan Cities

655	30.Apr.93	High Rise Building in Delhi
656	13.May.93	Unsympathetic Attiture of Delhi Develop Ment Authority Towards Slum Dwellers of Delhi
657	14.May.93	Jhuggi Jhopri Clusters in the Capital
658	06.Aug.93	EWS Housing Scheme
659	06.Aug.93	Redefining the Housing Policy
660	13.Aug.93	Rehabilitation of Slums with World Bank's Assistance
661	18.Aug.93	Urban Health Project in Delhi
662	19.Aug.93	the Delhi Municipal Corporation (Amendment)Bill 1993
663	20.Aug.93	Illegal Encroachment at Manakapura
664	20.Aug.93	Removal of JJ. Clusters Nearby Aravali Apartment
665	27.Aug.93	Creating Special Squatting Zones
666	27.Aug.93	Slum Population in Major Cities
667	27.Aug.93	Slums Development Cell in MCD
668	10.Dec.93	Pollution Housing Crisis and Slums in Metropolitan Cities
669	10.Dec.93	Urban Strategy Paper on Development of Cities
670	10.Dec.93	Conditions of the Indian Cities
671	04.Mar.94	Foreign Investment in Urban Development
672	04.Mar.94	Schemes for Slum-Dwellers
673	04.Mar.94	Working of DDA
674	09.Mar.94	Demand to Amend the Delhi Rent Control Act
675	18.Mar.94	Financial Assistance for the Projects Meant for Slum Dwellers
676	29.Apr.94	Depletion of Ridge in Delhi
677	12.May.94	Financial Aid to Slum Dwellers
678	05.Aug.94	Clearance of Urban Slums
679	08.Aug.94	National Housing Policy
680	12.Aug.94	Unauthorised Construction and Encroachment of Lands
681	12.Aug.94	Basic Amenities to Slum Areas
682	12.Aug.94	Insufficient Fund for Urban Poverty Alleviation Programmes
683	19.Aug.94	Housing Problem in Delhi
684	19.Aug.94	Neglecting Town Planning
685	19.Aug.94	Proposal to Shift Offices out of Delhi
686	19.Aug.94	Grant to Institute of Urban Affairs
687	19.Aug.94	People Living in Slums
688	19.Aug.94	Scheme for Improvement in Slum Clusters
689	26.Aug.94	Allotment of Residential Flats by Slum Wing of DDA.
690	26.Aug.94	Slum Clusters Near Railway Stations
691	16.Dec.94	Providing Basic Amenities to Slum Dweller
692	16.Dec.94	Urban Poverty Deepening in Metropolitan Cities
693	23.Dec.94	Population in Slums
694	23.Dec.94	Human Settlement Technology
695	23.Dec.94	Laud Grabbed by Unscrupulous Elements in Delhi
696	23.Dec.94	Fund Earmarked for the Development of Slums
697	23.Dec.94	Land of Yamuna Ghat in Delhi
698	24.Mar.95	Basic Services for Urban Poor
699	28.Apr.95	Funds Earmarked for the Development of Slums
700	28.Apr.95	Facilities to Women Living in Slum Area
701	05.May.95	Removal of JJ Clusters
702	05.May.95	The Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (Amendment) Bill, 1993
703	15.May.95	Jhuggi-Jhonpries in Delhi
704	19.May.95	Upgradation of Slums in Urban Areas
705	29.May.95	the Delhi Rent Bill, 1994
706	01.Dec.95	Review of N.C.R. Plan
707	07.Mar.96	Improving the Condition of Those Living Inslum Areas
708	18.Jul.96	Urban Basic Services Programme in Delhi
709	12.Sep.96	World Bank Assistance for Slum Improvement
710	21.Nov.96	Land to Delhi Slum Improvement Board to Relocate J J. Colonies
711	28.Nov.96	Shortage of Housing Units in Delhi
712	28.Nov.96	Allotment of Flats for Slum Dwellers by DDA
713	05.Dec.96	Commercial Plots/Shops to Squatters
714	05.Dec.96	Plan Outlay and Expenditure on Slum Development, Housing etc.
