Beyond Binaries
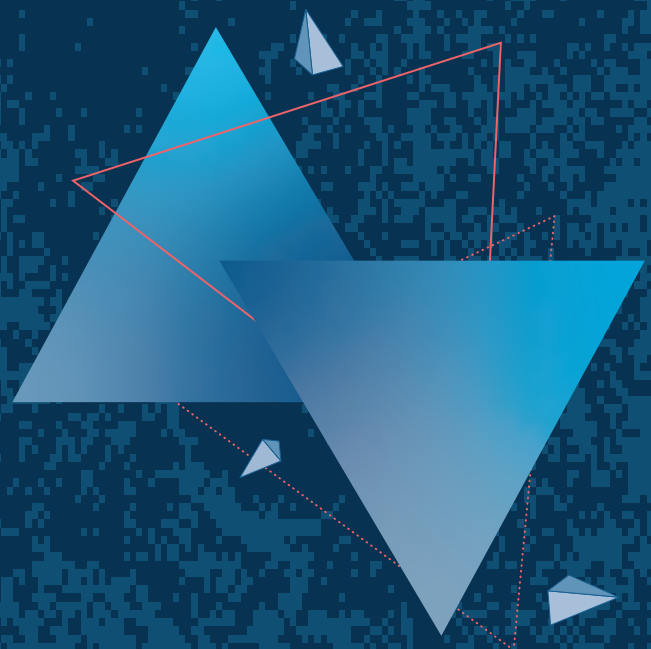
Towards new conceptual frameworks
 in the Urban

Conference
Proceedings 2022

Beyond Binaries

Conference Proceedings 2022

Beyond Binaries: Towards New Conceptual Frameworks in the Urban

The sixth edition of Urban ARC, the Annual Research Conference of the Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS), was conducted virtually from 13 to 15 January 2022. The theme for this edition was 'Beyond Binaries: Towards New Conceptual Frameworks in the Urban'.

In her article, 'Global and World Cities: A View from off the Map', published in 2002, Jennifer Robinson argued that urban studies as a field was divided between urban theory and the Western or 'global' cities on one side, and development studies and the 'Third World cities' on the other. Such a categorisation held cities around the world to Western global city standards, which Robinson argued, did not capture the vagaries of contemporary urbanisation (Robinson, 2002). Two decades later, however, Robinson's compelling critique still holds true, particularly in the context of an increasingly globalised present and future. Cities across the globe differ in their experience and negotiations with emergent urban phenomena. Understanding and studying these phenomena thus requires thinking beyond existing binaries.

Conceptualised within the theme of the conference were three important, intersecting ideas. The first was the idea of *binaries* and other kinds of categorisation, which inform various traditions of knowledge production in multiple ways. The centrality of dialogue from opposing positions, and the emergence of novel positions in its wake was key to the creation and development of knowledge over time. This edition of Urban ARC pivoted off of this centrality.

The second was the ways in which binary positions have evolved in various traditions of knowledge production, allowing them to go *beyond* these initial positions. This transition has not been consistent in depth, scope, or velocity across disciplines and knowledge traditions. This has ranged from using binaries differently to address important issues, the use of multivalent systems of definition and organisation, to challenging the use of categorisation itself. It was in this context that we conceptualised the *beyond* as a post-duality space that can be celebrated for the multiplicities it holds.

The third conceptual idea is the *Urban*, imagined as a space in which the tension between *binaries* and the *beyond* play out. The Urban, while being notionally organised around cartographic boundaries, goes beyond them to include a complex system of ideas, systems, processes, practices, lived experiences, and emergent policies that can be understood only through a range of innovative theoretical and methodological approaches. Urban ARC 2022 provides the space for conversations along these vectors.

Binaries have been used repeatedly to classify and categorise phenomena to better facilitate our understanding of people and things (Cloke & Johnston, 2005). Although binaries engage with the idea of opposites, they are also closely connected; one cannot exist without the other: for example, there may be no rural without an urban; no formal without an understanding of the informal. Between binaries lies space for continued negotiation. These negotiations based on emerging realities, new ways of thinking and being have often transcended binary thinking, paving the way for a continuum of possibilities that emerge around the evident tensions between two opposites.

The conference aimed to build on and continue ongoing conversations around the question of categories like binaries that have been an important part of the post-colonial discourse in fields such as feminism, philosophy, and environmental sciences, among others (Culler, 2001; Kayumova et al, 2019; Walker, 2001; Whatmore, 2017;). The re-examining of these binaries and inherent tensions has led to the emergence of new categories that are evident in several ways and forms, from daily lived experiences to analytical tools—from the politics of the right and the left, the economics of formal and informal, to the spatiality of rural and urban.

The notion of moving beyond binaries manifests in several ways; in our conceptual, methodological, and analytical interpretation of things. The dismantling of binaries has been critical in the context of an increasingly globalised, interconnected, and urban world that is constantly pushing, debating, and re-examining existing boundaries. Researchers, especially those located in the global South have consistently called for and worked towards rethinking what these categories mean, primarily because of the diverse experiences of rapid globalisation and urbanisation across cities (Robinson, 2011; Shatkin, 2007). In the last few decades, conceptual debates around the global North and South (Parnell 2012; Schindler 2017; Watson 2009) have increasingly focused on the need for a 'Southern urban theory', to conceptualise the heterogeneity and experiences of the cities in the global South that cannot be confined to the North/South binaries.

Debates have ranged from theorising the urban, to thinking of ways to engage with emerging urban phenomena, that are new, disparate, and cannot be distinctly categorised. Studying these complex urban systems requires moving beyond traditional disciplinary silos and instead, adopting an interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral approach. An immediate example of this was the COVID-19 pandemic that amplified existing socio-economic inequalities and questioned the type of interventions required to understand the urban in the context of a 'new normal'. In an attempt to conceptualise these urban futures, a more recent move has been toward a 'new urban science' that emphasises interdisciplinary research and practice in addressing the challenges of the 21st-century city (Keith et al., 2020). Methodologically as well, there has been a shift towards the use of big data and modelling approaches to study these futures (Keith et al., 2020), as well as a collective conceptual attempt towards blurring the categories of policy, research, practice, and academia to address the challenges of urbanisation.

On a global as well as local scale, the increasing role of digital technologies has resulted in a significant shift within the imagined categories of certain sectors and disciplines. While the field of technology is rooted in structure and form, the application and adaptation of these has paved the way for opportunities and possibilities that offer new conceptual frameworks of examining the impacts and implications of these changes (Davies et al., 2017; Surie, 2021). For example, with respect to labour markets, the move towards a digital and platform economy has redefined the future of work, blurring the boundaries of formal and informal labour. More recently, in the context of COVID-19, digital technology has made it possible for a certain section of society to effectively work, learn, and communicate online. Similarly, new and digital media were crucial in changing the discourse around media, arts, literature and cinema studies to reflect the change in media consumption patterns as well as the changing mediascapes.

The idea of moving beyond categories also extends to our understanding of social realities and by extension, ourselves. Questions of gender, caste, class, ethnicity, religion, and language have and still continue to hold a pivotal place in defining one's identity. These questions are interconnected, deeply rooted in systemic complexities, and cannot be dealt with in isolation. Recent debates around these themes have contested existing categories, particularly with regard to navigating identities of caste and gender.

While they tend to be limiting in nature, categories are also essential. They have played a fundamental role in structuring, organising, and making sense of data, spatial mapping, and delineating administrative boundaries, among others. Defining jurisdictions of city-like units (Brenner, 2014) using terms such as the peri-urban, municipality, municipal corporation, metropolitan region etc., 'reflect the changing boundaries, morphologies and scales of human settlement patterns. (Brenner, 2014, p. 15), and are critical to the process of governance. It also has particular implications for access to relief care, welfare, and social protection schemes and programmes.

Binaries and categories more broadly hold multiple possibilities of negotiation; breaking away, re-imagining, re-conceptualising, and realigning. Urban ARC 2022 intended to capture this versatility of binaries; the fluidity, the duality, and the several potentialities of conceptualisations that they offer. The conference invited researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to engage in dialogues around the theme 'beyond binaries' using diverse modes of engagement—conceptual, methodological, historical, and analytical. We encouraged submissions across various sectors (e.g., governance, environment and sustainability, infrastructure and services, housing, and social identity, among others), disciplines (e.g., media, social sciences, behavioural sciences, humanities, architecture, planning), and methods (quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods), using the lens of research, academia, policy, and practice.

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Schedule

Thursday, 13 January 2022	
9:00 am – 9:30 am	**Opening Remarks by Aromar Revi, Director, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)**
9:30 am – 10:00 am	*Break*
10:00 am – 11:30 am	**Panel 1: Urban Ecologies: Cities, Ecosystems, and 'Nature'** Chair: **Jagdish Krishnaswamy**
	Abohar 'In-Between' Ecology and Infrastructures *Apoorva Sharma, Abohar Urban Studio* *Shilpa Dahake, Abohar Urban Studio*
	Resisting Fixity and Control: Ganga Diaras of Patna *Archana Singh, People's Resource Centre*
	Negotiating Aarey: Knowledge Production in Urban Ecology *Vaishnavi Patil, Community Design Agency*
	Persistent Conservation Behaviour in Affluent Households: Use of a Theoretically-grounded Intervention *Vivek, Independent Researcher* *Deepak Malghan, Indian Institute of Management–Bengaluru (IIM–B)* *Kanchan Mukherjee, Indian Institute of Management–Bengaluru (IIM–B)*
	Visualising the Urban: Seeing Water Pipes in Darjeeling and Kalimpong *Rinan Shah, Ashoka Trust for Research in Ecology and the Environment; Manipal Academy of Higher Education* *Anisa Bhutia, Tata Institute of Social Sciences*
11:30 am – 12:00 pm	*Break*
12:00 pm – 1:30 pm	**Panel 2: 'Home as a Place of Work': Ways of Moving Beyond the Binary** Chair: **Shalini Sinha**
	'Home as a Place of Work': An Overview of the Conceptual Binary and its Implications *Shalini Sinha, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)*

	Housing Design Beyond Home/Workplace Boundaries: Findings from The Workhome Project *Frances Holliss, The Workhome Project, London Metropolitan University*
	Improving Home-based Work Environments for Informal Workers: Learnings from the Interventions of Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT) *Bijal Brahmbhatt, Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT)*
	Mapping Home-based Work in Delhi: Insights for City Planning *Malavika Narayan, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)*
1:30 pm – 2:30 pm	**Break**
2:30 pm – 4:00 pm	**Panel 3: Feeding the City: Agriculture in the Urban** Chair: **Chandni Singh**
	The Monsoon Above and Below Ground: Towards an Architecture of Suspension *Harshavardhan Bhat, University of Westminster* *Anthony Powis, Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts*
	What Will It Take to Recognise Agriculture in City? Some Insights from Delhi and the Challenges *Aakiz Farooq, People's Resource Centre* *Nishant, People's Resource Centre; Indian Institute of Technology Delhi (IIT–D)*
	Quantifying the Long-term Environmental Impacts of Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture *Ashwin Mahalingam, Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IIT–M)* *U. Srilok Sagar, Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IIT–M)* *Yatharth Singh, Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IIT–M)* *Teja Malladi, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)*
	Agrarianising the Urban: Geographies for Negotiating Agrarian–Urban Uncertainty and Precarity *Ankita Rathi, Independent Researcher*
4:00 pm – 4:30 pm	**Break**
4:30 pm – 6:00 pm	**Panel 4: Developing an Urban Curriculum for the Global South** **Discussant: Adriana Allen, The Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London**

	Panel Introduction *Shriya Anand, Indian Institute for Human Settlements* *Julia Wesely, The Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London*
	Speakers:
	Caren Levy, The Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London
	Wilbard Kombe, Ardhi University
	Jorge Peña Díaz, Urban Research and Action Group, Instituto Superior Politécnico José Antonio Echeverria (CUJAE)
	Joiselén Cazanave Macías, Urban Research and Action Group, Instituto Superior Politécnico José Antonio Echeverria (CUJAE)
	Edgar Pieterse, African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town
	Darshini Mahadevia, Ahmedabad University
	Aromar Revi, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)
6:00 pm – 6:30 pm	***Break***
6:30 pm – 8:00 pm	**Panel 4: Developing an Urban Curriculum for the Global South (Continued)**
Friday, 14 January, 2022	
9:30 am – 11:00 am	**Panel 5: Shifting Identities: Locating Diversity in the Urban** Chair: **Gautam Bhan**
	After Land Titling: "Useless" Property Rights and Subaltern Citizenship in Hyderabad *Indivar Jonnalagadda, University of Pennsylvania*
	Caste in the Urban: Spatiality and Identity in Peripheral Bangalore *Andrew Desouza, Independent Researcher* *Bagavanidhi M, Independent Researcher*
	Where are the Modern Jajmans? Politics, Caste Organisation and Community Mobilisation amongst Urban, Migrant Bhumihars Today *Vrishali, Tata Institute of Social Sciences*

	Residential Segregation and Unequal Access to Local Public Services in India: Evidence from 1.6 m Neighbourhoods *Anjali Adukia, University of Chicago* *Sam Asher, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)* *Kritarth Jha, Development Data Lab* *Paul Novosad, Dartmouth College* *Brandon Tan, Harvard University*
	Beyond Class-based Binaries in Political Mobilisation: A Case Study of Islamabad, Pakistan *Hafsah Siddiqui, University of Cambridge*
	Reclaiming Public Life In Delhi's Urban Villages *Sophiya Islam, CEPT University*
11:00 am – 11:30 am	***Break***
	Panel 6: Working the City: Livelihoods, Mobility, and Space Chair: **Aditi Surie**
	Travelling in the Cosmos: Exploring Rurban Sensibility amongst the Rural Cosmopolitans in Hyderabad, India *Tirthankar Chakraborty, Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Freie Universität Berlin*
	Are Urban Working Women in the Organised Sector Under the Double Burden Syndrome? *K. Saradhambika, GITAM School of Humanities*
11.30 am – 1:00 pm	Re-imagining Duality of Urbanisation in New Normal: Deepening Multidimensional Marginality of Urban Poor in Neoliberal Indian Cities *Shadab Anis, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA)*
	Beyond Internal and International Migration: Exploring Everyday Spatialities of Indian Women Migrants in Hyderabad, India and Melbourne, Australia *SriPallavi Nadimpalli, Independent Researcher*
	Mediating Social Entrepreneurship for Development in South Africa and India: Demonstrating Entanglements of Neoliberal Economic Logics and Social Missions *Vrinda Chopra, University of Cape Town*
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2:30 pm – 4:00 pm	**Panel 7: Rethinking Spatiality: Moving Beyond the Urban** Chair: **Sudeshna Mitra**
	Urban Life at the Extensions: Beyond Bifurcation *AbdouMaliq Simone, The Urban Institute, University of Sheffield*
	Spatial Design Practice in a Post-Post City: A Situated Southern Urbanist Inquiry Around How *Jhono Bennett, The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London*
	Extended Urbanisation as Postcolonial Theory: A Relational Comparative Perspective from India and Brazil *Rodrigo Castriota, DIST/Polytechnic University of Turin* *Nitin Bathla, ETH Zurich*
	Spaces for Citizen-Driven Innovation? Mapping Tensions and Potentials within Urban Makerspaces *Stuti Haldar, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)* *Gautam Sharma, DST – Centre for Policy Research, Indian Institute of Science*
	Globalisation and Changing Spatial Imaginaries: Reflections from Contemporary Kerala *Mijo Luke, Centre for Development Studies (CDS)*
4:00 pm – 4:30 pm	***Break***
4:30 pm – 6:00 pm	**Panel 8: Navigating and Practising Planning: Urban Practitioners In Dialogue** Chair: **Geetika Anand**
	Co-producing Knowledge: Methods, Moments and Experiences from the Main Bhi Dilli Campaign, India *Malavika Narayan, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)* *Rashee Mehra, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)* *Ruchika Lall, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)*
	Inclusive Cities and Land Rights for Urban Poor: Reflecting from Jharkhand *Lakhi Das, Adarsh Seva Sansthan*
	Learning from Disappointments: The Innovative Expert, the Impatient Civil Society and the Persistence of Regulatory Capture in Mumbai's Development Plan 2034 *Champaka Rajagopal, Independent Researcher*

	Reflections on the Legal Empowerment of Community Representatives in Buenos Aires, Argentina *Rosario Fassina, Asociación Civil por la Igualdad y la Justicia (ACIJ)*
	Planning and Power: Participatory Adaptive Planning Approaches in Kenya *Diana Wachira, Pamoja Trust*
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6:30 pm – 8:00 pm	**Panel 9: Research, Funding, And Partnerships: Collaboration across the North and South** Chair: **Neha Sami**
	Risks and Returns from Large Scale Funding for Urban Research *Michael Keith, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford* *Susan Parnell, University of Bristol*
	The Paradox: Economic Growth that Endangers the Future of Research in Colombia *Juan C. Duque, EAFIT University*
	Rethinking the Research Funding Process *Neha Sami, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)*
	Why Is It More Important than Ever for Urban South Scholars to Generate Global Work? Reflections from the Borders of (Global) Urban and Sexualities Research *Andrew Tucker, African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town*
Saturday, 15 January, 2022	
11:00 am – 1:00 pm	**Panel 10: India's Greenfield Urban Future** Chair: **Loraine Kennedy**
	India's Greenfield Urban Future: An Introduction *Ashima Sood, Anant National University* *Loraine Kennedy, National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS); Centre for South Asian Studies (CEIAS), École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)*
	Industrial Zone to New Skycity: The (Un)Making of India's First Aerotropolis *Gopa Samanta, The University of Burdwan*

	Dholera: The Emperor's New City *Preeti Sampat, School of Environment, Education and Development, University of Manchester; School of Liberal Studies, Ambedkar University*
	Scaling Up, Scaling Down: State Rescaling Along the Delhi–Mumbai Industrial Corridor *Neha Sami, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)* *Shriya Anand, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)*
	Roads to New Urban Futures: State Strategies of Peri-urban Placemaking in India *Sudeshna Mitra, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)*
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	Between a Town with 'Totas' and the Garden City: An Exploration of Bangalore and its Gardens in the Early Twentieth Century *Elza D'Cruz, Srishti Manipal Institute of Art, Design and Technology, Manipal Academy of Higher Education*
	Tracing Liminal Spaces: Understanding the Fundamental Nature of Urban Thresholds *Ruju H Joshi, CEPT University*
	Kaccha–Pakka: An Enduring Binary — Building Taxonomy, Spatial Production and Architectural Pedagogy *Parul Kiri Roy, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi*
	Betwixt and the *Bhoot*: Urban Rehabilitation as Antitheticality in Action *Azania Imtiaz Khatri-Patel, Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford*
	Socio-Spatial Aspects of Organic and Planned Dhaka: The Sense of Community and Communal Resilience Embedded on Indigenous Settlement Pattern *Kareshma-E-Shams, Independent Researcher*
	Social Media and Contemporary Architecture in India: Instagram as the Metaphorical Chronophotographic Gun *Ekta Idnany, CEPT University*
4:00 pm – 4:30 pm	***Break***

4:30 pm – 6:00 pm	**Panel 12: Formal/Informal, Public/Private: Shifting Categories** Chair: **Neethi P**
	Insights into Informal Settlements through the Spatial (Re)Appropriation of Public Spaces: The Case Studies of Lahore, Pakistan *M. Mashhood Arif, KU Leuven* *Yves Schoonjans, KU Leuven* *Oswald Devisch, U Hasselt*
	Using the Built Environment as an Entry-Point to Understand Urban Informality *Nerea Amoros Elorduy, Creative Assemblages* *Nikhilesh Sinha, Hult International Business School* *Colin Marx, University College London*
	Mills to Real Estate: Examining the Formal and Informal Trajectories of Urban Transformation Across Locked Industrial Lands in Serampore, Hooghly *Angana Banerjee, Tata Institute of Social Sciences*
	Too Many Worlds: Cognitive and Catallactic Entanglement in Urban Political Economy *Jayat Joshi, Indian Institute of Technology Madras*
	Beyond the Binaries of Planning and Pollution: Tales of Entanglement in the Tel Aviv Metropolitan Region *Nathan Marom, School of Sustainability, Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya*
6:00 pm – 6:30 pm	***Break***
6:30 pm – 8:00 pm	**Panel 13: Governing in the Urban: Across Scale, Space, and Institutions** Chair: **Neha Sami**
	Binaries of the Practice of the Facilitation of Large Infrastructure *Shreya Pillai, Independent Researcher*
	When Governments Rank Governments: Gaming in City Sustainability Rankings *K Rahul Sharma, Bren School of Environmental Science and Management, University of California, Santa Barbara; Centre for Policy Research*
	Governing the Bodies and Producing the Fit City — Three Logics to Open Gym in Delhi, India

	Lakshyayog, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University
	Participation as a Game of Cards: Post-binary Planning in the Favela of Rocinha *Thaisa Comelli, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro; Development Planning Unit, University College London*
	Heritage and Hesitant Urban Production in Pondicherry: Flirting with Urban Coastal Villages *Lalitha M, Indian Institute of Technology Madras* *Nicolas Bautès, French Institute of Pondicherry; University of Caen Normandy* *Devangi Ramakrishnan, French Institute of Pondicherry*

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Urban Ecologies:
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Abohar 'In-Between' Ecology and Infrastructures

Apoorva Sharma, Abohar Urban Studio

Shilpa Dahake, Abohar Urban Studio

Introduction

Abohar was introduced to our team[1] as 'the third dirtiest city of the country'. This infamous tag persuaded the citizens, politicians, and the bureaucracy into action. In our first visit to the city, we encountered a city eagerly trying to get rid of the tag. We were told how 'dirtiness' became impossible to ignore during the monsoon floods of 2020, when the rainwater mixed with sewerage, caused a lockdown like situation and residents were stuck indoors for several days. The urban floods emerged at the intersection of change in rainfall pattern[2] and infrastructural breakdown of the sewerage network of the city.

Going back to a historical vignette, the Report on the Public Health Administration of the Punjab for 1933, described Abohar as follows: 'This small town is the most progressive in the Province from the point of view of sanitation, as it possesses very good water supply and drainage works'. Here, the progressiveness of the city is being measured with the quality of its infrastructure. Recalling these glamorous days of the city, one of the interlocutors illustrated, 'मश्कों से नालियाँ साफ़ होती थी' (drains were cleaned continuously and regularly with hide). We wondered therefore, about how a city that was once in competition with Chandigarh in a tussle on whether it would be included in Punjab or Haryana, could become the third dirtiest in the country (Raakhi, 2020).

To understand the trajectory of Abohar from 'cleanest' to 'dirtiest' city, we trace the socio-environmental and economic-infrastructural history of the city. In this story of Abohar, water has played an important role in shaping the social, political, and economic dynamics of the city. Located in the south-western part of Punjab, the city is part of the arid and semi-arid belt of India. Across our intermittent visits in our eight-month engagement with the city, we experienced it as dry, dusty, and harsh above the ground, whereas several residents, some of whom are also municipal engineers, told us that the city is waterlogged and that the water level fluctuates, found sometimes even at four or five feet below the ground during monsoons. This phenomenon is locally described as *sem* (waterlogging).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the industrial sector of Abohar, which was primarily cotton mills, declined and a wave of economic shocks affected the urban trajectory of the city. Abohar's political-economic significance declined and with it, so did its infrastructure. It became the last town of Punjab and India, locationally as well as in the imagination, and became invisible to governance. As the industries left Abohar, so did the revenue generated by them to maintain its amenities of sanitation, entertainment, education,

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[1] Interdisciplinary team of Abohar Urban Fellows, a collaboration between MC Abohar, IISER, Mohali and Studio Aureole.

[2] Rainfall is known to have become intense such that the entire rainfall of the season falls within a couple of days.

and health. As we see it, after being the 'city of white gold' for some time, the city became a sink of all that is unwanted and ignored.

Abohar is experiencing a point of saturation, and quite literally, the infrastructures appear completely clogged and crumbling. The distinction between ecology and infrastructure, as informed by the administrative rationality, no longer holds. They constantly fold onto one another producing new forms of ecologies in Abohar, like black water through taps and urban flooding.

Infrastructures exist as things that enable relations between other things (Larkin, 2013). Nature is planned, designed, and worked upon, to stimulate economic growth and political power. The turmoil produced in the underbelly of Abohar is not only local but is produced within a regional, national as well as global account of 'derangement' (Ghosh, 2016) in the modes of socio-political, economic, and ecological organisations. Scholars have termed these processes as markers of the Anthropocene. In this age, the human design to mitigate environmental harm seems outdated, the universality and collective human agency are up for question, and the emerging ecological phenomena are massively entangled and distributed over space and time (Hetherington, 2019). As noted by historian Dipesh Chakrabarty (2012), this age is a result of natural history as well as infrastructural history.

Taking water as an entry point, in this paper, we tell Abohar's story as an intersection of the natural and infrastructural histories. In the process, we show how the binaries of nature–culture or infrastructure–environment are being challenged by the inherent properties of water. The fluidity of water not only allows us to see various factors interacting with the city across various times and scales, but also provides an aperture to engage with the materialities of the city. The various ways in which water is acting against the city is challenging our categories, and the static formal structures of governance. We argue that it will further inform the understanding of urban resilience of the city. Beyond static and pristine networked infrastructures and patchy maintenance and repair to a comprehensive and expansive ecology of nature-infrastructure.

Blurring of Ecologies and Infrastructures
On the first day of the fieldwork, in April 2021, we noticed several bucket-type sewer cleaning machines installed over inspection chambers (IC) along the roads, many dug-up roads and streets that were under construction, ongoing repair work of ICs, and on-duty sanitation workers and inspectors working across several streets of the settlement. The bucket-type sewer cleaning machines, like an angioplasty, were running constantly to remove the blocked sewerage network of the city. The main roads were being upgraded with new pipes and drain channels. The existing levels of the ICs were being reworked to match the levels of the new roads. This rigorous attention towards the sanitation of the city was the result of ruptures in the social milieu—the episode of urban flooding of 2020 and the tag of the dirtiest city. Not only that, but the upcoming state elections in Punjab and Abohar being the fortress of Indian National Congress in the state had moved the city machinery out of its slumber.

While standing on the edge of a dug-up road, the plumber and fitter showing us the cleaning work, remarked that the *sem* had come, and now they can't go any further until the desludging is done. The waterlogging was interacting with the city infrastructures in the form of corrosion of pipes and water filling the dug-up ICs. The events of 2020 in Abohar drew attention not only towards the infrastructural breakdown but also towards the agency of the material flowing through the network. In Abohar, the clayey and silty composition of the water clogged the joints and bends of the piped network creating congestion. Along with the agency of the water transported and distributed, the piped network itself is not inert. It continuously interacts with the changing climate, soil composition, and other infrastructures.

Subterranean Flows of *Sem*

The web of canals, as they are perceived today, started engulfing the state of Punjab with the advent of British rule in the 18th–19th century. Unlike the fertile loamy stretches of northern and central Punjab, Abohar, located in the south-western parts of the state, was a dry desert tract rife with prairie fires and dust storms. However, the colonial administration brought water to transform these 'dry waste prairies' into high revenue yielding land parcels, exceeding any other district in India. Carefully studying the methods of irrigation of the pre-colonial period that were increasing the economic output of other parts of Punjab, the British officials extended the canal networks in the south-western parts of the state.

But the downside of the colonial hydrology was that it only emphasised on increasing the flow of water for irrigation and paid less attention to the planning of the drainage of the area. For the south-western region, which was a semi-arid and arid zone, the sustained wetness in the soil brought through the canals became an ecological shock. Escaping the channels, the water started percolating and interacting with the calcareous, clayey, and silty soil of the region. The grandeur of the canals very soon was turned into the carrier of the problems of waterlogging and salinity. The embeddedness of this dual problem in the society is expressed by the existence of a colloquial term, which is *sem*. Challenging the tamed and channelised flow of water through the canals on the ground, the fluidities of water took shape of *sem* and found space underground to flow.

Since colonial times, the reports and policies have focused on the *sem* as a problem or disease affecting agriculture. Even today, the keywords waterlogging and salinity in Punjab on internet search engines produce lists and lists of policies, scientific studies, and new articles on their effect on agricultural economy. The absence of *sem* from the urban policy discourse glaringly highlights the lack of imagination and understanding of the intersection of canals and its impacts with the urban landscape. But it is part of the embedded knowledge and embodied experiences, as one of the locals described, 'सेम आ गयी| कु छ सािॖकों पहिमिकट तक थी. अब अबकहर मेंहै'(Sem came …Till sometime back, it was in Malout. Now, it is Abohar).

Waterscape Practices and Negotiations

To the spatiality of canals, *sem* added a layer of vertical interconnections which is constantly challenging the apparent hard edges of the urban areas. Expressions such as दीवारकों पर सेम चढ़ जाती है'(*sem* covers the walls) illustrate instances of severe damage to the structures and sewerage network in the city due to sudden increase in subterranean water levels, in other words, due to the coming of *sem*.

During the vertical movement along with water, the *sem* carries salts and deposits it on the surface of the soil making land uncultivable and damaging the root systems of trees in its path. The fluctuating groundwater table with *sem* also affects the reserves of potable groundwater. In a conversation, locals in Abohar informed us that, 'There is a high-water table in this region because of sem. But along with water, there are high quantities of fluorides and other salts in the water. It is basically *khaara paani* (brackish water). It is unfit for consumption'. The locals also brought several health issues like bone degradation, teeth problems, etc. to notice instigated by the *sem* in the city.

The lack of clean drinking water created space for a service delivery configuration in the form of a series of shops selling filtered water emerged across the city (Jaglin, 2014). Within these shops, the owners have installed Reverse Osmosis (RO) water filtration systems. The underground water is extracted, treated, and sold. According to one of the social activists, 'there are around 150 RO shops. But there is no checks and control on the quality of water these shops are selling.' Other locals described, "Atleast, the water that we buy from these shops is visibly clean. Whereas, what we get from municipal water supply is *kala paani* or black water.'

To begin to make sense of the knots and misconnections in the piped network, the expanded water team of the municipal corporation started doing a 'reverse' mapping of the water supply and sewerage network. Along with the engineers of the water supply board, a neighbourhood level team of plumbers, fitters, supervisors, and locals are carrying out an archaeological process of uncovering the layers of infrastructure. The supervisors started taking follow-up of the household complaints of bad quality of municipal water supply. After a check of the visible network of pipes, the street is dug up to check the status of pipes underground. As illustrated by plumber, 'many times, even after digging up the streets, we are unable to map which pipe is supplying water to which house.' He further added, 'sometimes we find three or four water connections supplying water to one house … or we find three or more pipes of different sizes in the network. But out of these which are supplying water to the neighbourhood remains unclear.' Using their embodied knowledge, these plumbers and fitters are trying to find a way in the labyrinth of pipes laid in different socio-political moments, with an assumption that others do not exist. All of this while knowing that the *sem* continues to interact with the pipes and through political negotiations the actual network continues to alter.

A City In-between?

In what way does this manner of telling the Abohar story inform urban theory and practice? Abohar, as a product emerging at the interstices of infrastructures and ecologies, is challenging the modes of urban governance. The narrative presented here, highlights the 'slow violence' of excessive infrastructuring of Abohar.

Through the case, we argue, firstly, the practices of repair in many ways unfold layers of complicated histories and ecological changes that are challenging the understanding of infrastructures. Secondly, the practice of repair should not remain patchwork rather transcend into the conversations of urban resilience which are developed with a consciousness of ecological and infrastructural history.

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Resisting Fixity and Control: Ganga Diaras of Patna

Archana Singh, People's Resource Centre

Introduction

The current idea of 'urban' rests upon fixity and control, which in sophisticated terms is also referred to as 'planning'. This planning is implicit in all matters of urban life and has stringent measures of what and who can(not) be labelled as urban. Therefore, anything remotely informal or showing a hint of fluidity or temporariness, which might be difficult to control is either dismissed or transfigured to fit into a controllable entity. It applies to city infrastructure, livelihoods and leisure choices, and even the physical environment. The city master plans and urban renewal plans like the Smart Cities Mission have time and again reiterated this ideology, which centres around fixing boundaries between rural and urban and controls what activities and which people are permissible within the planned limits of the city.

The rivers owing to their vast expanse, fluid boundaries and peculiar landforms, had long defied such structures of control. However, as the river channels are reduced literally to *nala* (as they are called in most cities) because of the excessive amount of domestic sewage and industrial effluents dumped into it, it has become fairly easy to control them. This is done primarily by integrating them in the urban design through riverfront development projects that claim to bring back rivers to their old glory but do nothing more than straitjacketing them. They, in fact, demonstrate urban caricature of 'disciplined rivers.' On the other extreme, certain features that have continued to resist this 'control' have been completely distanced from and neglected as they are deemed a misfit to the urban.

The study thus focuses on Ganga *diaras* (riverine islands) of the Dinapur-cum-Khagaul block of Patna district that are unique fluvial landforms of rural character, but in close vicinity to the capital city of Patna and have a special connect with regards to meeting everyday needs of the city. *Diaras* are riverine islands formed between the natural levees of the river as a result of silt deposition. Though a homogeneous geographical unit with fluid boundaries marked by the emergence and submergence of land, *diaras* are superimposed with absurd administrative divisions that also keep fluctuating with the convenience of the state. Currently, the *diara* north-west to Patna is divided into two districts—Saran and Patna and a number of blocks. The *diara* region of the Dinapur-cum-Khagaul block constitutes at least 18 villages, with a total area of 7,096 hectares and a population of 66,207 (Census of India, 2011).

The study aims to explore the systemic negligence of *diaras*, owing to their peculiar character; with complete disregard to their integral role in making Patna an emerging urban centre. *Diaras* fulfil a crucial role of catering to the food and labour requirements of Patna, which aids the city's progress. Ironically, the people of *diara* are forced to live a life of destitution. Therefore, the study also stresses on the rural hinterland's collective 'right to the city' (Harvey, 2012), with the fundamental argument that the people and places that make the 'urban' a functional reality and on whose resources the cities

thrive deserve dignity and space within the city i.e., to make cities more accountable to its hinterlands.

Methodology
The study is based on an exploratory field visit to Patna *diara* conducted in March 2021. The findings are the output of about 12 in-depth interviews with farmers, agricultural labourers, boatmen, daily wage labourers from Bishunpur, Gangahara, Panapur, Kasimchak, Patlapur and Shankarpatti village, who had been selected with the help of convenient sampling along with observations of people's livelihoods, infrastructure availability and perceptions towards *diaras*. Secondary sources, particularly Census of India data, is used to get an account of the socio-economic position of *diaras*.

In our upcoming visit to *diaras* in January 2022, we intend to revisit issues faced by *diaras* with an added emphasis on flooding and resultant problems, and gendered vulnerabilities within the region. In addition, as there is a general lack of information of *diaras*, more information on contested matters like land ownership and frequent shift of administrative boundaries is planned to be obtained with the help of RTIs.

Findings
The frequent shift and temporariness of *diaras* was never an issue. Post-British colonisation, this scenario became a hurdle for the colonial government to establish full control over *diaras*. Hence, they tried to bring in permanence through various regulations to ensure land revenue (Singh, 2018) and fixity of proprietorial rights (Sinha, 2014). The annual floods which gave *diaras* this character came to be treated as events that needed to be controlled (Singh, 2017). Therefore, the British East India company brought in various regressive regulations such as the Alluvion and Diluvion regulations of 1825, Embankment Act of 1873, and the Permanent Settlements Act of 1793, that sought to bring more control over the *diara* land. Since the lessons from the past have established that no measures can ensure the fixity of *diaras* and thus control, they have been completely neglected. However, they still stand strong owing to agriculture and are serving crucial demands of the city.

With several natural advantages like fertile soil, which requires low inputs while ensuring decent productivity, the *diaras* have 46.87 per cent (33.262 sq. km) of the total geographical area as net sown area. Hence, a variety of crops and vegetables are grown in different seasons. While winter (rabi) crops like wheat and maize remain the primary crops, mustard and masoor are also grown. Vegetables like pumpkins, eggplants, tomatoes, pointed gourds, peas, okra are a few of the many vegetables grown popularly in *diaras* on a large scale. Multi-cropping is a common exercise—for instance, maize and potatoes are often grown together, ensuring excellent produce of both crops. Dairying is another important agricultural activity in the *diaras* because of the abundance of fodder.

While mega infrastructure projects like metro, riverfront and expressways are being pushed into the city, *diaras*, despite their role in meeting the city's food supply, are devoid of the basic minimum. The overall literacy rate of these villages is as low as 45.88

per cent—lower than Bihar's overall literacy rate of 61.80 per cent (lowest in India). They are completely cut-off from the outside world with negligible connectivity by road or railway. There is no power supply for agricultural, commercial or other uses. Even basic services like education, health care and running tap water are a distant dream. Primary, middle and secondary schools at least exist on paper; higher education and training institutions, on the other hand, are more than 10 kilometres away from the villages. With two exceptions of Madhopur and Hetanpur, none of the villages have Primary Health Centres (PHCs), a Maternity and Child Welfare Centre (MCW), a hospital or dispensary. This has further marginalised *diaras*.

Agriculture has also seen a setback because of systemic flaws within the Agricultural Credit Societies working in *diaras*. Primary Agricultural Credit Society (PACS) is meant to support the farmers throughout the agricultural process, from providing loans in the beginning to enhancing their sales by providing marketing facilities. During a conversation with a farmer from Garibpatti, he informed that though he received a loan from PACS, he did not receive any assistance in selling the agricultural produce. Without it, the farmers are forced to sell their produce at way cheaper rates to the middlemen. 'I had to sell my freshly harvested tomatoes at INR 5 per kg to a middleman because there are no local markets in the area, and the high cost of transporting the harvest all the way to the city would again mean no profit. How do we repay the PACS loan when our produce is sold for as low as INR 5 per kg? You will find the same tomatoes being sold at INR 25 per kg in the city,' he said while desperately awaiting buyers for his harvest.

Since land ownership is a contested matter in the *diaras*, the Yadav community, which forms the majority caste group, exercises dominant control over the farmland, while a vast majority of 57.64 per cent of the people engaged in agriculture work as labourers. The men are usually paid for their labour in cash and the women, on the other hand, often have to barter their labour for a small fraction of the harvested crops. In conversation with a woman labourer who was on her way back home from the field, informed that she gets 15 kg of wheat for a day's labour for harvesting wheat. This type of payment in kind varies for different crops, depending on their market value. For certain higher value crops, they are paid a measly cash amount of INR 150 for 10–12 hours of labour a day. In contrast to agricultural labourers, landowners, though more powerful, face a different set of challenges—for instance, tax receipts for their farmland are no longer generated by the authorities. As seen in different parts of Patna, it is a way of converting private land into *khasmahal* (government owned). Electricity has reached only recently the *diaras*. When electricity lines were laid down for the first time here a year or two ago, the farmland owners who lost their land received compensation only for their crops and not for the land. In fact, in the site survey conducted for the proposed Outer Ring Road, the fields where the wheat crop stand are declared as *marusthal* (infertile land). The farmers fear that they might get kicked out of their own land in the future.

Conclusion

While the study focuses on the *diara* villages of Dinapur-cum-Khagaul block, several other villages within the *diara* face similar vulnerabilities. The *diaras*, even today, lack the bare minimum support from the city for a decent living. Agriculture, which is not just an economic activity but a hope for *diaras*, is still being overlooked. Amidst the needless infrastructural development within the city, the people living in the nearby *diaras* are being pushed into abject poverty because of the lack of necessary infrastructure to support agricultural activities and lead a dignified life. Therefore, there is a need to make cities more accountable to the needs of *diaras*.

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Negotiating Aarey: Knowledge Production in Urban Ecology

Vaishnavi Patil, Community Design Agency

This paper attempts to describe the urban processes of Mumbai through political contentions over the definition of a space called Aarey. In doing so, it intends to question the myth-making inherent in urban planning and urban policy. The paper also hopes to encourage a multidisciplinary, historical, spatial and local production of knowledge to not only strengthen the nodes of counter-domination but also to outline 'places' in contrast to the state-delineated spaces. It discusses the role of digital media in such a process by using the Save Aarey Movement as a case study.

Aarey is biologically and physically contiguous to the Sanjay Gandhi National Park, a reserved forest in Mumbai. It is home to around 10,000 Adivasis or tribals, living in 27 Adivasi *padas* or hamlets. In 1949, the Aarey Milk Colony was established under the Aarey Milk Scheme to invigorate the dairy industry in Mumbai. According to the Dairy Department, 1,287 hectares of land were acquired to constitute the colony, housing 16,000 cattle in 30–40 cowsheds (KRVIA, 2019). The paper will refer to this land simply as Aarey.

The event that brought attention to Aarey was when the newly formed Mumbai Metro Rail Corporation Limited (MMRCL) was permitted to build a car depot for the Mumbai Metro Line 3 in Aarey. In November 2014, notices were put up on 2,298 trees stating they would be cut, threatening loss of habitat, biodiversity, and carbon sequestration. As Aarey is located in the catchment area of two of Mumbai's major rivers, it was feared that concretising the land would worsen the already severe flooding situation in Mumbai. Additionally, the car depot's daily requirement of 50,000 litres of water would put an acute strain on the groundwater reserves of Aarey. Furthermore, Adivasis living on or near the site were forced to rehabilitate on non-forest lands (KRVIA, 2019).

Despite the massive public outcry that ensued, MMRCL did not budge from its commitment towards constructing the car depot in Aarey. Even when Aarey was declared an Eco-Sensitive Zone in 2016, 165 hectares were de-notified specifically to cater to this polluting enterprise (MoEFCC, 2016). MMRCL also published a variety of documentation to push the narrative that Aarey cannot be defined as a forest and that the Adivasis displaced were merely encroachers (MMRCL, 2018).

The insistence on constructing in Aarey was not circumstantial. The Dairy Development Department admitted that by 2014, only 857 hectares out of the original 1,287 hectares of the Milk Colony remained unscathed, the rest being given to 27 institutions for other uses (Dairy Development Department, 2014). Drafts of the current development plan of Mumbai indicate that the state intended to redevelop Aarey for other projects as well. For instance, the Erstwhile Draft Development Plan-2034 removed Aarey's status as part of Mumbai's No Development Zone and encouraged the development of the entire forest. It provided a map of Aarey's proposed land use that included a park 'modelled

around New York's Central Park', a theme park, a zoo, a large sports complex, universities, SRA accommodations, and the Metro car depot (EDDP, 2015).

The appropriation of land under Aarey represents a core feature of urbanisation across the globe. There is a constant process to transform the use-value of a space into exchange-value, leading to commodified homogenous spaces ripe for speculative capitalism (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1978). As better, more efficient methods of capital accumulation are developed, older structures, like the Aarey Milk Colony, become devalued. Through creative destruction, the market demands the development of mega projects to ensure the exchange-value of a space remains profitable (Harvey, 1978).

Urban spaces are shaped by the lines of power relations, engendering systemic domination and repression, and intensifying differences already embedded in the socio-economic fabric (Cuthbert, 1991). Under the Marxist discourse, resistance to such domination is inevitable. Thus, global cities like Mumbai are exemplars of new geographies of centrality and marginality characterised by contestation and internal differentiation (Banerjee-Guha, 2002).

An attempt to understand such complex geographies entails, firstly, the examination of methodologies used in substantiating power relations through such spaces. Rather than simply creating false dichotomies between bourgeois spaces and proletarian spaces, power needs to be understood in action. As Foucault (1980) suggests, power functions in a web-like fashion—entrapping and affecting everyone. While the state represents the codification of power, technologies of power in the form of discourses and institutions define its concentrations and limitations. Cities, then, become models for governmentality for the State and the market to reproduce themselves in spaces and the bodies occupying the space.

The first framework of this paper addresses the Foucauldian regime of truth constructed by the technocratic elite in regard to Aarey by analysing categories generated through the 'representations of space' in the form of reports, verdicts, plans, maps, and other government sources. It would also include the historical development of the myth of Aarey under the discourse of urban planning, reflecting the hegemony perpetrated by the political economy.

Secondly, in addition to encapsulating the role of political economy in creating and destroying spaces, attention must be paid to the specificities of urban ecology that undergird these urban processes. As biophysical histories enable social actors to construct identities and demarcate political spaces, the city cannot be comprehended without its physical environment (Rademacher & Sivaramakrishnan, 2013). This endeavour, quite often, is undertaken by those whom Foucault calls the 'technical savants'. Being well-versed in the actual locale of conflict, a technical savant could utilise lines of fragility to challenge the dominant authority by establishing specific apparatuses of knowledge. If such apparatuses of knowledge align with the regime of truth employed by the political economy, they become normalised. On the other hand, if they oppose the regime of truth, they become the main line of dissent against

hierarchies of power. Such apparatuses are especially empowered if informed by genealogies of knowledges produced locally, unhindered by the regimes of thought. This, Foucault claims, would emancipate hegemonic knowledge from power hierarchies (Foucault, 1980).

Hence, situatedness is integral to the processes of producing emancipatory knowledges. Bringing these knowledges to the forefront not only gives agency to the marginalised but also incites debates regarding the governance of hegemonic knowledge, thereby upholding what Mohanty calls the 'cartographies of struggle' (Mohanty, 2003). To reflect the same, the second framework of the paper describes the unique positionality of the Aarey Adivasis through qualitative unstructured interviews and focus group discussions while expounding upon their role in the Save Aarey Movement. The paper also hopes to bring to light the weaponisation of their identity for developing the popular imagination of Aarey through the use of new-age media.

Historically, Aarey has always been home to Adivasis (Skaria, 1999). Ashok Upadhyaya, through their article 'Peasantisation of Adivasis in Thane District', helps contextualise the position of the Aarey Adivasi. While describing the changes in the revenue system, the paper describes how the British 'settled' the Adivasis into exploited tenants under a new moneylender-landlord system. With rice becoming commercialised and grass becoming necessary for the growing dairy industry, they were forced to move away from the traditional subsistence cultivation towards the cultivation of rice and grass. Adivasis from Aarey find themselves still trapped within this livelihood (Upadhyaya, 1980).

As published research is scant regarding the specific history of Aarey Adivasis, this abstract refers to interviews and news articles to elaborate the same. When the Aarey Milk Scheme was established, the Adivasis continued their livelihood activities like subsistence cultivation, cultivating grass for the cattle, and making catechu from Acacia plants. However, the government determined their existence as encroaching upon and profiting off government land. In 1956, the Adivasis were made to pay rent of one rupee per *guntha* to the Dairy Department. The receipts of said rent, a significant artifact of the exploitation of the indigenous identity, eventually became proof of the Adivasi presence in Aarey (Kotak, 2018).

The *pada* that suffered the construction of the car depot is called Prajapurpada. With multiple industries sprouting near the area, the Adivasis of the *pada* began leasing out their houses to the incoming non-tribal population. This influx made it easier for the government to define the inhabitants of this *pada* as encroachers. Nonetheless, 60 Adivasi families were forced to relocate under the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme. In addition to their trees and means of livelihood being destroyed, about 15 commercial establishments were demolished. This was despite the fact that the Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy for Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP), 1997, and the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy, 2007, accorded tribal families special rehabilitation packages in the form of a Tribal Development Plan.

Adivasis of Prajapurpada filed their own petition to the high court to assert their identity. As there is no extensive documentation regarding their identity, and with many documents getting destroyed over the years, this proved to be a difficult battle. Additionally, MMRCL, by declaring the aforementioned receipts as proof for buying saplings and not of address, further weakened their claim (Chatterjee, 2018).

As urban tribals, the Aarey Adivasis are caught between categories that define citizenship under the urban context. From the interviews conducted, it was apparent that the popular sentiment was against resettlement into high-rise apartments. Although they considered some aspects of their housing to be inadequate and had major concerns regarding the accessibility to basic amenities, they mostly opined that their living conditions were affordable and viable. Importantly, they were apprehensive of community relations being disrupted in the process of rehabilitation. However, as proof of address is closely related to availing the benefits of citizenship, the Adivasis had to comprehend the promise of inclusion implied by the SRA housing policy of Mumbai (Anand & Rademacher, 2013). Compared to the earlier imagination of themselves as separate from the hierarchies that control the eligibility criteria of rehabilitation policies, the Aarey Adivasis were forced to situate themselves in relation to such hierarchical positions, especially to that of the 'encroaching outsider'. Thus, the movement to determine their identity was supplemented by the vilification of the migrant other, inspiring the political support of the xenophobic climate generated by parties like the Shiv Sena (Doshi, 2013).

While the Adivasi was placed squarely in opposition to the migrant, Aarey was imagined as a pristine site of natural beauty, 'grounding imaginaries of, and aspirations for, urban ecological, cultural, and social well-being' (Rademacher & Sivaramakrishnan, 2013, p. 11). This gave rise to the Save Aarey Movement—inviting upper-class and middle-class voices that amplified this imaginary, often uncomfortable with the Adivasi cultures that did not fit the same. In return, the Adivasis chose to reassert their identity further to match the image constructed by the movement to gain a wider audience.

With the establishment of the Save Aarey Movement, the dichotomies between 'nature' and 'culture', between 'Adivasi' and 'migrant', and between 'development' and 'sustainability' were emphasised, further popularised by the techno- and media-savvy elite of Mumbai. New narratives were drawn through the uneasy collaboration between the Adivasi and the elite. Such binaries propagated via digital media proved essential in successfully challenging the construction of the car depot, eventually forcing the newly elected government under Shiv Sena to shift the site to Kanjurmarg.

However, the paper wishes to address the negotiations between these binaries in a new light. The movement succeeded in creating a new representation of space but failed to address the real concerns of the Adivasis of housing adequacy and accessibility. It thus becomes imperative to refocus on the subjectivity of the Adivasi. Construction of environmental subjectivity allows for the formation of 'place' to contest imaginations of 'space' (Doshi, 2013; Harvey, 1996). David Harvey characterises places by their physical

features, the culture of the people, the communitarian activities, and their symbolic nature (Harvey, 1996). The paper suggests that a closer investigation of place through concepts of nature–culture (e.g., Demeritt, 1994; Haraway, 1989, 1991, 1997; Latour, 1993, 1999; Swyngedouw, 1996; Zimmerer, 2000) would not only create a more sustainable social movement but also ensure redressal of the Adivasi concerns.

