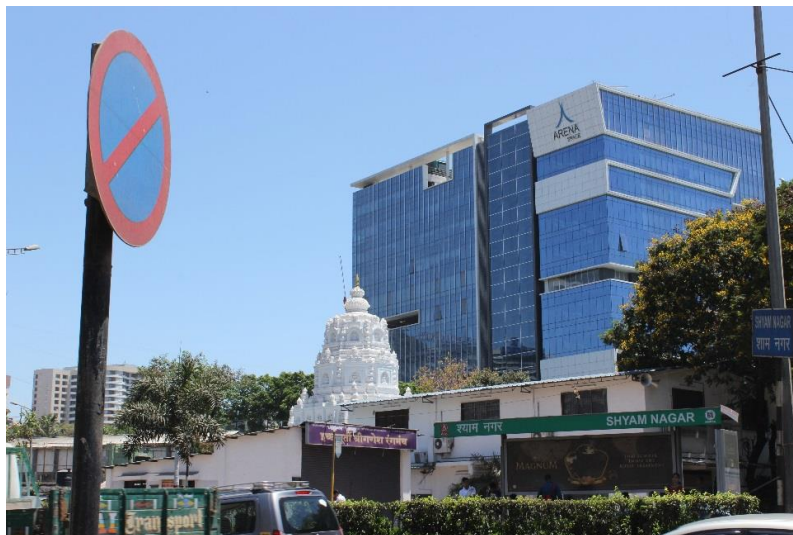**Case Study**

The Place of Spatial Justice: Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road(JVLR), and the transformation of an informal urban landscape in Mumbai

People, Places and Infrastructure: Countering urban violence and promoting justice in Mumbai, Rio, and Durban

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Acknowledgments

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List of Abbreviations

ALM: Advanced Locality Management

BEST: Brihanmumbai Electric Supply & Transport

BUTP: Bombay Urban Transport Project

CES: Consulting Engineering Services (India) Pvt. Ld

CTS: Comprehensive Transportation Survey

DP: Development Plan

DVY: Dattak Vasti Yojana

EEH: Eastern Express Highway

ELU: Existing Land Use [Plan]

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

FOB: Foot Over Bridge

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

JJ: Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy [Hospital]

JNNURM: Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

JVLR: Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road

LBS Marg: Lal Bahadur Shastri Marg

L&T: Larsen & Toubro

MCGM: Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai

MHADA: Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority

MLA: Member of Legislative Assembly

MMR: Mumbai Metropolitan Region

MMRDA: Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority

MP: Member of Parliament

MSRDC: Maharashtra State Roads Development Corporation

MSRTC: Maharashtra State Road Transport Corporation

MTHL: Mumbai Trans-Harbour Link

MUIP: Mumbai Urban Improvement Project

MUTP: Mumbai Urban Transportation Project

NDZ: No Development Zone

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NH: National Highway

OBC: Other Backward Castes

PAH: Project Affected Households

PCU: Passenger Car Units

PIL: Public Interest Litigation

PLU: Proposed Land Use [Plan]

PMGP: Prime Minister's Grant Project

PPS: Project for Public Spaces

PWD: Public Works Department

R&R: Resettlement and Rehabilitation

RAP: Resettlement Action Plan

RCC: Reinforced Cement Concrete

ROB: Rail Over Bridge

RoW: Right of Way

RTI: Right to Information [Act]

SCLR: Santacruz-Chembur Link Road

SDC: Social Development Cell [MMRDA]

SRPF: State Reserve Police Force

SHG: Self-Help Group

STP: Sewage Treatment Plant

SWM: Solid Waste Management

TISS: Tata Institute of Social Sciences

USA: United States of America

UG: Underground [Tank]

WB: World Bank

WEH: Western Express Highway

WSA: Wilbur Smith Associates

YUVA: Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action

List of Images and Maps

1   Introduction to the case study

This is an analytical case study of the Jogeshwari-Vikhroli Link Road (JVLR) in Mumbai that focuses on the impact of its conception and construction on people and places along its alignment, in the context of a larger socio-spatial transformation that it has shaped in its surroundings. In particular, the focus is on the part of the project that was undertaken over the period beginning 2002, under the larger World Bank (WB) funded urban transportation project called the Mumbai Urban Transportation Project (MUTP).

JVLR was a relevant case study for the research on Mumbai under the research project titled 'People, Places, Infrastructure…' which sought to study the socio-spatial transformations undergone by the city since the liberalization of the national economy over the 1980s and 1990s. The conceptual framework of the larger research project (which also included studies on Durban and Rio de Janeiro, by academics in those cities) was organized around a few key ideas: the state-market axis, spatial justice, violence, and the interlinkages between poverty, inequality and vulnerability. As will be evident, all of these concerns are central to the story of JVLR. The road project represents an early instance of the post 1990s state driven urban socio-spatial transformation through investment in economic infrastructure that affects the urban poor the most while benefiting them directly the least.