715	12.Dec.96	Delhi Development (Amendment) Bill, 1996
716	19.Dec.96	Unauthorised Construction and Encroachment in Ganga Ram Vatika, Tilak Nagar
717	21.Feb.97	Re: Non-Availability of Civic Amenities to 80,000 Slums on Account of Airports Authority's Wrong Stand
718	27.Feb.97	Checking the Increase of Slums in Delhi
719	15.May.97	Improvement of Slum with Foreign Assistance
720	15.May.97	Abolition of Slums in New Delhi

721	24.Jul.97	Special Funds for Slums
722	31.Jul.97	National Policy for Slum Dwellers
723	31.Jul.97	Conversion of Land Use in Delhi
724	04.Aug.97	Drug Abuse Among Slum Women
725	07.Aug.97	Shifting of Slum Population Outside Delhi
726	24.Nov.97	J.J. Clusters of Delhi
727	01.Jun.98	Replacement of the Slums
728	08.Jun.98	Alternative Plots for Jhuggi Dwellers
729	08.Jun.98	Jhuggies in Laxmibai Nagar
730	06.Jul.98	Increase in the Number of Slum Colonies
731	13.Jul.98	Slums Population in Delhi
732	13.Jul.98	Regularisation of Unauthorised Colonics in Delhi
733	27.Jul.98	Re-Settlement of Slums in the City
734	27.Jul.98	Allotment of Plants Under DDA's Slum Scheme of 1985
735	27.Jul.98	Right to Housing
736	07.Dec.98	Dwelling Unit to Metropolitan Population
737	07.Dec.98	Action Plan for Jhuggi Dwellers
738	14.Dec.98	Slum-Dwellers in Metropolitan Cities
739	16.Dec.98	Crime Committed by People Living in Slums/J.J. Clusters
740	21.Dec.98	Slum Clusters in DIZ Area, New Delhi
741	21.Dec.98	Projects for Enviromental Improvement in Urban Slums
742	21.Dec.98	JJ Cluster on DDA Plot
743	04.Mar.99	Plan to Improve Living Conditions in Slums
744	04.Mar.99	Unauthorised J. J. Cluster
745	08.Mar.99	Slum Dwellers in Mega Cities
746	08.Mar.99	Delhi City as Livable Global City
747	08.Mar.99	Villages Declared Urbanised in Delhi
748	08.Mar.99	Slum Population
749	15.Mar.99	Environmental Improvement of Slums
750	15.Mar.99	National Slum Improvement Policy
751	15.Mar.99	Upliftment of Slum Dwellings
752	15.Mar.99	Changes in Building by-Laws
753	19.Apr.99	J.J. Clusters and Slums Posing Health Hazards
754	19.Apr.99	Plots to Slum Dwellers Registered Under Housing Flat Registration Plan 1985
755	06.Dec.99	Improvement of Slums in Metro Cities
756	13.Dec.99	Removal of JJ Cluster Near Mandakini Enclave
757	13.Dec.99	Slum Clusters in Delhi
758	13.Dec.99	Slum Population in Certain Cities
759	20.Dec.99	Rehabilitation of Jhuggi Dwellers of Mangolpuri Area
760	20.Dec.99	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers in Delhi
761	20.Dec.99	Increasing Slum Clusters in Cities
762	06.Mar.00	Majority of Urban Population Living in Jhuggies
763	13.Mar.00	Removal of Jhuggi Clusters
764	13.Mar.00	Jhuggi Dwellers on Government Land Allotted to AIIMS
765	13.Mar.00	Collapse in Urban Amenities Due to Migration
766	24.Apr.00	National Policy on Slums
767	24.Apr.00	Policy for Human Settlements
768	24.Apr.00	Formulation of National Rehabilitation Policy
769	24.Apr.00	Resettlement of Jhuggi Dwellers in the Capital
770	24.Apr.00	Eviction of Slum Dwellers
771	24.Apr.00	Schemes for Resettlement of Slum Dwellers
772	24.Apr.00	Compilation of List for Slums Development
773	08.May.00	Removal of Jhuggi Clusters with the Help of Bulldozers Resulting in Hundreds of Poor People Becoming Homeless
774	08.May.00	Slum Increase in Urban Areas
775	08.May.00	Fencing of Villages in South Delhi
776	08.May.00	Encroachment on Government Land in Basant Gaon
777	08.May.00	Jhuggi Surrounding Alaknanda Complex
778	08.May.00	Steps to Keep Delhi Clean
779	15.May.00	Slums an Environmental Hazard
780	24.Jul.00	Unauthorised Construction in Farm Houses in Delhi
781	31.Jul.00	Population Living in Slums
782	31.Jul.00	Scheme for Allotment of Land to Slum Dwellers in Various Cities
783	31.Jul.00	Policy Regarding Urbanisation
784	31.Jul.00	Government's Policy Regarding Jhuggi Colonies in Delhi
785	07.Aug.00	Regularisation of Slum Colonies in Delhi
786	07.Aug.00	Slum Improvement
787	08.Aug.00	Removal of Slums Around Airports

788	17.Aug.00	National Action Plan for Jhuggi Dwellers
789	17.Aug.00	Action Plan for Housing for Jhuggi Dwellers in Metropolitan Cities
790	17.Aug.00	Schemes for Housing in Delhi
791	21.Aug.00	Regularisation of Unauthorised Colonies
792	21.Aug.00	National Slum Development Programme
793	21.Aug.00	Panel Discussion on Demolition and Development in Delhi
794	21.Aug.00	Plan for Basic Amenities in Urban Slums at National Level
795	21.Nov.00	Slums and Unauthorised Colonies in the Capital