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Persistent Conservation Behaviour in Affluent Households: Use of a Theoretically Grounded Intervention

Vivek, Independent Researcher
Deepak Malghan, Centre for Public Policy, Indian Institute of Management–Bengaluru (IIM–B)
Kanchan Mukherjee, Organizational Behaviour, Indian Institute of Management–Bengaluru (IIM–B)

Abstract
Water demand reduction in affluent urban households can reduce the burden on supply. We report a field experiment that implemented a theoretically grounded habit-change intervention, designed to lower water consumption in households. Our approach is in contrast to the popular use of minor changes in the environment, such as nudges. We find 15–25 per cent reduction without any economic incentive or restriction. The results persisted for the entire observation period of two years suggesting improved water conservation habits.

Keywords: Demand management, behavioural public policy, dual-process, habits

Persistent Conservation Behaviour in Affluent Households
Behavioural interventions are increasingly popular policy instruments seeking a change in user behaviour. These interventions are encouraged by numerous recent publications from the World Bank, United Nations and think tanks, pioneered by the Behavioural Insights Team in Britain. Behavioural interventions at the household level such as a communication through water or electricity bill, provide relatively inexpensive policy instruments to conserve resources (Allcott & Mullainathan, 2010; Carlsson & Johansson Stenman, 2012), though achieving a lasting behaviour change has been difficult (Costanzo et al., 1986). A few studies achieved persistence of effects, but more often the effects diminish or even disappear over time.

These few cases of persistence are primarily based on highlighting relative differences, such as a comparison of household usage with average usage in the community (Allcott & Rogers, 2014; Ferraro & Price, 2013), leading to an overall reduction driven by some of the households that were consuming more than the average. However, a social basis of comparison can be problematic as current norms may not be desirable (Cialdini, 2003); in most affluent communities the current norm may be unsustainably high and in most neglected communities, current level of supply or availability may be too low for a reasonable quality of life or hygiene. An objective basis of comparison can be much more meaningful, such as a WHO-defined expected level of water usage in urban households (about 140 litres-per-capita per-day [lpcd]), apart from being a better metric for planning and administration of supply.

The scarcity of resources, inequitable access and a high environmental cost of supply provide further motivation to address the lack of persistence of behavioural effects. Water scarcity is an issue not only in the so-called developing world (Narain & Pandey,

2012; Shah, 2016) but also in several richer parts of the world (United Nations, 2019). Social inequities in access to water and pricing continue to prevail (McDonald et al., 2011; United Nations, 2019, p. 97); affluent communities tend to be not only high users of water but also recipients of low-priced water while the poorer communities often struggle to get enough water and pay a higher price for it (United Nations, 2019; Whittington, 1992). Rapid urbanisation and growth in population in many large cities has led to a growing environmental footprint of water pumped from far-away rivers, reservoirs and aquifers. Freshwater scarcity is expected to get worse with global warming.

The use of water conservation policy instruments can reduce demand to help match supply (Hoque, 2014). Behavioural interventions provide a particularly attractive policy option as compared to economic tools (viz., price and restrictions) that are often difficult options, both politically and socially. If behavioural interventions can provide lasting results, they become an even more compelling option.

Field Experiment Towards Persistence of Effects
We designed a field experiment seeking persistent change of behaviour towards conservation through change in habits, without aid of potentially problematic social comparison or awareness generation exercises that are popular in such interventions (Vivek et al., 2021). This study was conducted in an affluent residential community in Bengaluru that had installed water metres but had not started billing the households based on their water usage. This made it possible to avoid a contamination present in all known prior studies—the presence of price as an in-built incentive to reduce usage.

Our intervention is based on a theoretically grounded habit-change framework that integrates relevant knowledge of how the human mind works, especially fast and slow modes of thinking and habits (Jager, 2003; Kahneman, 2011; Mukherjee, 2010; Wood & Rünger, 2016). When we perform daily routine activities, such as taking a shower or washing dishes, we are driven by our habits. Habits are patterns of learned behaviour that we engage in without much conscious thought or attention. Changing of bad habits (i.e., water wastage in this case) requires deliberate thought and effort, repeated over time, to unlearn the old habits and form better habits (i.e., water conservation).

We employed the well-established theory of goal performance (Locke & Latham, 2006) as the intervention mechanism: goals translate into actions when goals are specific, feasible-yet-difficult, and the person has the motivation and skills to perform the actions toward one's goal. Our intervention, a weekly water usage report, provided simple water usage information (Part A of the report), suggested a water use goal with feedback on performance (Part B) and provided tips on meeting the goal (Part C) leading to goal performance. These three parts, shown in Figure 1, combined to help change habits specific to water usage inside homes. This intervention, based on our habit-change framework, can induce deliberation about limiting water use through feedback specific to their household water usage. Further, by suggesting specific steps as tips, it made it possible to invoke specific conservation actions towards curtailment of water usage and improvement in efficiency of water use. This printed one-page report

was sent for only five weeks, with new tips each week covering the locally relevant challenges in reduction of water use.

Figure 1: Sample intervention report
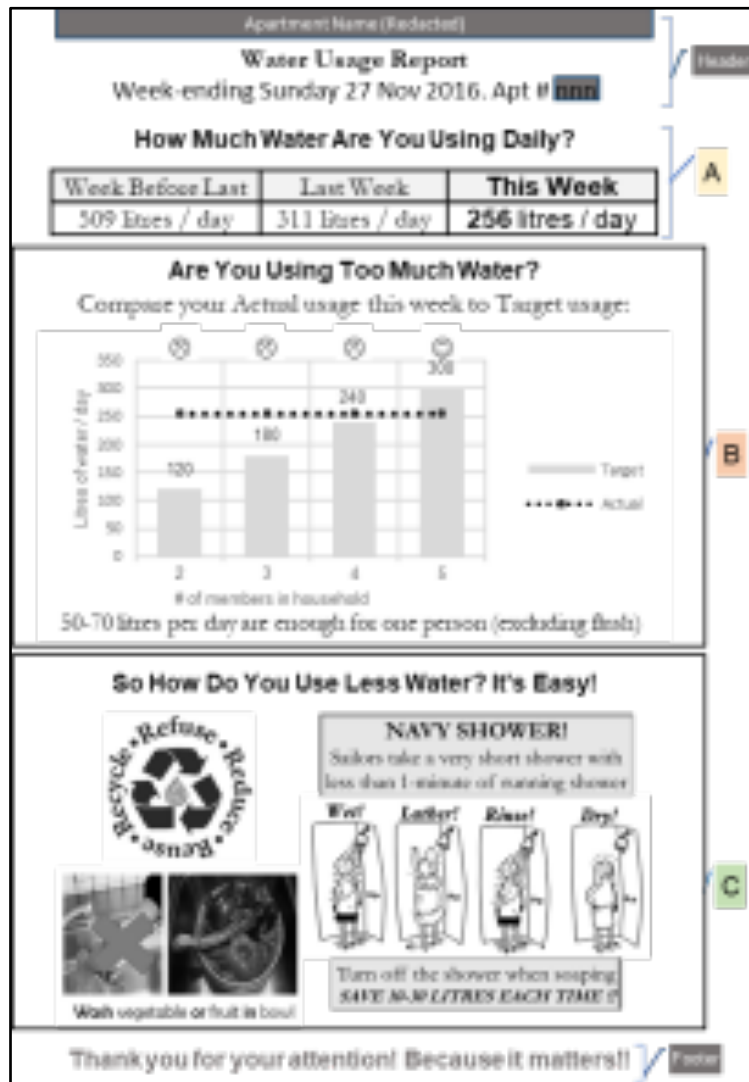
Source: (Vivek et al., 2021), p.2. Copyright (2021) National Academy of Sciences.

Before the start of the intervention, households were randomly divided into four groups—one control group that did not receive reports and three test groups that received one, two or three parts of the weekly reports (Part A to group T1, parts A and B to group T2 and all three parts to group T3). This design allows us to compare water usage across control and treated groups, and over time. The observations before the start of the experiment serve as the baseline or before stage, followed by the short during-intervention stage and a long cooling-off stage when there was no intervention. The last stage, priced, refers to the presence of a quarterly water bill based on the volume of water used at the household level. The trendline of water usage by group (Figure 2) provides compelling support that our intervention worked as hypothesised.

Figure 2: Summary of results – lpcd (litres per-capita-per-day) of water usage, summarised by household groups and stage of experiment

lpcd by Stage and Group - Normalized to Before Intervention Stage

Group and Stage of Experiment	Before	During	Cooling-off	Priced
C0	100	105	114	104
T1	100	101	96	88
T2	100	92	90	87
T3	100	88	85	78

We estimated effect sizes by group and stage using the simple yet powerful difference-in-differences regression. The data consisted of a panel of household-day water usage (n = 88,560). As expected, the treated group (T3) that received all three parts of the report responded with the highest reduction in water usage. These large effects also persisted over the entire two-year observation period. T3 households reduced usage significantly during the intervention stage and further lowered usage in the subsequent stages. The group T2 had a relatively smaller and less persistent effect than T3. The reduction in T1 was not significant. The difference in water usage between the control group and T3 group was not bridged by the introduction of price, as seen in the parallel blue and yellow lines in Figure 2.

Discussion and Policy Implications

This study shows the potential of behavioural interventions as a relatively inexpensive tool that can free up a large part of water supply from high-consuming households, that too without the social and political hurdles associated with economic policy alternatives, such as billing for water at a high-enough price-point, or the practical hurdles in enforcing restrictions towards a reasonable level of use of water usage. Nevertheless, our findings are relevant to both priced and non-priced settings; our observations spanned across the initial pre-price stages followed by priced stage. The results support a significant effect of behavioural intervention, both with and without the presence of price (see Figure 2).

Behavioural interventions are often wrongly equated to the concept of a nudge (Thaler & Sunstein, 2021) outside of academic circles. Nudges are built around the idea of change in choice architecture, which is not readily possible inside a house without

involvement of the consumer and thus it can be difficult and expensive as a policy tool. In place of a subtle message or a mandatory change in water-use structures by policy, our intervention directly engages with individuals to help them examine their current level of usage and asses their habits and structures using water conservation practices. The design of our intervention directly deals with the behavioural hurdles underlying the issue of high-usage through a clear understanding of the dual-process model of human thinking. This approach is also in stark contrast to other popular awareness-generation type of interventions, such as exhortations to save every drop, that do not define what is the right level of usage or how to get there easily.

The intervention focuses on change in habits to encourage a permanent change. This is made easier and more effective by suggesting not only curtailment actions such as navy-like short showers but also simple changes that enhance efficiency, such as low-flow showerheads or other improvements that can happen over time. Water conservation is maximised when curtailment and efficiency combine, leading to a multiplier effect on conservation (Inskeep & Attari, 2014). A focus on efficiency alone also comes at the risk of a rebound effect wherein efficiency gains are lost due to increased use, as seen for the last several decades in the lighting sector where the use of space lighting has kept increasing with innovations in efficiency of supply (Herring & Roy, 2007).

This study builds on the literature from behavioural sciences, applies it to conservation behaviour through household water conservation practices (Benzoni & Telenko, 2016; Ehret et al., 2020) and use of ethical influence (Cialdini, 2003, 2009). This theoretically sound basis makes it possible to study and understand the underlying principles and apply our approach in diverse settings for lowering of resource demand, with suitable adjustments to the design based on context. Given the relative newness of behavioural interventions in practice and the emerging vast potential, it is essential to rapidly build capacity for design and implementation of behavioural interventions. With well-designed pilots, it would be possible to learn, fine-tune and scale-up for a large number of community scale rollouts, or even city-scale rollouts.

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Visualising the Urban: Seeing Water Pipes in Darjeeling and Kalimpong

Rinan Shah, Ashoka Trust for Research in Ecology and the Environment; Manipal Academy of Higher Education

Anisa Bhutia, Tata Institute of Social Sciences

'Darjeeling town is so pretty, but there are pipes everywhere!'

Cities are perceived as the pinnacle of urbanisation and development with state-of-the-art services. However, cities of the developing world are far from this reality and exist in binary. Even within these binaries of urban and rural, there are many in-between spaces that get buried under official categories such as census towns, municipalities, villages, and so forth. The above account was reflected by a visitor with regards to one such space. Apart from being enamoured by the beauty of Darjeeling town, they saw the numerous pipes interfering with their idea of the mountain town. Such entanglements of pipes and the landscape is an unmissable feature of the hills in the Eastern Himalayan Region. This paper explores two such sites, Kalimpong and Darjeeling, currently in the state of West Bengal. Further, this paper attempts to understand how the urban environment looks in spaces that are not metropolitan through water infrastructure.

The space that we engage with in this paper is mountain towns, almost considered an exotic travel destination—an ideal getaway from the problems of big cities. This occurred during the British period, and more recently, since the COVID-19 pandemic as people search for solace in the hills. There is an important infrastructural transformation that these towns are going through. They are not hidden but present in plain sight in the form of pipes. These towns cannot be viewed without their water pipes – the 'spaghetti pipes', the hanging pipes, the Polyvinyl Chloride (PVC) pipes and the Galvanised Iron (GI) pipes (Anand, 2012, 2015; Bjorkman, 2014). PVC pipes are cheaper than GI pipes and are more malleable. PVC pipes are used by private water suppliers whereas GI pipes are used by the suppliers (i.e., the municipality). Hence, GI pipes act as an indicator of municipality network presence. The number and concentration of these pipes reduces as we move away from the town centre to be replaced by PVC pipes. Such visibility of pipes in Darjeeling and Kalimpong challenges the urban city making process, whereby messiness in the infrastructure is no longer hidden but becomes a part of the urban visual.

Urbanisation in the mountains is unique due to biophysical and socio-economic characteristics. Darjeeling and Kalimpong can be called urban using the census description, where population is the primary determinant. However, mountain cities and towns do not look like those of the plains and do not have the same level of basic services. Then what does a mountain city look like? At present, have these water pipes also become a part of how one sees these spaces? The pipes are not just a part of the landscape but also the lived reality of the people. The same pipe that acts as an

obstruction of the view for some, is a part of the everyday interactions of the town's inhabitants to fulfil their basic necessity of water.

There is no one in the mountains who might not have engaged in a conversation or a task related to water acquisition for their household. Usually, the knowledge of water that one consumes at home is limited. Majority of urban households do not know where their water comes from since it is a 'product' for consumption that directly comes from the tap (Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2000). But in Kalimpong and Darjeeling, water tasks don't lie with municipality offices alone. It is a task of the individuals and there is a whole process involved if water supply gets disrupted. If water does not come at the specified supply time or day, the residents go for inspection of their pipelines. One needs to know which one is theirs from the bunch of pipes. Then one goes for a walk along the line of their connection. Sometimes they find that their pipe is trampled, holes drilled into the pipes, a bunch of them cut and sliced, and some may even be missing. Such everyday interactions with water and its infrastructure imply that the relationship of households with water is not limited to consumption. There are high chances that in the time taken to figure all this out, one misses a supply or two. Such a process of mending pipelines is the norm since the grievance redressal mechanism is not available and where they are, they are not used by most households. Identifying their pipe from the maze of pipes is a practice that they have been attuned to. The network of pipes that might be seen as random by the outsiders is not so for the local households. The water pipes are interconnected with the landscape, houses, and the self. These are the new forms of urban life that people living between the binaries of rural and urban have to negotiate with.

Further, there are binaries even in the visualisation of water. Elaborating on one respondent's comments, Vogt (2021) suggests that 'water can be both water or H_2O (abstracted as a resource and commodity) and "waters", recognised and valued for its geographical, cultural, historical, and chemical particularities.' Water is a part of the landscape of the hills of Kalimpong and Darjeeling through the natural spring and stream flows. In the rapid urban growth of these towns, the use of water pipes has become frequent, alongside the use of traditional ways of collecting water. At present, there exist two visualisations[3] of water: (a) natural springs and (b) water pipes. The infrastructure in the form of water pipes acts as the middleman in providing water from its source to individual households.

Using walking as a method, we explore how the urban is visualised through these water pipes. We share photos from our field sites and show how the pipes, in different ways, have become an unmissable part of the landscape. While doing so, we explore the larger question of how infrastructure changes the visual of these towns. Additionally, we engage with the problems that people face every day and how they overcome them, if at all. For tourists, the water pipes do not provide the ideal holiday location as it disturbs the view, but for the people living here, it is necessary to provide them with water. Ultimately while examining these complexities, we fill the required gap in urban

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[3] There are multiple visualisations in the form of water tankers and other vehicular supplies that supply water to individual households.

studies whereby only metropolitan cities are prioritised. The inherent changes in the visual of the landscape in such towns add multiple layers to the discipline. Finally, this article brings to surface important dialogues that need to be addressed in urban studies within the global South.

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Panel 2
'Home as a Place of Work':
Ways of Moving Beyond the Binary

Panel Abstract

Traditional urban planning and policy are reliant on a binary understanding of 'home' and 'work'. Emerging as a response to the perils of industrial development, urban planning has historically been concerned with the reduction of congestion, disorder, and public health challenges, wherein strict division of use zones was seen as the solution. Over time, mixed-use approaches, which combine uses, were developed to meet the overlapping needs of citizens at the settlement level. However, the view of 'home' as primarily being for shelter has continued both in the global North and global South.

However, for the urban poor in particular, homes are primarily productive assets that can be leveraged for a bundle of other needs, most importantly livelihood. It is estimated that home-based work represents a significant share of total employment in some countries, especially in Asia, where two-thirds of the world's 260 million home-based workers are located. Globally, 147 million (57 per cent) are women, who must juggle their income-earning activities alongside childcare and domestic responsibilities.

The use of homes as workplaces, however, is not restricted to just home-based work. Waste pickers, facing a lack of publicly recognised spaces for sorting and segregation, undertake a large portion of their work in and around their own homes. Street vendors undertake cooking of food and preparation of goods in their own homes before taking these to the streets and markets for sale. The workplace of domestic workers is in the homes of their employers.

Hence, poor housing conditions have a bearing not only on quality of life, but they also negatively impact productivity and consequently the earnings of a vast majority of workers. As part of the urban working poor, they live in informal settlements which are characterised by overcrowding and poor infrastructure. Their homes, which are also their place of work, are often small and cramped. Physical space has to be constantly adjusted and rearranged to accommodate their paid work and all other domestic activities, which is an added burden that remains uncompensated. The lack of regular supply of water, electricity, and sanitation further exacerbates the crisis.

This panel, titled 'Home as Workplace': Ways to move beyond the Binary, attempted to unpack the implications of the deep intersections between housing and livelihood which are unrecognised in urban policy. It will showcase:
-   Case studies of how homes double up as workplaces for most urban workers and the costs borne by the worker in this process;
-   Recent work by the Focal City Delhi team of WIEGO that maps the presence of home-based work at the city level and key insights for planning;
-   Overview of practical interventions undertaken by the Mahila Housing SEWA Trust to improve the quality of habitats in informal settlements which have a bearing on livelihood potential;
-   A perspective from the Global North by the 'Workhome Project' which aims to bring visibility to the prevalence of home-based work and advocate for better housing design that can support this as a way to boost urban resilience.

Panellists and Presentations
'Home as a Place of Work': An Overview of the Conceptual Binary and its Implications
Shalini Sinha, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)

Housing Design Beyond Home/Workplace Boundaries: Findings from the Workhome Project
Frances Holliss, The Workhome Project, London Metropolitan University

Improving Home-based Work Environments for Informal Workers: Learnings from the Interventions of Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT)
Bijal Brahmbhatt, Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT)

Mapping Home-based Work in Delhi: Insights for City Planning
Malavika Narayan, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)

Panel 3
Feeding the City:
Agriculture in the Urban

The Monsoon Above and Below Ground: Towards an Architecture of Suspension

Harshavardhan Bhat, University of Westminster

Anthony Powis, Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts London

Abstract

This paper develops a multi-material account of the monsoon as it traverses in and through different categories. These categories are both material and conceptual: the monsoon disturbs the boundaries drawn between different matters by established knowledge systems, just as it physically wanders between categories of space as vapour, dust, microbe, energy, and more. This paper draws on both our individual and collective work in thinking with the monsoon (Bhat, 2021; Bremner et al., 2021; Powis, 2021). In our work, we have been repeatedly confronted with the question of what the monsoon *is*. We ask instead: what is *not* monsoon? How does one draw urban relations out of it, and what are its consequences when those separations are enacted? How does the monsoon permeate into cultivation and become all that is urban-and-more under its shadow?

Firstly, we describe the ways in which the monsoon eliminates the idea of the (urban) surface as a plane of separation between above and below. Engaging with long-standing concepts of urban hydrology and modernity-based thinking in the separation of water and weather that have led to a certain kind of urban surface, we join scholars who argue that monsoonal disasters are co-produced and constructed both literally and figuratively. The surface work for floods, droughts, stagnations, and land breaks, we argue, are methodologically drawn into the construction of an exclusionary developmentalist surface that is designed to accentuate meteorological and geological extremities in urban weather making. Drawing from our fieldwork in Delhi and Chennai, in tune with work on air to the former, and groundwater to the latter, we collaborate in this paper to explore the methodological suspension that monsoonal thinking allows us. We huddle over the idea and experience of drought and its relationship with moisture, where climate change, as Andrea Ballestero argues, has 'brought the underground to the surface' animating 'questions of value and property that new regulations entail.' We find that in the conversation between urban surface and monsoonal emergence, the binaries of the underground and aerial suspend.

The development of a postcolonial tropical meteorology in India in recent decades has shown how the South Asian monsoon is unique in the way it draws the ocean into the sky, but also as a weather system that recomposes meteorological thought in relations with other planetary weather forms. Several geologies come under monsoonal shadow, but many monsoons are nurtured within the cast as performances and entanglements. This paper draws from our work in New Delhi and Chennai, probing emergent questions and concerns of air and water in how they methodologically play through the surface, in what Timothy Choy and Jerry Zee (2015) call suspension. By thinking through suspension as a form of monsoonal knowing that permeates through geology and air, we find that our urban sites are space-times of confluence, where methodological

binaries are constantly challenged by the monsoon, demanding a different kind of knowledge politics about the urban to address what it means to exist in a monsoonal land. Here we are inspired by long-standing scholarship on anticolonialism, abolition of caste, environmental justice and shelter in the Indian city, and we say that the project of any kind of urban future in the Anthropocene requires a reconciliation that monsoonal repetition is more-than-phenomena and is among the very reasons why life exists in the first place. There is large-scale work in sustaining the monsoon beyond its seasonality. Monsoonal architectures, despite modernist imaginaries, are forced to embody the air because they live within it. What forms of suspensions (as Choy might suggest) do our monsoonal imaginaries encounter upon each of these repetitions, ebbs, and flows? And what forms of abolition can help perhaps create more liveable ones?

Secondly, we further expand this insight to speak with an interpretive reading of the emergence of tropical meteorology in South Asia from the 1960s, which plays a key role in the re-conceptualisation of international weather systems based on its work on 'the monsoon'. While we know that colonial administrators and scientists sought to catalogue and register a particular understanding of the monsoon, they did so to attune trade, taxation, and extraction to an epistemology of monsoonal recurrence. Now, while this methodologically continues till date through the financialisation, capitalisation, and framing of risk through the weather, tropical meteorology shows us that other possibilities of a politics of ocean and weather can and very much do exist. We find that this inheritance wound up in the politics of the weather forecast (Amrith 2018, Carson 2021, Sivasundaram 2020) has an impact on the way cities perceive the materiality of its weather and its associated risks and opportunities. The meteorological pedagogy of volume influences the way urban theory perceives monsoonal value and its role in its world. It is extractive and designed to be an inherently non-repatriative practice.

We argue that the monsoon fractures actuarial connections and detaches the volumetric archive from what it claims to know, as each recurring monsoon transforms, becomes, and cultivates urban matter and breakdown. We say that the monsoon has its politics and cities in their contemporary state have been cultivated to know against it. Towards an architecture of suspension in a weather of forecastability, cities are confronted by the alliances they make to figure out the weather. As writer Amitav Ghosh (2021) remarks, 'Our earth is doing our thinking for us,' and the attempt to discipline monsoonal experience in cities through tropical meteorology has led to urban imaginaries and regulatory setups that conceive of forecastability as a hallmark of risk management. As the urban is increasingly aligned with planetary systems sensing and surveillance, we find that the monsoon as a context complicates this technoscientific relationship when it comes to the use value of residents and multispecies communities of cities. Drawing on insights from our doctoral work from 2017 to 2021 and visual and media archive assembled through the last two years of the pandemic, from 2020 to 2021, we show how forecastability to some is not forecastability for all, even when it comes to the weather.

Thirdly, we call for sensitivity to the way monsoonal suspension interacts in the urban. Groundwater moves through the city both literally and conceptually as a changing set of relations which shift and need to be followed. The air is always leaking. Different positions will yield different sets of characters, as certain conceptual frames and knowledge practices bring different aspects of it into view. Monsoonal meteorology is always multiple, and to speculate the future of air's burst as rain is always plural in space. Through the focus on ways of knowing groundwater, what emerge are provisional glimpses into urban processes that are highly charged and highly political: struggles of liveability, which like groundwater itself cannot be rigidified into formal structures. By thinking through air, on the other hand, groundwater seems to have several origin stories: oceanic, photosynthetic, biotic, anaerobic, of the sun and the wind. There is not one single thing called 'the ground', but multiple grounds, variously saturated, seeping, sinking, and subtended by others. Living with these grounds is living in conditions of unstable hydrogeological emergence. Urban ground, therefore, is always in suspension, in hydrogeological emergence. We insist that this is not an abstraction, despite the speculative nature of gazing at the method of water underground and in the sky. As Bremner (2017) playfully writes, 'The monsoon is an abstraction, except when you feel it on your head.' Let it rain—through what we see and imagine.

As Indian cities in/of the Anthropocene move into more precarious and uncertain monsoon futures, the monsoon's intimacy with our lives must be foregrounded in urban thought. We argue that this not only helps urban thought recognise the multiplicities of what is everywhere up here and underground, but also helps us re-assess entanglements from a range of different positionalities. By taking the monsoon outside its analytical parameter of a season and by recognising it as water itself which is also air, urban thought is forced to reconcile with the politics of altering it all the time. We thus use this work to think about the stakes involved in designing a better monsoonal politics.

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What Will It Take to Recognise Agriculture in City? Some Insights from Delhi and the Challenges

Aakiz Farooq, People's Resource Centre

Nishant, People's Resource Centre; Indian Institute of Technology Delhi

Introduction

In the past three to four decades, the planning of Indian cities has remained myopic in its vision and singularly faithful towards the theory of 'cities as engines of economic growth'. If we look at the masterplans of the most populous cities in India, we find that agriculture is particularly disliked by modern urban planners who envision cities as antithetical to and markedly differentiated from villages, which are supposed to be the places of food production. At the same time, a large share of the food being consumed in cities has come to be processed and packaged by large corporations and obscured by the complex web of market relations (Shiva, 2000). However, unlike the broader sweep of urbanisation in the global North, livestock and cultivation on small plots and fishing on urban stretches of rivers and smaller water bodies have persisted in and accompanied the rapid capitalist development of cities in the global South (McClintock, 2010). For example, the Economic Survey of Delhi (2018–2019) suggests that 0.7 per cent of the workers in Delhi are employed as agricultural workers, and according to the latest Census of India (2011), 1 per cent of all main workers and 3 per cent of all marginal workers are working in agriculture and allied activities. Yet, the draft Master Plan of Delhi-2041 has not recognised existing agricultural activities, and the National Green Tribunal has imposed a blanket ban on farming on the floodplains of the river Yamuna, perpetuating the attitude of neglect and punishment towards urban farming.

This paper discusses the present state of urban farming in Delhi, its significance for urban planning, and the difficulties in understanding it through conventional approaches. We show that urban agriculture in Delhi is prevalent in diverse forms and yet remains absent from official discourse and master plans. Based on in-depth interviews with tenant farmers and a survey of 300 farming households, we highlight how governance of scarce urban resources such as land and water remain central to the issues faced by the farming community. To discuss the limitations of conventional methods of urban planning, we take up as an example one feature of urban farming in Delhi that posed a challenge in quantifying the farming activities—the absence of standards of measurement. The paper concludes with a call for attention to developing methods that can help recognise urban agriculture in its totality and augment its potential for the de-commodification of cities.

Methodology

We propose a grounded approach using mixed methods to comprehend the variety of agricultural practices and the social, economic, political, and ecological conditions in which they are carried out. The proposed framework to study urban farming is based on extensive research conducted in Delhi over two years as part of the research programme of the People's Resource Centre, a Delhi-based civil society organisation.

The framework has two steps, extensive qualitative research followed by an in-depth sample survey. Qualitative research was conducted by organising interviews and focus group discussions with a diverse set of actors, including vegetable farmers, fishers, people involved in animal rearing and poultry, terrace gardeners, and so on. The quantitative survey stage involved strategic sampling in selecting 200 farming households while ensuring geographical and socio-economic diversity. Sample collection sites were chosen randomly from the list of places reporting urban farming in the qualitative stage of the study. The survey questionnaire sought information on socio-economic characteristics, crop production and seasonal variations, migrant farmers, market linkages and distributional aspects, and food consumption, with a dedicated section on women farmers and farmworkers.

Findings
Farming is practised all year round along the banks of the Yamuna River and in various urban villages of Delhi. Most of the farming activity in Delhi occurs in Chilla Khadar, Nangli Khadar, Badarpur Khadar, Madanpur Khadar, Najafgarh Jeel, Tikri Khurd, and Bela state. There is a largescale production of crops, both kharif and rabi crops, the prominent ones being paddy, *jowar*, *bajra*, wheat, and mustard crops. Along with these, vegetables and decoration plants are grown in nurseries used for weddings and other social events (People's Resource Centre, 2020).

In urban and peri-urban Delhi, agriculture is practised on land plots ranging from 2–40 bigha by tenant farmers who pay a fixed annual rent in small instalments throughout the year to the landowner. In the case of many tenant farmers, they also share half the produce with landowners. Nowhere is this rental agreement in paper, chiefly owing to the contestation between individual landowners and the Delhi Development Authority over the ownership of these lands. Contested ownership creates a situation of illegality and constant threat for the tenant farmers. At different urban farming sites surveyed, the proportion of land rented, and the scale of farming activity varies with location, rental rates, and sense of protection from authorities. Most tenant farmers are migrants from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand who have been traditionally practising farming in their native villages and migrated to Delhi seeking better livelihood opportunities. In interviews, they cited 'better use of their knowledge and skills' and 'less polluted environment while residing within the city' as some of the principal reasons for continuing farming.

Urban farming in Delhi has been discouraged in all manners possible. For example, water used for irrigation remains a contentious issue. It has been popularised that the water used for irrigation is directly pumped from the highly polluted Yamuna River. However, a study conducted by the Central Pollution Control Board in 2019 clarified that mainly the groundwater pumped by borewells was being used for irrigation, and the contamination levels in crops were well within permissible limits. Yet, the findings of this technical study commissioned by the National Green Tribunal in the Manoj Mishra vs Union of India and others case remain less recognised as the contribution of urban farming itself.

To make urban agriculture policy visible, the importance of quantitative understanding does not need emphasis. A sample survey is an essential tool for the quantitative measurement of social activities and processes. Considering how popular this method is, there is a need to assess whether a survey method can be employed to provide helpful information on food production in urban farming.

However, our study confronted at least one persistent issue using survey interviews with the farmers: their inability to share the estimates of quantities of food produced or the amount of fertilisers used in terms of a standard measurement posed a common difficulty. Farmers use different measuring units, which are difficult to convert into metric or other standard units of physical measurement. Many farmers reported growing vegetables in rectangular beds but not measuring the area or dimensions of these beds. In response to the survey question asking for the size of the plot for growing different vegetables and crops, farmers reported being unsure. Similarly, farmers reported that they do not weigh their produce in kilograms or tonnes. When selling to vendors, produce is packed in sacks, and these sacks are the weighting units in their exchanges. Our survey finds that urban farmers do not make sense of their produce in terms of standard units. The quantity of food they produce and the share of it that they consume is difficult to estimate from a simple household survey.

Arguably, the problem of standard units can possibly be overcome through a different research design that employs physical measurement tools and tracks the material flow of sample households throughout the year. But there is something more fundamental to learn about the nature of urban farming and its significance for alternative imaginations of the city. Standardisation is understood as a core element of the increasingly globalised governance of production, trade, and consumption of commodities, including food (Oosterveer, 2007). Standards also make production activity legible for the state and determine the visibility of the knowable and the governable (Higgins & Larner, 2010). The question of standards confronts urban agriculture in two ways: one is the case of standards as a way to facilitate the exchange of goods already turned into commodities; the other is the use of standards for testing the toxicity and nutrition values that farm produce. The pressure to standardise the land (and water) itself is based on the political economy of neoliberal urbanisation that is characteristic of Delhi.

In this sense, quantified estimates of urban food production's material inputs and outputs can help bring policy recognition and welfare support for urban agriculture. But, at the same time, it should also be noted that since a good share of the output of urban farming find its consumers near the site of production and gets distributed through a highly localised network of vendors, it remains relatively free from the control of the trade and governance complex of national and multinational organisations and their standards. In this sense, the fluid manner of measuring the inputs and outputs of farming are indicators of the fundamental conflict between urbanisation as commodification and urban agriculture as resistance against it through retention of commons.

Conclusion

Urban farming in Delhi remains hidden in plain sight. Urban farmers continue to face neglect from government planners and policymakers. These farmers have been left without any welfare support or inclusion in planning. There is conscious neglect of the issues faced by farmers when it comes to recognising urban farming.

There is a need to adopt localised planning to better understand the problems concerning urban agriculture and initiate a policy discourse. Standardisation is a process that serves the interest of centralised planning by bringing uniformity and interchangeability while risking local diversity (Scott, 1998). There is also a need to identify gaps in various research tools being used to study urban agriculture. This methodological exploration should take neoliberal urban planning head-on.

By creating non-market and non-governmental spaces of access to basic necessities of life such as food and clean air, sharing knowledge, urban agriculture can de-commodify land, labour, and food and use the land for purposes other than capital accumulation. Urban agriculture can be the decisive step towards the 'ruralisation' of cities (Federici, 2011), thus marking a transition towards food sovereignty, ecological regeneration, non-exploitative social relations, and prosperity for all.

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Quantifying the Long-term Environmental Impacts of Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture

Ashwin Mahalingam, Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IIT–M)
U. Srilok Sagar, Indian Institute of Technology, Madras (IIT–M)
Yatharth Singh, Indian Institute of Technology Madras (IIT–M)
Teja Malladi, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)

Image 1: Jakkur Lake, Bengaluru. Urbanisation has meant shrinking blue and green spaces in cities

Source: Swarnika Sharma

In India, the growth and expansion of urban areas has been accompanied by the depletion of green spaces, water logging, and an amplified heat island effect (Singh et al., 2021). This trend is likely to continue as cities in India are expected to house nearly half the country's population by 2030 (United Nations, 2019). Urban and peri-urban agriculture (UPA) has often been identified as a potential solution that counteracts the environmental impacts of urbanisation with positive effects on food production, air quality and other aspects of urban life. There is growing evidence that urban and peri-urban agriculture and forestry (UPAF) can potentially reduce vulnerability to climate change, improve energy supply by producing biomass, reduce land surface temperature, and increase evapotranspiration, thereby lowering temperatures through evaporative cooling (Mancebo, 2018).

How do we expect the practice of UPA to grow in Indian cities in the future, and what impact might this have on the environment? To what extent does UPA quantitatively impact metrics such as carbon density and Land Surface Temperature (LST)?

We selected the Indian cities of Chennai and Bengaluru as cases and adopted an innovative three-layered approach. First, we gathered satellite images across different time periods in the past for both cities and classified the land cover in these images into four categories: a) built-up areas; b) green cover (including parks, croplands, and forests); c) water bodies; and d) 'other' areas (uncultivated wastelands for instance). We then used well-accepted Cellular Automata and Markov Chain (CA-Markov) techniques to understand how land cover transitioned from one category to another (Liang et al., 2021). Using a number of regional parameters such as population density, elevation, and so on, we were able to model these transitions with a good deal of accuracy. While this analysis contributed to our understanding of how cities evolve, it did not help us understand the spread of UPA.

Image 2: Empty plot gardening in Bengaluru. Leveraging the potential of urban agriculture for cooling increasingly hot cities might mean expanding from individual to communal and public farms

Source: Prathigna Poonacha

We therefore moved to our second step—a survey among citizens of Bengaluru and Chennai on the prevalence of UPA. In this survey, we tried to ascertain trends with regards to UPA—how quickly UPA was growing in these cities both in terms of the size of the farms/gardens, the number of households that were involved in farming, as well as the kind of UPA practices that were being adopted, how big the average farm holding was and what kinds of crops were being grown. By combining our predictions of the growth of built-up areas in Chennai and Bengaluru with our understanding of the relative growth of UPA in these cities, and by using CA-Markov methods, we were able to arrive at a predicted distribution of UPA in Chennai and Bengaluru for the future.

Since we were unsure about the precise extent of UPA activity currently in these cities, we simulated a variety of scenarios wherein 1–3 per cent of the population of these cities is currently engaged in urban farming. Figure 3 below depicts land cover in Chennai over a 20-year time period, as well as the predicted land cover in 2025, inclusive of UPA.

Figure 3: Land cover maps of Chennai
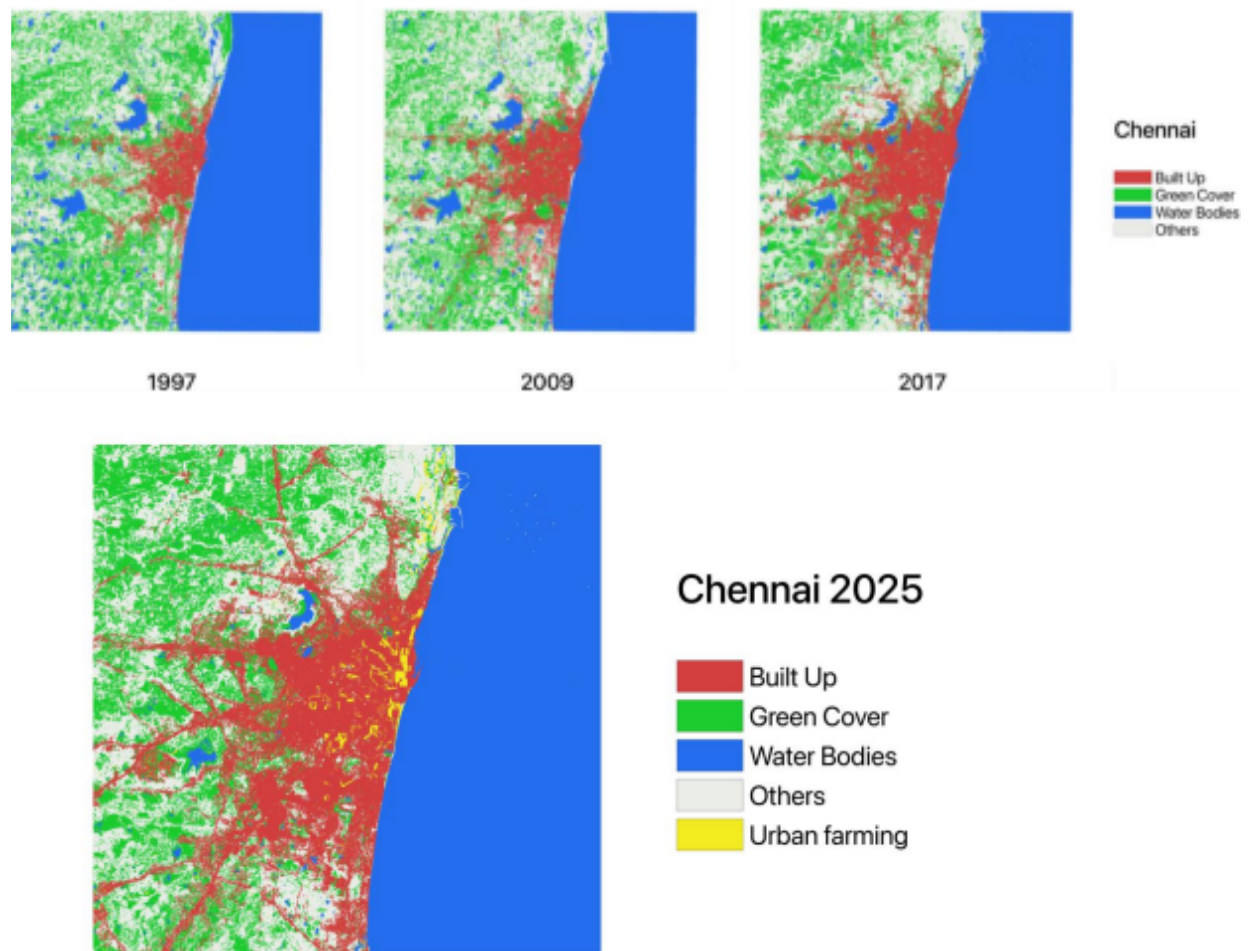
Once these future maps of land cover were obtained, we moved on to our third step of computing the impact of UPA on carbon density and land surface temperature. Through our survey we were able to understand the distribution of crops that were grown in UPA farm holdings in Chennai and Bengaluru. Using data on the biomass concentration of various plants, we estimated the total biomass attributable to UPA both now and in the future. Figure 4 below shows the growth of biomass across a variety of scenarios in Chennai, from 2017 to 2041.

Using Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) values from satellite data and the quantum of biomass, we were also able to determine the change in land surface temperatures in Chennai and Bengaluru using well-known relationships between these quantities (Avdan & Jovanovska, 2016). LST change is Chennai is shown in Figure 5 below.

Figure 4: Biomass growth in Chennai
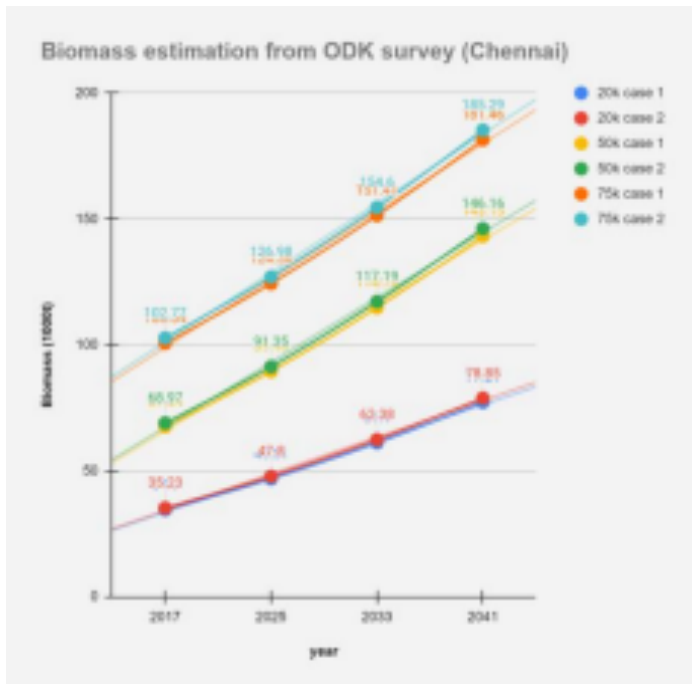
Figure 5: Change in LST in Chennai
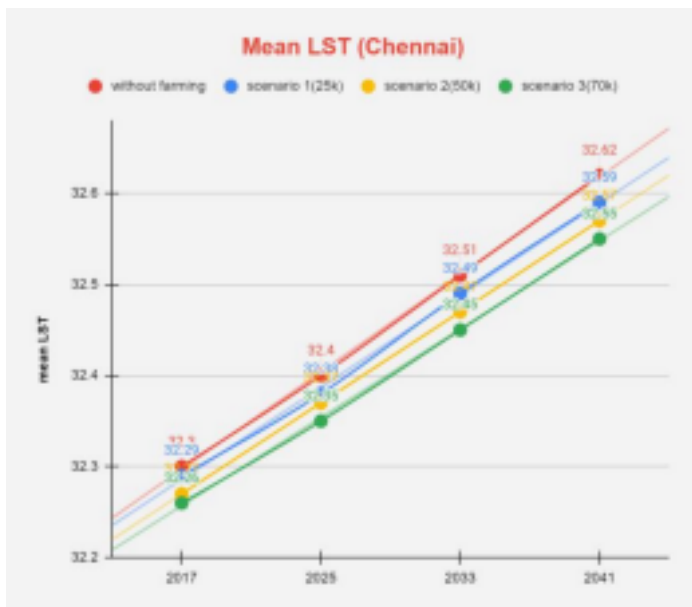
Overall, our analysis shows that UPA has an impact on biomass and land surface temperatures. While LST could increase over time, UPA can lead to a drop of approximately 0.7°C, while biomass doubled over a 20-year period. However, these impacts may not be significant enough to offset other climate-induced effects such as urban heat islands. UPA on its own is therefore useful but unlikely to be a game-changer in the fight against climate change, if continued at the current, mostly individual scale. Our work, however, shows that a combination of traditional land cover analysis, user surveys, and scientific formulae can help move away from purely

qualitative discussions of the impact of UPA, to more quantitative results that can help inform policy.

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Agrarianising the Urban: Geographies for Negotiating Agrarian–Urban Uncertainty and Precarity

Ankita Rathi, Independent Researcher

The urban experience of South Asian countries like India, as exemplified by recent works and its ongoing political turmoil is marked by agrarian (farmers) protests, struggles, and conflicts driven by the state's development initiative in terms of reforming agriculture, dealing with urban-based seasonal migrant labour, and the uneven transformation of farmers' agricultural land for neoliberal urban development projects. The agrarian protests and struggles occurring in the metropolitan centres of the country amidst waning of urban economic and living opportunities in the urban, signals that Indian urbanism is characterised by anxiety, uncertainty, and precarity, a consequence of which has a reinforcement and strengthening of farming/agricultural identity and agrarian ties to the land (Kumar, 2021; Jodhka, 2021). India's urban processes offer an ideal case to fundamentally rethink and reinvigorate the conceptual debate on what constitutes the urban when seen from geographies beyond the 'city'. Thus, urban transformation occurring in India, especially post the 1990s, violates and troubles the traditional rural–urban binary by responding not only to global city-centric changes but the anxieties and uncertainties of the rural and of agriculture.

Launched from geographies that have been designated urban by state authorities because of their prime importance as agro-commercial hubs or state-designated agriculture marketing centres (APMC), this paper argues that the urban, when viewed from geographies beyond the city is a dynamic, unstable and undecidable category that is continuously made and unmade at differential phases of agrarian change occurring in the rural (Rathi, 2021). The urban that I encountered while conducting fieldwork for my doctoral dissertation in 2015–2016 incorporates responses, practices, governance, arrangements, and aspirations that are rooted in the uncertainty of rural agricultural change and precarity of the urban non-farm sector. By employing mixed methods of data collection and investigating the trajectory of the agrarian–urban transition occurring in a small agro-commercial urban centre in Punjab, the paper will attempt to show that the urban incorporates processes, practices, aspirations, desires, negotiations, struggles, and knowledge that travel beyond the city into the rural and the agrarian.

The traditional binaries of city/country or rural/urban were developed to make sense of 19th century Western industrial cities with their opposite (rural/village/countryside) (Angelo, 2015). The urban experience of India calls for moving beyond the traditional rural–urban binary by delineating how the rural, with its distinct politics of governance, property regimes, and agrarian relations, is an essential supplement for the urban to materialise. It necessitates seeing rural–urban in the context of changes. As argued by Angelo (2016), 'the ways of seeing urban should change as the world does'.

Scholarship, especially within the domain of the Chicago School, postcolonial studies, and American urban sociology, has responded to and critiqued the hegemonic

dominance of the traditional city-centric lens of seeing the urban by developing new and hybrid research projects that allow a union or mashup of rural and urban (Angelo, 2016). By investigating the logic and nature of rural–urban and agrarian–urban linkages existing in a growing urban centre in India, the paper engages with the theoretical debates and works on rural–urban as conceptual and analytical categories. Across the fields of rural, urban, agrarian, and development studies, scholars have embraced the idea of uniting the urban with the rural. Conceptual approaches like the rural–urban continuum, desakota urbanism, folk-urban continuum, and rural–urban linkages have significantly highlighted the ways in which the rural forms an essential component of urban processes (Tacoli, 2003; McGee, 1991; Rao, 1959; Dymitrow & Stenseke, 2016). They theorise the peasant, agrarian and rural presents, and linkages of the urban. My paper contributes to the vast scholarship on rural–urban links and continuum by not only identifying the nature of these linkages but explaining the inherent logic behind why the rural is an essential supplement of the contemporary process of urbanisation that is occurring in South Asian countries like India. Thus, the paper attempts to contribute to the theoretical debates on looking beyond the binaries and arguing that the geographic, economic, and notional blurring of the rural–urban binary needs to be understood in the context of the uncertainty, precarity, aspiration, and anxiety unleashed by the process of agrarian transition currently occurring in villages and small towns in India.