The theoretical framework for this case is anchored in some of Henri Lefebvre's arguments from *The Production of Space* (1991). As will hopefully be clear in the report and especially in the conclusion, this framework helps elaborate upon the broader concerns of the larger project while addressing the specificities of this case. Lefebvre argues that under capitalism, and especially under its contemporary forms, (social) space is increasingly being produced as an instrument and commodity for enabling accumulation. In this study, we frame a new road called Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road (JVLR) that was built and widened in Mumbai between 1990 and 2010 in multiple phases, as a prong of the project of producing a new social space at multiple scales. Lefebvre argues that a new social space is produced through the domination of 'lived space' (which we study through the concept of 'place'), by abstract space (the space of largely quantitative representations including censuses, maps, diagrams and budgets) which

already has violence immanent to it. Accordingly, the multi-unit, qualitative case study examines this process by focusing on the 'trajectory of place' and its implications for local communities, households, and the socio-spatial webs that they incessantly build as a necessary infrastructure of their precarious existence. The trajectory begins with a phase of making a viable place against the law, and producing peace out of conflict and deprivation by producing and settling the informal landscape. The construction of the road maims this settled, productive and largely peacable place, eliciting responses of protest as well as self-repair. Finally, the new Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R & R) colony to which the displaced population is shifted as part of the project, reveals formality of architecture and governance arrangement as an obstruction to the new wave of making a viable place that residents embark on. This trajectory of place can be usefully seen as that of a struggle for a productive peace, combating various forms of violence including those immanent to the abstract logic underlying the production of space through infrastructure planning. The nearly exclusive experience of this violence by the urban poor, as well as the distribution of other costs and benefits related to the project, offer a useful pivot around which to organize the discussion of spatial justice related to road infrastructure projects, and urban planning in general.

Source: Author

Figure 1.1: Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road from one of its Foot Over Bridges

This case study report is divided into five chapters including the present one which situates it in the literature, outlines the theoretical frame and the methodology and introduces the JVLR project. Chapter Two outlines a pre-JVLR history of the making of informal places on the road's alignment, while Chapter Three frames the partial erasure of these places by the road project as 'place maiming'. Chapter Four explores the challenges faced by the residents of the R & R colony now called Sukh Sagar, in turning it into a viable place, and replacement for the places they had lost.

1.1   Background

Fast and uninterrupted automobile circulation has been a foundational concern of modernist planning and infrastructure provision in Western societies since the early 20th Century. Following their example, high speed roads are also increasingly being considered essential infrastructure for economic growth in developing countries. Indeed, they have been an important object of development activity in independent India. For instance, though urban roads have grown at a Compounded Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of 4.5% from 1961-2011 (Transport Research Wing, 2012, p. 3)[1], an important report commissioned by the Union government argues that backlog in the urban road sector is still between 50 to 80 percent. The report projects an investment requirement of Rs. 17 lakh crore (or 44 percent of its total projected urban infrastructural investment requirement for the country) from 2012-2031 (High Powered Expert Committee, 2011, p. xxiv). The sense of urgency is reflected in the current transport minister's recent statement that he hopes for a doubling of the outlay for road construction in the budget for the year 2016-17[2]. Through all of this, however, very little attention has been paid to the socio-spatial impacts and implications of road projects in India, particularly in cities, which is the broad area of inquiry for this study.

As a result of extensive highway, freeway and expressway construction in the West, there is rich documentation of the significant impact of road projects and their traffic on the ecology,

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[1] Downloaded on 29 July2014, at 8.23 pm from
http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/basic%20road%20statistics%20of%20india.pdf on
[2] Downloaded on 21 March 2016, at 9.46 a.m., from
http://www.livemint.com/HomePage/oJ91hO0dMFHnQkoAeMMjBK/Modisroadministerseeksrecord Rs70000croreforgrowth.html

social life, spatiality and economic life of many landscapes and communities they pass through, connect or disconnect. It is now known that roads can both make and break places in myriad (sometimes invisible) ways[3]. Moreover, as the American experience has shown, certain contexts and communities experience more acute impacts than others, and the social and spatial realms are transformed to different degrees in different situations. For instance, as many like Mohl (2002) and Fullilove (2001) argue, the multidimensional costs of the mid-20th Century interstate highway construction in the USA were largely borne through displacement and loss of neighbourhoods by lower income black communities. Accordingly, Fullilove (2001) is critical of Jacobs (1961) for the absence of 'race' in the latter's highly influential account of the importance of self-organising everyday neighbourhoods threatened by urban renewal projects in 1950s USA. Yet, it is clear that Jacobs (1961)'s argument about the significance of the spontaneous, self-organised life of neighbourhoods is important, and may well have paved the way for later research into fundamental and integral qualities of neighbourhoods through the concept of 'place'.