796	27.Nov.00	Rehabilitation of Slum People
797	27.Nov.00	Plan to Make Delhi A Better Capital
798	26.Feb.01	DDA Slum Wing Scheme for Flats
799	26.Feb.01	Meeting Regarding National Slum Policy
800	26.Feb.01	Basic Amenities in Jhuggi-Clusters in the Country
801	02.Mar.01	Low Rate of School Going Slum Children
802	07.Mar.01	Committee on Demolitions at Sainik Farms
803	07.Mar.01	Development of Slums by HUDCO
804	07.Mar.01	Steps to Remove Jhuggi Clusters Around Alaknanda and Mandakini Enclave
805	07.Mar.01	Policy of Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers in Delhi
806	07.Mar.01	Refusal of CBI to Investigate All Cases of Unauthorised Constructions
807	12.Mar.01	Venereal Diseases Among Women in Rural and Slum Areas
808	12.Mar.01	Area Occupied by Slum Dwellers in Delhi
809	12.Mar.01	Shifting of Slum Clusters to Outer Delhi Area
810	19.Mar.01	Recommendations of Delhi Urban Arts Commission for Planned Development of Delhi
811	19.Mar.01	Formulation of National Policy for Benefit of Slum Dwellers
812	19.Mar.01	Rise in Slums in Delhi
813	19.Mar.01	Growth of Slum Population
814	24.Jul.01	Slum Population in the Capital
815	30.Jul.01	Percentage of Urban Population Living in Slums
816	06.Aug.01	Jhuggies in Raza Bazar, New Delhi
817	06.Aug.01	Steps to Improve the Condition of Slum Population
818	13.Aug.01	Development of Urban Slums
819	22.Aug.01	Jhuggies in Sarojini Nagar, New Delhi
820	27.Aug.01	Houses for Slum Dwellers
821	20.Nov.01	Regularisation of Slum Clusters in Delhi
822	20.Nov.01	Unauthorised Constructions in the Capital
823	20.Nov.01	Cheap Houses for Slum Dwellers
824	20.Nov.01	Slum Free Mega-Cities and Metro-Cities
825	26.Nov.01	Housing Scheme for Poor
826	26.Nov.01	Housing Problem of Urban Poor
827	03.Dec.01	Mega Housing Scheme for Poor
828	03.Dec.01	Unauthorised Encroachments in Central Park DIZ Area
829	07.Mar.02	Rehabilitation of Jhuggi Dwellers
830	07.Mar.02	Shifting of INA Market
831	07.Mar.02	Special Scheme to Deal With Increasing Slums in Cities
832	07.Mar.02	Development of Urbanised Villages of Delhi
833	18.Mar.02	Pilot Social Housing Project for Delhi Slum Dwellers
834	22.Apr.02	Steps to Reduce Migration to Delhi
835	22.Apr.02	Slums in Metro Cities
836	23.Apr.02	Clearance of Encroachments Around Airports
837	29.Apr.02	Demolition of Jhuggis in Raghubir Nagar, New Delhi
838	29.Apr.02	ODA Assistance to M.P. for Improvement of Jhuggi-Jhomparies
839	29.Apr.02	Comprehensive Plan for Development of Slums
840	06.May.02	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers in Metropolitan Cities;
841	13.May.02	Formulation of National Slum Policy
842	22.Jul.02	National Action Plan of Housing for Jhuggi Dwellers
843	22.Jul.02	Condition of Teenaged Girls in Slums
844	30.Jul.02	Basic Facilities in Slums in Metropolitan Cities
845	12.Aug.02	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers in Metropolitan Cities
846	12.Aug.02	Medical Check Up Camps in Jhuggi Clusters in Delhi
847	20.Nov.02	Low-Cost Housing for Slum Dwellers
848	20.Nov.02	Urban Population Living in Slums
849	25.Nov.02	Increase in JJ Clusters
850	02.Dec.02	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers in SITU
851	09.Dec.02	Flats for Slum Dwellers in Delhi
852	09.Dec.02	Unauthorised Shanties in Central Government Housing Complex, Vasant Vihar
853	16.Dec.02	Environmental Improvement of Slums in the Country
854	10.Mar.03	National Slum Development Policy
855	07.Apr.03	Draft Plan for NCR Delhi

856	07.Apr.03	Delhi Becoming Slum
857	21.Apr.03	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers of Turkman Gate Delhi
858	30.Apr.03	Fire in the Slum Basties on Yamuna Pushta in Delhi
859	28.Jul.03	Slum Population in NCR
860	04.Aug.03	Rehabilitation of Slums Outside of Cities
861	06.Aug.03	Construction of Ultra Modern Market at INA, New Delhi
862	13.Aug.03	Lack of Awareness of Family Planning in Slums
863	13.Aug.03	Resettlement of Slum Dwellers in Delhi
864	13.Aug.03	Rehabilitation of J.J. Clusters in Delhi
865	13.Aug.03	National Slum Policy
866	13.Aug.03	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers
867	18.Aug.03	Third Master Plan for Delhi
868	15.Dec.03	Funds for Slums Development in Metro Cities
869	22.Dec.03	Funds for Development of Slums
870	22.Dec.03	National Slum Policy
871	22.Dec.03	Poverty Alleviation Programmes for Slum Dwellers
872	22.Dec.03	Housing Scheme for Urban Poor
873	23.Dec.03	Restoration of Original Structures in Delhi