The paper delineates the specific ways in which the process of urban transformation has reinforced agrarian–urban and rural–urban links, instead of annihilation and withering of the rural and agriculture. By investigating how urban residents in prominently agrarian regions respond to the precarity, uncertainty, and anxiety unleashed by stagnating conditions in agriculture and waning economic opportunities in the urban, this paper shows that the agrarian urban transformation in India has reinforced agrarian links and rurality. By doing so, this paper attempts to argue that the urban in typically agrarian societies like India is dynamic, unstable, and an undecidable category that is continuously evolving and responding to rural agrarian and socio-political changes and pressures (Rathi, 2021; Roy, 2009; Gururani & Balakrishnan, 2021). By understanding the urban from geographies like small agriculture market centres in typically successful agricultural regions in India, I trouble the conceptual categories of rural–urban by arguing that these categories are dynamic, unstable, and undecidable that are not fixed and well-defined with specific attributes (Rathi, 2021; Roy, 2009; Gururani & Balakrishnan, 2021). By conducting a sample survey of 500 households and semi-structured and in-depth interviews with farmers, agricultural labourers, urban agro-traders, industrialists and wage workers in Patran, the paper will show that urban residents and communities are continuously evolving and responding to global and regional processes of rural socio-political change by adapting practices, knowledge, aspirations, struggles, networks, institutions, and relationships that span across both rural–urban geographies and agrarian–non agrarian sectors.

Punjab has been the epicentre of agricultural prosperity brought on by the Green Revolution, as well as the prime site of the year-long farmers' protests since September 2020, thereby signalling the nature of uncertainty, anxiety and fear characterising the

agrarian population. Stagnating income and production, rising costs, and withdrawal of state support have unleashed anxiety, fear, and uncertainty amongst farmers and agricultural labourers due to uneven transformation and commodification of rural agricultural land for urban real-estate, development projects, and loss of employment, leading to aspirational and distress mobility of younger generation farmers to urban areas to seek all kinds of non-farm employment (Gururani, 2020; Upadhya, 2020; Cowan, 2018; Rathi, 2021; Harris-White, 2021; Balakrishnan & Gururani, 2021; Samanta, 2014). The ongoing agrarian crisis, however, affects not only the rural farmers and agricultural labourers, but also the urban youth, employees, traders, industrialists, and migrant workers who rely on the rural and its agrarian economy for food, work, land, and social ties in times of crisis (Sinha, 2020). Agrarian protests in the northern parts of India have been supported by the *arthiyas* (urban-based agro-traders) who have long-term social ties with the farmers and whose income and livelihood is dependent on the farmers' agricultural produce. Agrarian changes, rural-urban migration, waning non-farm employment opportunities, and precarity in work and living conditions have affected the rural workforce and unleashed new kinds of economic and social uncertainty and anxiety within the urban. The ongoing agrarian changes, especially those occurring in villages of historically successful agrarian states like Punjab, are rooted in agricultural uncertainties and changing aspirations and desires of the rural population but have critical urban consequences.

Recent studies have developed the conceptual term 'agrarian urbanism' and agrarian urbanisation to show that the contemporary urban transformation that is currently underway in India is entangled with the rural and its agrarian regimes of property and caste (Gururani, 2020; Rathi, 2021). By employing the conceptual lens of agrarian urbanisation, this paper will first show the diverse forms and sources of uncertainty, anxiety, fear, and precarity unleashed by the ongoing process of rural to urban and agrarian urban transformation in an agro-commercial market town in a prosperous agricultural state like Punjab. By historically focusing on the ways in which urban residents, especially Hindu and Sikh traders and industrialists and landless Dalit wage workers working in the agriculture market and construction sector in the town, respond to rising agrarian–urban uncertainty and anxiety, the paper will outline the heterogeneous practices, strategies, discourses, and negotiations undertaken by diverse caste and class groups to cope with them.

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Panel 4
Developing an Urban Curriculum for the Global South

Panel Abstract

This panel launched a series of discussions, titled 'Dialogues with urban pedagogues: How do we teach, learn, and practice urban equality?' This series brought together our work on pedagogy for urban equality under the Knowledge in Action for Urban Equality (KNOW) Programme, which focuses on the relationship between planning education and urban inequality, through research and capacity building.

We particularly focused on the role of higher education institutions, networks, and individuals in shaping pathways for change. This includes reinventing planning education through curricula, institutional processes, and regulations across the global South, learning from spaces of collective mobilisation by urban activists and cultivating spaces of translocal learning with attention to questions of epistemic justice.

The aim of the panel was to host a series of reflections on how we design and execute pedagogy for urban equality and to provoke a space for shared reflections amongst urban educators, practitioners, and planning alumni on pedagogy, practices, and urban equality.

Panellists
Caren Levy, *The Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London*
Wilbard Kombe, *Ardhi University*
Jorge Peña Díaz, *Urban Research and Action Group, Instituto Superior Politécnico José Antonio Echeverria (CUJAE)*
Joiselén Cazanave Macías, *Urban Research and Action Group, Instituto Superior Politécnico José Antonio Echeverria (CUJAE)*
Edgar Pieterse, *African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town*
Darshini Mahadevia, *Ahmedabad University*
Aromar Revi, *Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)*

Panel Introduction
Shriya Anand, *Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)*
Julia Wesely, *The Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London*

Discussant:
Adriana Allen, *The Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London*

Panel 5
Shifting Identities:
Locating Diversity in the Urban

After Land Titling: "Useless" Property Rights and Subaltern Citizenship in Hyderabad

Indivar Jonnalagadda, University of Pennsylvania

In this paper, I focus on a non-transferable property title, commonly referred to as *patta*, that is routinely granted to slum households in urban India. The specialty of this title is its multiple restrictions and conditionalities. Crucially, though it attests private property right over a piece of land, it prohibits the transfer of this property. I use the *patta* as a lens to understand how the everyday subordination of slum populations as subaltern citizens is produced and experienced. Building on the rich legacy of subaltern studies in South Asia (Chatterjee, 2012; Roy, 2011), I use the concept of 'subaltern' not as an *a priori* designation for specific groups, but rather to highlight dynamic processes of exclusion and racialisation by which specific groups come to occupy a subaltern social location. Although this differentiation is explicitly inscribed into legal texts such as the *patta*, the actual effects of the *patta* go beyond its strictly textual/codified terms and conditions. Thus, I focus on its everyday ramifications through a careful unbundling of its many conditions. I further argue that the *patta* is instrumental to how the land bureaucracy in the city manages poor populations, a role that is fraught by a paradoxical imperative intended to both promote economic advancement for the poor and protect them from market forces.

The phenomenon of slums, although taking heterogeneous forms in various contexts, is in broad strokes a segregated enclave, albeit a relative refuge, for the subaltern poor in terms of housing and infrastructure (Anand, 2017; Nightingale, 2012). Further, it is widely considered in both policy and academic debates that one of the crucial distinguishing factors between subaltern and other citizens is the question of legality and formality, a perspective that is reified by the widespread circulation of binaristic frameworks such as informal versus formal (Bayat, 1997; Holland, 2017), legal versus extra-legal (de Soto, 2000), and political versus civil society (Chatterjee, 2004, 2011). Thus, programmes of land titling have consistently attracted policymakers as a panacea to bridge the gaps between the two sides of the binary (de Soto, 2000; Payne, 2001; Varley, 1987). However, in this paper, I show that the actually existing mode of titling for the poor entails, at best, the re-inscription of racialised and subalternised refuge, and at worst acts as an instrument of 'racial tethering' (Sullivan, 2021) or reproducing socio-economic subordination.

In August 2018, in SPR Hills, Hyderabad, I met Murthy who was my initial point of access to the neighbourhood. On this initial recce trip, he helped me get in touch with families who received titles under the most recent statewide titling drive in 2015, though we were having little luck. On my second day of fieldwork, Murthy finally took me to his own house. As I sat on the divan in his front room, he called out to his wife, 'Will you bring out the *patta* document?' Until then, he had not revealed that he himself was a beneficiary, but after two days of being a broker for my research project he perhaps felt greater trust in me and decided to open up to me about his own life. Murthy's wife Deepa brought out the document, which was clearly in her care, and handed it to me. I

had been pursuing this document for some time now and felt energised by finding it. I asked Deepa with considerable excitement, 'How do you feel about this? About having this *patta*?' She responded without hesitation or visible sentiment, 'I don't feel anything. It's useless.'

In SPR Hills, while discussing the *patta*, I often heard such statements: 'It's useless,'; 'It has no benefits,'; 'It does nothing,'; 'It hasn't changed anything,'; 'It's just a piece of paper.' Because I found the titling programme so striking and remarkable, I expected to find more enthusiastic sentiments among beneficiaries, but instead I consistently encountered disenchantment, even disdain. These statements also contradict the picture portrayed by the governments and bureaucratic agencies that carried out the titling drives, which was the source of my ill-informed expectations. For example, the current Chief Minister of Telangana had the following to say in a meeting of the state's legislative assembly: 'We took a conscious decision to give titles, Honourable Speaker, because they are poor people and we determined that we must support them ... and for this they have expressed they are grateful to us'.[1] In this paper, I focus on the conditionalities of the title and its everyday ramifications for slum-dwellers in SPR Hills to show the tactical orientations that people have to the *patta* as an instrument that is both for and against their aspirations of growth, orientations which hardly amount to gratitude. I show that contrary to being a right that expands freedoms and capabilities, either in terms of direct access to resources or access to opportunities, the *patta* is experienced as a disabling but necessary legal relationship to the state and to markets.

This is not to completely disqualify or devalorise the processes of titling. As I show elsewhere (Jonnalagadda et al., 2021), processes of titling and their contribution to tenure security in both legal and political registers is crucial to the politics of citizenship among slum populations. I also recognise that in places where titles have not already been distributed, they constitute a central object of struggle despite conditionalities and offer tactics to bolster the legitimacy of tenurial arrangements (Bhan, 2016). However, in this paper, I look at what this politics looks like after titling. The legal anatomy of this differentiation is especially salient when it is understood as being the context for aspirational subaltern politics which is invested in questions of civility and property. Following Suryakant Waghmore (2013), I focus on discourses of civility and property among my respondents and their political and economic aspirations to bring to relief how state programmes that look progressive are, in fact, obstacles to these aspirations.

In doing so, I also contribute to the international literature on land titling in slums (Gilbert, 2002; Payne, 2001), which has largely elided the question of differentiated property rights, although they are prevalent in many postcolonial and settler colonial contexts (Bhandar, 2018), and focused on titling as an event rather than examining its processual effects and its afterlives (see Jonnalagadda, Stock, & Misquitta, 2021). I also go beyond the binary of enforcement versus non-enforcement of law, whereby it has been influentially argued that a limited kind of redistribution is carried out in favour of the poor through the state's forbearance or its selective non-enforcement of law (Holland, 2017). Alisha Holland argues that redistribution to the poor takes place by the state's leave, rather than by its hand, although with the attendant risk of producing a

truncated welfare state, differentiated citizenship for the poor, and segmented markets. Through my unbundling of the *patta*, I show that titling in Hyderabad slums represents a formal kind of redistribution by the state's hand (with much fanfare too), which legally produces these undesirable effects.

In sum, neither focusing merely on the textual aspects of the *patta*, nor simply understanding its contextual (non)enforcement, is adequate to explain the socio-political and processual effects of the *patta*. Rather, I carry out an ethnographic unbundling of the *patta* to show that the everyday state at the interface between slums and government agencies has three distinct aspects. I classify the three aspects as the codified state (enacted through laws and the circulation and uptake of textual artefacts), the intimate state (experienced through everyday affective encounters and bonds with governmental agencies), and the abstract state (a structuring force based in practices of governance which are contingent, contextual, and often tacit). Combining attention to historical and juridico-legal legacies (Holston, 1991; Thomas, 2016), everyday logistics of rule through intimacy (Hansen, 2021; Navaro-Yashin, 2012), and contingent and seemingly indifferent logics of policymaking (Bhan, 2016; Hetherington, 2020), I argue that slums are governed through the management of relations between subaltern citizens, the welfare bureaucracy, and political parties through routine choices, not omissions, made by governments about what shape these relations take.

This analysis leads me to two key observations on the emergent politics of subaltern citizenship among slum residents that push beyond the binaries of established urban studies frameworks. Firstly, contrary to a mode of governance operating entirely through strategic exception-making, which create zones of deregulation (Roy, 2005, 2009), I show that subaltern citizenship is not merely exceptional, but also relies on rule-based modalities of managing marginalised populations. Secondly, subaltern citizenship troubles the neat binaries of civil versus political society (Chatterjee, 2004), legal versus extra-legal economic agents (de Soto, 2000), and the widely used formal versus informal spaces. Instead, it reveals deeper structural/social categories that determine whose attempts at assembling civility, legality, or formality are successful, and whose are only precariously and occasionally accomplished.

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Caste in the Urban: Spatiality and Identity in Peripheral Bangalore

Andrew Desouza, Independent Researcher
Bagavanidhi M, Independent Researcher

Overview

India's urban transformation has been steady but undeniable. Over the past several decades, the proportion of Indians living in cities has nearly tripled (Revi et al., 2011; Tewari & Godfrey, 2016), and there has been increasing focus on the country's urban future. However, caste has been neglected in analysing and understanding India's urbanisation. In this paper, we argue that caste is a fundamental element of urbanisation in India. Drawing on interviews with residents of six settlements in peri-urban Bengaluru, we show that caste is not only a question of identity, but one of spatiality, economy, and capital.

This paper seeks to move beyond the binary of urban and rural by centring the concept of the peri-urban as a fundamental element of urbanisation in the global South. We take the peri-urban as our starting point to study the social and spatial changes in caste relations in these areas. We believe that the peri-urban allows for an insight into social structures that are not visible in heavily urbanised areas like the cores of large cities. In the Indian context, caste plays a pivotal role in determining identity, spatiality, and land holding. We believe that to study caste is to move beyond considering it as only 'identity'–one of many features like gender, race, or sexuality. Instead, it is to see it as a fundamental social structure, one whose influence permeates every aspect of society. To take it seriously as urban scholars, then, is to see urbanisation itself through a caste lens, asking how power and political economy are drawn on caste lines, and how they respond to new processes and transformations.

This paper asks, how do existing caste relations respond to the rapid urbanisation taking place in the peripheries of large cities? This transformation is a significant phenomenon in India, leading to new contestations around land, resources, and livelihoods. In these peripheries, existing villages are transformed by an influx of people and capital. For us, these areas represent a site where caste structures still show some resemblance to more rural forms, while also being in a state of flux, transforming and adapting to new flows and agents of change. These rapid social and spatial changes bring to the fore particular urban processes and starkly outline the caste structures around which these processes develop.

Our study finds that the incorporation of a number of peri-urban settlements around Bengaluru into the city led to significant transformations in their spatial, social, and economic structures. Through qualitative research conducted in six of these former villages, we found that the benefits of this transformation fell unevenly. Landowning caste-Hindus were able to make the most of this transformation by converting agricultural land into lucrative real estate or selling to infrastructure projects.

Scheduled caste (SC) groups, however, were unable to capture the changes in land value because they owned so little agricultural land, and because the *cheris* where they lived were routinely excluded from the land market due to caste notions of impurity.

Background and Context
As India's cities grow outwards, they envelop the rural communities that surround them, reconfiguring the social and spatial structures of these settlements. The peri-urban then becomes a site of new contests and configurations, where existing structures of landownership and socio-economic power are pitted against new flows of people and capital. Indeed, the peri-urban as a concept itself brings into question the simple binary of urban and rural that shapes so much of Indian thinking and policymaking. It suggests that the rural and the urban are dynamic and relational to each other, rather than thresholds beyond which certain characteristics are always present.

Narain, Anand, and Banerjee (2013) note that there has been a move away from understanding the peri-urban as a geographically bound area and towards process-based or concept-based definitions. They suggest that certain processes or characteristics are commonly seen across a number of sites that are called peri-urban: 'peri-urban locations are areas of intense land use change, social and economic heterogeneity, contested natural resource use and occupational diversification' (p. 3). As the peri-urban is in a state of transformation, rapid social and spatial changes can be observed while they are still happening, allowing scholars to see these processes more clearly.

Universalising theories of urbanisation are inadequate to describe and explain the trajectory of cities in the global South. An excellent discussion of the existing literature can be found in Upadhya and Rathod (2021). Drawing on a range of scholars, they show that Indian urbanisation is inextricably linked to agrarian relations of land ownership (p. 3). Urbanisation fractures existing regimes of land and property, but it does so along lines already drawn by caste, thereby giving landowning castes a significant advantage in the new economy of these areas. They also point to recent work that argues that caste and land are themselves 'recursively linked categories that are produced and reproduced in continuous interaction under the influence of the larger political economy' (Nielsen et al., 2020, p. 685).

Methodology
Our research employed mixed methods to study the social and spatial transformation of a number of settlements in Bengaluru's southern periphery. We created a shortlist of nine villages, covering large, medium, and small villages with high, moderate, and low proportions of SC residents. The percentage of SC residents was used as a proxy for the caste composition of the village, as this is some of the only publicly available caste data in the census. Out of these, we were able to conduct fieldwork in six villages.

We used satellite imagery to study the spatial transformation of these settlements over the decades, identifying areas that retained their original layouts, areas that had been converted into plotted development, areas that had undergone significant development, and more.

We then spent several months in early 2020 conducting detailed observations of the layout, arrangement, and characteristics of each settlement. We carried out semi-structured interviews in each of the (former) villages, gathering rich and detailed narratives of their urban transformations. Different caste groups were interviewed so as to gather more comprehensive narratives and different localities were studied because of the historical link between caste identity and the layout of settlements in India.

Social and Spatial Structures of the Settlements

In 2007, the Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) incorporated 110 villages around the periphery of Bengaluru, converting them into wards of the city. Today, these settlements range from bustling urban centres to small clusters of households. All, however, share certain characteristics: each village had a central residential area, surrounded by farmland.

Over the last 20 years, this farmland was transformed into plotted real estate and there was a substantial increase in the built-up area, although much of the plotted area remains unoccupied. Meanwhile, in the central residential area, while many of the houses have changed (sometimes into apartment buildings, else into more modern independent houses), the layout of roads and position of houses have largely remained the same. This has led to a 'central' area that retains many rural characteristics in terms of the proximity and alignment of houses, often with roads branching out from a central temple or square. This central area is now hemmed in by grid-shaped plots and roads.

The caste structure of these settlements is spatially manifested in the way that different communities live in the villages. For one, the areas that Dalit families lived in, called the *cheri*, was usually on the outskirts of the main village or at some distance from it. Other castes also occupied their own enclaves. Most of the agricultural land was owned by Gowdas and Reddys. They practised agriculture on this land by hiring lower-caste residents of the village to work on these farms in return for food, shelter, and occasional loans.

These Dalit families also often worked as domestic workers in dominant-caste households. Over the years, dominant-caste landowners were able to augment their existing land holding by capturing what little land Dalit households had. This was done using debt traps—by advancing money as a loan, and then demanding land as repayment or through deception or coercion.

One important landmark in the history of these villages was the enactment of land reforms by the Devaraj Urs government of the late 1970s. B Basavalingappa, a pioneering politician and social activist for the upliftment of Dalits and other backward

castes, was one of the major drivers of this policy, and, as a result, a number of Dalit households still possess some degree of land tenure and housing security. As will be discussed, however, this security carries with it the undesirable consequence of tying Dalit identity to the *cheris*.

New Urban Forms and Processes
Even before their incorporation into the BBMP, dominant-caste landowners were aggregating their land holding. Bengaluru's rapid ascent as a hub for IT and software development had already begun pushing up land prices, but the BBMP incorporation accelerated this further. Also, importantly, the development of the Nandi Infrastructure Corridor Enterprises (NICE) Road, which required the developer to acquire land, meant that landowners who were able to accumulate land could also take part in the new speculation economy that was being played. Selling land to the Bangalore Development Authority (BDA) and the NICE road was only one part of this. They also sold land to private real estate developers or plotted and built their own housing societies. This led to a huge windfall for large landowners. Some used the new capital to upgrade their own homes near the centre of the village. Others left the area to live in more central parts of the city, while collecting rent from homes in the periphery. On the other hand, Dalit families with little or no land could not take advantage of this rapid inflation in land prices. For most, what little agricultural land they did have was either captured by dominant-caste landowners or sold to the BDA or NICE for negligible amounts.

While the main or central part of the village developed, the *cheri* was left out of this development. For all six settlements, it was the area with the poorest infrastructure and sanitation. These areas were effectively excluded from the new land market. Caste-Hindu buyers refused to buy land here due to cultural notions of 'pollution.' When someone did want to purchase land, the prices they quoted were insultingly low compared to those of the main village. As a result, these new circuits of capital bypassed the *cheris* and their residents entirely.

The *cheris* themselves changed in response to the urbanisation of the settlements as a whole. Migrants, religious minorities, and other marginalised groups began to live in the *cheri,* converting it into a heterogenous site. Meanwhile, other social and economic transformations were also underfoot. For the Dalit residents of the original settlement, as agriculture became less relevant, the bondage relation with dominant caste landowners was broken, and Dalit families moved to wage-based work, earning their livelihood by working as drivers, security guards, manual labourers, or domestic workers. Improved connectivity through new roads and bus routes allowed them a great deal of physical mobility, connecting them to other villages and to the city proper, where their identity was not explicitly known.

Although most Dalit residents stated that interpersonal discrimination had reduced significantly, it persists in some important ways, notably in restrictions on temple entry and intermarriage. They also noted that they were still systematically excluded from real social mobility. For instance, shops and restaurants owned by caste-Hindus would not hire them. Perhaps, more importantly, they lacked the capital and resources to

open their own establishments, and, even if they did, there was no certainty that the caste-Hindu residents of the village would come to their businesses.

Diverging Trajectories

We can thus see two diverging trajectories for caste-Hindus and for Dalits and other marginalised castes. On the one hand, landowning dominant castes were able to convert their land into new forms of capital, thus entering into new circuits of speculation and real estate. Many were able to significantly increase their wealth, which in turn gave them access to new forms of finance and mobility. This accumulation is itself built on decades and centuries of socio-economic power, which should be seen as the agrarian caste structure of the settlements. The wave of urbanisation, real estate, and speculation brought ways for this power to be converted and unlocked, forming a ramp for their entry into new circles of power and capital.

On the other hand, Dalits and marginalised groups were completely excluded from this boom in land value. Owning little land to begin with, and having the remainder eroded over time, left them with little to convert or liquify. The ideological power of caste also devalues the land where they do live. Although the free sites gave them tenure and thus security against a speculative land market, it also effectively pinned them in place, making it harder for them to escape their ascribed identity or delink it from the monetary value of the land.

The trajectories of these settlements show a process of urbanisation where the spoils of development fall unevenly: drawn along caste lines, those with land, power, and access to social networks are able to join the new games being played while those without are left behind. The powerful groups in agrarian caste relations become the powerful groups in new urban forms. Land and caste power are converted into real estate, capital, and financial power. For the marginalised, there is a shift from feudal dependency relations to capitalist ones—wages are now the form of income, but an increase in income is all that most people will get. There may be some amount of social mobility, but it is only in absolute terms—in relative terms, there are few real paths to subvert the existing caste hierarchy.

This unfolding further cements the crucial and central role of caste in all forms of urbanisation in India. Since land holding itself is so strongly determined by caste, urban development too takes place along the same lines. Every facet of urbanisation is shaped by the caste structure of the settlement, and every contestation plays out some of those dynamics. We hope that this paper foregrounds the importance of studying caste for scholars and practitioners in the global South.

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Where are the Modern Jajmans? Politics, Caste Organisation and Community Mobilisation amongst Urban, Migrant Bhumihars Today

Vrishali, School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences

Abstract

The Bhumihars are an important sub-caste in northern India. They comprised one of the most dominant and influential communities in the power politics of modern undivided Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Recent research carried out by the AN Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna in collaboration with the International Labour Organization (ILO), in relation to class, caste and land holding, has shown that the Bhumihar community is still a dominant community of middle-level peasants. They mostly promote the old *jajmani* system (patron–client relationships) to get their lands cultivated by the lower castes in Bihar. The power-seeking project of the Bhumihars, upon encountering new meshes of socialism and capitalism, and in rummaging their way through the entanglements of caste and class, adapted itself accordingly. This was achieved not by inventing new ways of living but by innovating upon the pre-existing ones. Even though the peripheral premises of lower-caste exploitation kept changing, the central concern remained the same because caste-based insecurities were hard to do away with, especially in the face of a volatile socio-political and economically dynamic and uncertain scenario. On the other end of the spectrum, the rationalisation of the exploitation of the most valuable source asset: free, informal labour, was done in the name of obligation. Time and again, upper-caste institutions have actively reasoned with the sense and sensibilities of the poor, uneducated, and oftentimes illiterate lower-caste labourers.

The lived history of caste is not something dormant and static, or lying in a fixed past. The contours of caste are traversed all the more often and flexibly as caste keeps mutating itself through the course of history as a 'contingent and variable response' to the plethora of changes (Bayly et al., 2001). With the advent of modernity, the inspirations of neo-identity formation and change for this community not just have implications for the wider society but are themselves influenced by processual and post-processual changes in the understanding and conception of society over what power is. Castro-Gomez have suggested that although the structural terms of global power remain in place, the means and strategies of their legitimisation undergo crucial changes. The undercurrents of the institutionalisation of exclusion in the Indian caste system have much to do with these patterns of seeking legitimacy.

This study is a modest attempt to analyse how the often dubbed and 'stigmatised' as violent upper-caste community showed consistent prowess in maintaining resource control. By continually adjusting its ideological stance to fare better in the power politics of modern Bihar, especially in the last decade of the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st century, this caste group's modern exclusionary behaviour begs a more serious qualitative analysis.

In this postcolonial and post-Positivist research, the researcher proposes to study contradictions and coherences in greater detail, within community narratives and between community narratives and state narratives, especially in the backdrop of springing up of urban caste *sabhas* and samitis. In particular, it focuses on caste movement, community mobilisation, and identity formation of Bhumihars in metropolitan cities and suburbs. In general, it explores how caste-based aspirations, solidification, mobilisation, assertion, and formulation of claims and negotiations through networking and lobbying have historically been and still remain important aspects of seeking upward mobility in a far from static cultural cachet in urban areas and for migrant Bhumihars dwelling there. In this analysis, the power location of the community seeking such intellectual space and recognition through the production and reproduction of memories and the invention of, or innovation upon, 'histories' is something that has been looked into as well, especially in the context of the super-local and supra-local aspirations of the community.

Caste narratives, in their diversity attempt to ensure the cognisance of a debate between the vagaries of struggles and differing points of concerns in the interaction of a group or community with those around them, and in its interactions with the modern state(s) as 'a' higher institution(s) of power, monitoring, regulating, and at times, even finding coherence and its own set of advantages in supporting or gas-lighting such struggles between groups. Community leaders, or 'history-makers' in this case, then, tend to play the role of intermediaries between the state and the community, as also, the society at large in the race for aspirational mobility.

In brief, the research objectives are:

- To trace historical changes and continuities in the *jajmani* system and in the relations of the landowning or landless migrant Bhumihars with land and lower-caste labour in their native places and cities they currently reside in.
- To explore the role of Bhumihar caste associations and community mobilisers in caste identity formation and rise and the context behind their formation (emphasis will also be laid on the history of their inception). The generation of caste solidarity and a distinct historical consciousness through the invocation of collective memory by the community, is something that the research will focus on.
- To analyse the variables that influenced the modern understanding of the Bhumihar and to study how these variables, in turn, factored in and influenced the consciousness of the city-dwelling Bhumihar, by critically analysing need-based transformations in caste identity and caste perception at certain critical junctures in historical time.

The core research question revolves around community mobilisation to study processes of social exclusion. The major concern of this study is to show how historical, cultural, ideological, and psychosocial subjugation of lower castes becomes an important way of gaining power and maintaining dominance for upper castes irrespective of their spatial location. Caste-based hierarchies, in other words, do not

prevail only in heavily agrarian rural societies and caste is as much, if not more, a reality in cities presently. How the instruments of societal control still continue to lend a fair amount of prestige to a 'previously' patron (*jajman*) caste group despite diminishing political activity and despite the Bhumihars seemingly moving away from agricultural land today by lending veracity to their claims is something that has been looked into in this study conducted in 2020–21.

A critical, reflective, and reflexive inquiry of community mobilisers' autobiographies and journals, community texts, and public histories, including community magazines, family records of genealogies, and migratory histories has been undertaken to relate them with the context of production in the prevalent reality of the period.

Previous studies in caste history have not often traced the historical trajectories of the deeply ideological 'project' of history-making, both in the present and for the future as the past remains encompassed in such narrowing and harrowing premises. Identities, therefore, remain a continuous extension or by-product of this incessant development and phasing-out in the epistemological concerns of recognising myths, narratives, and lived histories as authoritative sources to study the history of a particular category of people. As such, the 'critical conjunctions' of historical records and ethnographical records is important to be studied as they continue to exchange places as the primer and the base in the reification of the community's past in the present. The research, therefore, uses the ethno-history methodology and attempts to establish a dialogue with both structural and narrative approaches in studying caste.

The study is based on 28 in-depth interviews of upper caste, urban Bhumihars and other middle and lower castes living in their proximity and who interact with them. The results have shown a paradox in that even though there are many changes in their ways, means and motives, there is hardly any change in the basic ideological premises and prevalence of the exercise of caste-based exclusion. The authoritative aspect of the *jajmani* system infiltrates every kind of social or economic relation between upper and lower castes in cities and other spaces. Land readily gets translated into not just an asset but a status symbol, as also a reminder of their roots and historic past.

The findings have shown that within the Bhumihar community, such examples abound wherein there is a constantly-developing educated class of urban-dwelling upper middle class which constantly wants to distance itself from such beliefs and identities, all the while endorsing and even exploiting caste and caste-based ties if and when necessary. Surprisingly, or unsurprisingly, many 'modern' Bhumihar respondents who claim to be against casteism are not completely against the caste system in general. They seem to have a distorted sense of patrimonial benevolence and pride in problematic social customs and ritual traditions. The field observations posit a nuanced picture, which evades a simplistic understanding, as non-alignments and even misalignments have been found between beliefs and practices. The research thus, tried to bring out and arrange contrasting examples and ironical, even self-refuting statements and oxymorons, pointing to a feudalism of the mind.

Thus, even though the typical urban-dwelling, liberal, elite Bhumihar claims to have a more 'modern' take on caste in way of beliefs, in practice, they often dismiss the relevance that caste identities hold in their thought-processes which often manifest themselves in the subtlest of forms in everyday lives of even the city-based bourgeoisie. Such categories are relevant even today, and even in urban spaces where no direct connection to agriculture and agricultural land can be established. Caste-based lobbying is a common phenomenon in such spaces, which are ignored and overlooked oftentimes amidst the wider array of concerns and amidst other forms of groupings.

Caste, thus, remains the basis of thoughts and actions 'both within and beyond the world of caste relations' (Bayly, 2001). The defenders of modernity do not completely remain free of the imperatives of their caste roots (no matter how much they would like to have themselves and others believe so) despite showing their indifference to political affairs and to their community's historic association with land and labour, or better yet, with an agrarian setup. These, according to them, are the only spaces where the spectre of caste lives and breathes in human form. It is widely held by the community that spatial dislocation due to outmigration from villages in Bihar has somehow weakened their affinity for caste associations. Such is the 'great denial' of several city-dwelling 'modern' Bhumihars.

The study's findings also show two startling paradoxes. Firstly, while on the one hand, Bhumihars justify the 'continuation' of their dominance on historical grounds, on the other, they attempt to make meaning of their lived experiences by spinning up a victim yarn for themselves in claiming that their 'weakening' economic status and constant stigmatisation by other castes have led to their weakening socio-cultural status too.

Secondly, even though they claim to move away from land ownership, 'and hence, a caste embracing mind-set' in arguing that with the onset of modernity and democratisation of land and labour, their control has lost their charms to them, the narratives emanating from the lower castes root for the enduring societal control and economic dominance of the Bhumihars. This societal control, in turn, continues with or even without economic dominance, in some peculiar cases. These evidences, therefore, point to the importance and continuing validation of their structural location in the caste hierarchy by themselves and their 'others'. Building on the works of Cohn (1987), Bayly (1999), Banerjee-Dube (2009), O'Hanlon and Washbrook (2002), and Dirks (2001), this study revisits post-Dumont scholars' cross-caste generalisations and assumptions, and argues against some of them, in trying to explore the interactions of certain psycho-social and cultural categories such as victimisation, stigmatisation, dominance, and vulnerability within the wider context of modernity, urban migration, and metamorphosis and/or perpetuity in caste behaviour.

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Residential Segregation and Unequal Access to Local Public Services in India: Evidence from 1.6 m Neighbourhoods

Anjali Adukia, University of Chicago
Sam Asher, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)
Kritarth Jha, Development Data Lab
Paul Novosad, Dartmouth College
Brandon Tan, Harvard University

Abstract

Residential neighbourhoods are widely understood as key determinants of upward mobility, access to employment, and other long-run socio-economic outcomes (Kling et al., 2007; Chetty et al., 2016; Chetty & Hendren, 2016). Settlement patterns of social groups across neighbourhoods, and concomitant inequalities in access to public services and economic opportunities are an important mechanism for the persistence of cross-group disparities. However, due to data limitations, the wide literature on neighbourhoods and access to public services has largely focused on richer countries, especially the United States, where racial segregation in particular has been shown to be a major cause of inequality (Ananat & Washington, 2009; Boustan, 2013; Cutler et al., 2008).

Residential settlement patterns are highly persistent. In rapidly urbanising developing countries, current residential settlement decisions are likely to shape the structure of cities for decades to come, but relatively little is known about these settlement patterns. Residential segregation and differential access to public services have largely been studied at more aggregate scales than neighbourhoods.[4] But US and European literature suggest that narrowly-defined neighbourhoods are critically important in determining access to schools, local labour markets, and social networks.

In this paper, taking advantage of the consistency in enumeration block coding across two major censuses, we document patterns of residential segregation, access to public facilities, and individual economic outcomes at the neighbourhood level across India. Focusing on over one and a half million small neighbourhoods consisting of just 500 people each, we characterise the settlement patterns in two major marginalised groups (MGs) Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Muslims – and their access to public facilities in both rural and urban areas.

Given India's historical residential, occupational, and social segregation through the caste system, we frame our research around the question of whether rural settlement patterns and disparities are being replicated in Indian cities. There is a broadly-held idea in India that cities present a fresh start, where people can leave their caste identity

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[4] Because the Population Census only generally releases intra-city data at the ward level, most papers studying segregation in India quantitatively do not go below this level (Vithayathil & Singh, 2012; Haque et al., 2018; Singh et al., 2019a). Banerjee and Somanathan (2007) study inequalities in public goods provision over parliamentary constituencies. A recent series of papers on neighbourhood-level segregation makes use of similarly high-resolution data as in this paper, but does not study access to public services or economic outcomes (Bharathi et al., 2019, 2020, 2021).

behind them.[5] Yet, occupational and religious clustering is unmistakeable in these cities. Indeed, we find that patterns of segregation and differential access to public goods in cities very closely replicate those in rural areas, both in average levels and in regional variation.

We focus in particular on the settlement patterns of two of India's largest minority groups: SCs and Muslims. While they make up similar population shares in the country (17 per cent and 14 per cent respectively), the histories of these two marginalised groups are quite distinct.[6] SCs have been historically consigned to the lowest occupational rungs of society, but have been a target of decades of affirmative action policies since Independence. Muslims have historically occupied both high and low positions in Indian society, but increasingly find themselves politically marginalised and threatened. While a large literature has discussed the residential segregation and marginalisation of these groups, data constraints have prevented a nationwide neighbourhood-level analysis.

We draw upon new administrative microdata from the 2012 Socio Economic and Caste Census to document outcomes for SCs and Muslims across 418,687 urban neighbourhoods (in 3,579 urban towns) and 1,16,6049 rural neighbourhoods (in 4,598 rural subdistricts).[7] We combine this with neighbourhood-level data on government education and healthcare facilities from the 2013 Economic Census, which was coded with the same administrative enumeration blocks. SCs are directly identified in the data; a key innovation is the identification of Muslims on the basis of distinctive naming patterns through the application of a neural network with over 97 per cent accuracy (Ash et al., 2021).

We present three key findings. First, using a standard measure of segregation (the dissimilarity index), we find that Muslims and SCs are highly segregated in Indian cities. Average SC segregation is comparable to that of urban African-Americans; Muslim segregation is about 35 per cent lower. Average segregation rates in rural India are slightly higher. Rural and urban segregation patterns are also highly correlated across regions: district-level measures of rural segregation are highly predictive of urban segregation in the same district.

Second, we find large disadvantages in access to public facilities—public primary schools, secondary schools, and health clinics—in neighbourhoods where marginalised groups are concentrated. Access to public facilities in Muslim neighbourhoods is universally worse than for SCs, echoing a consistent finding in the qualitative literature of Muslims reporting that they cannot get public service delivery from their representatives. For instance, increasing the Muslim share of an urban neighbourhood

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[5] For example, the chief architect of India's Constitution and lower-caste leader B.R. Ambedkar famously wrote 'The love of the intellectual Indian for the village community is of course infinite, if not pathetic. What is a village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindedness and communalism?'

[6] The other major marginalised group, Scheduled Tribes, comprise 8 per cent of India's population but live almost exclusively in rural areas; we thus leave the study of their residential patterns to future work.

[7] Due to incomplete SECC data, this represents about 80 per cent of rural subdistricts and 45 per cent of cities and towns.

from zero to 100 per cent is associated with cutting in half the probability that that neighbourhood has a government secondary school. While SC neighbourhoods are disadvantaged in terms of secondary schools and health clinics, they are actually more likely to have primary schools in urban neighbourhoods, possibly an outcome of the government's systematic policy of closing gaps in primary school provision over the 1990s and 2000s (Banerjee & Somanathan, 2007). These analyses are all conducted with city fixed effects, ensuring that we are measuring disparities within cities rather than across regions with more or fewer marginalised groups.

Schools and health clinics are allocated by politicians and bureaucrats, and disparities in access are unlikely to reflect mere poverty or preferences of the excluded groups since disparities are robust to controls for subgroup consumption and education levels.

While privately provided schools and hospitals may compensate for a lack of public provision in rural Muslim neighbourhoods, a result that echoes economic theories of discrimination mitigated by markets (Becker, 2010), this is not universally true. SC neighbourhoods, or even urban Muslim neighbourhoods do not show similar patterns.

As with residential segregation, patterns in access disparities for marginalised groups are very similar in neighbouring rural and urban areas. These patterns in differential access can only be identified at the neighbourhood level and not usually at the district level. The government has historically targeted schools and health clinics at the district level (i.e., 1,000 times more aggregated than the present analysis), in part because that is where data on existing disparities is available. Our analysis suggests that this targeting may have been less effective than previously thought, because those public services may have mainly benefited majority group neighbourhoods within those districts. Finally, we examine the relationship between minority neighbourhoods and individual living standards. Residence in minority neighbourhoods is associated with worse socio-economic outcomes (measured through consumption and educational attainment of children) for all groups, but chiefly for minority groups. Residence in segregated neighbourhoods is associated with particularly bad outcomes for Muslims.

Patterns of settlement and segregation can be shaped by economic forces like homophily and discrimination, but they are also directly affected by policy and history, which may be context-specific.[8] In India, historically, residential segregation is rooted in the caste system, which restricted individuals to tight residential, social, and occupational networks based on family of birth. Cities were historically organised on occupational lines, and Hindus and Muslims of similar occupational status lived in close quarters. In the Independence era, waves of communal violence are thought to have broken this religious integration, as Muslims have increasingly moved into segregated communities that offer protection from mob violence (Jaffrelot & Gayer, 2012).[9]

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[8] In the United States, for example, segregation patterns have been heavily shaped by the legacy of Jim Crow, neighbourhood racial covenants, redlining, and other official discriminatory policies which do not have direct analogues in India.

[9] The rapid pace of urban development in India has largely prevented systematic government policies determining discriminatory or non-discriminatory access to housing. Dysfunctional land markets, however, have given groups with political influence and wealth the greatest advantages in obtaining high-value urban land.

Our results suggest that historical patterns of caste segregation continue to dominate the structure of cities, though the cross-sectional nature of our data prevents us from studying trends over time. We do find that younger cities are marginally less segregated than older cities, but the slope is very small, too small to substantially affect the long run equilibrium, given India's rate of urbanisation.

Systematic analysis of access to public services at the neighbourhood level has been elusive because of a paucity of census data with neighbourhood identifiers, a data limitation true in most developing countries. While several of India's major sample surveys contain neighbourhood identifiers, they are rarely powered enough to measure neighbourhood characteristics like minority shares, nor do they have enough coverage of neighbourhoods within a city to measure urban segregation. Prior work includes a number of ward-level studies that use spatial units with population sizes of up to 30,000–200,000 people, 30 times the size of neighbourhoods in our analysis.[10] Focusing on caste, Bharathi et al. (2021) report segregation for 147 major cities at the same level of disaggregation as this study. Bharathi and Rahman (2021) use similar scale data on caste and religion to characterise segregation in urban Karnataka. Susewind (2017) measures Muslim segregation using microgeographic polling booth data in 11 cities. Our study goes beyond this work by studying microgeographic settlement patterns across the entire country and linking them to access to public services and economic outcomes at the same local level. We confirm that these local patterns of segregation are apparent at a national scale and that they are associated with severely disparate access to public services and worse economic outcomes. Our results on neighbourhood-level rural disparities are also new, in that neighbourhood-level analysis of villages has not been possible before at scale, nor has it been straightforward to identify Muslim villages in census data.[11]

Both high levels of segregation and low levels of access to public goods faced by marginalised groups in rural India are being replicated in its growing cities, with Muslims even more deprived than SCs. The idea that cities mitigate discrimination by allowing individuals to compete in a large anonymous labour market depends on some degree of equal access to that labour market.[12] High degrees of segregation with limited access to public services in minority neighbourhoods suggest that the city may be constrained in equalising opportunity.

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[10] Vithayathil and Singh (2012) use ward data from 2001 to show that residential segregation by caste is more prominent than by socio-economic status in seven major cities. Singh et al. (2019b) examine changes in caste-based segregation from 2001 and 2011, again at the ward level, finding that residential segregation by caste has persisted or worsened in 60 per cent of the cities in their sample. Neither of these studies examine religion, which is rarely available in Indian Census microdata.

[11] For more on discrimination against Muslims and SCs, see Thorat and Attewell (2007), Madheswaran and Attewell (2007), Sukhadeo Thorat and Rizvi (2015), and the famous Sachar Commission Report (Sachar Committee Report, 2006). Banerjee and Somanathan (2007) in particular shows SCs benefiting more from public service expansion than Muslims because of better political representation. Sharan and Kumar (2019) show that caste differences between different tiers of government lead to lower public good provsion but greivance redressal mechanisms can ameliorate.

[12] See Glaeser and Quigley (2004) for a review of John Kain's work linking racial housing segregation to worse labour market outcomes in the US.

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Beyond Class-based Binaries in Political Mobilisation: A Case Study of Islamabad, Pakistan

Hafsah Siddiqui, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge

Islamabad has witnessed the proliferation of *katchi abadis* (informal settlements). In the mid-1980s, the city was home to 13,000 *katchi abadi* residents (Kreutzmann, 2013), which surged to over 100,000 in 2018 (Mohal, 2018). Concerned with the impediments caused by informal settlements in the realisation of an urban middle-class facing agenda, government authorities have taken steps to remove such settlements. The Islamabad *katchi abadi* struggle has been one of the most sustained people's movements in the country, with residents across the city uniting across class lines to demand victims' rights. The struggle began in Islamabad in July 2015. The Capital Development Authority (CDA), which is responsible for urban planning and development, conducted forced evictions and demolitions of *katchi abadis* in the I-11 sector under the order of the high court. 2,000 families and 20,000 individuals were displaced ('Supreme Court Katchi Abadi Case Timeline', 2014), and 3,000 homes destroyed (Hashmi, 2015).

The CDA's operation was met with resistance from the Awami Workers Party (AWP), a political party whose leadership is comprised of highly educated middle-class individuals. They collaborated with *katchi abadi* residents to file petitions against the evictions in the Supreme Court, conducted non-violent protests on city streets, and organised an art intervention and multiple rallies, among various other strategies. These efforts exposed how political and legal systems violated the rights of the *katchi abadi* residents ('Facing Imminent Eviction, Slum Dwellers Protest CDA's Plans', 2015)—rights which have been enshrined in international and local laws.

Based on eight months of in-person qualitative fieldwork in Islamabad in 2020–21 and using the case of AWP, my research argues that a new form of 'overlapping' urban insurgency is emerging, whereby different class identities overlap in political mobilisation strategies. Existing approaches to citizenship and insurgency assume a level of class homogeneity (e.g., Chatterjee, 2004; Holston, 2008; Bayat, 2000) that I seek to interrogate. My research reveals how alliances between different classes of urban residents challenge previous conceptions of the relationship between insurgency and political practices. By maintaining that political practices are not fixed according to social class, I highlight how such solidarities reveal the fluidity inherent in political mobilisation.

One social group which has been given a lot of attention in academic discourse on the politicisation of citizenship rights is the poor, particularly as resilient actors with the agency to contest their marginalisation. As the urban poor challenge unjust top-down policies, they influence their environment and their perceptions of themselves through these struggles (Miraftab & Wills, 2005), often without engaging in contentious politics. Holston (2008) makes a major contribution to this idea through his ethnography of Brazil's urban poor. In his view, citizenship in Brazil is differentiated—it is 'universally

inclusive in membership and massively inegalitarian in distribution' (p. 197). These conditions are historically rooted and have survived even through the democratic period because the country's elites have continuously misused the legal system to preserve a system of oppression that favours their own interests. Elite groups (or the 'entrenched') deliberately exploited the law and used it as a weapon to deny the poor their rights in what was essentially a one-sided, class-based war for legal claims and titles over urban land. Exercising their right to property became a transformative process for the 'insurgent' poor, who challenged their differential treatment through the 'autoconstruction of house, self, and citizen' (p. 263). In doing so, they not only discovered the unyielding legal basis for their own inclusion in, and appropriation of, urban space, but also destabilised old meanings and practices of differentiated citizenship in favour of new, transgressive, and insurgent ones. Holston's work has been a productive lens for scholars studying the politics of the marginalised and has been linked to community-building (Dhananka, 2016) and placemaking practices (Ismail, 2014). Overall, it provides an alternative conceptualisation to the idea that the poor are passive actors who lack agency.

Insurgent citizenship is particularly applicable to subaltern mobilisations across the global South and, when undertaken effectively, can lead to the emancipation of the excluded (Nilsen, 2016). However, Holston's empirical focus on the urban poor is rather limited and risks being celebratory without recognising the brutality of everyday life and the necessary connections the poor have to make with those who are more politically savvy and familiar with the state and its mechanisms in order to get their voices heard. He overstates the poor's ability to translate their concerns into the language of the state without tapping into the expertise and experience of intermediary actors. Holston does not recognise that the poor require social capital (networks of trust, information, and cooperation) to articulate their claims and navigate power relations in the socio-political sphere. My research explores the role of intermediaries as a necessary prerequisite for the urban poor to legitimise their citizenship identity and claims (in their own eyes).

Like Holston (2008), Asef Bayat (2000) also limits his analysis to the politics undertaken by the poor without acknowledging the role played by their links with other socio-economic classes. Bayat (2000) argues that there has been a 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' in Southern cities, involving 'non-collective but prolonged direct action by individuals and families to acquire the basic necessities of their lives… in a quiet and unassuming illegal fashion' (p. 536). Cumulatively and gradually, he claims, these struggles are enough to disrupt the urban status quo and create social change (Bayat, 1997). The intention of both Holston's and Bayat's approaches is to shift the focus away from the politics of civil society and highlight the potential of the poor. Yet, what both do not acknowledge is the assistance the urban poor rely on to advance their interests. Both authors present the 'insurgent' and 'ordinary' as insulated communities working only amongst themselves without any external relationships, particularly across class lines. My intervention of 'overlapping' urban insurgency—with its focus on both the poor and middle-class residents—provides a more nuanced analysis of the politics engaged in by a variety of actors fighting against urban housing inequality.

The notion of class-based politics in the global South and its link to citizenship was brought to prominence by Partha Chatterjee, in his seminal work *The Politics of the Governed* (2004). He contrasts the political practices of 'civil society' with those of 'political society' to argue that there is a split in the political field of postcolonial societies. Civil society consists of individuals who can claim full citizenry and access the state directly on the basis of individual rights. Political society is made up by those who have only a tenuous presence as citizens and who live life on the margins of the law. Rather than treating members of political society as actors to grant rights to, the state views them as a target for its policies. On account of their illegal status, claims that members of political society make cannot have a legal basis. Therefore, any mobilisation undertaken by political society is considered petty politics rather than legitimate demands in a democratic arena.

Chatterjee's dichotomy is an important contribution to the understanding of politics in the global South, especially with regard to the implication of diverging relationships between the state and civil and political societies on citizenship. However, his polarisation between urban citizens (primarily framed by class and housing tenure) and their mobilisation strategies have gained significant criticism for a variety of reasons. Lemanski and Tawa Lama-Rewal (2013) argue that resident welfare associations in Delhi's unauthorised colonies employ both civil and political society strategies rather than being confined to strategies based on class, as Chatterjee establishes. This is also noted by Jones, Kimari, and Ramakrishnan (2017), who write that in the Mathare informal settlements in Nairobi, political society organisations mirror the structure of civil society organisations in order to seem more legitimate in front of the state. Moreover, in their study of neighbourhood associations in Chennai, Coelho and Venkat (2009) find that the urban poor are increasingly using the civil associational and legal-institutional forms traditionally employed by civil society to substantiate their claims. These scholars' recognition of the overlap and interconnectivity in class-based mobilisation is crucial to the foundation of my research because it underlines how the dichotomy between political and civil society is more indistinct than Chatterjee presents.

Additionally, when applied to empirical cases, the tightly-defined binary becomes messy—in practice, the attributes of civil and political society in Chatterjee's scheme are often inverted: 'generally, it is members of the so-called civil society who break laws with impunity and who demand that the rules be waived for them, whereas members of political society strive to become legal, to gain recognition and entitlements from the state' (Baviskar & Sundar, 2008, p. 89). Empirical data suggests that the urban poor 'invoke rights, contracts, and the discourse of equality in addressing the state' (Menon, 2010, p. 11). In building upon these findings, I assert that the urban poor's capacity to contest their subordination—and therefore experience more comprehensive citizenship—is dependent on their connections with intermediary actors between themselves and the government.

To conclude, I assert that political practices and mobilisation trajectories are not fixed according to class. I argue that collaboration across class lines has an impact on

perceptions and experiences of citizenship on the part of citizens. This 'overlapping' insurgency has the potential to make citizenship more accessible to those who have been excluded. Over time, these alliances could lead to increased equality in the urban South. While past work (Holston, 2008; Chatterjee, 2004; Bayat, 2000) has tended to oversimplify the boundaries between the 'rich' and 'poor', my research attends to the limitations and possibilities that become apparent when these two groups work together for a particular cause. Overall, I analyse why and how a new form of 'overlapping' insurgency is developing in Islamabad, with special attention to the ramifications of this type of mobilisation on citizenship and urban democracy more broadly.

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Reclaiming Public Life in Delhi's Urban Villages

Sophiya Islam, CEPT University

Introduction

The Master Plan of Delhi 2021 records around 135 urban villages in the city, housing approximately eight lakh people. Urban villages in the city are often located in close proximity to prominent high and middle-income neighbourhoods and tend to act as satellite towns. They provide labour to the city and affordable housing to migrant workers and low-income families. However, a lack of the sense of belonging displayed itself in the exodus of migrant labourers returning to their homes in rural villages during the national lockdown in the prevailing pandemic. Therefore, the need to transform such urban villages into liveable, inclusive, and safe urban environments, comes to the fore.

As these urban villages have evolved and transformed over decades, two features are especially notable. First, the breaking away from traditional occupations, a result of the competing pace of urbanisation around, which has led residents to start small businesses determined by the demands of the surrounding neighbourhoods. Second, the struggle of maintaining the traditional distribution of multiplicity of co-existing cultures, which leads to the fragmentation of the village into several precincts, each with its own open spaces and spatial landmarks. The result is that while the activities and uses of the surrounding neighbourhoods influence the transformation of the village peripheries, the few open spaces remain dominated by a particular gender and the terms of usage governed by the dominant castes and religious customs, leading to a hostile and unsafe environment, especially for women. It needs to be explored whether this pattern of peripheral transformation can be used as a strategy to transform Delhi's urban villages into liveable and inclusive urban environments.

It is important to note that Delhi's urban villages have already started to utilise the potential of their location, and the prevalent job centres, as the village peripheries transform into hubs of commercial activity, marking their presence in the city. For example, Shahpur Jat is transformed into a hub of fashion outlets, Hauz Khas and Said-ul-Ajaib have transformed into a hub of cafes. These transformed urban villages have started gaining identity as the new go-to places in the city for tourists, both domestic and foreign. While their peripheries are getting transformed into hubs of buzzing commercial activities where residents benefit from the new economic opportunities, the lack of integration of these urban villages with the city make the village interiors introverted in nature. This leads to further densification within their boundaries as urban villages continue to grapple with the growing population. Urban villages have become somewhat isolated, as a consolidated single entity, non-porous and detached from the 'planned' city. Consequently, these villages develop into a dense haphazardly built fabric with an unorganised street network.

The urban villages represent two major concerns; one is spatial due to the dense urban fabric, and the other is sociological owing to the structure of the community and its traditions. While these seem to be two distinct issues, they are intertwined, as one

impacts the other. The lack of activities to engage with in public space restricts women to their households and therefore, reinforces the idea of male-dominated public space. Urban design interventions, while resolving the spatial issues, can therefore provide opportunities for resolution of social issues too. The strategy to transform the villages, therefore, initiates from the concern for quality of life of its residents and further explores its potential to integrate the village with the city, thereby reclaiming the sense of belonging for the residents through inclusive and safe public spaces.

Strategy Idea

The urban villages are marked with a single *khasra* number on the Master Plan, keeping the land under the collective ownership of the village community. This poses a challenge in identifying a strategy to create open spaces for public life, as individual residents do not have ownership and land development rights. One method to resolve this issue is to identify private land parcels, such that multiple owners can collaborate and amalgamate individual plots for upgradation. This would help initiate and develop a sense of belonging among the residents and an identity for the village in the city, as people become changemakers.

Upon identification of plots for amalgamation, it is important to ponder upon the upgradation strategy and its impact on the residents, especially women who benefit from the close proximity of job centres to their households. The impact may be of two types: either due to displacement from the original habitation, or due to change in the nature of jobs. The former can be dealt with by encouraging plot amalgamation to build more mixed-use built typology where the ground floor could be kept free for public use and the upper floors could be private residences, retaining the original symbiotic relationship between private and public life. The latter can be dealt with by retaining the existing nature of job centres to inform the programme formulation, rearranging and introducing new ones keeping in consideration the need for more women-centric uses to create an inclusive and safe environment.

Once the social and economic benefits of this transformation start to be accrued and become evident in the community, it would lead to a ripple effect, as more and more residents will get involved in the upgradation process, breaking down the barriers of hesitancy. While the upgradation process is resident-focused, it becomes imperative to include all stakeholders, especially under-represented sections of the community, i.e., women, children, and the elderly, by creating focus groups to ensure an inclusive approach. As the ideas of private land amalgamation become acceptable within the community, a precinct-based placemaking model can then be explored for further upgradation of the existing and new public spaces.

Placemaking, both as a philosophy and as a methodology, lies at the core of this strategy idea. It brings attention to the nature of public spaces, considering aspects like inclusivity, liveability, and variety. Further, all urban villages cannot be developed on a single model, and therefore it is necessary to orient development around existing context, history and evolution specific to each village. Inter-dependence of existing functions and the need for new functions that promote the involvement of under-

represented sections of the community can be taken as a basis to prepare a detailed strategic placemaking approach. This will ensure that the programme formulation caters to the community in totality.

When public spaces are created and activated by a strategic programme formulation, they become active nodes of interaction. However, wayfinding through the unorganised street network in urban villages remains a challenge. At this point, there is a need to identify two important types of street connections: one which connects landmarks within the village, and the other which connects landmarks to the city. These streets can be transformed into 'active streets' through small-scale urban design interventions like signage, lighting, and sitting spaces, thereby making the village legible, porous, and safe.

However, it is important to understand the distinct character and usage of village streets, as compared to the streets of the city. This distinction arises from the character of its built edges that have adapted to the usage patterns of people over the years. The built edges have projections at the plinth level, which have seating spaces that are used for leisure and staircases that lead directly to the upper floors, leaving the ground free for commercial use, detached from the household. At times, the edges transform to engulf the public street into a semi-private zone, which is used as a cooking area or washing area to save space within the household, and these spaces become safe social interaction zones for women. Therefore, integrating existing activity patterns can help in retaining the character of the village, while also informing design decisions to improve the urban environment and providing for existing functions.

The active streets provide spatial connections that are instrumental in transforming village spaces into active and safe spaces, integrating it with the city. However, it is people who activate these spaces and transform them into public places. To achieve a successful transformation of the village, there is a need to then mobilise the community to break free from their social barriers to enjoy the public spaces and transform them into inclusive public places.

Given the huge demand–supply gap in housing, upgradation of existing informal settlements is the way forward. The upgradation efforts should initiate with urban design transformations, focusing on the public sphere rather than built-form transformations in the private domain. This approach becomes unique in its methodology, where the process of transformation remains grounded and residents become the changemakers. This will generate a sense of belonging for all the communities as residents will come together to create a better life within their neighbourhoods. Coping with the current pace of urbanisation, cities can start to grow into more inclusive, resilient, liveable, sustainable, and healthy spaces.

Panel 6
Working the City:
Livelihoods, Mobility, and Space

Travelling in the Cosmos: Exploring Rurban Sensibility amongst the Rural Cosmopolitans in Hyderabad, India

Tirthankar Chakraborty, Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Freie Universität Berlin

'The biggest problem here is the food. They cannot cook at all. Even if they make chicken, the curry runs all over the plate. To be honest, my taste has changed … We used to stop around many times where the restaurants are really nice. So, I have developed a taste for that food.'

—The author in conversation with Anil (name changed) who used to be a truck driver[13]

'Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed.'

—Bourdieu, 2019 (1984), p. xxix

Researchers of migration in South Asia have deemed it to be a process of alleviating economic distress and striving for livelihood, through a flight from rural to rural or rural to urban locales in search of jobs, opportunities, and thereafter, resources. However, one can ask if this flight is solely motivated by the need for resources or whether there are other aspirations, thoughts, and sensibilities associated with this movement? In other words, do wage differentials alone dictate the movement of migrants from rural to urban or is there a complex, social cost–benefit analysis by the migrants aided by their agency that dictates such movement? Are these movements always facilitated by coercion or is it a result of choice and self-made decisions or maybe both? The central question explored in this thesis is of what prompts migrants to keep migrating even when there is an option for work in their vicinity.

Taking a cue from Vinay Gidwani and K Sivaramakrishnan's formulation of 'rural cosmopolitanism' (2003), this study looks at rural migrants from eastern India who periodically migrate to the city of Hyderabad to work in informal sectors, even when they could work in their immediate vicinity (rural locales and nearby towns). My hypothesis is that rural migrants travel to urban locations (metropolis, cities, and towns) to not only earn money but, more importantly, use the experience to enhance their social status and position in the community to which they belong. This enhancement is due to the acquisition of symbols, signs, behaviours, practices, and tendencies which are akin to the urban (in a normative way), and they practise these in their rural abodes.

Collecting data from multiple informal conversations, each narrative becomes a rich entry point into the lives of the migrants and how they see themselves evolving with an

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[13] Transcribed immediately after the conversation took place on 6 September 2017 (10:40 a.m.) with the help of field notes and to the best of my recollection. Names have been changed to maintain confidentiality. This method is in line with participant and systemic observation, in an effort to write thick descriptions of events or encounters. In this conversation, Anil is differentiating between the food available to labourers at the construction site and during his days of being a truck driver.

urban sensibility, yet keeping their rural roots intact. Even though they work in the city (Hyderabad in this case), they do not plan to move or settle there, since they need the rural to posit and practise their acquisition, thereby making the process of migration a process of formation of a new identity and, what I call, a 'rurban' sensibility—a messy amalgamation of the parochial and the 'modern'. Using the analytical frameworks of Bourdieun 'distinction' (1984) and Guattari's 'subjective singularity' (1995), this thesis builds on the idea of rural cosmopolitanism, and expand it to find out how exactly migrants perceive this travel and how that shapes their identity. Thus, this not only entails geospatial transgressions between the rural and the urban but also the social and cultural boundaries are (re)established and (re)enacted through this cosmopolitanism.

Seventeen respondents were interviewed through informal conversations and prolonged dialogues over six months. Of the 17 respondents, 13 belong to a construction site in Kondapur[14] called Western Construction. Two are/were working as security guards in different HITEC City[15] complexes. Two are/were roadside-snacks sellers. From this cohort, three hail from Uttar Pradesh (UP), three from Jharkhand, and 11 from West Bengal. This establishes the geographical mobility as Uttar Pradesh is in the northern part of the country and Jharkhand and West Bengal are in the eastern part of the country. The informality of the dialogues was an attempt to remove the awkwardness of a formal interview process, which might add a sense of consciousness and discourage the respondents from speaking their thoughts freely. Though a detailed questionnaire was prepared before the interview process started, the interviews themselves were free-flowing conversations, which extended to visits to the local markets, hanging out during free time, and during work. The method employed in this thesis includes semi-structured, informal interviews, systemic and participant observation facilitated by intensive ethnographic fieldwork. The conversations were later transcribed to the best of recollection. Since most of the respondents spoke Bengali, the communication barrier was easily overcome (my mother tongue is Bengali). For the respondents from UP and Jharkhand, Hindi was the medium of conversation (which is my third language). It would also be pertinent to mention that while the essay by Vinay Gidwani and K Sivaramakrishnan serves as a point of reference, it did not dictate the contours of the study, nor did it lead to the incubation of the idea. The idea itself evolved from empirical observations during daily commutes where I found many Bengali and Hindi speaking migrants working in various informal sectors of the city. It is pertinent to also note that the essay by the aforementioned authors was written 17 years ago and there would be a substantive change in the discourses on urbanism and migration since then. An effort would be made to capture the same.

Bourdieu has stated that 'art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimising social differences' (1984,

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[14] Located in the north-western part of Hyderabad, Kondapur is one of the most rapidly expanding part of the city. Erstwhile mostly rocky terrain, this locale witnessed massive changes with the IT boom, with international companies setting up offices, which called for the need for housing for the employees. Thus, Kondapur has continuously witnessed spatial changes with more concrete structures emerging. What that entails is a steady flow of migrants to work in these construction sites.

[15] As the name suggests, HITEC City is a technology industry hub which has a slew of offices, restaurants, and innovation centres. Due to the nature of the enterprises, a large cohort of security guards can be found as pillars at the entry points of these buildings.

p. xxx). This is where the conceptualisation of the rurban sensibility takes place—as their identity and sense of distinction or difference get chiselled with every travel as the circular migrants explore the urban, keeping their rural roots intact. But maintaining strong ties and perceiving the rural as 'home' leads to 'a conservative reterritorialization of subjectivity' (Guattari 1995, p. 3) that emboldens the parochial. It essentially highlights the nuances of the interdependency (between the city and migrants) that has several fault lines, anxieties, and precarities intertwined. At the same, it results in the embracing of space, symbols, styles, and habits which the urban has to offer and the rural has to preserve. Ramesh (name changed) kept saying that he is from Kolkata (the largest city of West Bengal and also the state capital) when asked where is from. Upon prodding about his connection with the construction site contractor, he let it out that they come from the same village. But the big city of Kolkata is what his identity is more suited to, not the small village of Bishnupur in East Midnapur, West Bengal, which is why he likes to introduce himself as a resident of Kolkata, and not Bishnupur. To whitewash this as a simple coincidence will be to be tone-deaf to the developing rurban sensibility of the rural cosmopolitans.

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Are Urban Working Women in the Organised Sector Under the Double Burden Syndrome?

K Saradhambika, Department of English, GITAM School of Humanities

Women in India constitute 48.4 per cent as compared to 51.6 per cent of men in the total Indian population of 1.37 billion people. Indian women access higher education at the same rates as men at 27 per cent, and the literacy rate for females and males are 64.63 per cent and 80.9 per cent respectively (NSS, Census 2011). In 2011, the workforce participation rate at all India level was 25.51 per cent for females and 53.26 per cent for males. While there is no rural–urban gap for males (53 per cent), there is considerable rural–urban gap for females (rural: 30 per cent; urban: 15.4 per cent). As per NSS 2011–12, 59.3 per cent of female workers in rural India are self-employed while in urban areas, the corresponding figure is 42.8 per cent. Of this, only 29.3 per cent of women work in the organised sector, with the employment rate of urban Indian women being at 5.4 per cent in February 2021. Only 3.7 per cent of CEOs and Managing Directors of NSE-listed companies were women in 2019, a number that has increased just slightly from 3.2 per cent in 2014 (Catalyst, 2021).

It is usually expected that in a growing economy, as job opportunities increase and education levels rise, more women enter the paid workforce. However, the status has been exactly the opposite in India. Whereas female labour force participation rate (LFPR) in urban areas has declined from 165 per 1,000 in 1993 to 155 per 1,000 in 2011, in rural areas, the female LFPR has fallen from 330 per 1,000 to 253 per 1,000 over the same period. The LFPR of females (rural: 25.3 per cent; urban: 15.5 per cent) is lower than that of males (rural: 55.3 per cent; urban: 56.3 per cent) in both rural and urban areas (NSS 2011–12).

Table 1: Workforce Participation Rate (%)

Year	Rural		Urban	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
2000-2001*	28.7	54.4	14.0	53.1
2001-2002*	31.4	54.6	13.9	55.3
2002*	28.1	54.6	14.0	53.4
2004-05	32.7	54.6	16.6	54.9
2005-06*	31.0	54.9	14.3	54.0
2007-08*	28.9	54.8	13.8	55.4
2009-10	26.1	54.7	13.8	54.3
2011-12	24.8	54.3	14.7	54.6

Source: National Sample Survey Office

Much has been said and written about gender inequality in India: the wage gap, infrastructure, facilities, education, and availability of jobs itself or lack thereof. These women who represent the 5 per cent in the urban organised sector are much respected and inspiring to others who believe that they are role models who have broken the glass ceiling, unshackled themselves, and overcome all roadblocks to be the 'working woman', 'well-paid', 'have it all' individual.

'I am a working professional, with a young kid, taking care of my aging parents. I have the support of a maid, child care, and am financially independent.'

'My maid coming from the rural parts has three daughters, works in five houses, comes twice a day, and is financially independent.'

Which of Us is Better Off?
Are urban educated Indian women more likely to join the workforce, compared to their rural counterparts? Do urban working women face no challenges since they have overcome all and have it easy now? Public Affairs Centre India (PAC) conducted a case study about the barriers and enablers to decent work for Indian women and the preliminary findings of the research presented in the article (published in Southern Voice) show a more nuanced picture of the urban–rural divide.

It is known that because a majority of women in India (74.2 per cent) live in rural areas (Census of India, 1991), they suffer many social and cultural discriminations (Vecchio and Roy, 1998). At 13.9 per cent, unemployment rate is the highest for urban women with graduate degrees and above. Within this category of educational attainment, the unemployment rate for women aged 15–29 is even higher, at 23.4 per cent. This highlights the severity of the problem for educated young women in urban India. Also, as per the sex ratio table, the child sex ratio, which is otherwise an issue throughout the country, is even lower at 902 per 1,000 in urban areas as opposed to 919 per 1,000 in rural areas (Census 2011).

Can we assume that women in urban areas are not subject to any discrimination (excluding sexual harassment)? Is it true that the urban educated upper-class women seek work only for personal satisfaction, and the primary reason why poor women labour outside the home is income generation to pay for basic survival needs? Do all urban areas have higher participation from women in the workforce? As stated in an article on 'The myth surrounding urban Indian women', published in Southern Voice, a platform for global dialogue on sustainable development goals, none of the major cities of India were found to have female worker population rates that were above the 50th percentile of worker population rates. Major cities like New Delhi, Mumbai, and Kolkata have 179 to 196 female workers per 1,000, a significantly lower female worker population rate. They are even lower than the national average. Based on the stats published by IWWAGE in 2020, 'only 10.3% women from urban areas are in the greater labour force. 90% of women aged 15 or more in urban India, are not employed, neither are they actively seeking work, nor are they willing to work' in corporates/the organised sector.

Urbanisation may not be creating as conducive circumstances for female employment as generally expected. In eight years to 2012, 19.6 million women quit or lost jobs. This decline is evident whichever way you slice the data: rural or urban, formal or informal sector, illiterate women or post-graduates. The biggest decline has been amongst two groups—illiterate women and post-graduates, according to a 2017 World Bank report, *Precarious Drop: Reassessing Patterns of Female Labour Force Participation in India*.

Figure 6: Change in female labour force participation by education level (1993–94 to 2011–12)
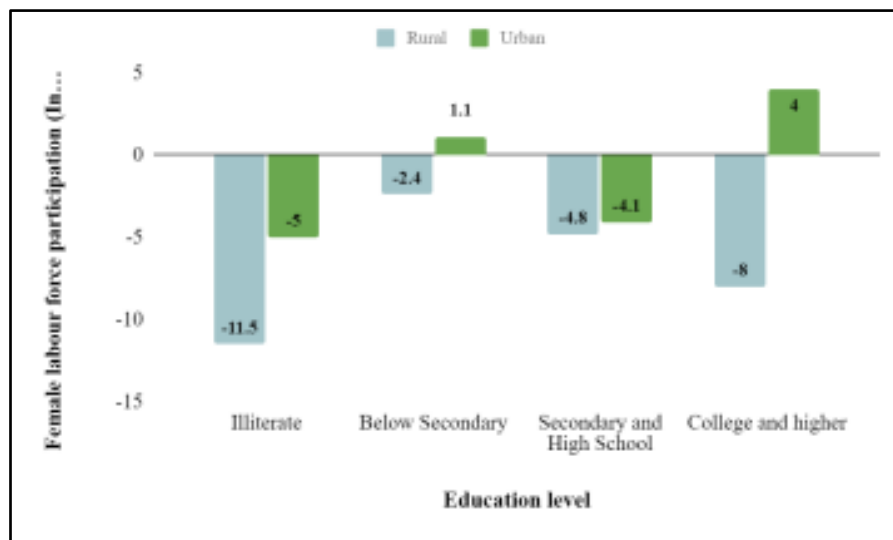
Source: National Sample Survey (2011-12)

This paper incorporates gender, economic, and social development as a conceptual framework to explore the status of Indian urban women in the organised sector, which is similar to the status of rural women in organised or informal sectors.

India's low labour force participation rate for women is due in part to restrictive cultural norms regarding women's work, the gender wage gap, an increase in time spent for women continuing their education, and a lack of safety policies and flexible work offerings. Women are doubly burdened, because in Indian social structures, women are expected to do all the housework and take care of family members. It is believed equally by men and women that women are better at this. Working women have to manage their office and household responsibilities equally, pretty much doing 'two-shifts' which is not sustainable in the long run. No matter their age or income, women still have primary responsibility for housework and child care which cuts into the time they could be spending on their careers.

A woman who prioritises her career ahead of, or even alongside, young children being brought up by domestic workers or in day care 'often receives implicit or explicit censure both within and outside the house'. The social stigma, the sarcasm, the label of 'DINKs' (Double Income No Kids) cause an enormous amount of stress for women who contribute to the family's income equally, if not more. Unfortunately, almost no work has been done on this in India, where patriarchal attitudes are entrenched and care infrastructure is still developing.

Being financially independent and educated, with an advanced and growth mindset, do women have the 'freedom' to make decisions independently on: a) investments; b) changing jobs; c) rearing kids; d) buying a car; e) travelling and vacationing; f) spending their earnings at their discretion. As per the survey by PremonAsia, only 25 per cent of total car buyers in India are women. (This has doubled from 12 per cent in 2012.)

'While there are few entry points for women, the exit gates are many—pregnancy, child care, elderly care, lack of family support, and unsupportive work environment,' said an April 2018 study, Predicament of Returning Mothers.

Conclusion

Irrespective of urban or rural, women in this country do not enjoy equal rights like men in all fields whether it is home, social functions, financial decisions or employment sector due to traditional values and norms that our society possesses from the early period. It is essential to note that though the Constitution of India has been in existence for more than sixty years, the rise of women's status to one of equality, freedom, and dignity is still a distant dream. There is a significant difference concerning the control and influence exerted. There is no denying that there has been an improvement in the situation, considering that there is an increase in the number of women who are educated (65.46 per cent in 2011, which is greater than female literacy in 2001, i.e., 54.16 per cent) with the female share of graduates in STEM at 42.72 per cent in 2016, and some women occupying high positions (even if insignificant yet), which include very senior management positions. Mere access to education and employment can only accelerate the process of empowerment. However, achievement of this goal depends more on attitude and moving away from our perceptions of the urban–rural binary to truly review and plan for empowerment in urban areas too. Like in economic studies, we need to relook at gender and women's empowerment across urban and rural areas as a continuum, hybrid, or liminality.

Figure 7: Trend in workforce participation as per NSS
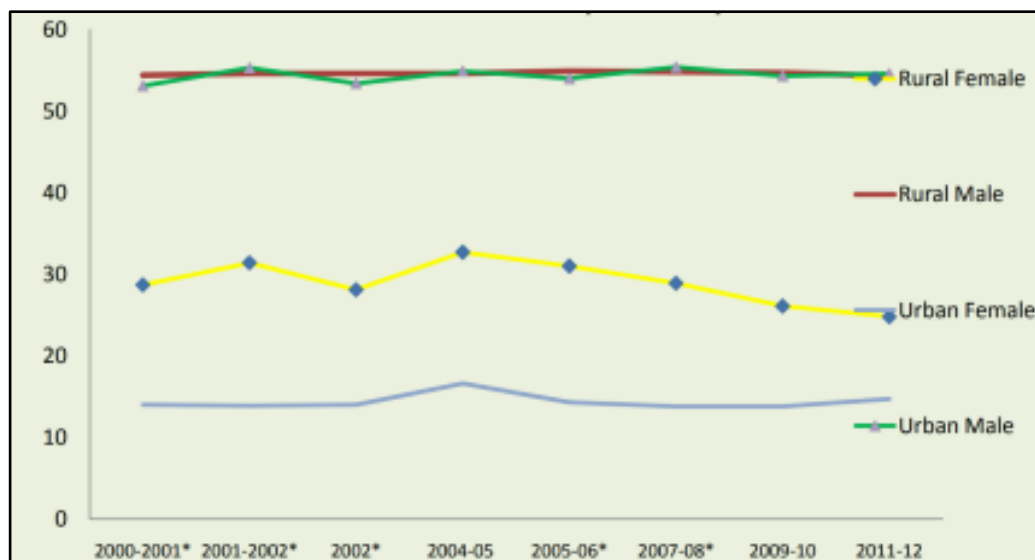
Source: National Sample Survey

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Re-imagining Duality of Urbanisation in New Normal: Deepening Multidimensional Marginality of Urban Poor in Neoliberal Indian Cities

Shadab Anis, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA)

Abstract

The process of urbanisation starts with an increase in the level of industrialisation which transforms the demography, the flow of capital, and the expansion of space. Urbanisation not only changes the modes and means of production and consumption but also the social, political, economic, and cultural relations in society. The expansion of cities occurred with the decline or devaluation of agricultural production. People who used to invest their labour in agricultural production did not get sufficient returns for their survival. With the arrival of global capitalism, agriculture and its allied sectors are in distress, culminating in migration of agricultural labourers and petty landowning class.

Such distress migration movements are aspirational as cities provide better livelihood opportunities of healthcare, education, and occupation. However, cities are not uniform and produce their own marginality; slums and segregated ghettos are manifestations of such marginality. Marginality is the position of people on the edges, preventing their access to resources and opportunities, freedom of choices, and the development of personal capabilities. Being excluded, not only from growth but also from other dimensions of developmental and societal progress, is an indication of the extremely poor at the margins of society, and in many cases, marginality is the root cause of poverty (von Braun et al., 2009). Marginality as a concept is multidimensional, multicausal, and historical phenomenon which takes place at the intersection of social, political, economic, and cultural spheres (Clarks, 1996). The other important context of urbanisation can be understood as a continuum of rural and urban, pre-colonial and colonial, and pre-capitalist and capitalist formulations of caste and labour questions (Shah, 1988) which are peculiar to Indian society and its impressions are can be identified in cities known as global cities (Sassen, 1991). The contradiction of unskilled labour absorbed in the informal economy and the slumification of a large population of migrated people further complicates the whole romanticisation of urbanisation. Though the arrival of globalisation breaks the caste structure in one realm as consumers, it reproduces their caste identity as citizens who seeks to demand the benefits of social welfare schemes for a dignified livelihood.

The Census of India defines towns or urban spaces as: a) having a population of more than 5,000; b) 400 people living per square kilometre density-wise; and c) 75 per cent of its population being engaged in non-agricultural workforce (Dev & Patel, 2006). However, the question is whether the process or phenomenon of urbanisation can be analysed through these restricted definitions, whether it needs to be redefined, or if we need a different approach for different regions and states. Scholars have come to an agreement to study and comprehend urbanism as a phenomenon from the perspective of political economy. Some important processes have been identified, which define urbanism and its characteristics appropriately. First, the process constitutes towns and cities over time and space through flow, concentration, and extension of capital.

Second, the conflict of interest between forces and relations of production, which creates fertile ground for collective social movements. Third, state intervention in spatial reorganisation and maintaining power structures and its ideology. Fourth, how culture is formed and represented in the dynamics of the above-mentioned aspects (Zukin, 1980; Pickvance, 1976; Harvey, 1985; Castells, 1976).

Conceptualising urbanisation from the gaze of one discipline will not provide the complete picture and therefore, it needs multidisciplinary as critical element to unearth the process and formation of cities. Urbanisation as a way of life is a confluence of different aspects of political, social, economic, and cultural phenomena. It also needs new Third World urban phenomenal theories through the perspective of the political economy and its relations with the global capital of the North. The urban has dual characteristics or can be understood by duality.

The urban squatter settlements and gated colonies, the high-salaried jobs and daily wage labourers are the manifestations of urban processes and grow parallelly (Wacquant, 1996; Sassen, 1991). It is also important to understand that even Indian cities have a dual character which creates the state of contestation between the organised middle class, the elites, and the underclass (Dev & Patel, 2006). For better understanding of urbanisation in India, it will be more appropriate if urbanisation in the developed world is analysed. It is opined that the developed world, through the subcontracting of labour, has pushed the process and expansion of the informal sector in the developing world due to the availability of cheap labour, thereby producing urban marginality and multilayered exclusion.

The expansion of urban space, its infrastructure, and population are not similar to the Western world. There was always a dependent nature of capitalism in India. Urban spaces were developed for the transportation of raw materials and other goods for them. India did not see the clear transition from feudalism to capitalism and the urban–rural link is always there. In the instance of Indian cities, it was forced through a planning mechanism by the British and these developments are more inorganic than organic (Menon, 1997).

The factor shaping patterns and trends in Indian urbanisation was its peculiar connection with the agrarian economy. Contrary to Europe, agrarian ties were not uprooted permanently in India, which can rallied to the cities. It not only slowed down the process of urbanisation but also led to a dependence on capital and agriculture. Europe witnessed the clear transition from feudalism to capitalism which created tension between country and town. Such tensions seem absent in the Indian scenario as migrants have strong ties and roots to the rural economy. This is because the villages provide a support system for the limited nature of manufacturing and organised industry in India. Such urban–rural continuity is part and parcel of the Indian urbanisation process. This process intersects hierarchies of caste, gender, and religion. In Covid-19 during lockdown the reverse migration andand huge march of the migrant labourers to their home states because survival was not possible in the cities, reinforces these arguments.

The large migrant population started to be employed in the informal economy with insecure work (Breman, 1994; Jha, 2016). The informal sector is not different from the

formal economy but directly linked to this (Hart,1973). The informalisation of labour and the formal sector created a space for inequalities and stratification in already rigid stratified society of Indian cities.

The COVID-19 pandemic disrupted the life the humans used to live and the world was at rest. There was complete closure of financial exchange, curfews were placed, and movement was restricted to curtail the deadly effects of this pandemic. In India, the executive was busy hiding the data of death and mismanagement while the people were helpless, seeing their loved ones dying due to utter shortage of oxygen, beds, and ambulances. In this crisis, life was in distress but the poor in both rural and urban areas were more vulnerable. Loss of income and employment, disruptions in social protections schemes (like the midday meal and the public distribution system), and overburdening of hospitals worsened the hardship of the urban poor (UN, 2020; Frisen & Pelz, 2020). The middle class and urban bourgeoisie elites were in stress too but had the option to work from home and also consume art and aesthetics, leading to what Harvey (1987) calls flexible accumulation to culture and production of symbolic capital and urbanism is the representation of the culture of consumerism (Smith, 2001; Zukin, 1980, 1995). Privileged children continued their education in virtual mode while children from slums, cramped in shanty and squatter settlements, were struggling to have a balanced diet and were pushed out from the educational ecosystem. Placing the binary of urbanisation as a process of accumulation of capital and the production of space and right to the city for all, where collective consumption is the defining feature of urban theories. The pandemic breaks the binary of duality and goes beyond it in two different ways: it affected the urban elites in many ways as money and class positionality could not buy them access to beds, oxygen tanks etc. and they faced disruptions in getting the labour of the urban poor as domestic help, security guards, gardeners, drivers and so on.

This paper seeks to place these binaries by conceptualising marginality produced in a dual city structure in light of the pandemic, lockdowns, and the state's failure to provide basic necessities for survival. The paper proposes an intersectional approach as a theoretical framework to understand multiple marginalities. The paper is qualitative in nature and based on secondary data.

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Beyond Internal and International Migration: Exploring Everyday Spatialities of Indian Women Migrants in Hyderabad, India and Melbourne, Australia

SriPallavi Nadimpalli, Independent Researcher

In the context of 21st century globalisation, contemporary cities are prominent urban nodes within a vast transnational network, attracting flows of both capital and people and resulting in different manifestations of spaces and demographics (Castells, 2016; Sassen, 1996). While movements in capital and disparities in income between nations have triggered relocation for better work opportunities and continue to be predominant causes for migration, not all migrations are global (King, 1995). Further, other factors like ecological, political, and demographic pressure or ethnic and religious struggles and conflicts in home countries also trigger migration (Sandercock & Lyssiotis, 2003). As Vertovec (2015) explains, migration can be 'voluntary' and 'forced', internal and international, undocumented and legal (under a variety of channels), skilled and unskilled, conflict-displaced, environmentally-induced, political asylum-seeking, trader, student, temporary, and circular and permanent migrants' (p. 2). Contemporary migrations can occur in combinations and an individual can simultaneously be linked with multiple categories of migration, depending on their circumstances.

Within migration studies, there are multiple binaries (such as forced versus voluntary, permanent versus temporary, internal versus international) that are applied as a lens depending on 'different data sources, different disciplinary backgrounds of researchers, different analytical techniques, and different research agendas that reflect different policy concerns and funding sources' (King & Skeldon, 2010, p. 1620). Further, as King and Skeldon (2010) explain, in recent times 'migration' within migration studies has increasingly been understood as international migration, emphasising movements between lesser developed countries to Europe, North America, Australasia or Japan. International migration has received comparatively greater attention, although contemporary migratory patterns are increasingly complex, sometimes involving both internal and international movements. Despite the fundamental difference between the two migratory movements (i.e., traversing either international or domestic borders), there could be similar factors that trigger them (King & Skeldon, 2010). Further, their interrelationship, and their similarities and differences can be explored along common themes. For example, both internal and international migrants experience some form of othering from the locals who fear loss of jobs, public resources, or cultural transformation resulting in exclusionary and discriminatory practices (Abbas, 2016).

Following King and Skeldon (2010), this research addresses one of the gaps in migration scholarship by going beyond the binaries of internal and international migration. The specific focus is on understanding how migrants develop a sense of belonging with the cities they move to. This paper draws from a doctoral thesis that examined spaces of belonging for Indian women, as internal migrants in Hyderabad, India and international migrants to Melbourne, Australia. The first objective of the research was to examine the interlinkages between long distance, long-term (more permanent) movements of

migration (internal or international), with the short-distance, short-term (more temporary), routine practices of everyday movements.

The second objective was to understand how place belonging emerges from these diverse spatial practices of the migrant women. This paper particularly discusses the methodological approach adopted for studying these varied spatial practices of Indian women migrants in two different socio-cultural contexts: India and Australia.

Two important considerations were necessary before operationalising the methodology for this research. First, in order to conduct a comparative study across different contexts, any hierarchical ordering of cities (as First World or Second World, developed or developing nations) was disregarded. The two cities were considered as 'ordinary' (Robinson, 2006) to explore the 'worlding practices' (Ong, 2011) that unfolded within them. According to Ong (2011), the interrelationships between various institutions, actors, and events (both local and transnational) influence the formation of the built environment in different locations. By emphasising the site-level nuances, Ong (2011) refers to these singular (but heterogeneous) practices linked to the formation of cities as 'worlding practices', where cities are viewed 'as a milieu that is in constant formation, drawing on disparate connections, and subject to the play of national and global forces' (p. 3). Further, following Massey (1995), places were considered as neither fixed, coherent, nor bounded; their identity was derived from the activities and meanings attached to them.

The second consideration was the conceptualisation of migration and everyday spatial practices as varying spatio-temporal movements. As migration (either internal or international) causes a relocation of the base of everyday activities, it establishes a base-link between the two spatio-temporal movements (Malmberg, 2021). Further, Torsten Hägerstrand's time geography notational diagrams were adopted to map these different spatio-temporal movements of the migrant women. Using notational diagrams, movement in time–space for an individual could be visually represented. Time geography also allows insights into the freedom of choice of people and their decision to engage in particular activities (King et al., 2006; Pred, 1977). Therefore, both internal and international migratory moves could be examined across time and space and interlinked with everyday movements by varying the scale, depending on the context. The narratives from the interviews provided the context for further understanding the different factors that determined the everyday spatial patterns and mobilities of the migrant women. A total of 20 internal women migrants were interviewed in Hyderabad, India and another 19 Indian migrants were interviewed in Melbourne, Australia. The semi-structured interviews were centred around three broad themes: migration trajectories (including times of arrival and experiences as a migrant), everyday spatial patterns (particularly to identify recurring spatial practices and activities) and experiences of belonging or feeling 'at home' in their new city. The notational diagrams were further given a geographical reference by representing the spatial patterns on maps of the respective cities for every participant.

The findings of the research have shown that there were several factors that impacted spatial practices of migrant women in both cities. Through migration, spatio-temporal practices from the past were either disrupted, transformed, or sometimes eliminated in

a new environment. The variation in these spatial practices was primarily dependent on differences in the experiences of identity and positionality in different contexts. Some of the other factors included a) social and cultural differences experienced through migration; b) impact of patriarchy and protectionism which enforces gender norms; c) gendered mobilities which shape everyday transportation choices and routes; d) perceived safety in the public realm; e) perceived boundaries within the city; and f) time-budget constraints. These factors provided insights into how Indian women migrants developed a sense of belonging with their cities. While place-belonging occurs in many ways for the migrant women interviewed, their rational for migration and their intent to belong at the onset of their migratory processes were an important determinant. Their everyday spatial patterns were also interconnected with the migratory movements in both cases. For example, the participant's initial spatial patterns were influenced by how they were first introduced to their cities. These patterns often transformed over time through their everyday lived experiences and their levels of inclusion and exclusion in their cities.

The notational diagrams proved to be an effective tool to accommodate the different spatio-temporal movements at multiple scales, including migratory patterns at a micro level as well the everyday spatial routines at the micro level and across different contexts. The reach and extent of the spatial activities identified on the notational diagrams allowed in-depth insights into the organisation of the migrant women's spatial routines, the interrelation between the different spaces, and the factors that influenced these spatial patterns at an individual level. Finally, the methodology was not only replicable across different sites, but it also provided adequate insights into the variations within each case study site based on the intersectional identities of the migrant women.

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Mediating Social Entrepreneurship for Development in South Africa and India: Demonstrating Entanglements of Neoliberal Economic Logics and Social Missions

Vrinda Chopra, Department of Environment and Geographical Sciences, University of Cape Town

Introduction

Recent trends in emerging economies like South Africa and India show a preference for entrepreneurial initiatives as a primary route to address development goals, broadly referred to as social entrepreneurship. Both South Africa and India have policy mandates and incentives that attempt to create the institutional basis for financial capital to flow towards development goals. In South Africa, this is through their flagship policy of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). The policy through enterprise development points incentivises the private sector to invest in development. Similarly, in India, many ministries and state governments have their entrepreneurship policies and programmes[16]. Additionally, Section 135 of the Companies Act in India defines that two per cent of the average net profit of companies must focus on development efforts such as poverty alleviation, education, and health.

Promoting private sector investments leads to a direct and indirect emphasis on entrepreneurial approaches in both countries. Practitioners and scholars favouring social entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial strategies for social missions argue their value in reaching development goals based on their perceived efficiency in resource allocation (Nicholls, 2008). Critics, however, point out that entrepreneurial approaches favour neoliberal market logics, reducing complex social and development problems to missions or measurable attributes (Dey, 2013). Drawing from work in economic geography, I argue that the two viewpoints essentially establish the centrality of market logics leading to stalemates in the analysis of the subject (Zein-Alabdin, 2011). Particularly, it reifies binaries between otherwise entangled social and economic logics, contributing to Northern and imperialistic representations of development policy and practice in the global South (Go, 2013). Practitioners of entrepreneurship, for instance, must navigate difficulties and confusions that arise when broad emphases on the economic efficiency of entrepreneurship meet the complexities of practice on the ground, such as issues of trust, morality, justice, reciprocity, etc. (Gibson-Graham, 2014). There is thus a need to move towards generative analyses that transcend binaries and separations of economic and social logics in critically understanding the application of entrepreneurial approaches for development in the global South (Pollard et al., 2009). In this paper, I aim to demonstrate that there are ongoing entanglements between social and economic logics seen through the work of intermediaries in mediating entrepreneurship practice in South Africa and India.

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[16] For example, the Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME), Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Ministry of Electronics and Telecommunication, Department of Science and Technology (DST), and programmes such as the Atal Innovation Mission and Start-up India.

Intermediaries are growing in relevance in South Africa and India because of policy structures promoting entrepreneurial approaches for addressing development goals. These intermediaries aim to provide support services that enable enterprises to attract capital for addressing social missions or development goals. Intermediaries lie between the macro policy perspectives and the micro-realities of practice and are fertile ground to recognise the entanglements of economic logics of market and finance with social ones such as trust, morality, and reciprocity, among others (Gibson-Graham, 2014; Zein-Alabdin, 2011).

The paper shows the varied and ambivalent nature of mediating entrepreneurship for development in South Africa and India. I look at one intermediary in both countries. In South Africa, I draw on the work of EntShare[17], an enterprise support provider focused on BBBEE mandates of addressing unemployment. In India, I look at an academic programme, a Master's in Impact Entrepreneurship, located in a design school. In both cases, the programmes demonstrate the tensions and difficulties of practice, where negotiations occur between social and economic logics. Their emergence as intermediaries is determined by broad national and global development imperatives that assert the role of the private sector in addressing development goals. Yet, their lived realities of mediating entrepreneurship demonstrate the ongoing negotiations of tensions and difficulties due to interlinked logics. Following these demonstrations, the paper contributes to reflexive ways of understanding entrepreneurial approaches in specific and development in general in the global South that go beyond binaries of economic/social, macro/micro and North/South. The analysis is essential in neither overstating neoliberal economic logics nor romanticising the particularities of practice, but rather in becoming attentive to the complexities and nuances of intertwined logics.

Methodology
This paper is based on my PhD research on demonstrating entanglements of neoliberal logics and social missions in mediating social entrepreneurship in South Africa and India. The study is an ethnography of the in-between scale of intermediaries. Intermediaries lie between the macro perspectives that promote entrepreneurship and the micro-realities of practice, providing ample space for viewing the ongoing entanglements of varied logics. The intermediaries were selected based on a combination of purposive and convenience sampling techniques. As I began secondary research on intermediaries in South Africa and India, I focused on those that claimed to work on social entrepreneurship or address development goals set by national policy agendas. Based on initial conversations and interviews, I narrowed down the intermediaries I engaged with in greater depth on convenience. To study intermediaries, I deployed tools and techniques of semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, participant observation, and field notes for reflection. In addition, I relied on processes of thick description to be attentive to details and nuances, building a rich and vivid picture of navigating entangled logics. Adopting the practice of thick description enabled new questions to emerge on data that often seemed inchoate and tedious but enabled the ambivalent, entangled nature of practice to emerge.

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[17] Names of all organisations and individuals have been changed for ethical reasons of anonymity.

Navigating Growth, Trust, and Social Missions at Entshare, South Africa

EntShare is an enterprise development service provider located in Johannesburg, South Africa, run by a Zimbabwean immigrant, Ian McGee. They call themselves a social enterprise as their goals and objectives address economic empowerment mandates as stipulated in South Africa's flagship policy of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). Their model is based on working with corporates to run entrepreneurship programmes in underserved peri-urban areas called townships. For the research, I engaged with them for six months on their first programme, designed with funding from a corporate funder, MonSave. For MonSave, EntShare designed and deployed a programme focused on adults in townships[18] of Soshanguve, Hamaanskraal, and Phokeng. The pilot programme, referred to as a nine-month incubator, was rolled out in 2017, during which they planned to support ten entrepreneurs in each township. EntShare considered the nine-month duration to be short for an incubator, but since it was a pilot programme, they thought it prudent to test it before deciding its future course. EntShare faced issues around navigating the funder's demands and building trust and rapport with the community to ensure the success of their programme. Navigating these difficulties demonstrates the tensions that are inherent to the entangled nature of the practice.

For the programme, 10 entrepreneurs were selected in each of the three townships who would receive personalised coaching and mentorship services. The historical and continued marginalisation of these target communities meant that practitioners like Ian and his team needed to gain participants' trust before the team could initiate any substantial work. However, building trust was difficult due to the community's existing scepticism, deepened by the financial due diligence processes of MonSave. The programme promised ZAR 10,000 to each entrepreneur, but these were disbursed based on monthly progress meetings with the management and finance team at MonSave. I attended one of these discussions in August 2017 in MonSave's offices in Sandton, Gauteng. During the meeting, the EntShare team shared concerns regarding delays in providing an entrepreneur with resources on time to buy a steam iron for her laundromat. EntShare met the expense through its resources to ensure that the entrepreneur did not lose trust in the process.

The concerns of the EntShare team stemmed from common issues that they were dealing with, such as entrepreneurs giving coaches incorrect addresses, not allowing coaches to enter their premises, or not responding to the coaches repeated attempts to get in touch. The team was concerned that delays in access to resources might complicate their work with the entrepreneurs. Navigating the conflicts that emerged can be seen as a blurring of boundaries between donors and incubators, intermediaries, and enterprises, of support services and marginalised communities. While EntShare consistently needed to deal with funding mandates, the program's success depended on the EntShare's team being attentive to the needs of the communities as well.

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[18] Townships in South Africa are urban areas that were designated under apartheid legislation for exclusive occupation by people classified as black, coloured and Indians.

Bridging Design, Impact, Business and Academics at Dhwani, India

Building on the thesis to show the inherent ambivalence of mediation, I draw on the work of an academic incubation programme in India. The programme, called Master's in Impact Entrepreneurship, was set up by Jacob Mathews, the CEO of a non-profit foundation in India at a design school in Bengaluru called Dhwani. The programme was targeted towards young working professionals in the social impact space to set up social enterprises supporting artisans' livelihoods in India. Jacob explained that he wanted to begin an enterprise programme that would help bridge design and entrepreneurship and their different schools of thought: for Jacob, design was left of centre, and entrepreneurship was right of centre. The entrepreneurs that were part of the programme, Jacob said, were 'always anxious to see what the impacts of our designs were in terms of numbers for the business'.

The act of bridging in the case of the master's programme is aided by the methodological concept of design thinking or 'human-centred design'[19]. The design thinking lens here speaks of the possibilities of design to be functional or strategic in a manner that goes beyond commercial thinking to focus on the end user (Iskander, 2018). Accordingly, the programme was designed to be held over two years based on a pedagogical structure of workshops borrowed from conventional entrepreneurship: 12-week-long boot camps (six each year). I attended one of the boot camps in late 2017.

Intending to address dignified livelihoods for artisans in India through social entrepreneurship, the sessions at the bootcamp demonstrated the entanglements of social motivations such as distributive and social justice, future orientation and sharing, with entrepreneurial motivations like efficiency and efficiency innovation. The entanglements became evident in a session where an investor was invited to advise students on their ideas. At the end of the half-day session, the students who were still developing their ideas were left with a sense that they would not raise funds based on their current models. Jacob recognised that the session was possibly premature, although he thought it allowed the students to confront the challenges they would face in the real world in their pursuit of success and impact. He responded by calling a session that was based on reflections on the ideas shared by the investor. During this session, students discussed ways to re-design their models. The session was meant to provide reassurance and constructive guidance in building enterprises. Such ongoing spaces for reflection were windows to view how the attributes, or logics of experimentation inherent to the design process could not be separated from the economic logics of markets and finance emphasised by the investor. Put differently, the design idea's vividness, creativity, or innovation is tied up with the practical imperatives of investment and finance, producing ongoing complexities and ambivalence.

Conclusion

In the paper, I briefly demonstrate how the separations between neoliberal economic logics and social missions can be challenged by viewing in-between spaces of mediation of entrepreneurship in South Africa and India. The paper, drawing on economic

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[19] Design thinking and human-centred design are methodological frameworks used for innovation and entrepreneurship. The frames advocate the idea that thinking like a designer, especially when the end users of a design or solution are kept at the centre of the design process, leads to creative and novel ideas. These ideas then are prototyped and piloted with the communities of practice to understand their applicability and areas of improvement.

geography, embraces a sense of incompleteness and uncertainty that comes with not knowing any concrete paths and outcomes, as the practice of mediation demonstrates (Sidaway et al., 2014). The cases in the paper showcase the growing interest in translating entrepreneurial approaches to address development issues in urban centres of both countries. On the surface, critics may interpret the cases as furthering the national mandates (such as economic empowerment in South Africa and poverty and livelihoods in India) and deepening the hegemony of neoliberal logics (in addressing concerns of funders and investors). However, the cases further show the engagement of complex micro-details with macro perspectives on efficiency and effectiveness that lead to tensions and complexities problematising neoliberal interpretations of social entrepreneurship in South Africa and India. The analysis shows that the power of neoliberal economic logics is bound up with social ones such as trust, exchange, experimentation, justice, and the like. In this respect, the paper contributes to pluralistic accounts of entrepreneurial approaches in the global South, and more broadly, development policy and practice. That is, the analysis moves beyond stated binaries and separations and the need to collapse economic and social logics into a single space like social entrepreneurship. Instead, by focusing attention on the in-between areas of mediation, the analysis opens multiple ways of understanding entrepreneurship and development in the global South.

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Panel 7
Rethinking Spatiality: Moving Beyond the Urban

Urban Life at the Extensions: Beyond Bifurcation

AbdouMaliq Simone, The Urban Institute, University of Sheffield

A critical question incumbent in engagements with 'the urban' concerns who can act, who is endowed with the sensate capacities, why has agency and affect become the purview of only certain 'actors' and not others, and thus a sense of urban power constructed on the basis of a limited assignation of agential performance. Why sustain a bifurcation among human, built, technical, and social domains, for are not these identifications themselves urbanised to assume a multiplicity of collective actions? How then to inhabit a pluriversal urban terrain?