874	12.Jul.04	Population in Unauthorised Colonies
875	16.Aug.04	Slums in Delhi
876	23.Aug.04	Construction of Shopping Mall
877	06.Dec.04	Environmental Projects in Urban Slums
878	09.Mar.05	Covering of Nallahs
879	09.Mar.05	Removal of Jhuggies From Banks of Yamuna
880	09.Mar.05	Comprehensive Cooperative Housing Scheme for Urban Poor
881	09.Mar.05	Problem of Housing in Urban Areas
882	09.Mar.05	National Housing Policy
883	14.Mar.05	Housing for All Schemes
884	14.Mar.05	Housing Problem in Cities
885	14.Mar.05	Multi-Storeyed Flats for Slum Dwellers
886	21.Mar.05	Development of Urban Slums/Clusters
887	21.Mar.05	Housing Schemes for Weaker Sections and Slumdwellers
888	21.Mar.05	Problems of Jhuggis
889	19.Apr.05	New Master Plan for Delhi
890	19.Apr.05	Water Supply in Slums and Colonies in NCT of Delhi
891	25.Apr.05	National Mission on Basic Services for Urban Slums
892	25.Apr.05	National Mission for Urban Poor
893	02.May.05	Shelterless Poor in Urban Areas
894	02.May.05	Displacement of Children Due to Demolition of Slums
895	26.Jul.05	Housing for Urban Poor
896	26.Jul.05	Homeless People in Metropolitan Cities
897	26.Jul.05	National Slum Development Programme
898	26.Jul.05	National Urban Renewal Mission
899	01.Aug.05	Homeless Urban Poor
900	01.Aug.05	Progress in Slum Development
901	02.Aug.05	Terms of World Bank Loan for Implementation of Slum Sanitation Programme
902	05.Aug.05	Demand for Formulation of A National Slum Policy
903	08.Aug.05	Population of Slum Dwellers
904	08.Aug.05	Re-Location of Jhuggles
905	08.Aug.05	Illiteracy in Slum Children
906	17.Aug.05	Slum Clusters in NDMC Areas
907	22.Aug.05	Construction of Toilets and Bathrooms in Slums in Delhi
908	22.Aug.05	Projects for Urban Slums
909	05.Dec.05	Schemes for Development of Cities
910	05.Dec.05	Resettlement of Slum Dwellers
911	12.Dec.05	National Urban Renewal Mission
912	12.Dec.05	National Housing and Habitat Policy
913	12.Dec.05	Master Plan-2021
914	20.Dec.05	Fixing of Responsibility for Unauthorised Constructions
915	20.Dec.05	Removal of Encroachments
916	23.Feb.06	Illegal Occupation of DDA Land
917	23.Feb.06	Basic Amenities to Urban Poor
918	23.Feb.06	Building by-Laws for Safety of Life and Property
919	23.Feb.06	Resettlement of Slum-Dwellers
920	23.Feb.06	Irregular Accommodation in Delhi
921	23.Feb.06	Welfare for Slum Areas
922	24.Feb.06	Need for Granting Full Statehood to Delhi
923	27.Feb.06	Homeless Women in Delhi

924	27.Feb.06	Sex Ratio of Slum Children
925	02.Mar.06	Yamuna Slum Cluster
926	02.Mar.06	National Slum Development Programme
927	02.Mar.06	Migrants to Delhi
928	02.Mar.06	Committee for Illegal Structures
929	02.Mar.06	Flats to Slum Dwellers
930	09.Mar.06	Jhuggies and Encroachments in Gole Market
931	09.Mar.06	Slum Sanitation Programme
932	09.Mar.06	Development of Practically Relevant Master Plan
933	09.Mar.06	National Slum Development Programme
934	18.Mar.06	Need for Restructuring DDA, MCD, and NDMC to Avoid Inconvenience and Hardship to the People of Delhi
935	17.May.06	Fire in Yamuna Pushta Slums
936	18.May.06	Master Plan for Building Construction in Planned Manner
937	18.May.06	Alarming Increase in Slum and BPL Population
938	18.May.06	Basic Amenities for Slum Dwellers in Metros
939	27.Jul.06	Criteria for Classifying Human Dwellings as Slums
940	03.Aug.06	Plight of Slum Dwellers in Cities
941	10.Aug.06	Multi Storeyed Houses for Jhuggi Dwellers
942	10.Aug.06	Funds for Basic Amenities in Urban Slums
943	14.Aug.06	Shelter for Poor Women and Children
944	17.Aug.06	Poverty Alleviation and Low-Cost Houses for Slum Dwellers in Cities
945	17.Aug.06	National Slum Policy and Housing for Slum-Dwellers
946	17.Aug.06	Slum Dwellers and Urban Poverty Alleviation
947	17.Aug.06	Functioning of DDA
948	23.Nov.06	Urban Infrastructure Development Schemes
949	23.Nov.06	Increase in Urban Poverty
950	07.Dec.06	National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy, 2006
951	07.Dec.06	Increase in Slums
952	14.Dec.06	Regularization of Unauthorized Colonies in Delhi
953	01.Mar.07	Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme
954	01.Mar.07	People in Slums in Metro Cities
955	01.Mar.07	Housing for LIG and EWS
956	08.Mar.07	Delhi Master Plan
957	08.Mar.07	Houses for Middle Class and People Below Poverty Line
958	08.Mar.07	Regularization of Unauthorised Colonies
959	08.Mar.07	Human Settlements
960	08.Mar.07	Incentives for Housing Sector
961	08.Mar.07	New Policy for Slums
962	15.Mar.07	Master Plan-2021