There has been much consideration of the ways in which urbanisation exceeds the city form—particularly in its peripheries and hinterlands. Extended urbanisation conventionally refers to the multifaceted processes through which urbanisation articulates different logics and territories. Yet 'extension' reflects a 'going beyond' that can take place anywhere, and which is manifested not only in new territorial formations but also in ways of living and inhabiting. Acts of extending urban form and life do not simply reproduce the dominant modes of valuation, but unsettle and disrupt familiar categorisation, as inhabitants attempt to situate themselves in the midst of increasingly unsettled terrain. Extensions and extending, then, are at the heart of an interplay between attempts to resettle and unsettle, to extract as much as possible but also to operate where nothing apparent is to be gained, nothing useful to the prolongation, either of the urban or life.

Extensions thus reach outwards to be a 'part' of (in) the world, to institute a rupture in terms of belonging—a belonging that it too often hedged, parsed, recombined, and securitised. To mobilise the expendability signalled by and through this rupture to be useful, to make a part, to insurrect. It is a stance against 'everywhereness' found in the proliferation of 'dead exchanges'—where discourses of freedom and development become merely aspects of a social infrastructure of continuous assessment as to the exercised efficacies of particular bodies and their trajectories and interactions. A distribution of affective inclinations that can be steered along specific dispositions of expenditure.

Extensions draw attention to intensive entanglements across different locations, to different ways of living, different games of getting by, different logics and identities of what any given place might be. Extensions as augmentations of urban information processes, decision support systems, territorial management, surveillance and control, as well as the unforeseen ways in which urban spaces can offer inexplicable affordances. This is not only about seeking to overthrow the current system by suggesting new models or imposing utopian visions, but is about extending the possibilities for putting existing materials to new uses.

Extensions are Spatial, Corporeal, Temporal, and Existential

Extensions are spatial in so far as sites, contexts, and institutions overstep their boundaries and extend themselves out in the world. Dimensions are added on to houses, streets or neighbourhoods, but then take on a life of their own, often emerging out of multiple overlapping tenure regimes or regulatory frameworks.

Extensions are corporeal, in the sense of how particular kinds of bodies extend themselves into the earth to preclude exhaustive extractions, and how bodies may be renewed beyond discernible modalities of social reproduction.

Extensions are a temporal matter, when time is extended or suspended during crisis or transition, through slow and fast forms of policy and governance, through waiting it out and anticipating better futures when the city is haunted by all that might have taken place or by spectral propositions that interrupt any linear line of development.

Extensions are existential, both in terms of recomposing the intersections of life and death, the way each is concretised, and the way the powers of life and death are extended into each other through technicities in even more brazen, expanded displays.

The presentation will demonstrate the interplay of these dimensions by engaging with the ways in which specific territories of the urban edge in Tangier and Jakarta intersect varying logics and practices of construction, finance mobilisation, labour, and regulation that instantiate themselves in intensive contiguous relations, simultaneously responding and disattending to each other in ways that instigate an unfolding of specific, often indecipherable dispositions and uses. These represent the materialisation of a multiplicity of navigational circuits through which bodies, materials, and information moves, occasioning both the inventiveness of new techniques of inhabitation, as well as vulnerabilities. In turn, the subsequent arrangement of both built and social forms shape the very ways in which these navigational circuits unfold. These are processes that cut across discernible scales, sectors, and terrains, and combine to figure specific 'territories of operation', which include the 'itineraries' of circulation charted out by a range of entities and materials, from households, resources, authority, and information. The ways in which things are extended to and through each other; simultaneously emplace and unsettle each other.

For, the extensions upend settled ontological dispositions of the city—its presumptions to crystallise human potency to arrange natures; its claim to embody the will of free individuals. The extensions are speculative futurisms in that they constitute alternative readings of what might take place within a specific order of things. Additionally, the city, or predominant readings of it, have been excessively preoccupied with settlement. Even while mobility studies have emerged over the past three decades to counter the hegemony of this preoccupation, there remains an under appreciation of the dominance of movement. People have always moved, and instead of viewing movement simply as a descriptor of transport and conveyance, the activity entailed in shifting bodies from one location to another, human movement is consonant with the fact that all matter constantly moves. Whatever stabilisation indeed emerges is not the cessation of movement but the capacity of different things to move with each other in a consistent fashion.

With these multifaceted considerations in mind, extensions become a conceptual vehicle to exceed the bifurcations of urban space, their residual anchorage in divisions

between the material and immaterial, the built and social environments, official and popular economies. It is a means of constituting a different sense of things. The city as the consolidation of the propertied land, of populations with individuated properties demonstrated through citizenship, of densified spatial functionalities, economic aggrandisement, and the maximisation of value-added activity is extended through the continuous quotidian abruptions and upheavals of this consolidation. As such, the extension of the urban is not the recursivity of some essential logic but a process of continuous inventiveness beyond the terms of whatever passes for a normative epistemology of the urban—where the same orientations to accumulation, rent extraction, affordability, domestication, and predation might take place, might assume different forms, but at the same time, in its provisional unsettling and extending, opens up an interstice of new possibilities, often only actualised as compensations, but nevertheless brought into play.

What might these extensions between the urban technical and the forms and terms of urban inhabitation then look like? If we are to explore alternative futures, we must seek to identify possibilities within the contradictions, limits, and resistances existing in contemporary landscapes of urban technicities. The challenge is to experiment intellectually and practically with the aim not of reproducing or repairing existing systems, but generating new modes of habitability.

Spatial Design Practice in a Post-Post City: A Situated Southern Urbanist Inquiry Around *How*

Jhono Bennett, The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London

Introduction

The persistent reality of gross and systemic inequality in South Africa can be seen most clearly in the built urban form (Myambo et al., 2018) of the country as it continues to re-enforce post-colonial and post[20] Apartheid spatial city patterns. While South Africa's socio-economic inequality is a well-documented and hotly-discussed topic of research and public debate (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Matsipa, 2014; Murray, 2008), the socio-systemic nature of the country's spatial inequality remains a more elusive and collectively murky topic, particularly with regard to the inter-scalar and positional dimensions of practice within the spatial design disciplines and the city systems they work within (E. Pieterse, 2009).

This inter-personal and inter-scalar difficulty of engaging with the nature of spatial inequality is not limited to South Africa[21] (Connell, 2007), and the locationally sensitive work being done through Southern scholarship offers a situated means to theoretically house the doctoral study that this paper draws from to share the initial methodological findings of this project. The approach of this paper's larger doctoral-scale inquiry is supported by the guiding principles and intentions of Southern urbanism[22] and is positioned at the disciplinary intersection of architecture, urban studies, and arts-practice.

A focus on the disciplinary overlaps between architecture, urban design and, Southern urbanism remains a fairly uncharted territory.[23] This focus gap presents an interesting space to locate the study within and gives direction for the broader projects to expand on these notions and attempt to frame an articulation of a practice-orientated Southern urbanist design approach that works from place, recognises concepts of periphery, and conducts 'research with an accent'[24]. For this reason, and in line with the study's ethical framework, the methodological question has been set as: What modalities of research are best suited to responsibly navigate the positional challenges of this practice-orientated work? In this regard, the study seeks to investigate Simone and Pieterse's call

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[20] The post-post will be explained in more detail in the historiographical Appendix: A Situated History.

[21] As Edward Soja's work on Los Angeles (Aitken & Soja, 1998), Kanbur & Venables Five Questions (Kanbur & Venables, 2005), and Edward Said's concept of imaginative geographies (Said, 1977) point out.

[22] Southern urbanism places great importance on thinking, working, and acting from place, specifically in contrast to the hegemonic dominance of Northern urban cannon (Bhan, 2019; T. P. R. Caldeira, 2017; Worlds, n.d.) Gautam Bhan, Notes on a Southern Urban Practice, Environment and Urbanization 31, no. 2 (January 2019): 639–54, https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247818815792; Abdou Maliq Simone and Edgar Pieterse, New Urban Worlds : Inhabiting Dissonant Times / AbdouMaliq Simone and Edgar Pieterse., ed. E A (Edgar A.) Pieterse, First edit (Cambridge, UK, 2017); Teresa P.R. Caldeira, Peripheral Urbanization: Autoconstruction, Transversal Logics, and Politics in Cities of the Global South, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 35, no. 1 (2017): 3–20, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775816658479.

[23] A working paper presentation from Ola Uduku, one of the few references available to draw from. Ola Uduku, Teaching Southern Architecture and Urbanism within a Changing Western Higher Education Context | The Bartlett Development Planning Unit - UCL – University College London, 2020, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/development/events/2021/feb/teaching southern-architecture-and-urbanism-within-changing-western-higher-education.

[24] In response to Caldeira's request to take seriously the idea of thinking with an accent (T. P. do R. Caldeira, 2000).

for '...opening up of a fertile research agenda for more grounded and spatially attuned phrenetic research' (Simone & E. Pieterse, 2011, p. 13). The framing and initial design-led findings around this question will be unpacked further in this paper.

Situating Southern Urbanisms

Vanessa Watson describes how the work of the Comaroffs seeks to counter the 'positioning of Western enlightenment' (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012) as the normative theoretical base from which scholarship is drawn (Watson, 2014). By doing so, she is referring to the Southern turn (Connell, 2007), an epistemological shift that has been taking place (Robinson, 2013) in contemporary scholarship, and with regard to urban studies makes the case for the development of alternative theoretical resources against the current dominant urban discourse, a sentiment shared by contemporary scholars[25] who, in the face of neoliberal and postcolonial discourse on cities, state that urban theoretical insights (Parnell & Robinson, 2012) cannot be based on the experiences of what Jennifer Robinson describes as a small selection of globally wealthy cities[26].

Drawing from Gayatri Spivak's writing on the voice of the subaltern (Spivak, 2011), Ananya Roy extensively discusses, and simultaneously self-critiques, this call for what she terms subaltern urbanism as a possibility for a different disposition (Roy, 2011) to Southern theory (Connell, 2007). In terms of Southern theory, what appears to be consistent between the writings around this term is that the operationalisation of the concepts underpinning its use are as important as the subject matter it is associated with. These applied concepts are deeply concerned with practices of working locationally from place (Bhan, 2019), working from the periphery,[27] and working beyond the epistemic hegemonies (Roy, 2011) of the North. On the point of epistemic hegemony, it is important to articulate the rationale for framing the larger study through Southern principles as an ethical[28] means of acknowledging the incommensurable (Yang & Tuck, 2012, p. 4) limits of someone in my position to conduct decolonial academic work[29]. This point is made to carefully acknowledge and internalise contributions to the decolonial discourse through their clear distinction between decoloniality[30] and decolonisation[41]. The important link highlighted here lies in the shared principles of Southern and decolonial,[31] which appear to overlap around a

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[25] Susan Parnell, Jennifer Robinson, Colin McFarlane and Tariq Jazeel.

[26] Teresa Caldeira echoes this point in her assertion that in order to engage these studies, breaking their national barriers and their isolation from the North is a necessary step to create urban theories that can account for modes of urbanisation whose logic is different from that of the industrial cities of the North. Caldeira, Peripheral Urbanization: Autoconstruction, Transversal Logics, and Politics in Cities of the Global South.

[27] Simone's concept of the periphery is multivalent and includes ideas of entanglements, spaces-in-between and a concept of possibility (Simone, 2017).

[28] In reflection on Smith's code of conduct for research. (Smith, 1999, p. 120)

[29] For this reason, I acknowledge, but refrain from citing, texts by Fanon (2008) and other decolonial scholars whose work is directed towards and in support of voices other than my demographic position.

[30] Decolonisation refers to the undoing of colonisation (with regard to the nation state), while decoloniaty focuses on untangling the production of knowledge from what they claim is a primarily Eurocentric episteme (Mignolo, 2018).

[31] Similarly relevant framings and practices of decoloniaty for that sit adjacent those chosen for this study, including decolonial feminism. Maria Lugones, Toward a Decolonial Feminism, Hypatia 25, no. 4 (2010): 742–59, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40928654., the coloniality of being Nelson Maldonado-Torres, On the Coloniality of Being: Contributions to the Development of a Concept, Cultural Studies 21, no. 2–3 (2007): 240–70, https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162548. as well as further links between the project of modernity and colonisation. Sylvia Wynter, Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/ Power/ Truth/ Freedom, CR: The New Centennial Review 3, no. 3 (2003): 257–336,

critical acknowledgement of the displaced communities of knowledges and the efforts required in re-articulating these knowledges through critical actions such as alternative forms of justice, activist work of refusal, as well as the conceptual displacement (Vázquez, 2011) of particular academic vocabularies.

In this regard, Gautam Bhan describes his work on vocabularies for Southern urbanism[32] as 'a mode of theory building' (Bhan, 2019, p. 2) that is simultaneously tied to his research and is particularly focused on aspects of practice in Southern cities. He describes the South as a relational project and not a set of places, but as a set of moving peripheries[33]. This reframing is intended to recognise Southern forms of citymaking that often defy contemporary urban analytical means, as explained by Simone when describing post-Apartheid Johannesburg.[34]

Although Southern urbanist framings can be described as temporal (T. P. R. Caldeira, 2017) and carry concerns of demographic co-optation (Sihlongonyane, 2015, pp. 59–74) as an emerging field, it offers a supportive, generative and defensible framework or *epistemic force field* (Simone, 2017, p. xii) for this study's starting point. As pointed out by Mfanesi Sihlongonyane, such an approach holds the potential to align with Mbembe's '...search for alternative acts of thinking, exploring other ways of speaking, taking seriously the visual, sounds, the senses and thinking as philosophically and historically as possible about the pre-cariousness of life in Africa...' (Shipley, 2010, pp. 653–678) as well as a methodological direction towards De Sousa Santos's idea of epistemic justice (Santos, 2014) as an important factor in the decision to adopt this approach.

Situating Tacit Knowledge and Inter-Scalar Spatiality
Drawing from these considerations of location and action in Southern theory, positionality, as a concept for research practice is carefully acknowledged and grounds much of this study.[35] While positionality is considered to be a multidimensional and evolving concept (Simandan, 2019), the concerns discussed here are considered to be led by feminist scholars.[36] For instance, Donna Haraway offers one of the earliest framings on these concerns of power, partial perspective, and positioning in her essay on 'Situated Knowledges' (Haraway, 1988). In this seminal body of work, Haraway challenges the claims of impartial and disembodied objectivity by the quantitative fields

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http://www.google.com/search?client=safari&rls=en-us&q=Unsettling+the+Coloniality+of+Being/+Power/+Truth/+Freedom&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF8%5Cnpapers2://publication/uuid/CEDD2246-00AC-4ABD-BAD3-1A3F3D317688.

[32] Southern urbanism is a term being used by a host of scholars and practitioners with in regard to scholarship and research practice in Southern cities.

[33] Bhan refers to the Comaroffs' concept of ex-loci on this point. Bhan, Notes on a Southern Urban Practice; Comaroff and Comaroff, Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa.

[34] '...characterized by incessantly flexible, mobile, and provisional intersections of residents that operate without clearly delineated notions of how the city is to be inhabited and used. These intersections, particularly in the last two decades, have depended on the ability of residents to engage complex combinations of objects, spaces, people, and practices. These conjunctions become an infrastructure—a platform providing for and reproducing life in the city.' (Simone, 2008, p. 69)

[35] Wendy E. Rowe, Positionality, in The SAGE Encyclopedia of Action Research, ed. David Coghlan and Mary Brydon-Miller (London: SAGE Publications, 2014), 628, https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446294406. , Referring to the stance of the researcher with regard to the social and political context of their study.

[36] Drawn from Linda McDowell's '...we must recognize and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice' (McDowell, 1992, p. 409).

and calls for a recognition of the value of embodied and partial perspectives in knowledge production.[37]

The more positional dimensions of agency and action offered by Awan et al. (2011) and the socio-political aspects of spatial practice covered by Dodd et al. (2020) provide a more situated and systemic set of references to unpack the inter-scalar dimensions of space, practice, and action with regard to agency. Supported by Anthony Gidden's writing on structuration[14], such an inter-scalar dimension of action can be seen between individual spatial practitioners, disciplines of spatial design, and the larger systemic aspects of the city. The link between these scales is seen to exist through actions within the concept of agency that according to Awan et al. has a long history in social and political theory and exists in dialectic pairing with structure.[38]

Research Methodology: Situating Practice-Orientated Design Research
While design-led research can be understood as a knowledge-focused methodology that integrates design practices and processes to examine what can be learned through practitioner action (Downton, 2003; Grand & Jonas, 2012), Amollo Ambole (Ambole, 2020, p. 135) makes an important case for de-centring the way we understand design as a Western concept, which aligns with the architects Teddy Cruz and Murray's Fraser's suggestion, in response to the socio-economic and demographics of uneven urbanisation to move from 'critical from distance' to 'critical from proximity' (Cruz & Fraser, 2013, p. 45). In this regard, Schön suggests that design knowledge resides firstly in people, design practitioners, but exists in everyone (Schön, 1983b) to some extent. He makes an important distinction between research and practice, but offers reflection as a means of interpreting practice and extracting the more explicit forms of what he classifies as research. In this regard, practice orientated is considered to involve inquiry into methods, systems, programmes, and policies of professional practice, with the ultimate aim to employ research knowledge (Durepos & Wiebe, 2021) towards bettering the implementation of practice.[39]

The founder of African Futures Institute, Lesley Lokko, unpacks some of these difficult dimensions faced by South African architectural and spatial design practice in her interview titled 'Hope' (Lokko, 2017). She explains the importance of creating conditions from which to be able speculate and propose new readings of the current paradigm, which in her earlier work, *White Papers, Black Marks: Architecture, Race, Culture* (Lokko, 2000), include critical readings on terms such as 'Africa', 'architecture', and 'research'. For the part of the study discussed here, the aspects of design as solutionary or even

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[37] Haraway suggests that such a feminist objectivity from multiple partial perspectives offers a greater form of objectivity and offers 'positioning' as a key practice in grounding and locating knowledge (Haraway, 1991, p. 193).

[38] Agency is described as the ability of the individual to act independently of the constraining structures of society; structure is seen as the way that society is organised (Awan et al., 2011, p. 16). In line with Dodd et al.'s framing of spatial practice as a more collective and interconnected form of action, Awan et al. see the inclusion of spatial with agency as a means of expanding the reading of traditional architectural or urban disciplinary restraints and exploring the inter-scalar dimensions of spatial practice in South African cities through situated methods of design research.

[39] This can be read through: '… (1) the pursuit of knowledge is a local and contingent process (i.e., generalization is limited), (2) research should be constitutive of difference rather than similarity, and (3) theory-building should be accompanied by practical applications' Nick J. Fox, Practice-Based Evidence: Towards Collaborative and Transgressive Research, Sociology 37, no. 1 (2003): 96-98 (97), https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038503037001388.

pragmatic are less explored, and rather the non-verbal communicative and embodied (Hinton, 2014) aspects of a designerly approach[40] to creative research were looked at. Within Cross's (1982) 'five designerly ways of knowing'[41] the use of codes that '…both "read" and "write" in object languages…' were given more attention than the others.

Initial Methodological Findings

A form of situated animation as the primary method[42] for documentation, analysis, and ultimately speculation has emerged from this modality that has led to a series of visually guided exercises that have resulted in a medium of inquiry that has employed both illustration as well as animation. I used my own organisation[43] —photo archive to re-engage with my practice context in South Africa. As a result, I found myself working closely with these images and through iterative and repetitive actions of both drawing and writing through a blend of digital and physical formats. I re-visited and worked through the site of Marlboro South[44], 2021. These deeply situated and reflexive explorations through the images of the practice photo archive eventually led me to a form of reflective animation that was both analytical as well as symbolic of other gestures of action with regard to material actions. For this work, I exhibited this first iteration through an online platform[45] that sought to share not only the animative explorations of the actions and materials alongside the actors of the project, but offered a dual voiced reflection on the sub-text of such a reflective narrative. This exhibition was accompanied by a discrete piece of art-writing titled *Staying with the Trouble: Navigating the What-What[46]*.

The design-led (Fraser, 2013) aspects of this method relate to the previously mentioned (Lokko, 2017; Schön, 1983a; Uduku, 2020) non-positivist intentions of design-led inquiry that, when combined with the situated, intuitive and reflective ethos of site writing and Southern urbanism provide a careful and creative framework to navigate the positional and historical challenges of conducting such research work.

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[40] These are seen to resonate with Lokko's recognition for the '…need to create the conditions in which voices which haven't been given the opportunity to express themselves, are able to do so freely, creatively, intuitively…"118FLokko, Lesley Lokko. Hope.

[41] Cross offers five designerly ways of knowing: 'a) designers tackle ill-defined problems; b) their mode of problem-solving is solution-focused; c) their mode of thinking is constructive; d) they use codes that translate abstract requirements into concrete objects; and e) they use these codes to both read and write in object languages' (Cross, 2006, p. 12).

[42] These emerged from the iterative, visual, and reflexive aspects of site-writing (Rendell, 2010) in conjunction with the practice-orientated framing of critical spatial practice from Jane Rendell's practice axes, which offered a relevant and attuned methodological framework that this study employed and, in addition, provided a positionally sensitive ethical dimension to creatively navigate these interrelated and multifaceted aspects of identity, voice, and site in research (Rendell, 2020).

[43] 1to1 – Agency of Engagement was founded in 2010 in response to system spatial inequality and works towards spatial justice principles with residents of marginalised areas in South African cities.

[44] Located in Johannesburg, South Africa. Between Alexandra township (an apartheid-era black township) and Sandton (a wealthy, previously white, suburb)

[45] https://spiritoftheorder.cargo.site - the password is: stayingwithmytrouble.

[46] Both of these works are captured in Chapter 4: Sprit of the Order: Aesthetics of Acceptance.

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Extended Urbanisation as Postcolonial Theory: A Relational Comparative Perspective from India and Brazil

Rodrigo Castriota, DIST/Polytechnic University of Turin
Nitin Bathla, ETH Zurich

This paper attempts to propose a new and expanded understanding of extended urbanisation beyond its current polarisation alongside postcolonial-Lefebvrian binaries. Although almost a decade of research on planetary urbanisation (PU) has helped push urban research beyond the urban–rural binary, it has been mired in critiques and counter-critiques articulated along sharply polarised Lefebvrian/postcolonial and Global North/South binaries. PU has been the subject of much critique from feminist and postcolonial scholars (e.g., Schindler, 2017; McLean, 2018) and successive counter-critiques and clarifications authored by scholars that identify themselves at the centre of PU theory (e.g., Brenner, 2018; Angelo & Goh, 2020). As scholars researching on urbanisation beyond the city/non-city and urban/rural binaries in historically colonised territories, and coming from marginal circumstances ourselves, we have been confounded by the binary nature of these critiques and counter-critiques, which at times have been also directed at us in very personal and uncomfortable ways. However, rather than attempting to 'postcolonise' PU (Sidaway et al., 2014; Vegliò, 2021), our attempt here is to recover the concept of extended urbanisation, which has been overshadowed by PU and discuss it as a postcolonial theory. As we argue in this paper, extended urbanisation is a related but fundamentally different concept than PU, which helps overcome the city/non-city binaries in urban research without totalising it.

Drawing inspiration from Stefan Kipfer (2018, p. 481), who points to the possibility that the 'urban revolution' opens up to a multi-polar, post-imperial world shaped intellectually by multiple sites of knowledge production, we attempt to propose extended urbanisation as postcolonial theory through this paper. In our attempt, we draw inspiration from more than four decades of work by Robert Luis Monte-Mór (Monte-Mor, 2015 [1988]; Castriota & Tonucci, 2018) on extended urbanisation in the Brazilian Amazonia and over a decade of work on subaltern and extended urbanisation in India (see Denis & Marius-Gnanou, 2010; Denis et al., 2012).

Furthermore, we engage with recent work by AbdouMaliq Simone (2019, 2020), which attempts to dislodge the focus on the political economy of space (city/non-city) in extended urbanisation in favour of the exploration of extensionality of subaltern and marginal bodies into the territory through movements and co-optation. We present a grounded relational comparison (Hart, 2018) on extended urbanisation in the antipodal postcolonial geographies of India and Brazil which emerged as a part of the forthcoming 'Territories of Extended Urbanisation' project by Christian Schmid and Milica Topalovic (2019). Through discussing our ethnographic fieldwork conducted on the extended urbanisation of Delhi in India and Carajás, Para in the Brazilian Amazonia between 2017 and 2021, we identify conjunctures and disjunctures in how extended urbanisation operates across postcolonial geographies with varied histories. In our account of extended urbanisation from the ground, we identify the crucial role played

by overlapping legal tenures, rental markets (see Bathla, 2021), and unintentional landscapes under extended urbanisation. With the expanded relational idea of extended urbanisation explored in this paper, we attempt to open a new research agenda that breaks away from the dualisms and evolutionisms of the global North/global South as well as Lefebvrian/postcolonial binaries.

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Spaces for Citizen-Driven Innovation? Mapping Tensions and Potentials within Urban Makerspaces

Stuti Haldar, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)
Gautam Sharma, DST – Centre for Policy Research, Indian Institute of Science (IISc)

Introduction

Hyper-urbanisation is a contemporary phenomenon, with 55.7 per cent of the global population living in urban spaces by 2019. Moreover, the urban population in developing economies in Asia and Africa accounted for 51.1 per cent in 2019.[47] Cities are emerging as economic focal points that, through rapid resource consumption, generate a massive environmental footprint (Glaeser, 2011). These are also sites of socio-political contestations (Foster & Iaione, 2015). With the modern conceptualisation of 'cities', the role of technology is being crystallised as a solution for improving urban spaces in terms of sustainability, security, and efficiency. A notion of urban utopia pervades through technology-led centrally controlled infrastructures (Niaros, 2016; Niaros et al., 2017). Thus, large Internet of Things (IoT) clusters and Internet and Communications Technology (ICT), commercial powerhouses are acquiring a pivotal role in the conceptualisation of modern cities by ensuring better waste and water management, energy efficiency, citizen mobility and prevention of crime etc. (Hollands, 2015; Walravens, 2015; Albino et al., 2015). However, the practices of commercial large-scale ICT stakeholders and top-down technocentric interventions in making cities sustainable have drawn criticism in recent years due to their lack of attention to socio-cultural and behavioural contextualities, aspirations and alternative knowledge systems, specifically in the global South (Shea & Gu, 2018; Niaros, 2016). For instance, technology-driven problem solving often fails to acknowledge the needs and aspirations of city dwellers, as these solutions are not in sync with the way individuals or groups use technology (Sassen, 2012). Moreover, as urban spaces in the global South challenge the standardisation of governance due to their inherent messiness, heterogeneity, and informality, a one-size-fits-all, centrally administered technological solution often fails to cater to such complex urban realities (Ylipulli et al., 2014; Kitchin, 2014; Cavalho, 2015).

In this context, this study draws attention to the literature on 'commons-based peer production, that signals away from industrial-scale, centralised production, and proposes a new organisational model wherein production results from collaborative networks of people who share their labour and knowledge to offer solutions to large scale as well as day to day problems (Benkler, 2008; 2002). 'Makerspaces' and 'making' culture operate within this paradigm of open-source production and are heralded as a means to democratise knowledge and tools for co-production by the people, generally in an informal urban setting (Martinez & Stager, 2013; Harron & Hughes, 2018). Makerspaces enable people to learn, create, and innovate freely, hence promoting public engagement to offer top-down solutions to individual and community problems (Gershenfeld, 2010; Dougherty, 2016). Makerspaces are often used interchangeably with hackerspaces or fablabs. However, there exist key differences between these

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cultures of DIY and co-creating, which is defined by their socio-spatial contexts. Predominantly in the Western context, fablabs, hackerspaces, or makerspaces are imagined as a social space where sophisticated technologies such as 3D printers, laser cutters, computers, and various digital fabrication equipment are used to co-produce digital or physical products (de Boer, 2015; Schrock, 2014).

In contrast, the makers movement in the global South, particularly in India, deviates from the conception of high-tech places for innovating. 'Making' in India has been a long-standing culture that can be linked to a variety of informal communities of artisans, grassroots innovators, woodworkers, craftsmen and mechanics, who bricolage to create and co-create. The making culture has been situated in the informal sector. Low-tech innovations literature in the context of India, with the example of the practice of 'jugaad', signifies production under economic and resource constraints (Murray & Hand, 2015). Thus, the objective of this paper is to explore the makers movement in India with regard to its distinctions from the Western conceptualisation. In doing so, the study highlights the duality of Indian makerspaces in terms of high-tech/traditional, public/private, formal/informal and individual/collective 'soft spaces' that have the potential to offer alternatives to infrastructure lock-ins by creating new social and industrial dynamics. The inherent precarity of these spaces allows them to redefine the urban fabric (identities, ecosystems, inclusion, and empowerment), socio-political networks and business models. As Bengaluru is the technological capital of India, this study conceptualises the pluralities of makerspaces in the context of cities in the global South, using a case study approach. Makerspaces are perceived as 'innovation democracy in action' (Smith, 2017) that bind together traditional knowledge of artisans, farmers, craftsmen etc., and interventions from diverse actors such as artists, poets, historians etc. with modern technologies (IOTs, 3D printers, ICT) to reimagine social futures.

The sample comprises Bengaluru-based makerspaces to understand how the phenomenon of makerspaces in India differs from the Western context in the sense of pluralities associated with its conceptualisation and how they serve as possibility spaces for collaborative action, cross-curricular connections, innovation, learning, and creativity.

Methods
This study is exploratory in nature and relies on inductive research philosophy to conceptualise the nature and functioning of makerspaces in the Indian context. Qualitative research design has been adopted to understand the definitional and functional nuances of makerspaces in Bengaluru, India. As makerspaces are characterised by the existence of shared physical space and equipment for economic and pragmatic reasons, this allows for more community engagement not only within the 'makers' community but also with the general public and industry actors around themes of common interest (Taylor et al., 2016; Ferreti & Lente, 2021). This allows us the advantage of locating the physical premises in which these spaces of co-creation exist and hence, interact with and observe the activities assumed by varied actors (e.g., makers, hobbyists, founders, artists, students etc.) involved in the making process.

Bengaluru is recognised as the technology capital of India, where several start-ups have been facilitated through policy incentives. As technology is the bridge that connects cross-cutting interests and disciplines and shapes them into tangible outputs in makerspaces, Bengaluru is deemed as an appropriate site for this study. Moreover, the city hosts one of the best innovation ecosystems in the nation with numerous multinational companies, premiere science, technology and innovation (STI) institutions, and R&D laboratories. This culture of innovation and technology-driven entrepreneurship that Bengaluru fosters has contributed to establishing it as a hotspot for science and technology (S&T) projects of global significance. Thus, it makes a conducive study area for exploring the Indian maker movement.

A purposive sampling technique was employed to map out makerspaces in Bengaluru. Initially, an internet search with the keywords 'makerspaces', 'hackerspaces' and 'fablabs' was conducted, and 12 makerspaces were identified for this study. Due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, four of the 12 makerspaces were operating virtually as they had to close down their operating space. After contacting the remaining eight makerspace founders/managers telephonically or through email, six of them agreed to participate in this study.

Both primary and secondary data has been used to draw inferences relevant to the objectives of this study. Primary data was collected through semi-structured and unstructured interviews conducted between the months of October and November 2021. The majority of these interviews were held online and covered a duration of approximately 90 minutes. Five in-person visits to the said makerspaces were also conducted in November 2021 for participant observation and informal discussions with maker communities affiliated with these spaces. Online as well as offline interviews were conducted with founders/managers of the makerspaces and with some of the makers who were present at the premises. The final sample of the study can be defined as follows:

- Six managers/founders of the makerspaces selected for this study;
- Three maker community members affiliated with the selected makerspaces;
- Four experts/scholars in maker movement research and practice (academia stakeholders).

Additionally, secondary data sources, including YouTube videos, makerspace websites, newspaper articles, reports, social media posts of makers (LinkedIn, Twitter etc.) and podcasts were thoroughly reviewed to mine information regarding the functioning, core values, and operations of the makerspaces. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Coding of the data was based on the methodology suggested by Clarke (2003), by identifying recurring narratives from the responses and clubbing them under relevant themes. The interviews touched on different aspects of making, such as expectations, motivations, challenges, community building, sustainability outcomes, finances, and functions etc. This paper focuses on the findings spotlighting the pluralities in conceptualising makerspaces and the functions fulfilled by these spaces of co-creation, specifically in the Indian context.

Major Contributions

The study would have both theoretical as well as empirical significance. Theoretically, the study would fill the existing gap in literature by conceptualising the phenomenon of 'making' in the context of the global South (specifically India). Unlike the concept of makerspaces in the West, which are characterised by high-tech equipment and technologically skilled innovators, the duality that Indian makerspaces portray is their ability to connect traditional knowledge with modern technology to offer a platform to co-create, tinker, and innovate. Moreover, they also narrow the rural–urban divide by empowering citizens to engage with members of academia and industry to develop need-based, scalable prototypes using indigenous knowledge of the people and for the people. Although at first, the makerspaces might appear as a formal institution, they demonstrate several aspects of informality (context-specific, culturally driven, use of social capital and networks etc.) while democratising innovation and knowledge flows in India. Hence, the study would offer a framework to spotlight these inherent pluralities in defining makerspaces. Moreover, it would also offer a frame to understand the functions that these spaces fulfil that make them an alternative model that breaks out of the formal, commercial, profit-driven industrial product design. For instance, makerspaces in Bengaluru use concepts from arts and design and amalgamate them with technology projects to reconnect citizens with their urban/civic infrastructures. Empirically, the study would rely on detailed interviews and participant observations in makerspaces operating in Bengaluru. As there is a lack of this literature in the Indian context, this study would offer an evidence-based understanding of this unique, majorly urban phenomenon in this regard.

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Globalisation and Changing Spatial Imaginaries: Reflections from Contemporary Kerala

Mijo Luke, Centre for Development Studies (CDS)

The paper tries to understand the characteristics of urbanisation as a process and how inequalities are reproduced through that process in contemporary Kerala. The paper offers a critique of the dominant understanding of these processes from the global South. Drawing from ethnographic fieldwork in a settlement in the Midland region in Kerala, urbanisation is understood using a political ecology framework. While doing so, the paper brings out the substantive core of the case to understand the process rather than focus on the settlement topologies of any urban area. Particularly, the paper addresses the following questions raised in the conference: a) how do we understand the contemporary spatial forms in the region? What are the major drivers in these processes? What is the understanding of spatial imaginaries beyond the binaries of rural–urban?

It is widely recognised that the literature on urbanisation process from the global South concentrates on 'urban' space (Brenner, 2013), and there are more studies on metropolitan areas or large towns (Sircar, 2018). Relatedly, it is observed in the academic literature that scholars tend to ignore the dynamics in the spatiality of small towns (Mukhopadhay et al., 2012). Also, not much attention has been given to the dynamics beyond the city to understand the urbanisation process. On the other hand, the literature concerning ecology in the urbanisation process tries to redefine the concept called urban as socio-metabolic transformation (Swyngedouw, 2006). Indeed, the literature on urban political ecology argues for a situated understanding of urbanisation process, related ecological transformation, and environmental histories that the power involved in social relations is intrinsic to understanding environmental transformation (Veron, 2010). The spatial dynamics of such settlements are reduced to the margins of urban studies; here, the argument is to understand urban not as a geographical category but conceptual contribution of the spatial form. It was argued much earlier that the need to understand Kerala as a region historically exhibited a unique spatial pattern of the rural-urban continuum (Sreekumar, 1990). Later, Chattopadyay and Shakunthala (2007) observe the distinct pattern of urban transition in Kerala, unlike the rest of India[48].

The paper is based on the settlement of Mutholy, located in the Meenachil taluk of the Kottayam district. The settlement was known for its wetland agriculture and agricultural trade through the river. Over time, Mutholy has become an educational hub and attracts students for entrance coaching from all over Kerala. The settlement presently consists of three prominent communities: Syrian Christians, Ezhavas, and Dalits. As per the census, there are 930 households from the Syrian Christian community, around 350 households from the Ezhava community, and 120 households from Dalit communities.

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[48] They have noted that 'the entire coastal plain and part of midland [of Kerala] are getting urbanized, as if the western part of Kerala between the coastline and foothills is transforming into a more or less homogeneous relative space/landscape of single urban agglomeration with a series of nodes'.

The fieldwork was conducted from 15th November 2018 to 15th January 2019. The survey was conducted among 8 Syrian Christian families consisting of 316 individuals, 4 Ezhava families consisting of 46 individuals, and 3 Dalit families consisting of 56 individuals. The LULC analysis was carried out using GIS tools. Photographs were taken on the agriculture activities, built-up areas of the settlement.

Taking a cue from the literature, the narratives on making the local in Mutholy historicise the understanding through the changing land use and diversification of livelihoods as the core drivers to shape the spatial form. In this context, this paper tries to place the present-day socio ecological conditions of the settlement, such as changing land use, increasing transnationalism, growth of service sector, and growing informality of labour, in the discourse of critical urban studies. The paper puts forth that these characteristics of the settlement and the changing nature of spatial imaginaries in the globalisation period goes beyond the binary categorisation of urban-rural.

This is argued in the following ways: firstly, the formation of power relations is traced, which later infuses into the spatial practices of the local. The power involved in the social relations has resulted in the dominance of Syrian Christians in control of resources and the marginalisation of the other communities. Secondly, the change in land use is analysed, which shows that it is changing to non-agrarian. Thirdly, the changing economic base is analysed, and the paper argues that the service sector is expanding in Mutholy. The different livelihood opportunities of communities have implications for understanding the globalisation process. Fourthly, the different factors contributing to the shift in economic base across the communities are analysed. This presents that the spatial form caters to the imaginations across communities in distinct ways; Mutholy has opened up neo-liberalist consumerist spaces for the transnational migrants, while locally, it has opened up a service economy for the labour force. Finally, in the light of these discussions, the case tries to place the spatial pattern of Mutholy in the literature of critical urban studies. The transformation process of Mutholy is a combined effect of the locally led growth of a service sector and strong transnational connections through international migration. The paper finally reflects on what we mean by the often-unrecognised complexity of the urbanisation process and its relevance to understanding the categorisation beyond the binaries.

The spatial formation of the 'urban' activities of Mutholy begins with the establishment of public infrastructure and the history of the growth of business and commerce. For instance, till the 1960s, the Mutholy *Kadavu* (riverbank) was a known trading centre for coconut and ginger. Farmers from far-off places and hilly areas of Meenachil Taluk used to bring products to trade with merchants who were trading to Aleppey port through the Meenachil river. People have memories of large boats waiting at the *kadavu* for agricultural products. Afterward, the road from Mutholy *kadavu* to Mevada was built under the leadership of the monastery. Later, the monastery gave land to the government to construct the bridge. This led to the development of infrastructure in the Mutholy junction.

Though a bridge connects the two localities, they exhibited different spatial dynamics. The land from Mutholy junction to the *kadavu* started witnessing changes in the 1960s. For example, as St. Thomas College started in Palai, the new professionals wanted land to settle in and Nair families started to sell land. This should be seen in the light of the early mobility of wealthy Nair families through modern education who entered into new professions and industrial jobs. Consequently, this led to the creation of residential plots in Mutholy. Similarly, the spatiality further changed when the coaching institution Brilliant started in 2010, which mainly attracts a floating population of around 12000 students and allied services every year.

Hence, the expansion of the built-up area is concentrated in the Mutholy junction. The expansion started with the Brilliant building and those of other services from Mutholy junction to Mutholy *kadavu* in the post-2000s. The built-up area from the junction to the *kadavu* is primarily for commercial purposes such as bakeries, hotels, and stationery shops. This has attracted new buyers for land who are interested in setting up hostels and houses for rent. Therefore, the local people refer to the area from Mutholy junction as the 'town.' Also, Mutholy's proximity to the Palai municipality is increasing its 'urban' character.

At the same time, public institutions such as the panchayat office are in Mutholy *kadavu*. However, there has been a shift of commercial activities from the *kadavu* to the Mutholy junction over the years. For instance, respondents remember the junction as a place where they had one tea shop and one stationary shop in the 1960s.

Besides, the transnational migration of Syrian Christians has led to the built-up expansion from Mutholy *Kadavu* to Mevada for residential purposes. The mobility of the community has not changed the land ownership pattern. The land accumulated in the early20th century remains with the families while land use is changing. The land ownership of Syrian Christians reiterates their dominance as the land from Mutholy *kadavu* is still in their hands. Also, the spatial form exhibits the characteristics and associations of both agrarian and non-agrarian. The control of land and other productive resources is maintained by the dominant communities, which in turn reproduces the power relations even in the changing spatial imaginary.

The articulation of restructuring space is visible in Mutholy in multiple and complex ways. One of the key features is reproducing inequality through the change in land use and the workforce becoming wage labourers in the informal sector. The spatial formation becomes unique as a result of the transnational connections of the dominant communities, the growth of the service sector, and land use changes. It suggests that these locations become the sites of construction activity and service deliveries in the form of an education hub and allied activities, making it difficult to conceptualise overlapping spaces. Moreover, caste-based inequality persists in the urbanisation process, and the Syrian Christians find new ways of accumulation to keep their dominance in the capitalist transformations. There are at least three ways in which diversification is taking place: transnational migration, business activities, and wage labour.

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Panel 8
Navigating and Practising Planning: Urban Practitioners In Dialogue

Panel Abstract

A binary conceptualisation of technocratic planning versus participatory planning often places urban practitioners in opposition to one another. However, an understanding of the practice of planning as both a rational and political practice can unsettle this binary and highlight the multiple tensions within the practice of planning, and how practitioners with different positionalities navigate and negotiate some of these. The panel *Navigating and Practising Planning* will bring together reflections from urban practitioners across spaces of the practice of planning—its technocratic processes as well as spaces of radical or insurgent planning—bringing practices of planning as proposition, contestation and activism, and invented and invited spaces of participation, across geographies, into discussion. It will explore how practitioners with diverse positionalities negotiate some of the tensions within the practice of planning—acknowledging the everyday and the incremental, while engaging with values, aspirations and understanding of planning as a forward-looking practice; working with and without data; as well as navigating disciplinary hierarchies and the privileging of forms of knowledge over the other.

Panellists and Presentations

Co-producing Knowledge: Methods, Moments and Experiences from the Main Bhi Dilli Campaign, India
Malavika Narayan, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)
Rashee Mehra, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)
Ruchika Lall, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)

Inclusive Cities and Land Rights for Urban Poor: Reflecting from Jharkhand
Lakhi Das, Adarsh Seva Sansthan

Learning from Disappointments: The Innovative Expert, the Impatient Civil Society and the Persistence of Regulatory Capture in Mumbai's Development Plan 2034
Champaka Rajagopal, Independent Researcher

Reflections on the Legal Empowerment of Community Representatives in Buenos Aires, Argentina
Rosario Fassina, Asociación Civil por la Igualdad y la Justicia (ACIJ)

Planning and Power: Participatory Adaptive Planning Approaches in Kenya
Diana Wachira, Pamoja Trust

Panel 9
Research, Funding, And Partnerships: Collaboration across the North and South

Panel Abstract

Research funding, particularly for researchers and institutions based in the global South, has become increasingly precarious over the last decade or so. The COVID-19 pandemic and resulting economic crises have only intensified this precarity. Such uncertainty impacts not only Southern researchers and institutions but also universities in the North; for example, in March 2021, the UKRI announced substantial cuts to its existing research budget, which impacted not only universities and researchers within the UK, but also cascaded globally across partners and institutions. Reflecting on our collective experiences with working multi-country research grants and drawing particularly on our work together through PEAK Urban, this panel reflects on the challenges of doing research across the North and the South, why this kind of research is important, and how we might be able to sustain long-term partnerships through the building of genuine collaborative frameworks.

Panellists and Presentations

Risks and Returns from Large Scale Funding for Urban Research
Michael Keith, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford
Susan Parnell, University of Bristol

The Paradox: Economic Growth that Endangers the Future of Research in Colombia
Juan C Duque, EAFIT University

Rethinking the Research Funding Process
Neha Sami, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)

Why Is It More Important than Ever for Urban South Scholars to Generate Global Work? Reflections from the Borders of (Global) Urban and Sexualities Research
Andrew Tucker, African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town

India's Greenfield Urban Future

Panel Abstract

The panel will showcase a selection of chapters from the book *India's Greenfield Future* and engage a dialogue among the authors, and include a Q&A session with the audience following each presentation.

The spark for the edited volume came from a series of observations about the emerging frontlines of India's urbanisation. The fantasy of the blank slate, or *tabula rasa*, of starting India's urbanisation project afresh, has been evident as much in the visual vocabulary of booming metropolitan peripheries as in the policy pronouncements on the smart city mission. While a nascent scholarship had begun by the mid 2010s to investigate both the rhetoric and reality of these utopian imaginaries, case studies rarely, if ever, spoke to each other. Yet, there was no denying the sheer ambition, and even hubris, that linked the Lavasas and Rajarhats to the soaring span of the Delhi Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC).

Our discussions about these new landscapes crystallised in a special issue in the *Economic and Political Weekly Review of Urban Affairs* on the theme of greenfield urban development, published in 2016. We went back and forth over what to call the phenomena we were attempting to describe. Key to our understanding were two aspects: first, the unmistakable nexus between spatially targeted investments in urban development in these settings and economic growth agendas in the policyscape. Second, and equally important, we wanted to highlight the continuities that connected the new millennium's city-building enterprise to its forebears in Chandigarh, Bhilai or Navi Mumbai.

India's Greenfield Future is an expanded edited collection based on that issue. The very newness of the trend whose contours the original collection had traced demanded a revisit to assess how those early prognostications had fared. We also wanted to bring in a broader array of scholars into the fold, allowing sharper insights into the landscapes that were becoming visible.

Compiling the volume yielded surprising rewards. For instance, papers by Sai Balakrishnan and Sudeshna Mitra have expanded and deepened our understanding of the political economy of 'highway urbanisation' or 'corridor urbanisation', complementing Shriya Anand and Neha Sami's original contribution on the Delhi Mumbai Industrial Corridor. Gopa Samanta's report on the Andal Aerotropolis, offering a portrait of progress in stasis, brings nuance to our understanding of the 'rentier economy' analysed by Preeti Sampat in Dholera. Anna Dewaele's comparative case approach to new towns provides an important historical anchor for understanding the backdrop against which contemporary India's greenfield agenda is playing out.

In bringing together new work by emerging as well as established scholars, our aim has been to generate conversations on the greenfield endeavour and the pointers it gives to India's urban future. Moreover, it is our hope that this volume will provide grounding for connecting the Indian experience to Asia and the global South more broadly.

Panellists and Presentations

India's Greenfield Urban Future: An Introduction
Ashima Sood, Anant National University
Loraine Kennedy, National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS); Centre for South Asian Studies (CEIAS), École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)

Industrial Zone to New Skycity: The (Un)Making of India's First Aerotropolis
Gopa Samanta, The University of Burdwan

Dholera: The Emperor's New City
Preeti Sampat, Department of Geography, School of Environment, Education and Development, University of Manchester; School of Liberal Studies, Ambedkar University

Scaling Up, Scaling Down: State Rescaling Along the Delhi–Mumbai Industrial Corridor
Neha Sami, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)
Shriya Anand, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)

Roads to New Urban Futures: State Strategies of Peri-urban Placemaking in India
Sudeshna Mitra, Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)

Panel 11
Producing Space: Urban Form,
Planning, and Spatialisation

Between a Town with 'Totas' and the Garden City: An Exploration of Bangalore and its Gardens in the Early Twentieth Century

Elza D'Cruz, Srishti Manipal Institute of Art, Design and Technology, Manipal Academy of Higher Education

This paper looks at garden landscapes as a space of conflict and resolution between the State and community in the early 20th-century Bangalore, while the city transformed from an agrarian town with *totas* (local market gardens) to a modern hub with public gardens. Taking the case of the *totas* of the Vahnikula Kshatriya local gardening community in Bangalore as they transformed, I explore the tensions in the everyday and lived landscapes that were under transformation in early 20th-century Bangalore.

In this paper, I analyse archival records related to the Vahikula Kshatriya (or Thigala as they were historically called) market gardening community in Bangalore from 1908 to 1930, alongside a mapping of city improvement projects with public gardens in Bangalore and the ritualistic markers of agrarian communities to foreground the negotiations between the State's and community's aspirations that shaped the quotidian landscape of the city. Thus, I explore the dialogue between the productive landscape and urbanity and the community and State in the colonial era of city planning. Here, I argue that an examination of the evolution of gardens and productive landscapes, both in discourse and in materiality of early twentieth century colonial cities, help us move beyond binaries of planned order and chaotic organic development.

Introduction

Bangalore was called the 'garden city' till the mid-twentieth century for its many public gardens, parks and tree-filled avenues. Many of these gardens came up in the city under princely rule between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Much before this, *totas* were a part of Bangalore. Contemporary discourses on Bangalore uses the imagery of the *'kote–pete–kere'* (fort–town–tank) to highlight the structuring elements of pre-colonial Bangalore. The *totas* small holdings within or near city areas are not unique to Bangalore; they are also seen in Asian and Middle Eastern societies and diasporas. However, unlike market gardens like the Bostans in Istanbul (Kaldjian, 2004) and the Chinese market gardens of Australia (Morris, 2001), which are considered to have made significant contributions to the people and places in their cities and are promoted as such, *totas* have disappeared from within contemporary Bangalore city. Da Cunha and Mathur (2006) provide a brief glimpse of the pre-colonial *totas* in Bangalore while discussing the Lal Bagh (a botanical garden) and the sale of flowers in the marketplaces of contemporary Bangalore.

Through her discussion on the local market gardening community of Vahnikula Kshatriyas in post-colonial Bangalore, Srinivas (2001) shows that although this community has adapted to fit into contemporary Bangalore and its urban population as

members of the workforce, their participation in the Bangalore Karaga (annual festival of the community) highlights the agrarian roots of the city. Buchanan (1807) chronicles the different *totas* of Bangalore and its environs and distinguishes Tigular (Thigalas*)* as 'persons whose ancestors were originally of *Dravida Desam*, and who live entirely by the profession of gardening' (p 441). *Totas* around the Bangalore *pete* (native town) provided flowers and vegetables to its inhabitants. The flower farms of the Vahnikula Kshatriya community members in the environs of contemporary Bangalore and the bustling flower trade in Bangalore's markets indicate that the *totas* are thriving although they are no longer part of the landscape of the city. Though the annual Karaga festival and its processions are one of the cultural markers of Bangalore, there has not been research on the *totas*, their transformation and its relationship to the growing Bangalore city in the early twentieth century.

Early twentieth century transformations to the city were brought about by state reforms that had an underlying concern with the improvement of public health measures, particularly the control of diseases. By framing the arguments within this background, this paper presents the historical research conducted on the geographical area bounded by the present Cubbon Park, Koramangala tank, Lal Bagh, and City Market of Bangalore.

Methodology
While Unnikrishnan (2016) used archival maps to highlight disappearing lakes, wells and diminishing agricultural spaces in the city between 1885 and 1973, Nagendra, Unnikrishnan and Sen (2014) call for new representations of rurality in urban areas through their visual study of houses in several urbanised pockets in contemporary Bangalore city, showing that even as villages are added on to the city limits, remnants of the city's agrarian past persist in its fabric. Using a combination of methods including the mapping of cultural remnants of agrarian communities within the study area in the present and comparing information in administrative reports with spatial information in historic maps, this paper connects the public garden landscape of the present to the agrarian communities that once occupied these lands. This paper also uses historical research methods, particularly analysis of archival material like administration reports and municipal files to form its arguments.

Findings
In the early twentieth century, malaria control measures led to the removal of wet cultivation near the Bangalore *pete*. Water sources like ponds, tanks and wells within the city limits were closed off to reduce the mosquito menace. The state attempted piped water and drainage projects to improve the water and sanitation scenario of Bangalore. The closing off of water sources like tanks and wells reduced the number of *totas* in Bangalore during the period. *Totas* were also acquired for public purposes, like the extension of Cubbon Park and the forming of shop streets near the newly constructed general market. The Vahnikula Kshatriyas are referred to as Thigalas in municipal files of the time period. Thigala gardeners remained near Bangalore adapted to the newer water landscape and the methods of cultivation promoted by the State Gardens Department. Though the State tried to ease the displacement of the Thigalas from the city through a proposal to create a horticultural extension akin to the model of residential extensions that it had formed, the proposal did not materialise.

Discussion

The paper considers how the early twentieth century colonial reforms to the city's fabric modernised Bangalore's image and gave specific forms for public gardens in the city, but splintered, exiled and hastened the re-forming of a local gardening community, the Vahnikula Kshatriyas. Through this discussion, it argues that the reuse of prior models of colonial planning and simplification of the connections between communities and landscapes could not address the changes underfoot. The community itself transformed to cope with the public criticism to modernise its practices, which had led to their ouster from the city. The argument in this paper is developed in three parts. Firstly, the study areas are contextualised and historicised through the mapping of the ritualistic routes of the Karaga and a brief overview of the *totas* in Bangalore till the late nineteenth century to show that gardens are cultural and productive markers of historic Bangalore.

Secondly, city improvement projects and public health concerns in Bangalore between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are discussed to illustrate their impact on gardens, specifically episodes around the productive gardens of the Vahnikula and city improvement projects with public gardens formed by the municipality. Lastly, the state's efforts to rehabilitate the Vahnikula Kshatriyas and the exchanges between the several actors are examined to understand why the state's proposal for a horticultural extension was eventually dropped.

Conclusion

Through the lens of garden landscapes, this research throws light on the tensions in everyday and lived landscapes under transformation in Bangalore in the early twentieth century. On the one hand, by the early twentieth century, colonial reforms to the city's fabric modernised Bangalore's image, which, while resulting in specific forms for public gardens which made it a 'garden city', led to the exile of local gardening communities from the city. On the other hand, the local gardening community, the Vahnikula Kshatriyas, consolidated and re-grouped their horticultural practices and reformed themselves. However, as the discussions in this paper show these changes happened as part of a dialogue between the several actors concerned. The method of framing power relations through everyday landscapes such as gardens and *totas* presented in this paper presents fault lines in the narrative of organic development of the early twentieth century being brought into planned order through state reform. This narrative based on the everyday landscape of the study area under consideration is not one of displacement, but of replacement, both in the landscape and in the community. Insights gained from the analysis of events around interactions between the Vahnikula Kshatriya community members and the state point to the need to supplement 'thin simplifications' (Scott, 1998) or abstractions of urban problems with 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973), or the subjective explanations of actors in participatory processes of development and signal future research on the gardens and *totas* of Bangalore using the latter method.

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Tracing Liminal Spaces Understanding the Fundamental Nature of Urban Thresholds

Ruju H Joshi, CEPT University

Introduction

Liminal spaces are transition spaces that occupy positions at or on both sides of a boundary or threshold between public and private realms. The boundary is usually perceived as a visual, physical and notional end of space distinctly segregating two zones, whereas the threshold acts as a potential 'third space' of ambiguity. Constant urbanisation, densification and regularisation have led to the predefined, structured and restricted use of public open spaces. The research aims to establish a framework that identifies, compares and analyses the threshold as a 'third space' of possibilities through its physical characteristics, practices of people and regulations at multiple scales between public/private realms. The research strategically identifies three distinct cases from the old city, the urban-rural interface and the new developing city of Ahmedabad. The sites are diverse in their socio-spatial structures, enforced regulations, development time period and scale. The method of analysis is a qualitative and bi literature review and content analysis to develop the parameters, attributes that define the framework using components from a deconstructed definition of liminality. An independent ethnographic study of each site and comparative analysis between sites were conducted to tease out the nuances of the liminal space and test the framework. However, the research is limited to three streets with samples of predominantly residential with a mix of commercial land use, beyond the particularities of race, gender and religion in the urban realm.

> 'There should be a clear demarcation between what is public space and what is private space. Public and private spaces cannot ooze into each other'
>
> (Jacobs, 1961)

Clearly demarcating public and private realms with strong physical characteristics often creates segregation between the two zones, resulting in an exclusive and restrictive environment. This quote from 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' makes one think about the variety of interfaces that our cities create between public/private realms. It is then imperative to understand and question the interface's fundamental nature. The interface holds the immense potential of becoming an active and inclusive everyday public space that the cities are otherwise struggling to suffice, rather than distinctly segregating two zones creating exclusive spaces. Public and private spaces can be very clearly distinguished through their predefined structure, order, specific functionalities, and distinctly delineating strict physical boundaries. Private space is a space of definite functions with specific purposes, a space where there is always 'a motive to go' (Dovey, et al., 2017). On the contrary, public space acts as a means for people to engage with the city and experience its urban life, where the city life thrives. It allows multiple non-specific, non-instrumental, spontaneous, and risk-taking practices to happen (Stevens, 2007). Public space also allows negotiations and offers a space to 'loiter' in the city. These practices of people allow identifying the spontaneity of the public space, despite its predefined functionalities (Decerteau, 1980). However, complex city planning processes in India largely focus on city and neighbourhood scales. In these

implementations, the street scale is completely overlooked and compromised, creating dead or discouraging interfaces between the public and the private, leading to certain socio-spatial characteristics that create physical, economic, legal, and political segregation within society. The segregation further affects notional, social and cultural practices in the public realm, leading to accessibility conflicts, demarcating clear distinctions between the public and the private (Stevens, 2007). The interface becomes restrictive, losing its fluidity to limited, set functionalities. Thus, it is important to question the nature of the interface as an in-between space of possibilities, with the potential to create more inclusive and accessible cities.

According to a report on 'Streets as Public Spaces and Drivers of Urban Prosperity' released by the UN-Habitat's Global Urban Observatories Unit, 45–50 per cent of a city's land area should be under public space, with 30–35 per cent of the area occupied by streets and 15–20 per cent by open space (UN-habitat, 2013). However, the numbers limited to 129 Ha in the case of Ahmedabad, which is only 0.28 per cent of the total land area (AUDA, 2015). The numbers proposed by the UN-Habitat reports are far-fetched in the case of Ahmedabad. Moreover, according to the WHO and UDRPFI Guidelines published by the MOUD, GoI, open space per person should fall within 8–10 sq. m. Ahmedabad's per person open space is only 0.37 sq. m. (AUDA, 2015). Thus, the demographics also yield an urgent need for an efficient and easily accessible public space in the city.

Liminality and Liminal Spaces
The ambiguous state of liminality occurs in the 'rite of passage' when going from one state to another (Gennep, 1909). As stated by Victor Turner in 'The Forests of Symbols', liminality lies within the state of transition or within the in-between interface existing at a particular point in time. Turner (1967) further elaborates on the concept of liminality through the structure of positions. He classifies the process into three parts: separation, margin and aggregation, the margin being liminal space (Turner, 1967). The first phase of separation comprises the symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of the subject from an earlier fixed point. The second phase of margin is an ambiguous space with no known or unknown components from the past or future, and in the last phase of aggregation, the subject is consummated (Turner, 1967). Turner's (1967) theories explore the potentials of the second phase of liminality, the margin, through undiscovered possibilities that allow multiple opportunities for a subject's transformation. 'Landscapes of Liminality' further establishes the physical manifestations of liminality and liminal spaces through boundaries and thresholds (Downey et al., 2016).

Spaces of Liminality
   'What we think of as liminality is far from the closed space of a delimited territory, but is itself an in between space of potentiality.'

(Downey, et al., 2016)

This quote from 'Landscapes of Liminality' refers to conceptualising liminality as a potential in between space in multiple physical conditions (Downey et al., 2016). Liminality has primarily been discussed in the intellectual and theoretical discourse. However, liminality is physically manifested and contextualised through liminal spaces

by identifying interfaces between two zones that are typically transition or threshold spaces. The concept of 'liminal space' comes from the idea of liminality as defined by Arnold Van Gennep (1909). In urban conditions, liminal space occupies positions at or on both sides of a boundary or threshold between public/private realms. It is an exceptional ambiguous space of possibilities both in and of transition, deviated from the traditions.

The Interface

The in-between (Entre-Deux) interface is a phenomenon of space between any two zones (Downey et al., 2016). In defining the interface in an urban condition, it is a social space between the street and its surroundings, where everyday city life thrives. The interface also acts as a transition space between public/private realms, affecting and moderating the practices of people. Thus, it is essential to understand the fundamental nature of the interface as the segregation often leads to a restrictive, specific and controlled usage of space, even in the public realm. The production and functionalities of such liminal spaces can be observed through literature that discusses the social significance of multiple practices of people, their behavioural patterns and the physical characteristics of the interface in the urban realm. (Lefebvre, 1980; Stevens, 2007; Gehl, 1971; Franck, 2006; Mehta, 2013; Boettger, 2014; Dovey, 2016).

Boundaries, Thresholds and the Third Space

Image 3: Anand Nagar Road in Ahmedabad

Image 4: Happy Street outside Law Garden in Ahmedabad

Source: Photos by the author

Source: Photos by the author

The boundary (limes) and the threshold (limen) are two major physical manifestations of the interface within the scope of urban studies (Downey et al., 2016). Limes or boundaries are the visual, physical, and notional end of space, distinctly segregating two zones (Stevens, 2007). The rigid nature of the boundary in various urban conditions limits certain practices of people and questions the interface's capabilities of becoming a fluid, malleable space of multiple possibilities. The boundaries also question what the interface can or should offer in its full potential (Jacobs, 1961). Thus, a boundary as an interface physically limits the possibilities of practices within by distinctly demarcating public and private realms.

Limen or threshold comes from the word liminality itself, which is the in-between or the 'margin' space in the process of transformation (Turner, 1967). Within the condition of liminality lies the ambiguity. Thus, the threshold is a potential 'third space' where the social hierarchies and customs are dissolved, deviating from the traditional setting of

only segregating spaces with demarcated boundaries and functionalities (Bhabha, 1994). Bhabha (1994) envisions the third space as a hybrid space with dissolved social and cultural hierarchies within its ambiguous nature. He discusses the possibilities of identifying a new kind of space that straddles between two strongly demarcated zones with specific functionalities within the society. The threshold as an interface acts as a carved-out space of spontaneity, a newly imagined space with non-specific, non-defined and non-structured possibilities that other public spaces otherwise restrict. The hybridity and tension of multiple possibilities within the threshold or the third space make it more active, hence liminal. The liminal nature of a threshold or third space also makes it non-reductionist by dissolving the hierarchies and binaries of formal/informal, legal/illegal, public/private, etc.

Thus, if the boundary is devoid of possibilities within a liminal space and the threshold is a space allowing multiple possibilities, what is the relationship of practices of people with the physical manifestations of boundaries and thresholds? If the nature of a boundary is exclusionary and the nature of the threshold is an ambiguous space of possibilities (a third space), then under what conditions of physical manifestation and practices of people does a boundary transform into a threshold? What constitutes a boundary, and what constitutes a threshold? What is the significance of the liminal space between public/private realms? What are the practices of people that define the threshold or the third space?

Conceptual Framework

'Undoing, dissolution, decomposition are accompanied by the processes of growth, transformation, and the reformulation of old elements in new patterns.'

(Turner, 1967)

'It is the in-between space that carries the burden of the meaning of culture, and by exploring the Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves.'

(Bhabha, 1994)

'Urban experience and social needs are more than mere conceptual abstractions, they can be understood by looking at everyday life on the streets, at its specific and diverse qualities, at the meanings it might have for those who live it, and in particular at the complex tensions which arise between different needs, different meanings and different users in spaces.'

(Stevens, 2007)

'The term ambiguity literally refers to "both ways", and one who is located in the space of the liminal must be ever attuned to the presence of adverse or conflicting possibilities.'

(Downey, et al., 2016)

The framework develops definitions for each of its components by using diverse literature. Each component of the framework has been extrapolated from different components of liminality and liminal spaces to be contextualised within the scope of this research. The framework uses literature and existing examples to understand each

component further and explain the relevance of tracing liminal spaces. The components of the framework are divided into two parts: parameters and attributes. The parameters are conceptual, intangible components identified from a categorically broken-down definition of liminality. The attributes are distinct, measurable, tangible tools to analyse the physical manifestation of each parameter in multiple ways. The framework ties the attributes and parameters together by applying the former to the latter, independently or jointly, to trace and analyse liminal spaces in the city.

Table 2: The conceptual framework

Public realm

Public space is a means for people to engage with the city where city life thrives. It is a space without any predefined functionalities, a space that allows negotiations and offers a space to 'loiter'. (Stevens, 2007)

In-between interface (entre-deux)

The in-between interface is a phenomenon of space between two zones. In an urban condition, it is a space of spontaneity where everyday city life happens. (Downey, Kinane, Parker, 2016)

Private realm

A private space is a space with definite orders and specific purpose with predefined function-alities. (Dovey, Pafka, Ristic 2017)

Liminal space

In an Urban condition, a liminal space is a space that occupies positions at or on both sides of a boundary or threshold between public/private realms. It is an exceptional ambiguous space of possibilities both in and of transition and deviated from the traditions. Liminal space also allows exploring the undiscovered potentials of the in-between interface, which may or may not be subversive.

Limes (boundary)

The boundary is generally perceived as a visual, physical and notional end of a space where certain practices can or cannot be performed. (Stevens, 2007)

Liminality

Liminality is an ambiguous state which occurs in 'rites de passage'. (Gennep, 1909) It allows the subject to explore the potentials of undiscovered possibilities of the margin (liminal) space within its ambiguous nature. (Turner, 1967)

Limen (threshold)

The threshold is a potential 'third space' where the social hierarchies and customs are dissolved. It is deviating from the traditional setting of only segregating spaces with demarcated boundaries and functionalities.

Parameters — Conceptual Framework — Attributes

Temporality

Temporality is inherently related to time which depicts the constant change in and of the space. It is also volatile with its frame of reference. Multiple binaries of physical/ non-physical, regulated/ non-regulated, formal/ informal identify temporality at various scales and time in an urban condition.

Ambiguity

Ambiguity is about various choices, possibilities, interpretations, subversions, deviances and negotiations that it allows by dissolving binaries, specific functions and social hierarchies of the space at a given point in time and scale. Existing binaries of physical/ non-physical, spatial/ non-spatial, transactional/ non-transactional identify the negotiations in a space.

Scale

Scale is a measure that helps identify and compare a variety of components and develop a multi-directional relationship of the same. It helps understand the overall relationship of a smaller component with its larger component. It can be recognized through various functional and spatial attributes at any given point in time over time.

Physical characteristics

Physical characteristics are the unique qualities of a particular space that can be recognized through various sets of elements independently or through multiple combinations. The elements depict the measurable aspects or qualities of the space.

Transformation

Transformation is related to the change or development of any space from one state to another over a period. It can be recognized at multiple stages through various attributes such as scale, physical characteristics, practices of people and regulations. However, the attributes are interdependent on its exterior environment or context of the space. Hence, the transformation of space as a process should be wholly observed at various scales and time over time.

Hierarchy

Hierarchy depicts the relationship and degree of influence of various groups on one another. Hierarchies are formed to ensure specific codes of conduct within the society. Often, hierarchies can be recognized through subversive, overruled, negotiable and contested transactions between different groups of people and societies in the in-between interface between public/private realms.

Practices of people

Practices of people are a variety of functions that can be identified through various actions of people. It is imperative to understand the social characteristics of a space which varies with the change in zones (public/ private, indoors/ outdoors), functions (purposeful/ non-purposeful), degree of accessibility (physical and visual), number of participants, scale and time.

Regulations

Regulations can be used to identify the relationships between contested and regulated. It is to identify and understand negotiations that happen to suppress the act of subversion: directed/ non-directed, spatial/ non-spatial, transactional/ non-transactional and so on. Ultimately, it helps understand the scope and limitations of a liminal space in the city.

Case Studies

By applying the framework, this part of the research analyses the three sites individually and then through a comparative analysis at macro and micro scales, using different parameters independently or jointly that testify varied characteristics of each site. The sites are chosen strategically such that they are located in three different parts of the city, which have been developed at different times with varied socio-spatial characteristics. The built fabric, building typology and practices of people strongly demonstrate physical and social diversity. All sites focus on predominantly residential with a mix of commercial use. The process of transformation at a particular point in time, over time, is also explored at street and neighbourhood scales (see figure 8).

The first site, Kaliipiir, sits in the eastern pan of the city in the designated old city of Ahmedabad. Kaliipiir's uniquely built fabric and the practices of the people define its socio-spatial characteristics (see figure 9).

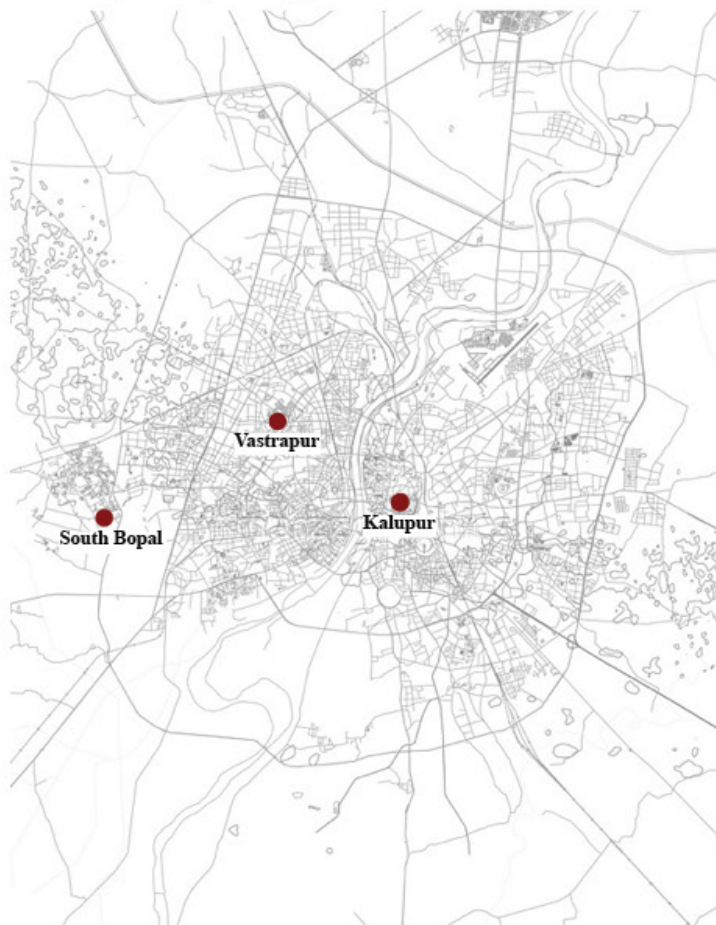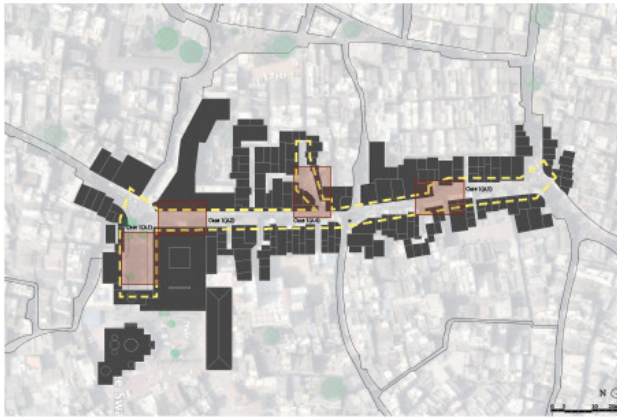**Figure 8:** Identified cases from the city of Ahmedabad

Figure 9: Site plan of Kalupur, Ahmedabad

The second site, Vastrapur, sits on the western side of the city. The site used to be a village which was later incorporated within the city during the city development process, initiated in the late 1900s. The site has constantly been transforming ever since. The site has evident traces of the overlaps of the old and new from the process of transformation, which makes it unique (see figure 10).

Figure 10: Site plan of Vastrapur, Ahmedabad

The last site, South Bopal, started developing in the 2000s. It reflects the upcoming high-rise and highly regularized built fabric and practices of people (see figure 11).

Figure 11: Site plan of South Bopal, Ahmedabad

Image 5: Market outside Shree Swaminarayan Temple in the morning in Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Image 6: Entrance of the Vastrapur Gam: The elements of the village, such as the tree at the entrance of the village, chawks, main entry gate and so on, are still very evident in Vastrapur, Ahmedabad

Image 7: Spontaneous/temporary usage of the predefined interface in South Bopal, Ahmedabad

Image 8: Building corridor as a meeting place for social practices in Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Image 9: Temporary practices on the main street

Image 10: Restricted/defined use of the interface in South Bopal, Ahmedabad

Source: Photos by the author

The research refers to various building and public space regulations which are as follows:

**Table 3:** Applicable building regulations for the city of Ahmedabad (GoG, 2017)

Location	Kalupur	Vastrapur		South Bopal
Class of Applicability (Table 1.1-1)	D1	D1		D1
Use Zone (Table 7-1.1)	Core Walled City (CW)	Gamtal (GM)	Residential Zone I (R1)	Residential Zone II (R2)
FSI (Table 12.1-1)	2	2	base 1.8 and 0.90 chargeable	base 1.2 and 0.60 chargeable
Permissible Uses (Table 7.2-1)	Dwelling-1,2&3, Mercantile-1, Business, Religious, Education-al-1, Institutional, Hospitality-1,Assembly-1, Sports & Leisure, Parks, Temporary Use, Public Utility, Public Institutions	Dwelling-1,2&3, Mercantile-1, Business, Religious, Education-al-1, Institutional, Hospitality-1,Assembly-1, Sports & Leisure, Parks, Temporary Use, Public Utility, Public Institutions	those permissible in CW and AS2, AS3, AS4, EDU2, H3, H02, HO3, M3, SE	those permissible in CW and AS2, AS3, AS4, EDU2, H3, H02, HO3, M3, SE
Section C	Planning Regulations			
Section D	Performance Regulations			

Table 4: Applicable public space regulations for the city of Ahmedabad (GoB, GoG)

Acts	Gujarat Police Act, 1951	Gujarat Provincial Municipal Corporations Act, 1949	Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1976
Responsible Authorities	Police Commissioner	AMC	AMC / AUDA
References	Sections 202, 208, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 378, 379, 383, 384, 385, 392	Sections 35, 36, 37, 38	Sections 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 112, 115

The comparison identifies ambiguity as a constant parameter to choose specific cases for the same, with different physical characteristics and set of constant temporal practices of vegetable and food vending. Various tangible attributes such as the occasional, social practices of people and the physical characteristics of the interface identify temporality. Hence, the significance of any ambiguous space can be determined or observed through the variety of practices that it allows. It means that the occasional practices might proliferate in support of the larger exterior environment; however, it may or may not be entirely dependent on the physical characteristics of the space or vice versa.

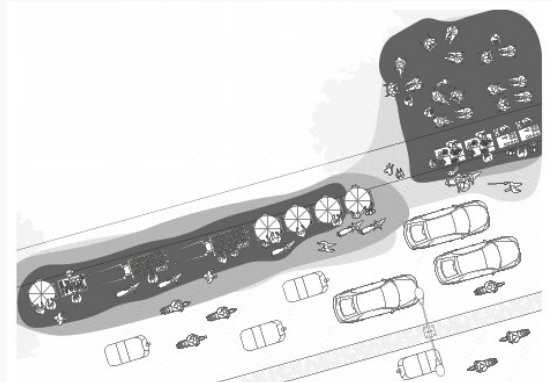**Figure 12:** Case 1(B); Case 2 (A1); Case 3(A), Case 3(B1)

Temporality	**Ambiguity**	Transformation	Hierarchy
Scale	Physical Characteristics	Practices of people	Regulations
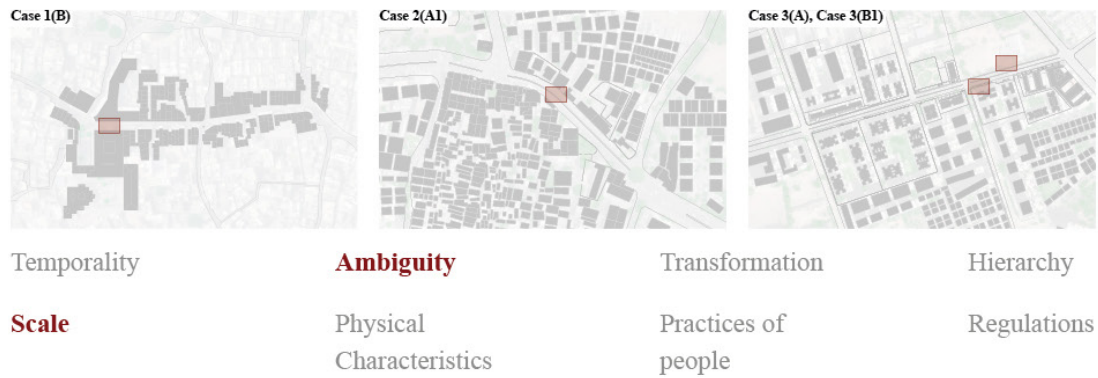
*The highlighted parameters/attributes are considered as constants for this comparison.

Image 11: Case 3(A) Physical boundary – No

Figure 13: Notional boundary – No

Source: Photo by the author

In this case from South Bopal, there is no physical or notional demarcation between the public and the private, demonstrating the ambiguity of the interface through dissolved boundaries. However, it is the temporary practices of vegetable and food vending that identify and acknowledge the interface's liminal nature by utilising the same to its full potential (see figures 17–20)

Figure 14: Index

Figure 15: Study of case 3(A) during morning
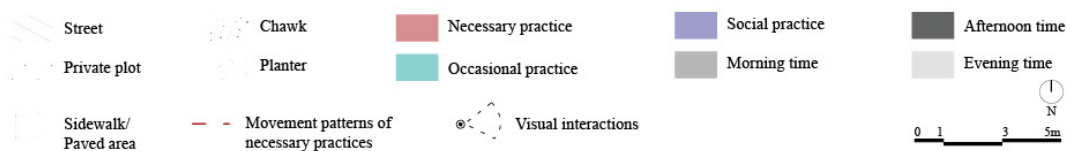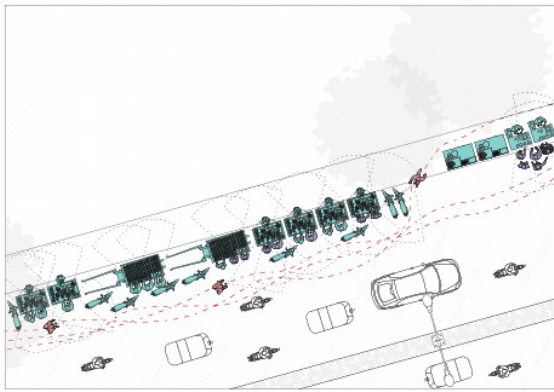

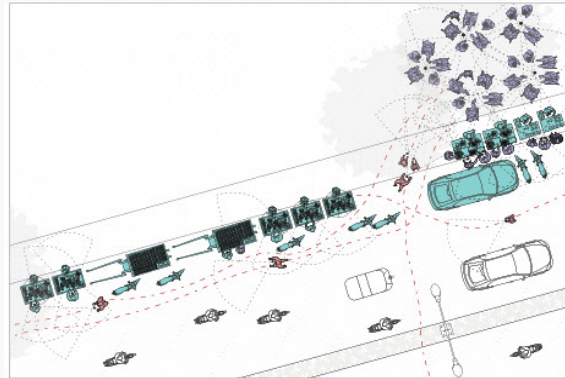**Figure 16:** Study of case 3(A) during afternoon

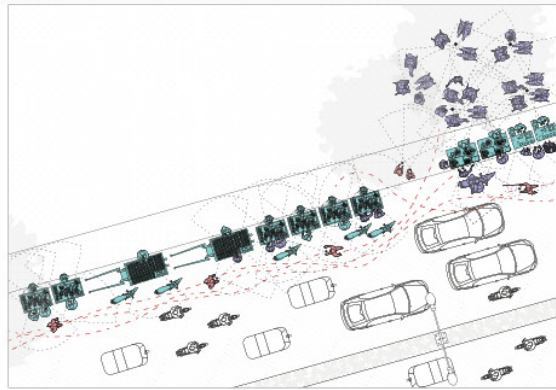**Figure 17:** Study of case 3(A) during evening

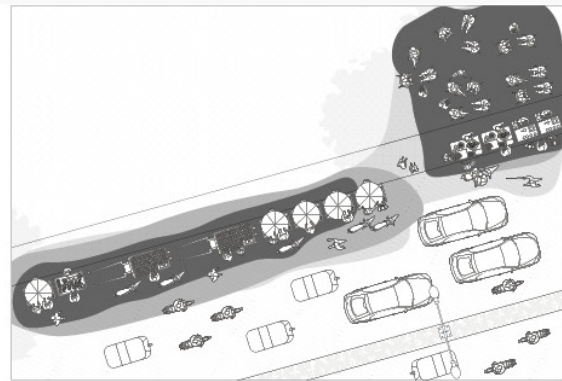**Figure 18:** Study of case 3(A) throughout the day

Figure 19: Study of case 1(B) during morning

Figure 20: Study of case 1(B) during afternoon

Figure 21: Study of case 1(B) during evening
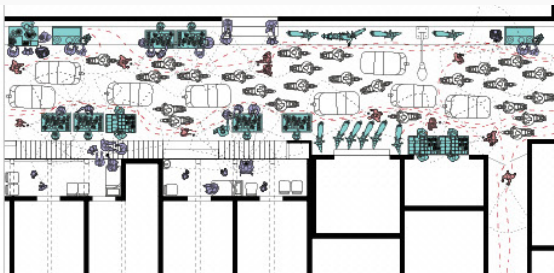
Figure 22: Study of case 1(B) throughout the day
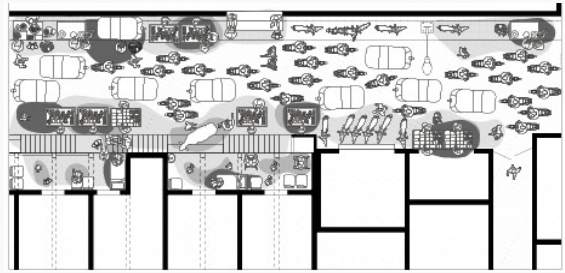
Image 12: Case 1(B) Physical boundary – No

Figure 23: Notional boundary – Yes

Source: Photo by the author
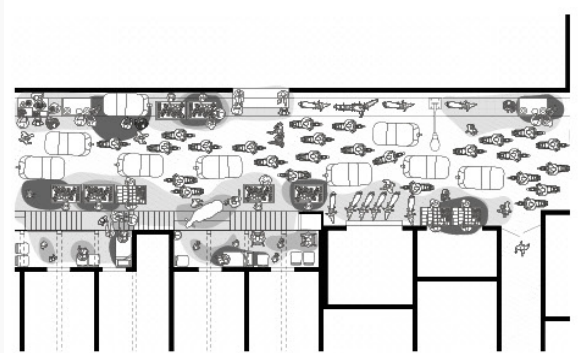
The case from Kalupur identifies a notional boundary between public/private realms through the building typology and practices of people. However, the dissolved physical boundaries provide opportunities for various occasional, social practices of people that demonstrate the interface's ambiguity (see figures 21–24)

Image 13: Case 2(A1) Physical boundary - No

Figure 24: Notional boundary - Yes

Source: Photo by the author
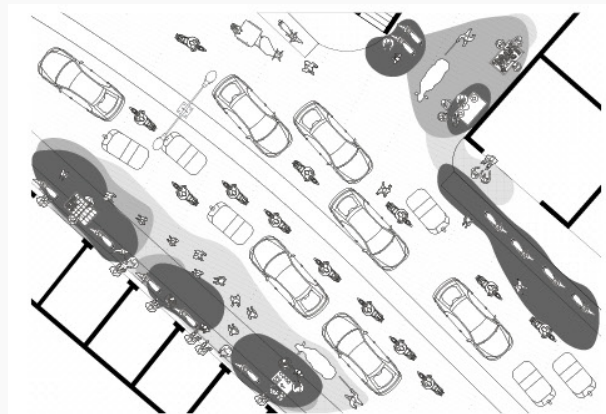
This case from Vastrapur represents ambiguity of the interface through dissolved hierarchies and possible negotiations between the shop owners and temporary vendors. The negotiations allow the vendors to use the space outside the private shop throughout the day. However, the building use of the private creates certain notional boundaries that restrict the temporary practices to a particular extent within the interface (see figures 28–31).

Figure 25: Scale
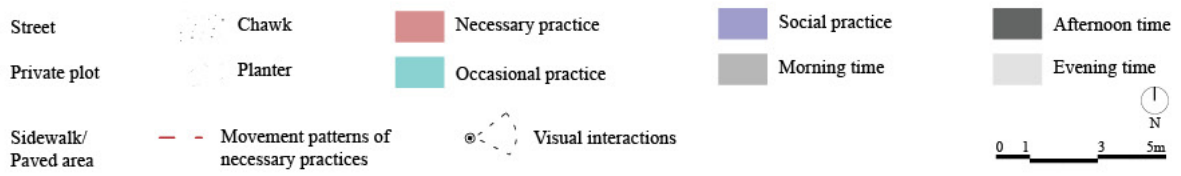
Figure 26: Study of case 2(A1) during morning
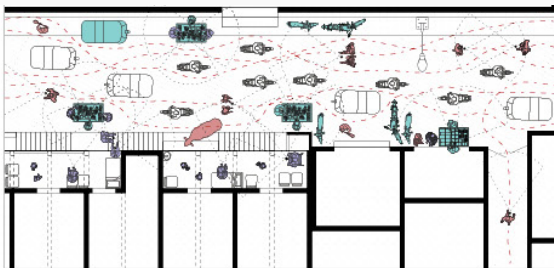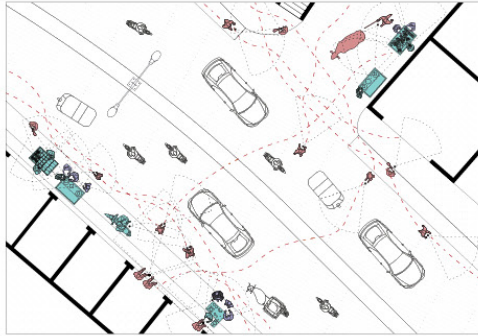

Figure 27: Study of case 2(A1) during afternoon
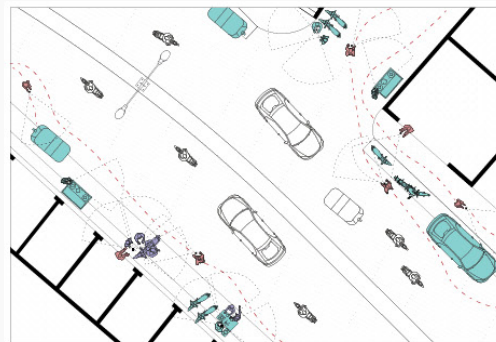
Figure 28: Study of case 2(A1) during evening
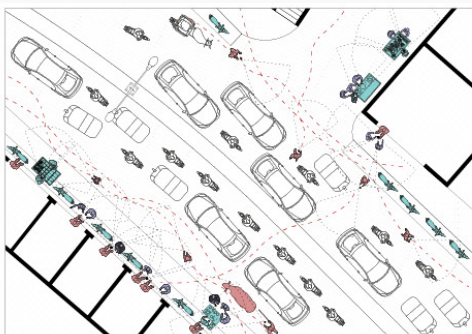
Figure 29: Study of case 2(A1) throughout the day
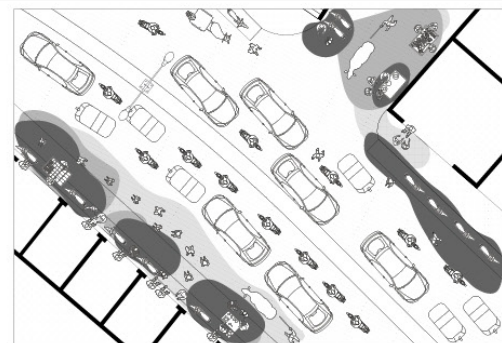
Figure 30: Study of case 3(B1) during morning
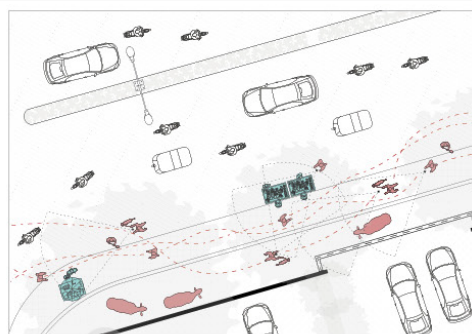
Figure 31: Study of case 3(B1) during afternoon
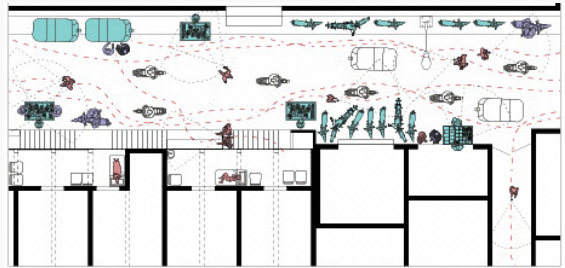
Figure 32: Study of case 3(B1) during evening
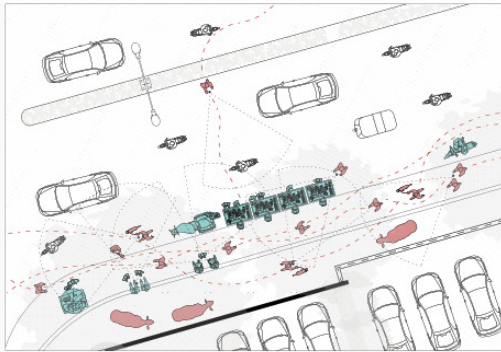


Figure 33: Study of case 3(B1) throughout the day
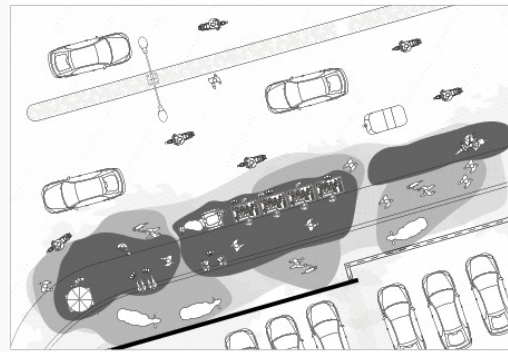
Image 14: Case 3(b1) Physical boundary - Yes

Figure 34: Notional boundary - Yes
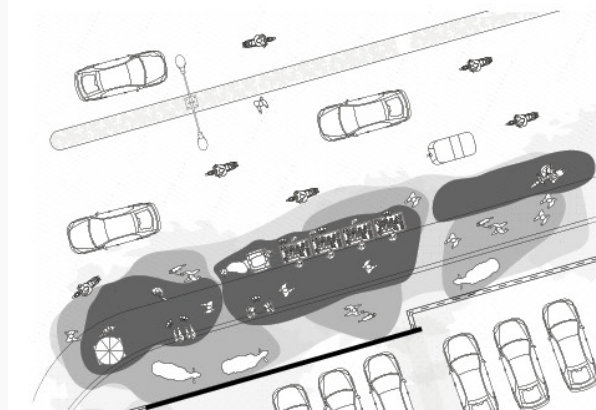
This case from South Bhopal represents the wall as a strong physical demarcation between the public and the private. Although ambiguity of the interface on the public side can be observed through various occasional practices of people such as resting, waiting, vending, etc. The wall (boundary) becomes a subset of the outside threshold space in the public realm. It provides a favourable exterior environment for various occasional practices by defying its only predefined function of separating two zones. The interface becomes a liminal space of spontaneity (see figures 32–35).

Figure 35: Gehl's diagram (Gehl, 1971)
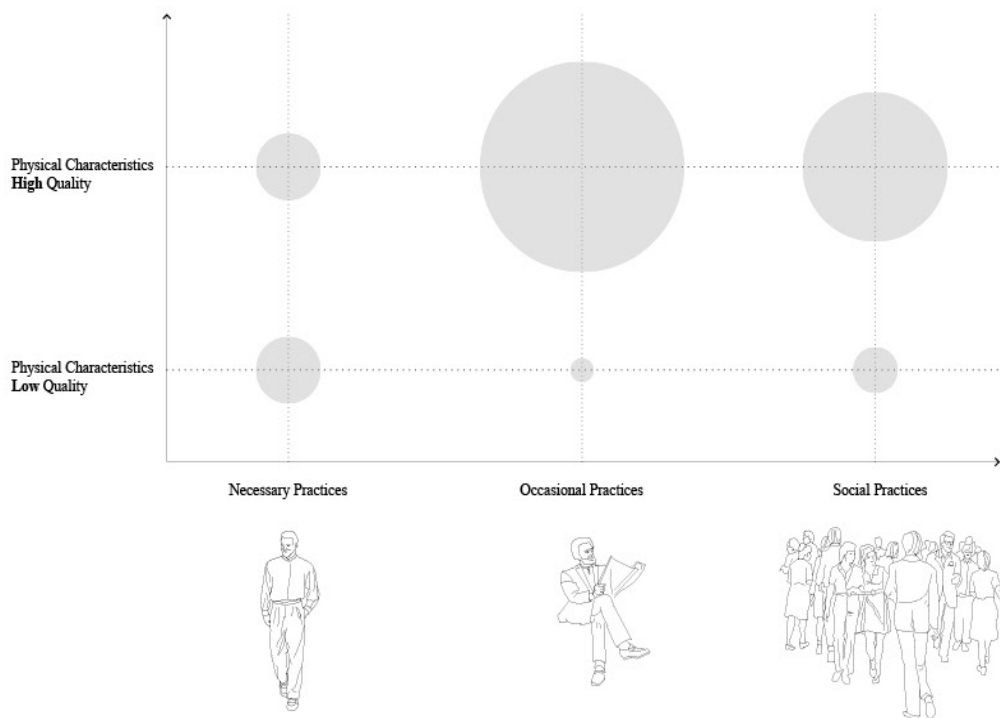
* High quality physical characteristics - favourable conditions for various occasional and social practices
* Low quality characteristics - non favourable conditions for various occasional and social practices

Figure 36: Modified diagram
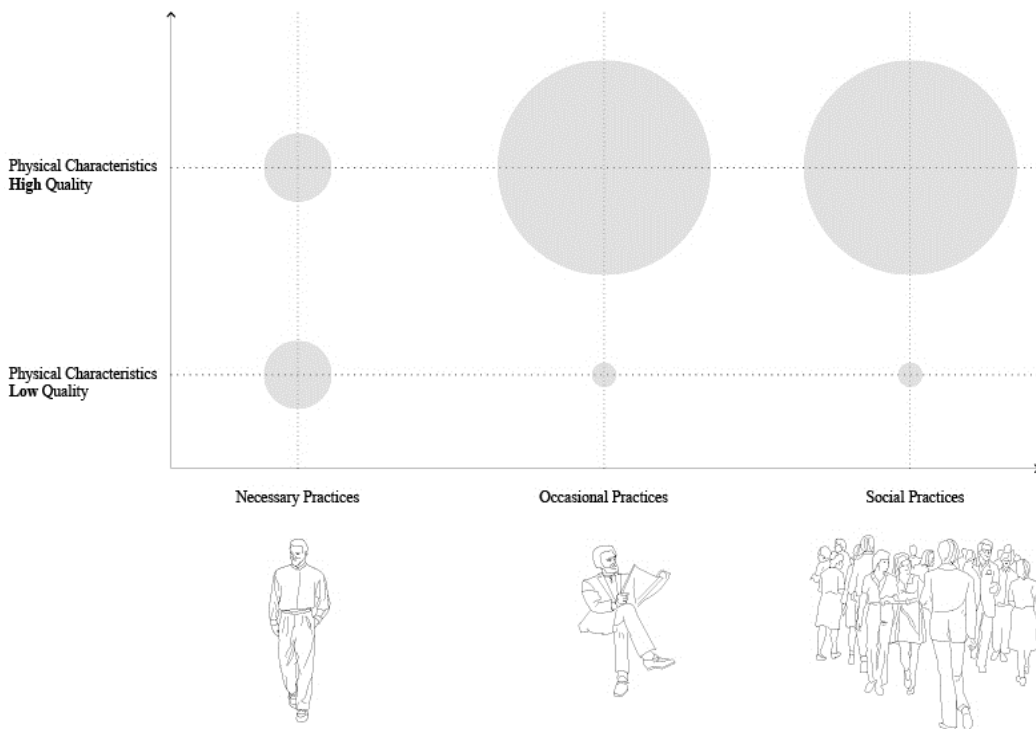
Based on the independent study of specifically identified cases and their comparative analysis, it is inevitable that the social practices flourish only if the space is liminal with high quality physical characteristics. If space is highly regulated despite its high quality of physical characteristics, it might limit the variety of occasional and social practices.

Conclusion

The comparative analysis leads to findings and modification of the framework itself, which ascertains the following points. One, it identifies different spaces, practices and processes as liminal with change in scale. Two, the existence of liminal space is momentarily until its regularisation or complete privatisation, which signifies its temporal nature. Three, the liminal space keeps moving and locating itself within similar transition or contested spaces, signifying its permanence in the city. Hence, conceptually, the idea of liminal space is independent of any particularities of 'the place'. Four, with constant urbanisation, various practices of people keep on producing such temporary spaces in the city, hence the city is also liminal.

Notes

1. Jane Jacobs describes three essential aspects of a well-used city street that is apt to be safe and handle strangers in 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities': First, it should have a clear demarcation between public and private spaces. Second, there must be eyes on the street throughout the day, enough to handle the safety of both residents and strangers. The buildings should be facing themselves towards the street to achieve the same. Third, the sidewalks must be fairly filled with a variety of practices of people throughout the day, enough to keep the eyes on the street engaged.

2. In contradiction, Dovey in the book 'Mapping Urbanities' provides a framework that categorically identifies the binary of public/private through a set of physical characteristics, which implies how clearly demarcated public and private spaces, may or may not allow certain social practices and functions.

3. The idea of 'third space' comes from a larger umbrella of postcolonial literature due to colonialism during the 1950s. Bhabha refers to the post-colonial period as a liminal phase in The Location of Culture. The response is to break the hegemony of power by giving voice to the suppressed to question. It is to eventually dissolve the social and political binaries and hierarchies in the society.

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Kaccha–Pakka: An Enduring Binary — Building Taxonomy, Spatial Production and Architectural Pedagogy

Parul Kiri Roy, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi

It is intriguing to realise the multitude of contexts within which the pair of terms *kaccha pakka* are used across India, from urban cores to rural geographies. The binary terms *kaccha* and *pakka* are among the most constantly recurring terms owing to the great variety of metaphorical applications they are susceptible to and have been in use since pre-colonial times. *Kaccha* refers to 'raw, crude, unripe, uncooked' and pakka to 'ripe, mature and cooked' (Yule & Burnell, 1886). Probing into the logic of food preparation and consumption, what is to be eaten at what time of the day or what type of food is offered during celebrations would yield forth the idea of *kaccha khana* (raw food) and *pakka khana* (cooked food)*.* The difference lies in the details of processing and the context of consumption. Who has the privilege to consume which of these types of food, in what context, and how often? The relation of food consumption and caste structure has been researched, covering caste-based food disparity and inequalities. (Khajuria et al., 2020) The terms *kaccha* and *pakka* have also been used to qualify building materials such as bricks (sun-dried/kiln-burnt) or houses (built in earth or sun-dried brick/burnt brick or stone with lime and terrace plastered roof) as mentioned in the colonial glossary famously known as the Hobson-Jobson (Yule & Burnell, 1886).