963	15.Mar.07	Declaring Old Delhi Area as Commercial Under Master Plan-2021
964	15.Mar.07	Legislation to Put Shady Builders/Agents on Leash
965	15.Mar.07	BPL People in Cities
966	15.Mar.07	Deficiencies in Master Plan-2021
967	03.May.07	Increasing Slums in Cities
968	03.May.07	Slum Population in Urban Cities
969	10.May.07	Guidelines for Demolitions
970	10.May.07	Accommodation in Delhi
971	10.May.07	Allocation for Housing Development and Urban Poverty Alleviation
972	17.May.07	Slum Dwellers in Metropolitan Cities
973	17.May.07	Slums in the Country
974	16.Aug.07	Right to Land and Shelter
975	16.Aug.07	National Slum Development Programme (NSDP)
976	16.Aug.07	Ban on New Construction Activities in Delhi
977	23.Aug.07	Low Cost Housing to EWS
978	30.Aug.07	Regularization of Unauthorised Constructions
979	30.Aug.07	Flats for Slum Dwellers in Delhi
980	06.Sep.07	Jhuggijhonpri Clusters in Metro Cities
981	06.Sep.07	Slums in Urban Areas
982	06.Sep.07	Financial Assistance to Slum Dwellers
983	06.Sep.07	Subsidies and Interest Free Housing Loan to Urban Poor
984	22.Nov.07	Unauthorised Occupation of Plots for Slum Dwellers
985	22.Nov.07	National Urbanisation Policy
986	29.Nov.07	the National Capital Territory of Delhi Laws (Special Provisions)Bill,2007
987	06.Dec.07	Survey by NBO on Housing Crisis
988	28.Feb.08	J.J. and Rehabilitation Colonies in Delhi
989	28.Feb.08	Regularization of Colonies
990	28.Feb.08	Arresting Migration to Urban Areas

991	13.Mar.08	Residential Units for Poor in Cities
992	13.Mar.08	Urban Housing Policy
993	16.Apr.08	Fire in Slums in Delhi
994	16.Apr.08	Compensation to Victims of Fire in Jhuggies in Mori Gate, Delhi
995	17.Apr.08	Shortage of Housing Units
996	06.May.08	Urban Housing Shortage
997	18.Dec.08	Construction of Flats for Slum Dwellers
998	18.Dec.08	Increasing Slums
999	18.Dec.08	Flats for Slum-Dwellers
1000	18.Dec.08	Shortage of Housing
1001	18.Dec.08	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers
1002	18.Dec.08	Delhi Urban Art Commission
1003	19.Feb.09	Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
1004	19.Feb.09	Housing Scheme for Poor
1005	26.Feb.09	Housing Shortage
1006	02.Jul.09	Slum-Free India
1007	02.Jul.09	Houses for Urban Poor
1008	09.Jul.09	Homeless People in Cities
1009	09.Jul.09	Urbanisation and Development
1010	09.Jul.09	Vacant Land in Cities for Housing
1011	16.Jul.09	Slums in Metropolitan Cities
1012	16.Jul.09	Slum Free India
1013	16.Jul.09	Housing Problem
1014	17.Jul.09	Health Mission for People of Urban Slums
1015	23.Jul.09	Affordable Houses for Common Man
1016	23.Jul.09	Slums in Metropolitan Cities
1017	23.Jul.09	Poverty Alleviation for Beggars, Slum Dwellers
1018	23.Jul.09	Slum Free India
1019	23.Jul.09	Urban Poverty Alleviation
1020	23.Jul.09	Urban Poverty and Deprivation
1021	30.Jul.09	Housing Shortage
1022	30.Jul.09	Scheme for Slum Dwellers
1023	06.Aug.09	Rehabilitation of Slum Clusters in Delhi
1024	06.Aug.09	Rajiv Awas Yojana
1025	06.Aug.09	Slum Free India
1026	06.Aug.09	Land for Housing Projects
1027	06.Aug.09	Construction of Affordable Houses
1028	06.Aug.09	Rajiv Awas Yojana
1029	06.Aug.09	Survey of Slum Dwellers and Employment Schemes
1030	26.Nov.09	Education and Employment to Slum Dwelling Children
1031	26.Nov.09	Population Living in Slum Areas
1032	26.Nov.09	National Policy on Urban Street Vendors
1033	28.Nov.09	Regularization of Unauthorized Colonies in Delhi
1034	03.Dec.09	Slum Population
1035	03.Dec.09	Survey Or Census of Jhuggis
1036	03.Dec.09	Schemes Under Implementation for Making India Slum Free
1037	03.Dec.09	Housing Shortage in the Country
1038	08.Dec.09	Increase in AIDS Cases in Slum Areas of Delhi
1039	10.Dec.09	Housing Shortage in India
1040	10.Dec.09	People Living in Slums
1041	10.Dec.09	Housing Shortage in the Country
1042	10.Dec.09	Housing Sites to Homeless, Shelterless Families
1043	17.Dec.09	Rajiv Awas Yojana
1044	17.Dec.09	New Housing Policy
1045	25.Feb.10	Houses for Slum Dwellers
1046	25.Feb.10	Houses for Urban Poor
1047	25.Feb.10	Multiplication of Slums in Metro Cities
1048	04.Mar.10	Rajiv Awas Yojana for Slum Dwellers
1049	04.Mar.10	Urban Housing Policy
1050	04.Mar.10	Slum Population
1051	04.Mar.10	Mapping and Slum Survey
1052	11.Mar.10	Livelihood to Urban Poor
1053	11.Mar.10	Homes to Homeless People
1054	11.Mar.10	Property Rights to Slum Dwellers
1055	11.Mar.10	Affordable Housing
1056	11.Mar.10	Master Plan for Slum Dwellers
1057	15.Apr.10	Survey Reports of Slums
1058	15.Apr.10	Rajiv Awas Yojana

1059	22.Apr.10	Slum-Free Cities
1060	22.Apr.10	Population in Slum Areas
1061	22.Apr.10	Survey Reports of Slum
1062	28.Apr.10	Discussion on Working of Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
1063	29.Apr.10	Reduction in Slum Population
1064	30.Apr.10	Schools Being Run in Small Buildings in Slums in Delhi
1065	06.May.10	Property Rights for Slum Dwellers
1066	06.May.10	Shortage of Houses in Delhi
1067	06.May.10	New Housing Policy, 2020
1068	06.May.10	Migration of Rural People to Cities
1069	06.May.10	Housing for Urban Poor Under NUHHP
1070	06.May.10	Rajiv Awas Yojana
1071	29.Jul.10	Rajiv Awas Yojana for Slum Free India
1072	05.Aug.10	Slum Free Country Under Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)
1073	05.Aug.10	UN Millennium Development Goals for Slum Dwellers
1074	12.Aug.10	Slum Free India
1075	12.Aug.10	Houseless Population in Country
1076	19.Aug.10	Cities Turning Into Slums
1077	19.Aug.10	Rehabilitation Policy for Slum Dwellers
1078	19.Aug.10	Shortage of Housing Units in Delhi, U.P. and Bihar
1079	26.Aug.10	Criteria to Measure Urban Poverty
1080	11.Nov.10	Slum Population in Delhi and Mumbai
1081	11.Nov.10	Houses for Urban Poor
1082	11.Nov.10	Implementation of Rajiv Awas Yojana
1083	11.Nov.10	Funds for Rajiv Awas Yojana
1084	19.Nov.10	Pranab Sen Committee for Slums
1085	19.Nov.10	Land Ownership Right in Urban Areas
1086	19.Nov.10	Participation of Slum Children in CWG
1087	25.Nov.10	Urban Houseless Population
1088	25.Nov.10	Pranab Sen Committee on Slums in the Country
1089	25.Nov.10	National Policy for Urban Poor
1090	02.Dec.10	National Slum Development Programme
1091	02.Dec.10	Increase of Slums in Cities
1092	02.Dec.10	Schemes for Slum-Free India
1093	02.Dec.10	Shortage of Housing
1094	02.Dec.10	Increase in Slums
1095	02.Dec.10	Deadline for Slum-Free India
1096	09.Dec.10	Funding for Rajiv Awas Yojana
1097	09.Dec.10	Rajiv Awas Yojana
1098	23.Feb.11	Rehabilitation for Urban Slum Population
1099	23.Feb.11	Shortage of Urban Housing in the Country
1100	23.Feb.11	Development of Slums in Metro Cities
1101	01.Mar.11	Programme for Addressing the Healthcare Needs of the Urban Poor
1102	09.Mar.11	Overhauling RAY and JNNURM to Include Private Sector
1103	09.Mar.11	Making Urban India Slum-Free Under Rajiv Awas Yojana
1104	09.Mar.11	Scheme for Housing the Urban Poor
1105	16.Mar.11	Foreign Assistance for Improving Living Condition in Urban Slums in the Country
1106	16.Mar.11	Per Capita Income of People Living in Metro Cities and Slums
1107	16.Mar.11	People Living in Slums
1108	16.Mar.11	Targets Achieved in Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
1109	16.Mar.11	Implementation of Schemes for Slum Dwellers and Urban Poor
1110	03.Aug.11	Removal of Slums From Urban Areas
1111	03.Aug.11	Empowering Slum Dwellers
1112	03.Aug.11	Implementation of Rajiv Awas Yojana
1113	03.Aug.11	Ray to Provide Affordable Houses to Slum Dwellers
1114	10.Aug.11	Implementation of Schemes for Slum Dwellers and Urban Poor
1115	10.Aug.11	Rajiv Awas Yojana
1116	10.Aug.11	Low Cost Affordable Houses Under PPP
1117	10.Aug.11	Shelter for Urban Poor
1118	10.Aug.11	Development of Housing and Basic Facilities in Slums of Cities
1119	17.Aug.11	Right to Shelter
1120	17.Aug.11	Features of Model Property Rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2011
1121	17.Aug.11	Rajiv Awas Yojana
1122	17.Aug.11	Encroachment at Palam Dabri Road, Delhi
1123	18.Aug.11	Malnourished Children in Urban Slums
1124	24.Aug.11	Development of Slums
1125	24.Aug.11	Shortage of Housing Facilities in Urban Areas
1126	24.Aug.11	Disparity in Demand and Supply for Housing Units for the Urban Poor

1127	24.Aug.11	Slum Development Under IHSDP
1128	24.Aug.11	Right to Housing
1129	24.Aug.11	Shortage of Basic Amenities to Slum Dwellers
1130	24.Aug.11	Review of Progress of RAY
1131	24.Aug.11	Slum Population in the Country
1132	26.Aug.11	Demand to Take Steps for Rehabilitation of Slumdwellers in Cities of the Country
1133	02.Sep.11	Rehabilitation of People Living in Slums Near Railway Tracks
1134	07.Sep.11	Scheme for Basic Services for Urban Poor
1135	07.Sep.11	Houses for Urban Poor
1136	07.Sep.11	Implementation of "Slum Free India" Scheme Under RAY
1137	07.Sep.11	Schemes Implemented for Slum Dwellers and Urban Poor
1138	23.Nov.11	Policy for Removal of Slums
1139	23.Nov.11	Housing Facilities to the Urban Poor
1140	25.Nov.11	Jhuggis Along Railway Tracks in Delhi