The first objective of this paper is to question the pervading taxonomy of *kaccha* and *pakka* (temporary or makeshift and permanent or solid) materials and construction technology prevalent in building practices in India and the impact of this classification on the urban fabric. I do so through a thorough investigation of the meaning, contextual usage, associated values, and concept interpretation of the terms as applied in everyday communication and their diffusion into professional practice of the built environment. The focus is on tracing the genealogy of these binary categories that were used in ordinary conversation and then became the basis for a formal structure of classification–of materials, technology, and building production. The idea is to understand the binary as a fundamental ordering code for the culture, 'governing its language, its schemas of perception, its exchanges, its techniques, its values, the hierarchy of its practices – establish for every man, from the very first, the empirical orders with which he will be dealing and within which he will be at home' (Foucault, 1994).

The epistemological framework is constructed by purposeful archival research, using linguistic sources to trace etymological roots, literary texts to understand interpretations, and examining administrative instruments of governance as well as technical works produced by professional/academic practitioners (Baweja, 2008; Cowell, 2016; Scriver & Prakash, 2007). The question being asked is whether the colonial handling of these terms led to *kaccha* and *pakka* becoming a binary opposition, with one being inferior to the other in the native imagination? How did this lead to the process of institutionalisation of these categories impacting not just building activities by the state or the people but also the broader spatial imagination across urban geographies (Sengupta, 2012)?

The second objective is to see how these categories gained further legitimacy in the way the built environment was conceived post Independence. In this part of the paper, I bring forth the idea of developmentality and housing policies, architectural discourse generated through seminars and exhibitions, with a focus on domesticity situated in the urban, new materials, and technology transfer, emphasising the urban, building codes and urban regulations, and popular media dissemination of building ideas and imagination (Karim, 2019; Maddipati, 2020; Sutoris, 2016) .These development processes, modernity discourse, internal migration, and the current infrastructure regime have induced secondary-level binaries such as traditional/modern, rural/urban, backward/progressive, local/global and so on. These binaries have further perpetuated across the Indian mindscape, impacting the rural built environment as well. Within the rural setting, an enquiry about building structures of people's homes immediately throws up the terms *kaccha* and *pakka*. Those living in mud houses with thatched or wooden roofs would share how strenuous it is to maintain such a *kaccha* building to continue to inhabit them. These buildings necessitate immense amounts of human effort and temporal cycles for their upkeep and are yet environmentally suitable, humanly comfortable, and aesthetically rooted. In the 21st century, with the shrinking of the world due to enhanced networks at all levels, global or local, a unilineal idea of development has taken form. Largely, the frenzied urban Indian mind has been engulfed by notions of development as reflected through acquiring material goods. A 'well-made' spacious house using a framed concrete/steel structure, with brick infills and neat surfaces made of industrial products is foremost in their list of desires. The rural populace too aspires for such a *pakka makaan* (a building of cement plastered brick walls and a concrete or metal roof), albeit less exclusive. Reflecting on the food metaphor discussed earlier, questions regarding the context of *kaccha* or *pakka* houses can be raised. Who owns a *kaccha* house and where are these located within the settlement fabric?

In contemporary India, *kaccha* structures are made in interstitial city areas by the rural folk, having arrived due to internal migration in search of livelihood opportunities. These structures form a *basti* or agglomeration, commonly typified as a slum and devalued as being informal and illegal. Within the rural, kaccha houses are built and occupied by those belonging to the lower strata of society, with regard to class or caste. Given a choice, they would quickly move to a *pakka makaan*. Through deeper recce, it comes afore that most of the traditional vernacular rural house forms have an element of the *kaccha*, in the whole or in part. Upper-caste people continue to own such *kaccha* houses, although the shift to the *pakka* commenced several generations ago in most regions. Today, the broad perception of the *kaccha* house made in natural materials such as earth, dry stone masonry, wood, thatch, or bamboo is that of inferiority and hence undesirable. The traditional vernacular ways of building have been systemically dismantled and are no longer mainstream. This loss of indigenous building knowledges also means a loss of the know-how of building with natural materials using crafted processes. In the last three decades or so, as the dichotomies began to disappear (Abu-Lughod, 1992), *kaccha–pakka* is no longer in a relationship of binary opposition and is being reimagined as a continuum in architectural imagination and production.

The relative balance between the power of binary classification and the purchase of bridge building between those binaries will often depend on the ways in which attempts

to reach out from the philosophical and methodological positionings of one binary serve to colonise the other and enforce ways of knowing and understanding which are incompatible with the characteristics of the other (Cloke & Johnston, 2005). With the sustainable building discourse forming the core of architectural knowledge and production, the use of natural building materials, climate responsiveness, and energy efficient ways of construction are coming afore. Ecologically conscious city dwellers are either choosing to move away from urban spaces or build with natural (*kaccha*?) materials, in both cases breaking the binary. On the other hand, the villager is migrating to the city, building a *kaccha* shelter in a self-built inhabitation labelled as the informal city, and earning to fund the *pakka makaan* back home, ending up going beyond binary boundaries.

The third connected objective of this paper is to illustrate how the complex ideas discussed translate into pedagogic methods within the architectural design studio. If the goal of any education is to create aware, effective, and responsible citizens (Deamer, 2020), then how can the design studio space go beyond its conventional focus of designing a form as an outcome of a pre-given programme? How is it possible to use the lens of the binaries to decode the micro/macro urban phenomenon through examining the rural, and rural geographies through the urban? This section deconstructs the multiple layers within the studio pedagogy devised by a faculty team at the Department of Architecture, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi. Keeping a rural community (representing the villager-city dweller) living in a *basti* in New Delhi at the core of the studio narrative, the faculty and students positioned themselves as constant learners negotiating the binaries they encountered at every stage. To begin with, the binaries in the classroom came down as the teachers and students both became learners reading into a settlement strange to both. Using exploratory methods of learning, field experience became as significant as reflections in the studio space and tacit knowledge as crucial as abstract. The curriculum stated study of vernacular settlements and the studio examined both urban vernacular and rural vernacular by studying the *basti* settlement in New Delhi and the villages in the homeland of the community. The design projects envisioned by students was an outcome of a thorough understanding of the people, the settlement fabric, and broader social, cultural, and ecological issues. The nature of architectural knowledge and building practice itself came into question when students began to ask why the designed built environment was privileged when compared to the self-built, and why traditional indigenous ways of building were considered lesser than the industrial modern methods. The students became aware of their roles beyond being service-providing professionals to imagining themselves as responsible architectural citizens imbued with the ability to bring about social transformation.

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Betwixt and the *Bhoot*: Urban Rehabilitation as Antitheticality in Action

Azania Imtiaz Khatri-Patel, Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford

Abstract

In this essay, I postulate the site of my fieldwork, the KD Heights building cluster in Mumbai, India, as a site of urban challenge. Taking into account that this building cluster is a site of in situ slum rehabilitation, I explain this challenge as a contradiction to previous notions of progress and modernity. I also make note of the lacuna of affect in similar studies of urban transition and put forth oral paranormal narratives as my point of entry into the field. I briefly reconcile the challenge put forth by the site by introducing my conception of antitheticality, which is defined as the existence of contradictions (for example, ghosts and ideals of modernity) within spaces of transition. Following this, I expound upon the two key themes: 'The City' and 'The Ghost'.

The City

This subsection introduces ideas of the relationship between modernity and the haunted or enchanted urban. By illustrating the nature of the 'slum of the global South' (Jones & Sanyal, 2015; Menon, 2016; UN Habitat, 2003) I segue into the nature of urban transition and the vertical turn in this process (Graham & Hewitt, 2012). By establishing the trajectory of urban development and the 'nature of the city', I illustrate further on my field of study and the implications of slum rehabilitation and the particulars of in situ rehabilitation, using state policy documents and their vocabulary in relation to secondary literature (Graham & Marvin, 2002).

Following this, I introduce the Weberian conception of modernity and progress, centering on 'rationalising bureaucracy' and its consequent process of disenchantment (1922/2001). By expounding on how the SRA embodies a bureaucratic vocabulary, I introduce how the presence of paranormality as a lived experience contradicts this thesis, thus producing an enchanted urban. To explore this further, I engage with the role of the Freudian uncanny (1919/2012) in producing the 'structures of feeling' (Donald, 1999) that construct the 'personality of cities' that can be read as enchanted (Pile, 2005).

The Ghost

In this subsection, I foreground the discursive location of the paranormal figure. In order to do this, I engage with two forms of academic research that invoke the figure of the ghost, the first treating it as a metaphor (Derrida, 1994, Gordon, 1997) and the second that treats it as a field of inquiry (Weller, 1985; Pile, 2004; Davis 2007; Johnson, 2013). Gordon's definition of the ghost as a social fact (1997/2011) and the disjuncture of time as put forth by the spectral metaphor (Derrida, 1994) emerge as key themes in this subsection. Johnson's work on Thailand's housing communities and the presence of ghosts in sites as representing an 'anxiety of progress' (2013) allows for a return to the Freudian uncanny (1919/2012) and its consequent application as a 'side effect' of the Enlightenment and its modernisation projects (Castle, 1995; Davis 2007). Taking on from this, I introduce the argument that the theorisation of the uncanny might not be applicable to a space that does not display a period of 'repression'.

Speaking of Spirits

Through the course of the second section, I juxtapose the bureaucratic vocabulary of the SRA to the lived experience of the specific site. This lived experience is expounded upon using ethnographic interviews with residents. These accounts are contextualised with the broader transition of the locale, illustrated using satellite imagery. I also reason out the KD Heights building cluster as my choice of field as it embodies all the characteristics of an in situ rehabilitation—public–private partnership, resident agency, constant geographic location, and so forth. Following this, I explain the methods and methodology employed during fieldwork.

Underpinnings of Fieldwork

In this subsection, I state that the work relies on ethnographic interviews for the collection of narratives and for the construction of their context. I also state that the snowball method has been used to establish conversations with respondents and that the fieldwork mainly consisted of 10 in-depth interviews with residents of the site. The function of spatial observation is illustrated as well.

Space and Experience

This section details the experience of the space and the vocabulary used by residents to articulate it. The recurrent concerns of a lack of light inside the buildings, malfunctioning elevators, the loss of a sense of community, and the sense of claustrophobia experienced through impended access within the space are made note of and emphasised upon. The argument put forth here is that while the spatial transition is seen as modernising through policy works and bureaucratic functions, the residents themselves do not experience this change as progress. Summarily, this section provides the affective and spatial context of the locale's paranormal narratives.

Charting the Haunting

Through this section, I question how paranormal narratives in this were constructed across the two periods—pre- and post-rehabilitation—and undertake a temporal comparison to locate any change in the description of these hauntings. My postulation here is that the change in these narratives links to the anxiety of progress expressed by the residents in the ethnographic interviews and the experience of spatial transition in a consistent geography.

The comparison of these narratives is undertaken using Bal's theoretical framework of the fabula. Seen as an 'organic output', the fabula draws from the 'experience' of the event follows 'a felt human logic' (Bal, 2017). By using the four elements she gives for analysis—event, actor, time, and place—I illustrate the adaptation and transition that takes place in these narratives. Each subsection underneath this header deals with a specific narrative and begins with an epigraphic excerpt from the interviews. My attempt through this epigraph is to maintain the affect and agency accorded to the respondents.

Reading the Transition

In this subsection, I note that the primary shift within the narratives is in the element of 'location'. It becomes imperative to note that this is not a geographic shift, but a shift that reflects the transition of the spatial landscape in this locale. In the retellings of the

narratives, the residents themselves stated that the paranormal entities adapted to the interruptions in their previous path, which related to the impediments to their own movements. Bearing in mind the manner in which these narratives are articulated, I posit the ghosts of this site as occupying a 'dialogic space' between the literal paranormal figure and as a metaphorical device. This intersection point and the contradictions that emerge from it become a way to approach and expound upon the affect of policy dictated urban transition. In the subsequent section, I elaborate on this contradiction in relation to the key themes of the work.

An Antithetical Modern
Through this section, I return to these previous theorisations of the city and the ghost and make an intervention to reconcile the contradictions that emerge from my field. My initial engagement is with the notion of the enchanted urban and the function of the ghost in the context of this site, followed by the implications an intervention into these definitions would have on the broader paradigms of modernity and the uncanny.

The Enchanted Urban
In this subsection, I illustrate that while the presence of paranormal within the SRA site displays a failure of the disenchantment thesis, it cannot be read as the exemplar of an 'incomplete modernity' (Bjorkman, 2014). I further argue that the site cannot be seen as one of re-enchantment either, as there is no distinct period of desacralisation either. Exploring the other paradigm of an enchanted urban, I posit that while the paranormal narratives display typically uncanny characteristics such as dismembered limbs, the 'headless' and a particular feeling of 'dread and creeping horror' in a setting where the 'familiar becomes unfamiliar'—the context here being an in-situ rehabilitation (Freud, 1919/2012)—the affect of this transition cannot be read as completely uncanny due to a lack of a period of repression. Therefore, by locating the Freudian uncanny as a re-enchantment creed (Castle, 1995), a sufficient critique of the incomplete modernity typification is not a defence of the differing context by highlighting the re-enchantment of the West but by interrogating the negotiations, an enchanted culture puts forth to our understanding of modernity and progress as linear hegemonic processes.

Defining The Antithetical
Through this section, I put forth the conception of antitheticality as a structure of feeling operating within this site and as a theorisation that allows for the reconciliation of the contradictions that emerge from the space. To expound on this conception, I rely on three dualities of coexistence that emerge from the conflation of the 'memoryscape' and the cityscape in the KD Heights building cluster. The first duality takes into account the functioning of both affective and bureaucratic vocabulary in the space. The second duality deals with the conflation of the literal and the metaphoric, which is explored through the figure of the ghost. The final duality is between the Freudian uncanny (1919/2012) and the Weberian disenchantment thesis (1922/2001) and how the paradigmatic challenge of the space qua these themes produces an antithetical conception of modernity.

Through this, I state that the notion of antitheticality allows for negotiation and becomes explanative of the theoretical conflicts in this space that find no pragmatic grounding. As a site of antitheticality, the space 'reasons out' the haunting and allows it

to emerge as a constituent of the new infrastructure. This haunting does not conflict with the modernisation of the space anymore and becomes characteristic of its negotiation. Therefore, the 'antithetical' modern attempts to fill in the lacuna that previous theorisations of urban transition leave unattended.

Future Implications

Through this subsection, I expound on the transferability of the antithetical conception. I also state this conception would allow for the primary lacuna of affect to be addressed without a complete negation of the socio-political concerns and works. I also note that the mixed methodological standpoint ensures a multiplicity in questioning the nature of the space beyond mere readings of landscape. Therefore, this work emerges as a preliminary exploration of this concept of antitheticality, a term employed to understand the negotiation that the city of Mumbai (as an exemplar) undertakes with conceptions of modernity and to locate future potential.

Conclusion

I summarise my core arguments and state that the tale of a haunting in an urban landscape puts forth a perceived theoretical conflict. The presence of paranormal entities in spaces that aim to replicate a Western ideal of progress such as the SRA housing projects challenges hegemonic notions of modernity and requires methodological intervention. I reiterate the shift in the narratives and the reflection of themes of concerns within them. In the end, I state that this work has put forth affective insights into the lived reality of the relationship between Mumbai's transition and its slums. I end by stating that through its postulation of an affective negotiation with the modernity, the work illustrates the idea of antitheticality and how it would further the current discourse on urban transition.

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Socio-Spatial Aspects of Organic and Planned Dhaka: The Sense of Community and Communal Resilience Embedded on Indigenous Settlement Pattern

Kareshma-E-Shams, Independent Researcher

A place is a relationship between actions, conceptions, and physical attributes, which is meaningful to the people. Yet, in every place, in order to be acknowledged by others, humans need to have a defined territory not as a resting place, but also to start a living (Smith, 2007). According to this fact, socio-cultural constructs become the territory of a meaningful place. Socio-cultural aspects contribute to developing the unique characters of any settlement. The uniqueness is profound and becomes an undeniable part of the identity of both people and the city (Kubat, 1999). The characters of settlement appear in concrete objects (shape, orientation, appearance, texture, and colour) and also in an abstract form like the practice of socio-cultural situations of people in a specific place.

Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, comprises 400 years of cultural lifestyle built through the link between social values (intangible) and built environment (tangible) artifacts. Both old and new Dhaka has witnessed a series of political turnover and development phases. Thus, among the spatial structure within two distinctive phases: one is the historical core, now referred to as 'indigenous', and the other is developed improvisatory settlements after liberation, now labelled as 'informal development' (Siddiqui, 1991).

The historical core of Dhaka was founded as an important trading town along the Buriganga River several centuries before being a capital. During 1608 AD, Dhaka turned to a Mughal citadel and became the centre of administration and cultural and social life, which has directly influenced the socio-cultural and socio-spatial elements of the settlement. However, the pre-Mughal core of the city developed spatial foci with static elements like the *kella* (fort), *chawk* (market square), and *ghat* (river port). The *mohollas* or traditional neighbourhoods were integral units of the social system of indigenous Dhaka (Vastu-Shipla Foundation, 1990). The basic physical module for settlement, the *moholla*, was formed during this period. It comprised a homogeneous community having self-contained facilities derived from the indigenous village pattern. *Mohollas* developed as the communal unit on the basis or caste of craft groups, religion, social status (Nilufar, 2004). Hollander suggested that these organically developed *mohollas* historically created not only the social distinctive axis but also harmony, where Hindus and Muslims lived in compact groups (Karim, 1964). These neighbourhood systems set up organic boundaries within different associations (occupation, ethnic, racial) (Porteous, 1977). Each *moholla* contained a few houses from similar communities. Hollander wrote that though from the main roads the lanes connected each *moholla* like a labyrinth, there were also invisible social boundaries between houses of the different *mohollas* (Hollander 1990). Khan contradicted with his argument that the *mohollas* were not featuring psychological social boundaries, rather the sequence of space from the central part. The central access, locally known as 'bazar road', the *moholla* morphology developed in singular row of housing. Indigenous *moholla* or neighbourhood's physical and spatial characteristics are the unintentionally grown example of the kind of space, which can be used, viewed, felt, and also gave active and

passive recreation activities, circulation, privacy, insulation, and a sense of spaciousness and scale. As a result, the *mohollas* fostered a sense of community among the residents (Mowla, 1997). A sense of community is associated with symbolic interaction, which takes place through the use of the physical environment (Brower, 1980). Mowla described in his study of the morphology of *moholla* that, the spatial qualities and unique architectural details build up through the socio-cultural identity of the people and sometimes vice versa, which allows them to have the most face-to-face social interaction opportunities. He pointed out that the static elements of the *moholla*, such as *goli* or the narrow, human-scaled road, the inward-facing houses, the *morh* or roundabout as the embryo of activities, and the *chowk* or public square as the foci, meeting place, and magnet of the community. Typically, the flow of these spatial elements is the extended form of interaction, which starts from the semi-private family meeting place, called the *uthan* of the households/homesteads. The intimate and human-scaled public interaction adds special value to the *moholla* morphology.

To decipher the settlement characters and spatial elements, the research focuses on one particular *moholla*—Tanti Bazar, which is located at the global integration core of the pre-Mughal indigenous core. The study involves observations of the spatial domain and how it influenced the behaviour pattern of the residents of Tanti Bazar. The order of interpersonal interaction flows beyond age, gender, and even beyond one *moholla* to another, through the organic setting as well as intimate distribution of public services (Kabir, 2014). Simple, daily, necessary interactions within the spectrum of community are joint to each other like a honeycomb, with the manifestation of spatial elements in sequence of *uthan* (courtyard), *goli* (lane), *morh (*node*),* and *chowk*. In the context of Tanti Bazar as well as other indigenous *moholla* settings, successful interaction took place as a result of two important properties of these four spatial elements, that is, intimate human scale and the role of transitional space. The properties and the spatial elements flowed through the socio-cultural lifestyle so spontaneously that they created strong communal bond and resilience.

Dhaka, with the passage of time, reveals different faces of history. The physical growth and development of Dhaka can be divided into six periods: the pre-Mughal period (1205–1610), the Mughal period (1620–1757), the East India Company period (1758–1858), the British colonial period (1858–1947), the Pakistan period (1947–1971) and the Bangladesh period (from 1971 onwards). With the invasion of colonial rulers, the indigenous pattern of the old city went through rapid alteration along with the economic and political changes. After the independence of Bangladesh, the social composition, family structure, and pattern of settlement have changed due to population growth and rapid urbanisation, along with many other factors. Between 1947 and 1971, Dhaka went through major dynamic pushing and pulling of political and economic power. However, after liberation in 1971, successive governments did not give due attention to the needs of proper urban planning, which resulted in misguided urban growth. The development of planned residential areas in Dhaka city took place without any rigid planning regulation. Dhanmondi was planned as an important development project in 1950. In the later period, Gulshan was developed in 1960, Banani and Uttara were planned as middle-class residential areas in 1965 and 1972, and Baridhara as a high-class residential area of Dhaka city (Khan N, 2008). The original development of the mentioned planned areas had not been properly guided with

planning principles. They were designed as residential areas but their development was not based on the principles of neighbourhood planning. Also, due to the weakness of planning rules and zoning policy, non-residential functions invaded into the planned residential area to meet the demands of a growing population. Evidence suggests that if there are no major decisions in terms of its pattern of development, creating imageability, it could reach intolerable levels of messy urbanisation in the near future (Kabir & Parolin, 2011). In a ripple effect, the socio-cultural contract of the residents is affected. Social equity in the form of neighbourhoods or *mohollas* are changing into housing society. The common ground of belonging to a community is ripping apart from the people of the city as a result of 'rubber stamp architecture, with buildings like pigeon coops and grid iron settlement planning. Nilufar described this transformation of socio-spatial quality as 'named to anonymous'. Change and adaptability in settlement morphology are gospel truth. Yet, out of context or rapid change is damaging to community structure, imageability, and perception (Mowla, 1997).

Typically, the perceived image of the inhabitants of Dhaka city lies in three elements: locality, *moholla*, and local bazar (Nilufar, 2009). The reason behind planned residential areas transforming into unplanned, uncontrolled, messy, mixed land use zones, is the blind following of the grid iron settlement plan, which is more of a Western system and out of context for this region. It cages families in box-like flats. To pace up in the race of globalisation, changes in living cost, lifestyle, family size, and influence of technology are inevitable. However, ignoring the socio-cultural identity as well as needs of residents in planning gives them a roof over their heads but also comes with an adversary of alienation from their neighbours, which can be a trigger for several psychological issues.

The outbreak of COVID-19 brought not only piled up dead bodies and health hazards, but also a huge mental health risk. Being stuck at home during the pandemic caused anxiety and panic, obsessive-compulsive symptoms, insomnia, digestive problems, as well as depressive symptoms and post-traumatic stress (Roger, 2020). A wave of change came into society with flourishing numbers of e-commerce, work from home practices, and people avoiding public gatherings as much as possible. In this case, the intimate, human-scaled, visually connected spatial elements in traditional *moholla* morphology can ease out the 'social animal' inside the residents. When physically being close to people is hard, visual connection can help to hold up the sense of community, which gives validation to the identity of social beings. To create such places, it is crucial to learn the properties of spatial elements from indigenous settlements, whereafter a series of transformation, communal resilience exists.

Dhaka is not only the administrative core of the country but also the economic hub. When the indigenous core shifted, Dhaka city sort of lost its image and distinctive style of planning. Livelihood and economic status became the undeclared sole factor of residential settlement and the intangible aspects of community were left ignored. In such circumstances, the first step should be to redefine the role of professionals responsible for the development of the city fabric. Planners, architects, landscape designers, as well as local governing body members and policymakers should focus on design interaction. Local government institutions, especially the Dhaka City Corporation, are falling behind in efficiency because of excessive central control, financial autonomy, lack of trained manpower, and so on (Panday & Panday, 2008). In order to avoid that,

strengthening local bodies for effective implementation and monitoring of the forthcoming master plan as well as detailed plans with lenses zooming in and out at the same time are important.

Adaptation of traditional space flow in planning and design can save rootless, messy development. By creating a hierarchy of spaces in public and semi-public domains, and social relationships through the *moholla*, *uthan*, *goli*, *morh*, and *chowk* altogether, the manifestation of a lost sense of community is possible. Creating a hierarchy of roads is also important. Housing units need to be placed in a cluster so that they can hold the common *uthan*. Instead of freeing up space for setbacks, which eventually turn into negative, polluted space, flushing the housing units to adjacent streets and clustering for *uthan* can increase the opportunity to visually and physically interact with neighbours. Increased number of private cars and surface parking are eating up the ground floor space. All parking should be shifted to basement, community, or vertical parking. In this way, the ground floor can be open or semi-open for common activities like gathering and community farming, and interactions between communities can breathe and flow. In planned residential areas, organically (randomly) social magnets, such as tea stalls, grocery shops, food corners, or just sitting areas, can be placed at the *morh*. Reintroducing the shop house culture again in urbanisation can be a proven milestone for creating pop-up interaction attraction points as well as small businesses. A streak connection of other communal services like market/bazaar, park, religious structure or school should be incorporated. The rigid grid pattern settlement breaks through consciously introduced mixed use. Instead of gated communities, monitored communities can sustain better.

The territory of Dhaka city is expanding. It is crucial to plan the adaptation now, for future settlement morphology. The intangible aspects of indigenous spatial elements are the physical manifestations of the rich cultural background of Dhaka and the stories of its people. It can play the role of an exemplary model to make the city liveable and identifiable again.

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Social Media and Contemporary Architecture in India: Instagram as the Metaphorical *Chronophotographic Gun*

Ekta Idnany, Department of Architecture, CEPT University

Abstract

As our interfacing with architecture on social media grew manifold during the lockdowns, along with many other aspects of our work and social life, I began to wonder how this engagement would continue as a practice even post the pandemic. Through this study, I look to investigate the representation and reproduction of architecture on social media and how it could develop and impact the practice of architecture in the future. I also seek to investigate how the symbiotic relationship between media and architecture plays out when representation escapes the static Euclidian space of print media and encounters the more versatile and dynamic space of social media. Social media avenues like Instagram, LinkedIn and others allow the architect to instantly share their work, liberating circulation from the hegemony of print media. Participation in social media is gradually becoming an essential social practice in the architectural community. This paper is limited to the study of Instagram, because through its predominantly visual interface it provides for a natural outlet to share and consume architectural representations.

Through this research, I argue that while print media restricted architecture to the two-dimensional Euclidean plane, Instagram releases architecture from such hegemonies to expand the forms of representation and documentation of its complex material and immaterial processes. I also argue that through the use of lexical registers prevalent in social media, architecture is gradually democratising critical engagement. Instagram is also making critical content accessible to an audience outside the discipline and to a younger demographic by presenting discourse as infotainment.

In **Part A,** this paper establishes the historical framework and relationship between media and architecture, starting broad and narrowing the scenario specifically to the Indian context. Architects have always used the prevalent media of their time to further their conceptual project. Historian and critic Beatriz Colomina was one of the earliest to identify how modern architecture was produced and proliferated as a result of its engagement and circulation through print, to the extent that the medium came to define the content of the message (Colomina, 2008).

If architecture's engagement with print media led to the canonisation and dissemination of modern architecture, can the understanding of this relationship give us an insight into how architecture is being produced and consumed via social media today? Albena Yaneva argues against the static 'capture' of architecture and buildings in a Euclidian space in her essay 'Give me a Gun and I Will make All Buildings Move' (Latour & Yaneva, 2017). Yaneva's contention is that buildings are not static in material form or experience but the use of Euclidean space to represent architecture through precisely coded drawings and photography reduces it to an object. Her argument that reducing the

material realms of architecture to their object-ness and treating the experiential realms as subjective extends into the various splits we see between practice and theory and the architecture and engineering professions. Yaneva seeks an equivalent of Marey's chronophotographic gun to capture the process of architecture 'in flight' (Latour & Yaneva, 2017). Social media platforms operate in a perpetual situation of flux, whether through the dynamism of the swipe, refresh, or scroll, or the ability to juxtapose different modalities such as text, photographic, and graphic images with film, animation, and instantly quantifiable feedback.

In the Indian context, as opposed to Colomina's narrative that ties the stylistic proliferation of modern architecture to print media and advertising, regional resistance to the project of national modernism develops within the space of architectural print media. Shaji Panicker traces how magazines in India becomes the site where local resistance to the nationalistic modern style was first noticed. He addresses this in his doctoral thesis through the analysis of the discourses in the 1980s issues of the print magazine *Architecture + Design* (Panicker, 2008). Further, architects like Rahul Mehrotra underline that the widely pluralistic range of architectural expression in India are a product of their cultural conditions of production such as regional and historic contexts and material technologies and traditions (Mehrotra, 2011). Social media can then also be understood as a globalising cultural condition that affects architectural production.

Part B looks at how architects in India engage with Instagram through a case study analysis of nine profiles. These cases are selected from the seven dominant categories of participants that are identified and discussed in a general survey of the ecology of architecture on Instagram. A broad netnographic[49] survey revealed seven categories of participants posting content from the field of contemporary architecture on Instagram. Of these, only the first three categories of Architecture Practices[50], Photographers, and Architectural Journals post original proprietorial work. A targeted sample of nine Instagram accounts were identified for visual case studies and content analysis. The case study looked at how the users instrumentalised the available frameworks of Instagram such as the feed, the post, and the story. The analysis examined how these frameworks are used to create a unique visual identity or social avatar at the intersection of architecture and social media. These findings were further triangulated using qualitative, targeted, in-depth interviews.

The visual landscape of content on Instagram provides semiotic material, coded with signifiers that allow us to look at how new media use affects discourse produced about architecture. The nature of the content, its historical evolution, lexical registers, ease of use, and idiomatic familiarity all hold meaning. The paper concludes with insight into social media modalities and how architects are interested in using them towards a likely paradigmatic shift in the practice. This paper attempts to show that the new lexical

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[49] The term 'netnography' is attributed to the work of Richard Kozinets and it outlines research practices that can be applied to conduct ethnographic research with respect to user behaviour through data gathered online, its research, analysis, and ethics. It underlines methods that can be used to access vast amounts of archived data, real time conversations, and immersive naturalistic observation techniques. To quote, 'netnography is positioned somewhere between the vast searchlights of big data analysis and the close readings of discourse analysis' (Kozinets, 2015, p. 22).

[50] While it is not always possible to distinguish the personal identity of an architect from their professional identity, this paper is only interested in the Instagram profiles of architects that directly represent their professional practice as separate from their personal identity.

registers and forms of content generated using the idioms prevalent on social media platforms like Instagram does in fact democratise and expand the realms of discourses prevalent amongst contemporary architects in India. Instagram liberates architectural practice from the static space of print media and works as the proverbial 'chronophotographic gun' that allows the architect to dynamically communicate all the forces that act upon the practice.

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Panel 12
Formal/Informal, Public/Private: Shifting Categories

Insights into Informal Settlements through the Spatial (Re)Appropriation of Public Spaces: The Case Studies of Lahore, Pakistan

M. Mashhood Arif, Department of Architecture, KU Leuven
Yves Schoonjans, Department of Architecture, KU Leuven
Oswald Devisch, Faculty of Architecture and Arts, UHasselt

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are the blueprint for achieving a better and more sustainable future for all. More than half of the SDG targets have an explicit urban component. According to UN Habitat, approximately a quarter of the world's urban population lives in informal settlements (Mumma et al., 2020), accounting for about 863 million informal settlers in developing regions (United Nations, 2015). Urban informality has deep roots in contemporary urban discourse (Schoonjans & Cristaldo, 2018). This concept of informality is not new; however, understanding the meaning of informality, how one perceives it, and the approaches taken towards the idea of the 'informal' has been shaped and reshaped innumerable times over the years. Many of those settlements are a dynamic part of the city, often well located, close to the inner city, near jobs and urban possibilities. At the same time, the living conditions are deplorable. Faced with limited options, many people have derived livelihoods by occupying public spaces or invading sites of high pedestrian flow, such as sidewalks, squares, transportation hubs, and so forth (Dovey & Raharjo, 2010; Kamalipour, 2016; Turner & Fichter, 1972). Therefore, understanding informal settlements plays a pivotal role in attaining SDG objectives in the global South.

Informal settlements have spatially grown through self-build initiatives of inhabitants and by the incremental production of space. Similarly, public spaces in informal settlements are also produced by self-managed processes. Through time, they have appropriated and produced urban spaces to sustain their economic and social practices. Based on this, they develop life-worlds and sometimes a sense of entitlement and belonging. These space-making practices by, what the government often calls, marginalised groups have significantly transformed urban centres in the global South. There exists a large amount of international literature that explores the concept of informality and some key literature related to it are the works of AlSayyad (2004), Roy (2005), Simone (2010), and Greene (2004). Moreover, the aspect of inclusive and public spaces within informal settlements has also been addressed by many as paramount for constructing sustainable communities. The work of Sennett (2000), Hillier (2004), Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith (1991), Hernández-García (2013), and the UN in Human Settlement Programme (2000) are the most notable examples in this regard; there is no doubt that such aspects have remained under-represented in Pakistan.

This research presents a discourse that the informal settlements are by no means marginal to the city, and they are here to stay. The demolition and replacement of most informal settlements is now widely regarded as both impossible and unnecessary, with few exceptions. It is crucial to see informal settlements as a strength rather than a

threat, which is also the backbone of this research. In order to achieve this, the study caters to several aspects that stress the idea of sustaining these settlements. The study enlightens upon the potential informal settlements hold and recognises them. It addresses the importance as well as the precariousness of these in the same context.

Public spaces in informal settlements hold symbolic meaning in terms of self-expression, culture, and historical memory; they belong to collective stories, have a memorised locale, and act as reference points (Madanipour, Knierbein, & Degros, 2013). However, more importantly, such spaces encompass the diversity of activities played out by collective urban life; for instance, their interlinkage with access to public spaces for transport, leisure, livelihood opportunities, event celebrations, and infrastructure, among others. They can enhance collective life and act as one of the essential factors in community building. At the same time, open and public space is permanently under pressure due to densification. As these spaces are considered the 'living rooms' of informal settlements, they need to be sustained rather than invaded upon. It is imperative to strategise ways to reinforce these spaces for their inhabitants and make them appropriate for community living. These are layered spaces, both in their memory and present-day use, responding to daily life rhythms and seasonal patterns. Moreover, since investments are scarce, this multi-layered aspect is even more critical. Combining infrastructural elements with elements out of locality to empower neighbourhood life and development can help them structure their daily lives.

Hence, this research explores the relationship between public spaces and people in the informal settlements of Lahore, the second-most populous city of Pakistan, around 11.13 million, and accommodates numerous informal settlements. The research aims to understand how public spaces in informal settlements are appropriated and how the people of these settlements produce, consume, transform, express, and give meaning to these spaces. The research also explores the production, appropriation, and transformation processes of public spaces concerning the societal use, assets, and needs by a case study methodology. Furthermore, it specifically examines how multilayered public spaces can be seen as an asset to increase liveability for users and the neighbourhood in the process of upgradation.

The research is chiefly supported by fieldwork and an in-depth quantitative and qualitative examination of two Lahore case studies selected for investigating the relationship between public space and everyday practices in informal settlements. These study areas are the Zia colony (case 1) and the Shamspura colony (case 2). The selection has been made keeping in view the settlement's connection and interdependency with the adjacent urban fabric in terms of multiple aspects, such as data availability and accessibility, development pattern, urban setting, densification, and diversified public spaces, which incorporated the understanding of public spaces as part of strategies for urban upgrading. Two fieldwork periods were carried out in 2019 (4 weeks) and 2021 (12 weeks). However, it was pretty challenging to undertake fieldwork in 2021 during the COVID-19 pandemic, and its impact on the study will be briefly highlighted in the research. Design scenarios were devised based on community and stakeholder interviews as part of the qualitative and quantitative research methodology to explore this subject. This was further complemented by mapping, photography, and documentary sources for analysing the appropriation of public spaces within this

settlement and gaining insight into their trajectories of production of spaces. Since this research focuses on public spaces—and social interactions, uses, and appropriations of those settings—an urban ethnographic approach was used for the study.

This research is of great significance as it helps understand the diversity within the informal settlements in Lahore and addresses the lack of knowledge and literature. The key motive of this research is a new concept and work in the context of Pakistan, which will be beneficial in addressing the issue of informality. Drawing on a widely accepted conviction in circles of planners and urban policymakers that informal settlements are not a problem to be removed but rather an asset that can incrementally transform, and taking inspiration from several recent projects such as 'Human Settlements: Formulations and (re)calibrations' (D'Auria, 2010), 'Urban Trialogues: Visions_Projects_Co Production' (Loeckx, 2004), 'Slum Lab 10: Si/No' (Klumpner & Brillembourg, 2015), this study aims to demonstrate that the multilayered use of these public spaces can serve as a potential component in the process towards urban sustainability in Lahore.

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Using the Built Environment as an Entry-Point to Understand Urban Informality

Nerea Amoros Elorduy, Creative Assemblages
Nikhilesh Sinha, Hult International Business School
Colin Marx, University College London

As urban dwellers, we experience informality every day, largely through its physical manifestations. We are a part of the relations that compose the built environment and those it facilitates and engenders. Yet, studies and policies about urban informality consider the built environment somewhat tangentially, with only a few notable exceptions (Caldeira, 2017; Ghertner, 2015). In addition, most studies use a state-centric approach, where informality is defined in binary relation to a conception of the 'State' deeply rooted in constraining European and Anglo-American traditions. While recent work has pushed against state centrism (Schindler, 2017; Settle, 2018), there is scope to go further. We do so by focusing on urban informality's relationality (Marx & Kelling, 2018), drawing on the experience of editing a volume, where authors were invited to use the built environment as an entry point for reflecting on conceptions of urban informality. In this paper, we examine the five-year-long process of writing and editing a volume made up of 11 chapters—a multilogue between diverse disciplines and sites. We seek to question implicit assumptions such as state-centrism in urban informality literature and the constraining binaries—such as the global North–South. We explore the potential of considering urban informality as made up of overlapping and intersecting relations that interact and coalesce simultaneously and at multiple scales.

As we delved into diverse topics, case studies, and approaches, we realised that acknowledging the fundamental role of the varied built environments in most urban processes means recognising they are necessary platforms for, and are themselves composed of, social relations. As Boudreau and Davis (2017) suggest, the increasingly intertwined nature of informality and 'modernisation', requires a new framework of analysis. This framework could allow a reconceptualisation and contextualisation of key concepts like infrastructure, citizenship, and the State. This paper hypothesises that urban informality is a relational concept; processual, reflective of inequalities, impossible to isolate from other urban dynamics, and intrinsically related to the physical manifestations it takes.

Focusing on the built environment as composed of social relations is just an entry point. We do not pretend to offer an all-encompassing perspective, but rather the opposite. We want to demonstrate the utility of including a variety of contexts and perspectives. We incorporate discourses of diverse urban actors and the voices of those who participate in the creation of these urban spaces. The point is to steer clear of conventions and all-encompassing assumptions.

De-centring the State
In 2016, we began the book's editing process, exploring how to challenge static conceptions of urban informality, which we recognised as reifying post-colonial geographic conceptions and binaries. Such conceptions have lost consonance vis-à-vis an interconnected, globalising, and post-structuralist world. It was in the process of

collating and editing the 11 chapters of the book that we found ourselves questioning many of the implicit assumptions embedded in underlying understandings of urban informality, which continue to inform much of the emerging scholarship in the field.

The book contains the work of early career scholars and three established academics: Fran Tonkiss, Swati Chattopadhay, and Kim Dovey. The authors represent diverse disciplines, and focus on varied geographies, types of built environments and themes. As editors we analysed the contributions and discovered that many of the early career scholars struggled to provide situated and context-specific definitions of informality. Most relied on assumed understandings that largely focused on what informality is not, using binaries that position informality as a counterpoint to the formal, and the 'formal' representing an unexamined notion of the 'State'.

Our experiment has demonstrated how difficult it is, especially for early career scholars, to disentangle conceptions of informality from notions of the unregulated, the rebellious, or the opposite of the legal. It has also shown how widespread and unchallenged the concepts of the 'State' and the urban are in most scholarship about urban informality. Indeed, it has proven quite difficult for our early career scholars (hailing from varied geographies but based in the UK and European institutions) to disentangle themselves from EuroAmerican concepts of what the State, urban, and informality is. In a scenario where academic works struggle to reflect the realities on the ground, it is no wonder that the term informality has been dismissed by some as an unhelpful category (Sindzingre, 2004).

Despite increasingly heterogeneous standpoints in the study of urban informality overtime, state-centrism has tended to remain relatively undisturbed. Works use the 'formal' State as a template and underlying logic for understanding the informal. With time, studies have allowed the informal to permeate the State. These studies focused primarily on former colonies and economically poorer countries, letting informality occur within 'weak' states' structures through corruption and mismanagement, by 'tampering' with and suspending regulations. Building on this, many studies, institutions, policies, and residents believe that all urban informality is characterised by this dynamic and is present in 'weaker' states. Yet, this approach reifies power dynamics reminiscent of the colonial times and relies on traditional power conceptions.

State-centric approaches have enabled deep and fascinating understandings of informality. Yet, in our view, they perpetuate two views that may limit the study of the urban. First, it has become implicit that informality processes in urban areas are inherently and immediately related to the State. This assumption hinders considerations of urban life beyond the parameters of state governance systems and structures. Second, state-centric approaches imply an underlying convention of what a 'State' is. European and Anglo-American academics and organisations have been the primary creators of this convention. Thus, the continuous duality existing in this body of literature between urban areas in former colonies and those in colonising states. De-centring the state allows us to move away from both limiting epistemological filters.

Foregrounding the Built Environment

Our point of departure is to focus on the built environment. A built environment is composed of social relations, which may or may not be mediated by the State. In other words, while the State may be part of the social relations that compose the built environment, we aim to understand to what degree the other types of relations are also relevant and instrumental: Which relationships are context specific, which ones seem now to be universal, which ones are particular to informality and which ones are intrinsic to any urban relationship.

We understand the built environment as all the physical elements constructed by humans to interact with each other and their surroundings. Elaborating on that, we conceive built environments as sets of overlapping relations: the social links that physical space affords; the economic ties that produce built forms; the physical connections between components and materials that ensure structures are stable. These relationships affect many aspects of social life, not least how people make sense of what can be done by who, when, where, and why. While relations are not the only way to understand different aspects of the built environment, they are a dominant and useful one for the understanding of urban informality.

This paper will show how focusing on the built environment may give clarity, context, and richness to the concept of urban informality. It seeks to provide tools to challenge adjectives used by the State-lens such as opaque, convoluted, confusing, and complex, which make urban informality processes less legible. Going beyond state-centrism and the opacity, fixity, and dichotomies it brings about might be an essential step towards decolonising the field by bringing more voices, contexts, and actors to the discussion, providing situated analytical uses for the term urban informality.

This paper tests whether using the built environment as an entry point into the study of urban informality can help understand its relational nature. Can focusing on diverse relationships help overcome static dichotomies such as powerful–vulnerable, regulated–unregulated, legal–illegal brought by state-centric approaches? Can looking through a relational lens open the floor to the varied sets of actors involved in urban informality, and break up with linear approaches to power and agency such as top-down and bottom-up?

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Mills to Real Estate: Examining the Formal and Informal Trajectories of Urban Transformation Across Locked Industrial Lands in Serampore, Hooghly

Angana Banerjee, Tata Institute of Social Sciences

Keywords: Small town, land transformation, nexus, negotiation

The transformations of small towns along the shadow of metros in global south have witnessed transformations in terms of land use one hand, and social and cultural structures on the other. New forms of uncertainty in terms of economy, livelihood, occupancy, residence and identity have emerged due to the unprecedented urban boom not only in the city core but also to the periphery of metropolis (Shaw, 2004). The proposed study is an attempt to understand the negotiation and mediation happens in urban periphery due to transformation of industrial land to real estate. This study is concentrated only on industrial locked lands which were kept stagnant for years and not been used for any productive use. Land has always been a terrain where negotiation takes place. The multifaceted nature of land (Lefebvre, 1991) is juncture of both economy and politics. The instability in the nature of land has transformed land into a flexible assemblage of policies, practice and power (Li,2014). Therefore, the multidimensional nature of land has transformed land as commodity (Polyani,2014) one hand and this commodification can accelerate via human action (Nevins & Peluso,2008). My understanding for this research on land is built on the idea that land is a product that can be viewed as multidimensional, which is a combination of social and political process which develops via the co-production of human interference. This research will try to concentrate on the production of formal and negotiated conversion of locked industrial lands particularly in a small town Serampore lying in the periphery of the mega city of Kolkata. The Government of West Bengal has a different set of rules where Industrial land cannot be converted to any other uses except industry itself (The Hindu, December 23rd, 2011) but several real estates have boomed along both the banks of river Hooghly in peripheral Kolkata where lands were used previously for industries (The Economic Times, March 13th, 2017). The land belonging to hundreds closed factories have become luscious targets hawk eyed promoter and developers. "Unscrupulous factory owners have also found a perfect foil in these realtors" (Nagarik Mancha, 2005). These promoter-builders are not only emboldened but also empowered by the tacit support they get from the state machinery. This kind of transformation is an example of how accumulation of capital has paved the way for commodification of land via real estate. This research will try to explore how real estate activities in industrial locked land is changing the urban space producing new set of relation, negotiation, informalisation in term of living space, livelihood and regulation (Roy,2005; Sud,2019; Harris-White,2003; Das,2004). Looking at several example of the unfixed nature of land (Sud, 2020) where land is continuously unfixed and refixed by the state, this research will try to unfold "how the state entangled with land unfixity?" Drawing from ethnographic fieldwork, this research will try to understand the nuances and dynamics of the field and will try to understand how this entanglement of nature of state and non-state actors negotiates, particularly in case of transformation of industrial land has helped in restructuring of the peripheral place near Kolkata.

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Too Many Worlds: Cognitive and Catallactic Entanglement in Urban Political Economy

Jayat Joshi, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Madras

> 'Far away in a field was a farmer behind two oxen, ploughing, three slow spots in a landscape of brown and green. Agastya looked at him and thought, too many worlds, concentric, and he a restless centre.'
>
> — Upamanyu Chatterjee, *English, August: An Indian Story*

Land titles in India are, broadly speaking, presumptive and not explicitly indicative of ownership. Land records are maintained across multiple departments and levels of government, often in poor conditions (Mishra & Suhag, 2017). Recent processes of updating land records (i.e., to modernise and digitise them) initiated through policy legislation at the central level have moved at a snail's pace. It is anyone's guess why this is the case. The land (capital) requirements of public–private large-scale infrastructure projects have relied on a genealogy of land acquisition laws that can be traced back to colonial times.

Tracing this history reveals the typical forms of evolution that have shaped up in typical contexts—because the 'hard' fact of ownership frequently falls in contested territory, policymaking is more likely to find a way around 'consent' for 'crucial categories' of infrastructure, rather than bringing forth a system that can deal with complex tenurial arrangements. Even though this is the case with the majority of middle-class political interventions and bureaucratic and judicial actions in cities ranging from Mumbai to Delhi to Jaipur vis-à-vis the removal of settlements labelled 'informal' or as 'slums' (Bhuwania, 2016; Ghertner, 2010), it is complicated to infer a single-dimensional analytic that fits neatly in a theoretical framework. Additionally, no implication for a one-sided panacea can be read into the situation either, though this is often presumed by those advocating 'conclusive' titling (ET Bureau, 2020). Instead, it is crucial to note the fundamental assumptions behind each legislative, policy, or legal intervention, to understand each as representing interests in congruence with specific ideas of the urban at a moment in time.

The evident historical background for land acquisition and present-day contestations over land use and ownership is the colonial exercise of accumulating capital through property law (Bhandar, 2018). This istoricization of popular attitudes towards property, read alongside a subaltern approach (Mukhopadhyay et al., 2017; Roy 2011, 2018) to how the current urban landscape is unfolding, creates a space for an agenda for urban postcoloniality (Roy, 2016). Under this lens are rapid economic transformations, performative binaries of urban and rural, the very subject(s) of subalternity constructed in opposition to the megacity, as well as the people's continuous negotiation with State power.

However, the agenda for positing a postcolonial subjectivity is equally fraught. In a similar way in which there are challenges of rigour attached to comparative research on cities amid globalisation scholars (Robinson, 2011), there are difficulties in creating a

comparative postcolonial narrative without succumbing to tendencies towards oppressed–oppressor binaries, as evidenced by 'subaltern' or 'subversive' readings of concepts such as 'occupancy urbanism' (Benjamin, 2008), which actually refer to multilayered and multifaceted political practices on the ground (Benjamin, 2014). Such risks are associated with theoretical overdetermination.

The following section depicts a case from Indian law to underline a theoretical contradiction. *Benami* refers to an arrangement wherein a property is supposed to be transferred or possessed in the name of a person/entity, but the consideration for the place has been provided or paid by another, separate entity who derives direct or indirect, immediate or future benefit from it (Benami Transactions Prohibition Amendment Act, 2016). In short, this is a corruption of property laws. The new *benami* law brought in by the Government in 2016 sought, in a retrospective manner, to assume the power to 'attach' such properties, that is, confiscate them (Benami Transactions Prohibition Amendment Act, 2016). This was ostensibly done to tackle the burgeoning land mafia. But what if the 'land mafia' is a top bureaucrat or a reputed real estate developer or simply a previous 'occupant' who has moved on after selling the plot in their name? The entire narrative runs into several intersecting problems—the delineation of the category of 'mafia', who has the responsibility of implementation at the local level, the policy need for capturing finer data from the urban scape, the grounded need for examining the politics outside of a bounded discourse, and so on.