1141	07.Dec.11	Indians Living in Slums
1142	07.Dec.11	Shifting of Urban Poor Living Near Railway Tracks
1143	14.Dec.11	Housing Facilities for Urban Poor
1144	14.Dec.11	Affordable Housing to the Slum Dwellers
1145	14.Dec.11	Low Cost Houses to Poor People
1146	14.Dec.11	Every Eighth Urban Child in Age Group of 0-6 Years Living in Slums
1147	14.Dec.11	Unauthorised Encroachment in CPWD Colony, Vasant Vihar
1148	14.Dec.11	Slum Dwellers in Major Cities
1149	21.Dec.11	Schemes for Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers
1150	21.Dec.11	Phase-Wise Implementation of RAY
1151	21.Dec.11	Guidelines to Regularise Unauthorised Colonies in Delhi
1152	14.Mar.12	Making India Slum Free Under ITUN
1153	14.Mar.12	Objectives of RAY
1154	21.Mar.12	Objectives of NCR Planning Board
1155	21.Mar.12	Plans to Make Cities Slum Free
1156	21.Mar.12	Improvement of Slums
1157	21.Mar.12	Houses to Slum Dwellers in Urban Areas
1158	28.Mar.12	Improvement in Lives of Slum Dwellers
1159	28.Mar.12	Discussion with South Africa Regarding Slum Upgradation and Affordable Housing
1160	26.Apr.12	Plots to Displaced Slum Dwellers of Delhi
1161	02.May.12	Allocation of Funds to States Under RAY
1162	09.May.12	Population Living in Slums
1163	09.May.12	Real Estate (Regulation and Development) Act
1164	09.May.12	Targets Set to Achieve Objective of Slum Free India
1165	16.May.12	Shortfall in Urban Housing
1166	16.May.12	Vision of RAY to Make the Country Slum Free
1167	16.May.12	Rehabilitation Policy for Slum Dwellers on Government Lands
1168	16.May.12	Slum Free Delhi
1169	08.Aug.12	Scheme for Slums in States
1170	08.Aug.12	Non-Completion of Project Under RAY
1171	22.Aug.12	Flats for Poors in Delhi Under JNNURM
1172	22.Aug.12	Schemes for Slum Dwellers and Urban Poor
1173	22.Aug.12	Progress of Slum Rehabilitation Project
1174	23.Aug.12	Childcare Facilities in Slum-Areas
1175	30.Aug.12	Slum Free Country Under RAY
1176	30.Aug.12	Housing for Urban Poor Slum Dwellers in Delhi
1177	30.Aug.12	Survey Relating to Urban Poverty, Slums, Livelihood etc.
1178	05.Sep.12	JJ Cluster/Slums in the Country
1179	22.Nov.12	Criteria Adopted for Regularisation of Unauthorized Colonies in Delhi
1180	12.Dec.12	Rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers
1181	12.Dec.12	Shortage of Housing for Poor
1182	19.Dec.12	Migration of Rural Poor to Urban Areas
1183	19.Dec.12	Rehabilitation of Poor Families Under RAY Living Near Railway Tracks
1184	19.Dec.12	Schemes for Welfare of Poor People in Urban Areas
1185	20.Dec.12	Projects of Providing Flats for Slums in Delhi
1186	21.Mar.13	Relocation of Slum Dwellers Staying Near Railway Tracks
1187	21.Mar.13	Demand for Housing for Urban Peoples
1188	25.Apr.13	Problems of Slum Dwellers in Delhi
1189	25.Apr.13	Construction of Houses for Economically Weaker Sections
1190	25.Apr.13	Houses Under BSUP and IHSDP for Urban Poor
1191	25.Apr.13	Affordable Houses in the Country
1192	02.May.13	Affordable Housing Projects
1193	02.May.13	Slum Free City Plans Under RAY
1194	02.May.13	Slum Upgradation Index

1195	08.Aug.13	Slum Statistics and Census
1196	08.Aug.13	Slum Upgradation Index
1197	19.Aug.13	Rehabilitation of People Living on Encroached Railway Land
1198	22.Aug.13	Houses Under BSUP and IHSDP for Urban Poor
1199	22.Aug.13	Houses for Minority Communities Under BSUP, IHSDP and RAY
1200	22.Aug.13	Rise in Urban Population in Delhi
1201	22.Aug.13	Shortage of Houses in Urban Areas
1202	22.Aug.13	Shortage of Houses in the Country
1203	22.Aug.13	Slum Population in the Country
1204	29.Aug.13	Slum Free India
1205	29.Aug.13	Development of Slums Under JNNURM
1206	29.Aug.13	Rise of Slum in Metro Cities
1207	29.Aug.13	Regularisation of Slums as Housing Colonies
1208	09.Dec.13	Rehabilitation of Poor Families Under RAY Living Near Railway Tracks
1209	09.Dec.13	Slum Housing Projects Under RAY
1210	09.Dec.13	Schemes for Slum Free Cities in the Country
1211	09.Dec.13	Slum Free India Under RAY
1212	12.Dec.13	Number of Towns with Slums in the Country
1213	12.Dec.13	Sanitation Facilities in the Slums
1214	12.Dec.13	Construction of Houses Under RAY
1215	12.Dec.13	Slums Free City Plan Under RAY
1216	12.Dec.13	Slum Population in the Country
1217	12.Dec.13	Sanitation Facilities in the Slums
1218	12.Feb.14	Slum in Manufacturing Sector
1219	13.Feb.14	Homeless People in the Country
1220	13.Feb.14	Slum Population in the Country
1221	13.Feb.14	Slum Free Indian Under RAY