Image 15 and 16: Two kinds of occupancies and concomitant development in Dehradun, India

Source: The author

Incidents like fresh legal interventions over *benami* present a fitting case study for the development of a public choice analysis of urban land and housing policy practices in India. A common theme visible here is the urban version of Yandle's 'bootleggers and baptists' (2012), which interrogates the intentions of a mandate through its real results. This literature has been further developed in recent studies (Rajagopalan & Tabarrok, 2014), but they must also incorporate an epistemology of property and land use rooted in an alternative paradigm (Visvanathan, 2006). In other words, their analysis represents a condition of postcoloniality in political economy, but the path it takes is limited through its use of a fixed set of universals (akin to the policy itself), namely 'regulatory failure', 'externalities', 'private', 'public', and so forth. Hence, the discourse stays restricted to a bounded cognitive realm. This is true also of a range of literature outside economics, but for the purpose of this article, I have taken what might be construed as closest to the realm of public policy. The differentiated efforts at capital accumulation in cities can be recognised via a lens that views conditions as symptoms of an entangled, experiential, layered politics, rather than failures of one or another kind (Cowan, 2018). Nevertheless, this lens can fruitfully engage with an economic analytic of such an entanglement (Wagner, 2009).

Canonical urban theory is frequently inapplicable in a 'Southern' context because it bears a particular 'Eurocentric trajectory of land and property rights … where a history of entanglement of colonial visions and native notions proliferates the urban' (Tang, 2016). Thus, the entanglement is not only in the realm of catallaxy (after 'knowledge') but also in the realm of cognition (before 'knowledge'). Instruments like *benami* are byproducts of such breaks and jumps in the vision from indigenous attitudes of property to colonial effects and the post-Independence state's strategies. What can be further explored from a postcolonial lens is the kind of forms of ownership that take hold endogenously and persist. How does land as 'capital' get 'assembled' as a resource not just for global consumption (Li, 2014) but also for local engagement? And in what ways can methodology move a deterministic 'Southern' postcoloniality (and conversely, planetarisation) (Schindler, 2017) in pursuing a critically different paradigm of political economy?

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Beyond the Binaries of Planning and Pollution: Tales of Entanglement in the Tel Aviv Metropolitan Region

Nathan Marom, School of Sustainability, Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya

This paper presents a bold but simple statement: Planning and pollution are not binary opposites shaping urban spaces in contradictory ways—the one beneficial and rational, the other detrimental, malevolent, or outright criminal. In conventional accounts, urban planning, among its many roles, controls, regulates, and mitigates environmental pollution (either directly, or through the land uses that generate it) to the general benefit of cities. However, I argue that planning and pollution are better seen as accomplices and collaborators in the making and remaking of our urban worlds.

Pollution, in its many forms and substances—in the air, water, or ground; of toxic chemicals, raw sewage, or greenhouse gases—is almost universally regarded as a passive and negative element. It is emitted, spilled, or dumped; it leaks, seeps, and spreads; it hurts and kills (it is referred to a 'silent killer'). It is associated with waste facilities and dumping grounds (Bullard, 1996), industrial brownfields and toxic lands (Dixon, 2013), polluted water, toxic air domes, and urban heat islands (Graham, 2015), and more generally with urban wastelands (Gandy, 2013). By contrast, planning is generally regarded as an active and positive force of change, be it rational-comprehensive or strategic, advocative or collaborative. It is the domain of do-good public officials, knowledgeable experts, entrepreneurial developers, and participating communities. This positive notion holds even in the face of powerful critiques of the 'dark side' of planning (Yiftachel, 1998). Spatially, planning is associated with new towns, large urban development projects, revived city centres, towering skylines, public and green spaces, transportation systems and other essential urban infrastructures, and much more.

In particular, urban planning has long been considered as providing mitigation and even solutions for environmental pollution (de Roo & Miller, 2017; Hoffmann, 2019; Panagopoulos et al., 2016), while much less attention has been given to the role of planning in facilitating and exacerbating pollution. These polarising views of planning and pollution become even more accentuated in our current climatic crisis that is threatening cities worldwide: environmental pollution, which includes carbon emissions, harms urban sustainability and resilience and destroys not only urban lives but the prospect of life on the planet, while sustainable and resilient urban planning is seen as a key to decarbonise urban areas and ensure their liveability and their very survival (Ahern, 2011; Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2020; Davidson, 2019; Jabareen, 2013; Meerow & Newell 2019).

Yet, in reality, rather than constituting a black-and-white picture of culprit versus saviour, we may more productively think of pollution and planning not only as being entangled with each other in reactive way, but also of co-enacting one another in multiple, diverse, complex, and non-predetermined ways. We may therefore speak of planning's pollutions, that is, the particular paths by which urban planning may end up actually polluting the urban environment, as well as pollution's plans, that is, the unexpected ways in which pollution actively and even positively plays a role in planning

the urban environment. I explore these entanglements and co-enactments through three tales of different kinds of pollution—air, water, and land—and different kinds of planning— transportation, ecosystem restoration, and brownfield redevelopment—from the Tel Aviv Metropolitan Region (TAMR). While these tales are embedded in a particular context (which some might consider to be the global North), they reflect issues that are highly pertinent to global South cities, which face severe challenges of environmental pollution, with air pollution standing out (e.g. Amegah & Agyei-Mensah, 2017; Awuah 2018; Haque & Singh, 2017; Shrivastava et al., 2018; Véron, 2006).

Tale 1: Air Pollution
Like most large metropolises around the world, Tel Aviv suffers from significant air pollution.

The main source of this pollution is transportation, especially public transportation running on diesel. This is the result of decades of urban planning that surrendered its streets to vehicles at the expense of pedestrians. Originally planned as a 'garden village' by Patrick Geddes in the 1920s, from the 1940s onwards, a succession of master plans for Tel Aviv were mostly concerned with opening new areas for urban development through wide roads and later highways (Marom, 2014). Yet one plan in particular brought a concentrated dose of pollution into the city, placing a massive new central bus station (NCBS) in the heart of a cluster of low income, mixed-use neighbourhoods—a planning crime against marginalised communities that cemented the division between Tel Aviv's south and north, 'black city' and 'white city' (Rotbard, 2015). Planned in the 1960s as a gigantic megastructure and the largest bus terminal in the world, branded as 'a city within the city', the NCBS stood as an uncompleted 'white elephant' for decades before finally opening in 1992. Ever since, it has become a 'black hole' in the urban fabric of south Tel Aviv, attracting a vast range of informal and illicit activities while emitting dangerously high levels of pollution due to the constant comings-and-goings of thousands of buses and taxi vans.

While the disadvantaged old-time residents and disenfranchised migrant communities near the NCBS have mostly resigned themselves to living with (and dying from) the air pollution, in recent years, a group of new residents endowed with more awareness and means—part of a nascent wave of gentrification of south Tel Aviv—have campaigned relentlessly to shut down the station and divert bus traffic to other terminals spread more equitably in the metropolitan region. Their effective campaign has recently led to a joint municipal-governmental agreement to shut down NCBS by 2023. This unique moment opens the door for creative planning opportunities that could not have existed if it were not for the NCBS and its pollution. This includes fascinating debates on how to recycle and repurpose the massive building, or else what sustainable urban projects should replace it. On a more comprehensive level, the raised awareness to air pollution, largely due to the NCBS campaign, has motivated the municipality to prepare a new plan for an ultra-low emissions zone covering central city areas, potentially reviving its garden city heritage.

Thus, we see here an example of the surprising entanglements of planning and pollution. At different moments, planning has produced a green city and one prone to air pollution. In particular, it exacerbated environmental injustice by exposing

disadvantaged communities and a disinvested residential area to life-threatening toxic air. Yet the pollution itself, far from being simply a 'silent killer', has become an active actor in planning debates, not only undermining the original plan for the NCBS, but opening the area for creative interventions and broadening the scope of anti-pollution planning to the entire city.

Tale 2: River Water Pollution
The Yarqon/Musrara River, which flows across TAMR into the Mediterranean, was once home to several Palestinian villages, which were demolished and emptied of their inhabitants during the 1948 war. Rampant urbanisation and industrialisation since the 1950s along its banks, together with the young State's flagship development project to divert most of its water for agricultural use, led to the river becoming a toxic and ecologically dead stream. In the early 1990s, with the rise of environmentalism, the government tried to mitigate the pollution it had enabled by initiating the Yarqon Restoration Project (YRP), a plan to increase and recycle water flow in the river through a set of green-gray infrastructures—wastewater treatment plants, ecological marshes, riverbank cleaning and stabilisation, and so on. Moreover, it was perhaps the first plan in Israel to restore an entire riverine ecosystem and support its ecosystem services, attesting to how pollution necessitated the introduction of new planning concepts and methodologies (Pargament et al., 2010; Shlomo & Marom, 2019).

The plan was considered a success in many dimensions, including the return of nearly extinct species to the Yarqon and the significant improvement of the water quality. However, in recent years, the YRP has suffered significant setbacks as low-treated wastewater is released into the stream, threatening the fragile ecological conditions it sustained. This is the direct result of other plans that are beyond the scope of YRP, which have pushed for new urban developments and rapid suburban sprawl on the edges of TAMR. As new plans for satellite towns and settlements near and beyond the Green Line (between Israel and the Palestinian West Bank) are rushed through (to try to meet the severe housing shortage in Israel as well as for geopolitical reasons) and the necessary infrastructures lag behind. The result is that existing wastewater treatment plants are overwhelmed by new sewage and release it after low treatment into streams which then flow into the Yarqon. Hence, we see how the 'positive' planning of new urban towns is directly culpable of 'negative' pollution throughout the Yarqon river basin, despite the best intentions of environmental plans. Moreover, we sense how the entanglement of planning and pollution shapes a highly unequal metropolitan political ecology—from the sewage of occupied Palestinian villages to the prime green-blue spaces of the 'global city' of Tel Aviv.

Tale 3: Land Pollution
Just as industrial development has polluted the surface water of the Yarqon for decades, other industries were dumping toxic materials and polluting the land. Among the worst were the Israeli Military Industries (IMI), which set up several large manufacturing complexes for weapons and explosives in TAMR, enjoying an unofficial license from the government to contaminate the land under secrecy and without accountability. Over time, IMI sites have become the most polluted grounds in the region, while being gradually surrounded by urban development and residential uses, thus exposing neighbouring communities to hazardous toxicity. Hence, for several

decades, planning and pollution seem to have evolved on separate planes. IMI benefitted from a privileged regime of planning removed from the public system, what Roy (2009) sees as the deregulated 'informality from above' of the powerful and wealthy, which also enabled unrestrained pollution, while the cities around its sites were planned with no real knowledge and acknowledgment of the pollution at their doorstep. In fact, the exact extent and locations of the pollution remain unknown, a 'black box' cloaked in military secrecy and scientific indeterminacy, due to its shifting characteristics and mobility, drifting through administrative boundaries and between the ground, water, and gases.

It was only in the mid-1990s that these two actors—planning and pollution—became closely entangled. Following a string of accidents, some IMI sites in TAMR were evacuated to less populated areas in Israel, while its headquarters and main production site was also slated for evacuation pending the company's privatisation. This meant that vast tracts of prime, albeit polluted, land were to be made available within the dense core of TAMR, which is characterised by acute housing shortage and soaring prices. At this point in the story, tremendous economic and political pressures to plan the contaminated IMI sites as lucrative real estate projects have coincided with intractable technical and planning difficulties to decontaminate the land and ensure the safety of current and future residents.

Indeed, it becomes almost impossible to think and act on the one without thinking and acting on the other: pollution actively produces vacant and developable land while shaping specific urban plans in relation to different decontamination techniques; while the planning process produces for the first time, through myriad surveys, precise knowledge on the pollution. Indeed, a key controversy is whether comprehensive surveys of the pollution should precede the plans and shape them, or, rather, whether planning should take precedence through its own principles and shape the course of decontamination. The inconclusive result of these debates is that rather than planning being enacted as a simple solution to pollution, the two are co-enacted in a cyclical, protracted, incremental process, which is due to last decades before visions of new neighbourhoods and cities on purified land could become a reality.

Conclusion
By moving beyond the binary understanding of planning and pollution, we may also revisit our understanding of other persistent binaries in planning thought and urban studies more widely, such as (formal) planning versus informality, planning (regulation) versus 'free markets', or even such constitutive concepts as public interest versus private profit, which underwrite our understandings of urban development and politics. Just as these case studies illuminate planning and pollution to be intricately linked and actively enacting each other, so we might think of these other apparent contradictions in much more complementary terms. Such rethinking could have important theoretical and political/policy implications. Theoretically, it highlights the fact that urban planning not only works through applying often binary categories on urban space—what could also be thought of as 'principles of vision and division' (Marom, 2019, following Bourdieu)—but also is itself such a constituting category of the urban. Politically and policy-wise, it stresses that pollution is not a simple 'technical' problem, nor one that can be divided into a simplistic binary of negative and positive actors (e.g., pitting

greedy real estate developers against good environmental activists, with planners and governmental authorities somewhere in between). Rather, it portrays a much messier reality in which actors may be arranged in unanticipated positions vis-à-vis both the pollution itself and the planning measures taken to contain it. Moreover, given our current global political moment—once we understand pollution to be a potent metaphor justifying racial inequity (Goldberg, 2013) as well as a particular form of violence (Dillon & Sze, 2018)—rethinking the relations between pollution and urban policy writ large may even help regroup together forces struggling for urban, environmental, and racial justice.

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Panel 13
Governing in the Urban: Across Scale, Space, and Institutions

When Governments Rank Governments: Gaming in City Sustainability Rankings

K Rahul Sharma, Bren School of Environmental Science and Management, University of California, Santa Barbara; Centre for Policy Research

Rankings are a popular method for measuring and communicating the environmental sustainability, liveability, or broader economic performance of cities or regions. Typically, rankings are published by private or non-governmental agencies,[51] although more recently, some national governments have developed public ranking programmes to induce competition and enhance the performance of cities or other levels of government. While support for, and critiques of, ranking programmes are well established, they often refer to rankings by independent agencies. Government-to-government rankings in which one government ranks another (usually lower-tier) government are, however, distinct from these because of the way the principal–agent relationship plays out in a complex federated political economy.

In this paper, I advance a political theory of ranking programmes to explain the difference between public and third-party ranking initiatives and, in turn, the behaviour of principal and agent governments. Central to the difference in behaviour is the problem of gaming. Gaming is a general challenge in performance management of which ranks are one example and involves strategic behaviours in response to the system that consume real resources but produce no genuine performance improvement (Hood, 2006; Kelman & Friedman, 2009). While third-party ranking systems might suffer from gaming primarily by participants, I demonstrate that government-to-government ranking programmes must contend with the possibility of both principal gaming and collaborative gaming by principals as well as agents.

First, I argue that principal governments have strong incentives to game the ranking system in favour of losing agent governments. By design, a ranking system creates winners and losers. Poor performance in the ranking programme can demotivate losing agents, thereby reducing their commitment to the programme. This in turn leads to losses for the principal in the form of reduced aggregate performance and bad publicity. In the context of federally structured governments, three factors become particularly salient in determining principal gaming: distributive politics and asymmetry in federalism; the desire to maintain collective reputations; and challenges in attributing accountability and enforcing punishment in the production and delivery of public goods. The principal government therefore gaming by favouring certain ranked units,

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[51] Examples include the Mercer Quality of Living Index, the Economist Intelligence Unit's Global Liveability Index, and Kearney's Global Cities Index, among others.

making frequent changes to the ranking criteria, or expanding the number of performance criteria. Any of these attempts at gaming can compromise the validity of the ranking programme.

Following this, I examine the impact of principal gaming on agent behaviour. Agents might act as 'reactive gamers' in response to principal gaming. In this case, agents broadly share the goals of the principal but will game if they have the reason and opportunity to do so (Bevan & Hood, 2006). Even if the motivation to game is low, the environment within which agents operate can generate sufficient incentives for gaming, through mechanisms that Taylor (2021) refers to as 'intervening causes'. These reasons, opportunities, or intervening causes can take various forms. In some cases, agents increase gaming when the aspirational goals of the targets are valued more than the credible commitments to achieving them. In other cases, a highly competitive environment, such as one created by a ranking system, can induce gaming (Taylor, 2021). Recent work on 'collaborative gaming' by Pierre and de Fine Licht (2021) suggests that both the principal and agent governments will engage in gaming at a cost to the public. Pierre and de Fine Licht argue that in a classic principal–agent model, subnational governments are held accountable by the national government, which frames performance metrics in order to monitor and improve the performance of agents. However, in the case of public policy, the onus for monitoring performance shifts to the public, which acts as the ultimate principal to both national and subnational governments in representative democracies. But the public is a weak principal and does not possess the means (except voting, which occurs infrequently) to constantly engage with and monitor governments. In this scenario, both national and subnational governments have strong incentives to game the system and create a false perception of good performance. While we know that collaborative gaming can occur, we know less about the precise environmental conditions under which it can.

As a general condition, agents are more likely to game when the costs to gaming are low. The costs can reduce in two ways. First, when the principal and agent have aligned preferences and implicitly agree that gaming the system collaboratively is more valuable than credible commitments to meet the objectives of the ranking system. This can occur when the principal issues a strong signal about their intent to game or to act on it, and in turn, signalling that agents can engage in similar behaviour without penalties. Second, when there is an implicit consensus among agents that gaming is appropriate, as is likely to develop through processes of social norming (Taylor, 2021). This effect can be heightened in a competitive ranking system, which is gamed by the principal to favour certain participants. Because some agents lose and others gain due to principal gaming, gaining agents might opt to overlook gaming on the part of losing agents to prevent them from outright challenging the system. Over time, these minor

adjustments to allow all agents to benefit from the programme can result in an implicit consensus that gaming is the norm. Agents can then freely engage in gaming without concern for the costs that other agents might impose on them for doing so.

As an empirical illustration, I use the Swachh Survekshan, a national ranking system for Indian cities for measuring and rewarding waste management and sanitation outcomes. I show that the Swachh Survekshan has been gamed in two ways by the principalgovernment, which in this case is the Government of India at the federal level. These are: (a) constantly changing the assessment criteria to favour 'losing' cities; and (b) by expanding the number of indicators of performance to demonstrate greater success. The principal government does this in two ways: first, by changing the methodology by which ranks are computed year on year; and, second, through targeted symbolic awards to expand the range of indicators of success and motivate specific classes of cities.

The analysis of data from over 400 cities who participated in this programme from 2016–2020 shows that these attempts to game the programme by the principal government lead to even more gaming by agent governments, which in this case are city governments in India. In particular, a causal analysis of the impact of changing weights shows that cities that are most negatively impacted by the new weighting system are more likely to over-report performance. Second, the analysis shows that creating new performance awards does not lead to actual improvement in outcomes. A regression analysis of symbolic awards shows that cities that receive awards are, in fact, less likely to perform well in subsequent years as compared to their peers.

I make four contributions through this paper. First, for the literature on city sustainability and rankings, I offer a novel test of the causal impact of ranks on performance. Second, for the broader literature on performance management, I offer a political explanation for principal gaming in government-to-government ranking systems. I do this by identifying three factors—distributive politics, collective reputation, and challenges in attributing accountability—that are all specific to the public sector context. Third, I explain why collaborative gaming between principals and agents (Pierre & de Fine Licht, 2021) is highly likely in government-to-government ranking systems and offer an empirical test of the concept.

The results presented in this paper also have implications for how we think about performance management in the public sector more generally. A system of ranking needs to account for the variation in capacities among participating units. Equity needs to be created not simply by gaming the system in favour of less endowed units but through measures that allow them to participate to their fullest potential. A ranking

system must therefore be complemented with investments in capacity building to improve the measurement, collection, and reporting capacities of less endowed units. If this occurs, agent governments will not just be able to participate in a ranking programme, but also use the process to self-assess and compare with their peers. This would require simultaneous investments in platforms for knowledge sharing among participants (such as city networks) so that comparable cities are able to learn from each other about technologies, procurement processes, citizen engagement strategies and strategies for using data to improve outcomes. Relatedly, ranking programmes have a particular function—to induce competition and incentivise participating units to wards better performance. We learn from the case presented here that this function is lost in practice because of the high likelihood of gaming in federally structured polities.

Both these points underscore a crucial distinction between forms of evaluation focused on selection versus development. Organisations are increasingly moving towards adopting evaluation processes that forego an emphasis on selection using top-down and simplistic metrics such as scores and ranks which select the best candidates. Instead, they use what are understood as developmental approaches involving frequent feedback, mutual goal setting, and leadership development (Cappelli & Tavis, 2016). Frameworks for leadership development, the adoption of critical thinking and complex problem-solving approaches have also been crafted for the public sector (Andrews et al., 2013). While these developmental approaches often focus on the individual, future work might consider how they can be applied to the case of public organisations such as city governments.

This paper suggests that we should view government-to-government ranks as public goods. Ultimately, ranks are created so that citizens may benefit from knowing how their own and other governments are performing. This is, however, at odds with how government departments view the rank they receive. Governments will seek to derive private benefit from the ranking system, thereby not producing a public good. The gaming of public ranks thus leads to a classic case of government failure as compared to the case in which a private third-party agency might produce the rankings. Such failure is not inevitable. Acknowledging the higher risk of gaming within public ranks as well as exploring more developmental approaches to new types of public rankings could help re-animate these governance techniques towards their originally intended public policy outcomes.

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Governing the Bodies and Producing the Fit City — Three Logics to Open Gym in Delhi, India

Lakshyayog, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University

The paper explores the emergence of fitness practices in Delhi in the context of recently installed open gyms in its public parks. Outdoor Fitness Equipment (OFE) (Chow, 2013), or open gyms as they are popularly called, typically consist of 12–18 equipment installed in parks for light, medium, and heavy exercise. These open gyms were installed with the aim to increase physical activity among the population to make them healthy, fit, and productive. In this context, the present ethnographic case study is set against a dual backdrop. First, the policy mode of thinking through which physical (in)activity has emerged as a 'legitimate policy issue' in the recent past with significant implications (Piggin, 2019), while critical scrutiny of its mobilisation at the global, national, and local level remains limited. Second, the embeddedness of physical (in)activity at an individual level where it amounts to the concerns of social and spatial justice, expression of identity, liberty, and surveillance, which have received negligible attention in urban studies. This paper juxtaposes these two views by examining the case of open gyms in Delhi through the lens of governmentality (Foucault, 1991) by proposing three logics to the open gym.

Governmentality refers to 'governmental rationality' which means shaping, guiding, effecting, and regulating the lives of individuals, by the means of procedures, analyses, calculations, and tactics allowing for the exercise of power through the governing of others (Foucault, 1991). Various solutions which are prescribed to enhance physical activity among citizens are operationalised through the instruments of urban planning, action plans, programmes, policies, and incentives which are to be understood as the 'procedures, analyses, calculations and tactics' employed to exercise power over individuals and populations in order to maintain a healthy and productive population. Thus, as a result of this knowledge, an understanding based on self-surveillance is developed regarding the body and its conduct. This understanding is crucial to evaluate the programmes, policies, and interventions which aim to promote physical activity and health because in doing so, an implicit understanding of a fit and healthy body is produced, employed, and reinforced. Although the concept of governmentality has received negligible attention from scholars of sport studies (Markula & Pringle, 2006), this concept is useful in understanding the dynamics of physical activity, the gendered body, and urban space.

The present study which stands at the intersection of physical activity, gender, and the everyday of urban space aims to explore the ways in which physical activity, fitness and

health are conceptualised and mobilised at the global, regional, national, and local levels by looking at the case study of open gyms in the city of Delhi, India. It also attempts to understand how and why people and communities are nudged and encouraged to be physically active and the ways in which such activities are prescribed, organised, and performed in the urban spaces that we inhabit.

The data was collected over a period of eight months using the technique of in-depth interviews as it allows an active interaction between the researcher and the participant leading to 'negotiated, contextually based results' (Fontana & Frey, 2005). The interviews along with participant observation were conducted at three sites in Delhi, selected keeping in mind the agencies involved in the implementation of the Open Gym Project.

The elevation of physical (in)activity as a 'legitimate policy issue' (Piggin, 2019) is the result of a global assemblage of scientific studies measuring, analysing, and producing levels of physical (in)activity worldwide (The Lancet), Global Action Plans by the World Health Organisation (WHO)and their subsequent National Action Plans at the country level, followed by the implementation of interventions such as Open Gyms in the city at the local level. The Lancet Global Health reported 34 per cent of Indians as lacking the required levels of physical activity, the highest in South Asia, with women being less active than men globally (Guthold et al, 2018). Such a figure of (in)activity produced by The Lancet and publicised widely through various mass media communication platforms produces the required discourse to push for solutions aimed at enhancing physical activity. Although narratives of physical activity have always been predominantly laden with a deficit[52] (Piggin, 2019), the study not only found women to be less active than men, but it also reported that the prevalence of insufficient physical activity[53] among women in South Asia was one of the highest in the world. In addition, the launch of the Global Action Plan on Physical Activity 2018–2030 by the WHO has provided a continuous push to recognise physical inactivity not only as an important health issue (WHO, 2018), but also as a pandemic (Kohl et al., 2012). The Global Action Plan not only recognises physical (in)activity as the leading risk factor of noncommunicable diseases, but also calls on the various nation-states to take necessary action in order to tackle this pandemic of physical (in)activity.

However, particularly interesting are the solutions which are often prescribed to enhance physical activity or to nudge adults towards enough physical activity such as encouraging non-motorised modes of transportation like walking, cycling, and

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[52] Deficit narratives mean that there are some prescribed levels of physical activity which a person should practice in order to be physically active, and major policies have focused on how many people are lagging in meeting such standards.

[53] Insufficient physical activity is defined as adults not meeting the World Health Organisation (WHO) recommendations for physical activity for health, which is 'at least 150 min of moderate-intensity, or 75 min of vigorous-intensity physical activity per week, or any equivalent combination of the two' (WHO, 2010).

promoting participation in active recreation and sports in their leisure time (Guthold et al., 2018). In addition, urban planning has already been recognised as one of the multisectoral actions which aimed to decrease physical inactivity to attain the target of 10 per cent relative reduction in the prevalence of physical inactivity by 2020 in the Global Action Plan for Prevention and Control of Noncommunicable Diseases 2013-2020 launched by WHO (WHO, 2013). This recognition produces cities as the critical sites whose particular responsibility and opportunity in attaining the required target of physical inactivity reduction cannot be undermined. Similarly, the promotion of physical activity in the urban areas of India is also evinced in the retrofitting projects of the ambitious Smart City Mission of the Government of India, which was launched in 2015 to build 100 Smart Cities in India by 2020 (MoHUA, 2020).

The paper argues that the installation of open gyms in the parks of Delhi can be understood by the following three logics: (a) open gyms as a social infrastructure and its provision; (b) open gyms as a social space; and (c) open gyms as a device for the body.

Following a governmentality approach (Foucault, 1991), it can be argued that the installation of open gyms has become one of the ways through which everyday spaces of the city such as parks, open spaces, and streets are manoeuvred to nudge the population towards a healthy lifestyle. Given that non-motorised modes of transportation and active recreation become the policy mode for enhancing physical activity, lifestyle emerges as the principal technique of governance. The logics to open gyms as a provision of social infrastructure, as a social space, and as a device for the body become the techniques through which governance of lifestyle is being performed.

The story of open gyms started in Delhi when the New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) under its 'Go Green, Open Gym' project (IANS, 2014) decided to set up open gyms in 30 of the 124 parks which are under its jurisdiction. Subsequently, the South Delhi Municipal Corporation (SDMC) also passed a resolution in its standing committee held in the month of August 2014 to establish open gyms in every ward as a pilot project. The NDMC further expanded the project to 18 more parks in nine other areas, resulting in at least one park in each area under its jurisdiction (Nath, 2016). The earlier parks included 12 pieces of equipment, as compared to the recent ones which comprise 18 different pieces of equipment. Later on, the SDMC decided to expand the facility of open gyms to 400 more parks, as compared to 121 parks in December 2016 (PTI, 2016). As reported by the SDMC, it has opened nearly 424 open gyms in the last five years (Tribune, 2017). Subsequently, the New Okhla Industrial Development Authority (NOIDA) also decided to set up open gyms in its parks. Thus, the idea which was started by the NDMS in 2014 has become popular now and has been adopted by other cities as well such as Mohali, Chandigarh, and Hyderabad. As each municipality in the city of

Delhi competed to install open gyms by projecting them as a service provision for citizens to enhance their health, a politics of provision (Latham & Layton, 2019) came into play. The localisation of the intervention resulted in multiple forms, such as the instrumental understanding of the urban space of Delhi due to which open gyms were even installed in public schools just to meet the criteria of having an open gym in each ward. Additionally, the installation of open gyms has also led to the normalisation of public space in the parks of Delhi, by which parks are projected only to be used for health-enhancing purposes while in reality parks in Delhi are sites of multiple social, economic, and political practices.

Open gyms as a social space have emerged to be gendered spaces in the city. 'One day, I was pedalling in the park's gym [open gym] and a few loafers were laughing at me; so, his father asked me to just take a walk in the park', reported one woman during the fieldwork. Her statement clearly laid out the entanglements of socio-spatial dialectic (Soja, 1980) with physical activity, and decoded the different ways in which gender and place play a crucial role in shaping the experience of women involved in physical activity in urban spaces (Coen, Rosenberg, & Davidson, 2018). The gendered nature of the physical activity is not only limited to the logic of the open gym as a social space. Rather, it is equally imperative to delve into the role of body image and masculinity as 'muscular bodies in public spaces (billboards) and popular media (Bollywood, lifestyle magazines) indicates that the physical appearance of the male body is increasingly imagined to be an indicator, and facilitator, of socio-economic success' (Baas, 2017). This means that the body image in public spaces and its physical appearance is discursively produced, which represents the relationship between the physical body and the construction of the body which is social and political. 'The physical body is often seen as a representation of the social body' (Tiwari, 2010) and thus, the ways in which the physical body is imagined in public spaces such as parks is defined by its social significance and its presence in the social space of the open gym.

If one wants to understand the logic of open gyms as a device for the body, one may wonder why so many people choose to spend hours on physical activity or at the gym after long hours at work. Baudrillard (1998) argues that 'private property and the accumulation of capital as the key tenets of capitalism are applied to the physical sphere, too: individuals understand their bodies as 'things' that can be invested in, worked-upon and optimized' (Baudrillard, 1998). This essentially means that the logic of paid labour and capitalism has infiltrated leisure time too, and thus, bodies at rest are to be taken care of and the exercising body too has become the site of production and accumulation. The body not only needs to work but is also required to work out. This logic not only pushes people towards physical activity, but is also evident given many new moves in the industry and by the state, such as the launch of India's first-ever

Wellness Index by ICICI Lombard, an insurance corporate in India (ICICI-Lombard, 2018) and the fitness challenge launched by the then Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Rajyavardhan Singh Rathore, on Twitter encouraging people to stay fit (Team-Bridge, 2018). Prime Minister Narendra Modi also launched the Fit India Campaign on 29 August, 2019 'to take the nation on a path of fitness and wellness' (SAI, 2020). The growing consciousness of being fit and physically active was also captured by the industry, where the wellness industry registered a growth of 18–20 per cent in 2012 only to touch a market size of INR 700 billion in India (PWC, 2013) which was expected to become an INR 1,800 billion industry by FY 2020 (FICCI-EY, 2019).

Like sports have emerged as an important part of contemporary popular culture, driven and mobilised by the neoliberal structures, which results in the corporate commercialisation of sports (Andrews & Silk, 2018), enhancing physical activity through open gyms also produces individuals as entrepreneurial selves. With the extent to which open gyms have come to be a part of the publics of Delhi, it can be argued that these techniques aimed at enhancing physical activity have also become a part of the physical culture of the city. Given that physical culture not only produces exercises of the body like open gyms do, but also requires a separate environment in which it can practised, which gives rise to specialised places of fitness such as gyms (Eichberg, 1997), of which open gyms are a peculiar typology given their location in the public parks. Since the techniques, tools, and physical exercises used today in gyms all over the world are the result of a physical culture developed and refined during the 20th century, the body ideals, exercises, techniques, and the pedagogy of fitness have become an increasingly international enterprise (Andreasson & Johansson, 2014). Thus, following the logic to the open gym as a device for the body produces a body that is locally contingent yet global in the ways in which it is made docile, productive, and healthy.

While due to the impact of neoliberalism on physical culture, urban spaces are increasingly subjected to 'neoliberal ideologies of healthism, active living and consumerism' (Laverty 2010), open gyms in Delhi's public parks become sites where such neoliberal governmentality plays out on the bodies of the population. As Sassateli (2010) argues that 'the human body has been invested with instrumental rationality, being disciplined as an instrument for work and labour and the fit body has in many ways replaced body decoration as a potent symbol of status and character, both for men and women' (Sassateli, 2010), open gyms are those devices through which bodies are disciplined for work and labour, and a fit body is idealised which may/may not supersede a healthy body.

It is evident that physical (in)activity is multidimensional in nature and this understanding has peculiar spatial connotations especially in reference to the urban spaces. Physical activity is not only multidimensional but inherently political and spatial in nature. Despite its elevation as a policy problem, it remains grounded and socially embedded, which calls for critical scrutiny of the motives behind its promotions and informed analysis of the strategies, tools, and techniques that are employed for its enhancement. Physical activity remains connected to the urban spaces in which it is practised, organised, and performed. Thus, it is important to question how and why people and communities are nudged and encouraged to be physically active. While planning for an active city might be significant for attaining the required levels of physical (in)activity, it remains entangled in the everyday spaces and practices of fitness and leisure where lifestyle is 'governed at a distance'.

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Participation as a Game of Cards: Post-binary Planning in the Favela of Rocinha

Thaisa Comelli, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro; Development Planning Unit, University College London

Over the past few decades, participatory planning has been consolidated as a hegemonic paradigm for governance in cities worldwide. Its democratising and emancipatory potential has been defended and demonstrated through a series of different experiments. For instance, cases of participatory budgeting are commonly used to illustrate how power, resources, and public goods can be redistributed through improved deliberative institutions and mechanisms (Avritzer, 2010; Marquetti, 2003). Yet, theories and experiences of participation—and their reliance on consensus and communicative rationality—have been extensively criticised for not taking power imbalances seriously (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000), particularly when these spaces are designed by or operate under neoliberal regimes (Purcell, 2009).

These two opposite forces—emancipation and oppression—have somehow underpinned most critical debates about participation in planning theory and urban studies more broadly. While such contrast is useful to highlight challenges related to power and justice, binary descriptions and evaluations of participatory processes, that is, 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' planning, have oversimplified a much more complex scenario, thus hindering epistemic and practical advances in the field. By somehow suggesting that participation is *either* co-opted *or* transformative, scholars (perhaps unintendedly) compress the diversity of actors, knowledges, and spaces that interact and influence others over the course of participatory experiences. Moreover, binaries about participation tend to see planning experiences as snapshots instead of processes of learning and dispute that inevitably suffer transformations, making dynamics more complex as time goes by.

Even though many planning scholars and urban actors do recognise the importance of not depicting participation (and planning) in a binary way, only a handful have engaged explicitly with this debate. Even fewer have attempted to search for new terminologies and grammars that depict a post-binary participatory planning landscape. One of them is Faranak Miraftab, who in recent writing has employed the term 'juxtacity' (Miraftab, 2020) to argue that *invited* and *invented* spaces of participation—concepts developed in previous works—should not be read/visualised as binaries; they are co-constitutive spaces that are constantly and mutually influencing each other. Further, she claims that collective planning spaces have porous borders—an image that alludes to the dynamic and open-ended nature of participation.

Beyond Faranak's work, other planning scholars—particularly those drawing on Southern urban experiences—have highlighted the diversity of participatory practices that move beyond (and even challenge) traditional boundaries of planning, its legitimised actors, and ways of acting. For instance, Souza (2006) has discussed how social movements, as critical urban planning agents, work 'together with the state', 'despite the state' or 'against the state'. While studying the process of co-production, Mitlin (2008) and Watson (2014) have brought to light different arrangements of participatory planning that are not necessarily initiated or completely led by the state or communities; co-production practices are complex arrangements that involve complex and temporary alliances between diverse (fragmented) urban actors. More recently, Frediani and Cocina (2019) have put forward the argument that diverse practices of participation—particularly the more critical and politicised ones—can be seen ontologically as practices of planning. The above debates complicate not only what planning is—as field and practice—but also how it works and towards what it works. As more actors claim a seat at the table, it becomes harder to say what is top-down and what is bottom-up. It also becomes harder to see which strategies are opening spaces for transformation and which are opening spaces for co-optation and oppression. This article argues that more tools are needed to unpack the potentials and challenges of participation in a post-binary way.

Drawing on the above critique and on the debates underpinning it, this work seeks to contribute to a post-binary view of participation through two main strategies. First, it employs the metaphor of 'the game of cards', which takes inspiration from the book *The City as a Game of Cards*, written by Brazilian planning scholar Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos in 1988—the year of the enactment of the Brazilian democratic constitution. Santos was an influential urbanist, planner, and academic in Brazil, and was locally famous for supporting experiences of anti-eviction conflictive planning—at the time not coined as 'insurgent'—in Rio de Janeiro in the 1960s and 1970s (Santos, 1981). This Southern contribution to planning, never translated to English, places power at the centre of planning dynamics, while also alluding to more pedagogical and affective aspects of participation. I argue that the metaphor of the game is relevant to see participation in a post-binary way because it highlights and allows for an exploration of three important aspects of participatory planning which are compressed by binary descriptions: diverse planning actors (players), diverse planning knowledges (cards), and diverse collective planning spaces (tables). I build on and further expand Santos's metaphor, trying to see the planning game in a multidimensional and multi-scalar way. That is, I unpack the different nuances and scales expressed by 'tables', 'players', and 'cards'.

Second, I demonstrate the usefulness of the metaphor—how it advances post-binary readings of participation—through a longitudinal analysis of a rich case of participatory planning: the urban dynamics in the favela of Rocinha, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Rocinha is an enormous, populous, and diverse neighbourhood, where different socio-economic, cultural, and political interests collide. It has a long history of activism, and it has also been the target of numerous slum-upgrading initiatives, making it a melting pot of participatory planning experiences. My ongoing engagement with planning in Rocinha started five years ago and encompassed diverse research methods: participant observation, informal dialogues, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, digital ethnography, and documental research both in personal and in governmental archives. I consider this longitudinal research because, despite my recent personal involvement, this research uncovers data and voices from different planning 'tables' that emerged from the 1970s onwards. My analysis places greater emphasis in the period between 2004 and 2020, when more diverse and complex planning tables started to emerge.

Within this time window of 16 years, at least 11 major planning tables have been identified in Rocinha. The paper demonstrates that all tables are hybrid, precisely because they are porous and, over time, have allowed an intense circulation and accumulation of different players and cards. A closer look at the case of planning in Rocinha makes it clear why it is impossible to classify these spaces as 'bottom-up' or 'top-down'. They are simply too complex to be labelled as such. Yet, depending on the dominance of certain actors and practices, trends do appear, making tables *move* towards co-optation or emancipation (or corrosion of the status quo). One of the main outputs of this analysis is a 'game board'—an analytical framework that allows a post-binary visualisation of participatory planning dynamics. As a two-dimensional framework, it is still a simplification of a much more complex reality. Notwithstanding, it expresses the binary forces that underpin participatory planning, while also allowing for a more nuanced understanding of its workings.

The article is structured as follows. After the introduction, I proceed with a brief literature review of participation that mostly draws on urban and planning studies. Here, I particularly focus on the contributions of Southern urban experiences to participatory planning. Then, the paper introduces the work of Santos (1988) and the book *The City as a Game of Cards*. Here, I discuss the usefulness of the game metaphor, while also expanding and complementing it through more recent debates from planning theory. In the third section, I conduct a short overview of participatory planning experiences in Rocinha for contextualisation purposes. In the fourth section, I proceed with an exposition and analysis of the players, the cards, and the planning tables that can be found in Rocinha. In the final section, I conclude by stating that

hybridity is a key notion to move towards a post-binary view of participation and that further longitudinal research is needed to unpack how participation 'evolves' in particular contexts over time.

The contributions of this article are threefold. First, it contributes to ongoing debates of participatory planning by showing how experiences of participation leave important legacies and footprints in urban areas, even during more regressive times—as is currently the case in Brazil. Second, this study contributes to Southern urban planning theory by displaying a rich palette of participatory practices—created and transformed by subaltern urbanists, and by bringing to light the important contribution of a Southern urban planner and scholar (Santos, 1988). By doing so, this paper expands a collective 'view' from the South and a Southern urban planning grammar, which has been consistently evoked by scholars (Bhan, 2019; Watson, 2009). Finally, and most importantly in the context of this event, the article contributes by showing practical and tangible ways of seeing participatory planning in a post-binary way.

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Heritage and Hesitant Urban Production in Pondicherry: Flirting with Urban Coastal Villages

Lalitha M, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Madras
Nicolas Bautès, Department of Social Sciences, French Institute of Pondicherry; University of Caen Normandy
Devangi Ramakrishnan, French Institute of Pondicherry

Abstract

This paper attempts to analyse how politics of heritage shape urban development and governance policies, and in turn influence both the routines and the material conditions of urban dwellers of the city of Pondicherry. It draws on two interrelated perspectives: the construction, at the scale of an urban agglomeration, of a politics of heritage; and the conflictive conditions through which urban interventions emphasising the rhetoric of heritage are confronting specific neighbourhood transformations. The first part of the paper reviews successive urban policies and plans, tracing Pondicherry's town planning from the late colonial period to the Smart City era, to construct what is defined as 'heritage' by various stakeholders. These actors are classified into three main groups—government institutions, organised citizen groups, and local residents. The second part focuses on the coastal villages of Kuruchikuppam and Vaithikuppam, north of the colonial Boulevard Town, whose residents are largely dependent on fishing and related local activities even today. Confronting urban interventions at the scale of these neighbourhoods allows us to analyse how contestations are expressed, as multiple public and private stakeholders seek to associate with the shoreline as a major asset of local heritage to stimulate tourism-related activities and enhance the image of the city as a beach destination. What is at stake in the implementation of such urban projects? How can one understand the related conflictual dynamics, whose main argument relies on the rhetoric of smart city, heritage, and tourism?

Mobilising the set of work undertaken by the critical heritage studies approach (Harrison, 2013), and through the lens of political geography (Agnew, Mitchell & Tuathail, 2012), this contribution aims to unpack the role played by heritage in Pondicherry's urban politics—as an idea built in history, as a discourse, and as a set of resources justifying urban intervention. This paper argues that the perpetual attempts to restructure the city's coastline indicates the hesitancy and approximation in implementation by the local government, thus expressing the fragility of urban production.

Introduction

Puducherry (popularly known as Pondicherry), once a little *comptoir* and prime location for the expansive ambitions of the *Compagnie des Indes Françaises,* materialises today as a dense urban agglomeration. It shares several features with other Indian towns, among them rapid urbanisation revealing a perpetually changing suburban landscape. On the contrary, its inner city (i.e., Boulevard Town) appears 'frozen in time'; spatially distinct with its gridded street layout, and colonial-era buildings still maintained and used as personal residences, hotels and restaurants, or public institutions. It is this image that strikes the outside gaze of tourists and visitors coming from Europe or other Indian cities.

Herein lies an apparent paradox between fragments of a place presented as a window to a romanticised colonial past, and the very dynamic way it is 'consumed' today, both symbolically through video and photography, and through expenses in hotels and restaurants, among other commodities classically taking part of the tourist economy (John, 1992). Let us go through this apparent paradox, which often characterises the understanding of tourism, this 'economy' of signs and 'spaces' (Lash & Urry, 1994) which is strongly affected by opposing binary representations; tourist and local, past and present, old and new.

The case of Pondicherry, which has witnessed rapid tourist growth in the last decades, especially driven by domestic arrivals (an estimated 14,54,994 between January and October 2019 as per the Department of Tourism), is an ideal site to study the political entanglements of heritage.

In fact, recent decades have seen the Government of Puducherry, along with a certain number of 'memory entrepreneurs' (Autry, 2017), enact a series of urban and infrastructure projects. The most visible expression of this, articulating urban transformation with tourism development is certainly the approbation in 2017 of Pondicherry under the Smart City Mission, which tends to drive the strategy of 'transforming Pondicherry into a global tourism destination' as the campaign motto to obtain federal recognition (Smart City Proposal, 2017, p. 16).

According to Puducherry's Smart City Proposal, 'the main projects proposed with a sanctioned outlay of INR 90.54 cr are extension of beach promenade, improvement of streetscapes in heritage area, urban entertainment village in Old Port, improvement of historic temples and churches' (Smart City Proposal, 2017, p. 31).

Heritage, hence, plays a major role, as rhetoric and as a centre of political negotiations and games of power, both among local authorities (between the Tourism Department

and other local institutions, for example). It lies today in a place of contested interpretations and definitions, where strategies of appropriation and reconstruction of the past are at play, and where conflict, being silent or voiced, happens.

The Institutional Construction of Heritage: A Critical Perspective

What is heritage in Pondicherry?
In postcolonial Pondicherry, heritage has gained a foothold in urban and economic strategies in the past three decades. This includes identifying and promoting mainly what has been identified as tangibly colonial, French or Franco-Tamil styles of architectural buildings, and the urban grid patterned Boulevard Town. These have come to personify the city's image. Boulevard Town is claimed as the 'Heritage Area' by local power elites such as Sri Aurobindo Ashram, INTACH Pondicherry, and French-governed institutions, whose reification of a nostalgic past and perspectives of valorisation and transformation largely appear out of their field of power, thus not only reducing the vision of heritage but also excluding the subalterns.

As a result, the politics of heritage undertaken by the Pondicherry Government, earlier through the Tourism Department and now the Smart City Mission, remains mired in the rhetorical discourse on the one hand, while on the other, the city's urban morphology continues to be reshaped for leisure and tourism by local public and private actors without any form of regulation.

This vision, and the shaping of action towards heritage enables a critical examination of policies and plans embedded in the discourse of turning the city into a 'global tourist destination' through a strong emphasis on heritage. Our paper intends to explore what Byrne (2014) calls a democratic heritage practice while coining 'counter-heritage'. He further argues that heritage cannot be hegemonic and there can also be other ways of relating to the old things which have to be analysed historically (Byrne, 2014).

Various stakeholders in defining heritage
As in other contexts, the process through which heritage is understood, defined, and institutionalised in Pondicherry mobilises various stakeholders. It is therefore essential to understand their respective roles and interests. The state, here represented by the Union Territory's government, its elected representatives, bureaucrats, and other officials, is the primary stakeholder since its policies influence the idea of heritage and vice versa. The interplay between the several government departments and the authorities in charge of implementing the Smart City Mission, but also with citizen groups and private entrepreneurs forms an interesting case study to problematise the

role of the state in interpreting and 'constructing' heritage, and in turning urban projects into initiatives enriching and enhancing heritage.

Alongside the state, citizen groups like INTACH Pondicherry, PondyCAN, and People for Pondicherry Heritage (PPH), are also crucial stakeholders, and their role in 'pushing policymakers to create new means of structuring negotiations between large numbers of interest group actors' (Berry, 1993) should be critically analysed by foregrounding their interests, to comprehend their relationship with both the state and local communities in developing an idea of heritage.

Finally, it is crucial to position those local communities directly in the path of these urban transformations, by analysing their role and stake in this entire process of heritage construction. Here, we are considering the native coastal fishing communities of Kuruchikuppam and Vaithikuppam, which abut the Boulevard Town to the north. Is there an intersection between the dominant notion of heritage and the idea of heritage as conceived by the residents of these localities, who are concerned by historical marginalisation from the dominant society, marginalisation which is expressed both socially and spatially, their localities clearly representing a frontier with the historical inner city?

Tracing Urban Transformation: The Interplay between Heritage Promotion and Beautification

Beautification project: The extension of Beach Promenade
Pondicherry's Goubert Avenue, popularly known as 'Beach' Promenade, is a coastal road that girds the eastern edge of the Boulevard Town, and is its most important tourist attraction. Several proposals from different interest groups have focused on this particular coastal area, either to restore the urban colonial buildings that flank the road, conserve coastal ecology, or to promote tourism.

Among various projects proposed under the Smart City Mission, extension of the Beach Promenade seems the most recent and the most ambitious. In an attempt to decongest the existing avenue, it aims to nearly double its length by extending it north and south, infringing on existing fishing settlements.

The parallel impact/transformation in coastal neighbourhoods
The effects of the proposed Beach Road extension and accompanying beautification and regularisation of these fishing villages requires critical study. Coastal fishing commons should be contextualised through the social and economic activities of the communities, since they are produced by these very interactions. Moreover, it is

important to understand how they perceive and relate to these spaces. The argument would be incomplete if the agency of local communities is not considered. What do they identify as heritage? How do they perceive the urban transformations happening around them? Through what modes do they organise themselves to interact with and challenge these changes?

These are crucial questions to consider while framing the problem of heritage and development. However, the heterogeneity of this local population brought on by tourism also requires consideration, by assessing questions of changing land use, speculation, and the impact on local livelihoods.

Conclusion

From field interviews with the fisherfolk of Kuruchikuppam and Vaithikuppam, government stakeholders, and citizen groups, a contrast emerges, along with subjective nuances, of how the promoted 'heritage' of Pondicherry is defined and perceived amongst them. This shows that different classes of people, based on the objects and places they encounter and live with, evolve different memories of heritage (Byrne, 2014). This also distinguishes the interest groups, and the conflicting and mutual interests of the different players in the whole process of heritage construction.

This further invokes the question of heritage being understood from a dominant perspective which in turn plays a major role in shaping urban development and tourism policies. As mentioned, heritage construction involves various stakeholders occupying different positions in the local power configuration. Heritage is thus a complex set of elements, both material and immaterial, cross-cutting social groups, and manipulated in different ways and intentions.

According to Harrison, the dialogical model of heritage involves 'breaking down the bureaucratic divide between laypersons and experts, suggesting new models for heritage decision-making processes in the future' (Harrison, 2012). Hence, the concerns to foreground are the conflicting interests of different players in the whole process, and the position of heritage in such dynamics.

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