1222	13.Feb.14	Facilities in Urban Slums
1223	19.Feb.14	Differing Estimates of India's Slum Population
1224	20.Feb.14	Slum Free India
1225	20.Feb.14	Slum Dwellers in Country
1226	20.Feb.14	Launching of RAY as A Centrally Sponsored Scheme
1227	20.Feb.14	Status of Affordable Housing in Urban Areas
1228	20.Feb.14	Schemes for Slum Dwellers and Urban Poor

APPENDIX 5: ARCHIVAL DATA ANALYSIS CODES

Sl. No	Name	Groundedness
	MINISTRY REPLYING	
1	1.1RE- Agriculture and Development	3
2	1.1RE- Civil Aviation	4
3	1.1RE- Commerce and Industry	2
4	1.1RE- Defence	5
5	1.1RE- Education	10
6	1.1RE- Education and Culture	2
7	1.1RE- Education and Social Welfare	15
8	1.1RE- Finance	4
9	1.1RE- Food and Civil Supplies	2
10	1.1RE- Health	43
11	1.1RE- Health & Family Welfare	14
12	1.1RE- Health, Family Planning and Urban Development	16
13	1.1RE- Home Affairs	27
14	1.1RE- Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation	233
15	1.1RE- Human Resource Development	5
16	1.1RE- Industry and Company Affairs	1
17	1.1RE- Labour	4
18	1.1RE- Labour and Rehabilitation	1
19	1.1RE- Planning	3
20	1.1RE- Prime Minister	18
21	1.1RE- Power	3
22	1.1RE- Railways	15
23	1.1RE- Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs	10
24	1.1RE- Social Justice and Empowerment	12
25	1.1RE- Social Welfare	11
26	1.1RE- Supply & Rehabilitation	1
27	1.1RE- Tourism and Civil Aviation	4
28	1.1RE- Tourism and Culture	1
29	1.1RE- Transport	1
30	1.1RE- Transport and Communication	1
31	1.1RE- Urban Affairs and Employment	42
32	1.1RE- Urban Development	311
33	1.1RE- Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation	83
34	1.1RE- Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation	40
35	1.1RE- Welfare	1
36	1.1RE- Women & Child Development	5
37	1.1RE- Works & Housing	168
38	1.1RE- Works & Housing & Health & Family Planning	3
39	1.1RE- Works & Housing & Supply & Rehabilitation	32
40	1.1RE- Works, Housing & Supply	63
41	1.1RE- Works, Housing & Urban Development	8
42	1.1RE- Youth Affairs and Sports	1
	LOCATION	
43	1.2LOC- Delhi	507
44	1.2LOC- Non-Specific	525
45	1.2LOC- Other	196
	TERM USED FOR SLUM	
46	2TER- Gandi Basti (Hindi)	31
47	2TER- Hut Dwellers	3
48	2TER- Informal Settlement	4
49	2TER- JJ	72
50	2TER- Khandahar (Urdu)	2
51	2TER- Malin Basti (Hindi)	7
52	2TER- Shanties	3
53	2TER- Slum Area	28
54	2TER- Slum Colony	3

55	2TER- Slum Condition	6
56	2TER- Slum Free	41
57	2TER- Slum Katras	1
58	2TER- Slum Properties	1
59	2TER- Slums	152
60	2TER- Squatters	2
61	2TER- Urban Poor	65
	ISSUE	
62	3ISS- 20 Point Programme	13
63	3ISS- Alternate Accommodation for Slum Dwellers	82
64	3ISS- Basic Amenities	90
65	3ISS- Building Bye-laws	10
66	3ISS- Community Development	11
67	3ISS- Corruption	32
68	3ISS- Crowding/Population	69
69	3ISS- Common Wealth Games	3
70	3ISS- Demolition/ Eviction	93
71	3ISS- Education	8
72	3ISS- Funds for Slum Clearance	5
73	3ISS- Hazard	15
74	3ISS- Housing	182
75	3ISS- Increase of Slums	40
76	3ISS- Incremental housing	2
77	3ISS- JNNURM	56
78	3ISS- Land	214
79	3ISS- Litigations	27
80	3ISS- Millenium Development Goals	5
81	3ISS- Master Plan	41
82	3ISS- NGO Involvement	9
83	3ISS- Other	25
84	3ISS- Ownership Rights	40
85	3ISS- Public Distribution System	3
86	3ISS- Poverty	24
87	3ISS- Private Builders	4
88	3ISS- Sites and Services	8
89	3ISS- Slum Board	6
90	3ISS- Slum Clearance	87
91	3ISS- Slum Improvement	25
92	3ISS- Slum Policy	41
93	3ISS- Slum Survey	315
94	3ISS- Technology	7
95	3ISS- Unauthorised	46
96	3ISS- Women, Children, Scheduled Caste/Tribe	40
97	3ISS- World Class	2
	MONETARY ISSUES	
98	4MON- Central Govt. Assitance to States	158
99	4MON- Compensation paid to Citizens	10
100	4MON- External Domestic Funding Agency	10
101	4MON- External International Funding Agency	40
102	4MON- Internal Domestic Funding Agency	10
103	4MON- Saving Money	3
	SUBJECT POSITION	
104	5SP- City Aspiration/Image	80
105	5SP- Criminalizing Slums	44
106	5SP- Cut Off Date	17
107	5SP- Govt. Strategies and Policy	251
108	5SP- How to improve slums	113
109	5SP- Neo-Liberal	66
110	5SP- What is a Slum	68
111	5SP- Who are the Slum Dwellers	50
112	5SP- Why Slums Exist	54
	INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK MAKING	
113	6INST- Centre State Priority	63
114	6INST- Delhi Governance	66

115	6INST- Framework for Slums	126
	RELATED TO DOCUMENTS	
116	7REL- Five Year Plans	83
117	7REL- Housing Policy	48
118	7REL- RAY	153
119	7REL- Slum Clearance Act	10

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