Taken together, Jacobs' work, that of others like Mohl and Fullilove, and the literature on place in geography and urban studies (for instance, Tuan (1977)), urges us to pay greater attention to the generic reality of the city as a place to live in, even if it is differentiated and contested in multiple ways. The broad question that this place and people centric critique of automobile centric urban planning may be said to articulate is this: Is the city more important as a *place* with an inherent value as the space of social reproduction, or as an *instrument* to achieve some other value or objective (for instance, economic growth, political mobilization)? Castells (2002) for one has argued that the 'space of flows' of various kinds (including information and transportation) is overcoming the 'space of places', implying that currently the instrumental role is dominant. Since urban planning's legitimacy is founded on its promise of delivering a more healthful and socially meaningful living environment alongside enabling economic productivity, this is an important question for the field.

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[3]See for instance, the section titled 'Robert Moses: The Expressway World', in 'Chapter V, In the Forest of Symbols: Some Notes on Modernism in New York' in Berman (1982). For the idea of 'place-breaking' see Friedmann (2007). Also see Mohl (2002).

1.2   Rationale and theoretical framework

This question is particularly relevant today in India. After decades of neglect, the contemporary Indian state views cities as engines of economic growth, that is, as instruments to achieve an objective distinct from that of engaged dwelling[4]. Over the last two decades central and state governments have sought to implement different urban renewal programs within many Indian cities, including road infrastructure and redevelopment. An interplay between a growing internal and the global economy has caused significant urban restructuring in India (Shaw & Satish, 2007) manifested also in state led efforts to speed up inter-city road traffic. Thus, there has been a restructuring of larger metropolitan and larger-scaled spaces through expressways and highways that dramatically change goods and passenger travel times. With its important role in the national and state economy, the city of Mumbai too has experienced accelerated upgradation of road capacity and network since the onset of liberalization in the 1990s. In the last twenty years particularly, road projects have connected the city quicker to other cities, many new urban roads have been built, existing roads widened, and the iconic Bandra-Worli Sea Link and over fifty flyovers added to the urban road network. The change to the city's spatiality and geographical form has been extensive, momentous, and rapid. The critical investigation of and resistance to this transformation has been restricted to social or environmental activists and affected poor slum and fisher communities. It has been episodic and fragmented[5]. More specifically, there has been no systematic research that examines what the explosive enhancement of road infrastructure networks has done to place values and related dynamics in the city, in particular that of informal settlements and communities. This research seeks to address this gap by asking the

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[4] For instance, the High Powered Expert Committee (2011, p. 21) concludes that 'India's economic growth momentum cannot be sustained if urbanisation is not actively facilitated'. It argues that '[c]ities will have to become the engines of national development'.

[5] Slum and fishing communities have protested the Bandra-Worli Sea Link, the Santa Cruz-Chembur Link Road, the Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road, and the recently proposed Coastal Road for the ecological, displacement and livelihoods related impacts of these project. Nevertheless, the projects have been implemented. Meanwhile, elite resistance to the loss of quality of life that the proposed flyover over the upmarket Peddar Road, has successfully stalled the project for almost a decade.

question: How, and with what effects, have informal places been transformed through new road infrastructure projects in Mumbai after neoliberalisation in the 1990s?

JVLR is an appropriate case study to answer this question. It was a Development Plan road in a largely undeveloped landscape within city limits, but also cut through almost a kilometre of informal settlements that had developed on the alignment. Proposed in 1962 as part of the Wilbur Smith Associates report on transportation planning for Mumbai (mainly roads), it was incorporated into the first Development Plan (D.P.) of Mumbai in 1964, and continued in the next D. P. (1991).   Built under the Mumbai Urban Transport Program (MUTP II) and funded significantly by the World Bank, it instituted a pioneering definite policy for urban displacement and R&R in India. Because of the World Bank's insistence, argued to have been shaped by the local and transnational protest movement against the Bank funded Sardar Sarovar Project on the Narmada river in Madhya Pradesh (Randeria & Grunder, 2011), its provisions were also believed to be fairly enlightened in comparison to earlier or later ones (Modi, 2009) (Bhide & Dabir, 2010). An alternative case study might have been the Santacruz-Chembur Link Road (SCLR), but it was incomplete. Aspects of JVLR (like the R & R colony), by contrast had been complete for over ten years at the time of study, which fit with the methodological emphasis on tracing a broader trajectory of development.

The theoretical frame for the case study puts the concept of place from human geography and urban studies in conversation with Lefebvre's arguments. Following Henri Lefebvre's thesis in *The Production of Space* (1991)*,* I see the road projects as constituting a larger state project of creating a new social space of (goods and passenger) automobile movement at the regional and even higher geographical scale. Lefebvre's 1970s argument that, increasingly, the state and capital together seek to produce a new social space, rather than produce things in space, is widely considered relevant to contemporary planning and infrastructural initiatives[6]. For Lefebvre, urban and infrastructural planning act as an arm of the state, and inscribe a new system of social and spatial relations at a local as well as supra-local scale, by altering existing natural or built environments. These transformed relations may include the reduced time-distance for automobile travel between destinations; the simultaneous fragmentation of other social and spatial relationships, especially locally; the consequent commodification of natural

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[6] See for instance, important commentators like Elden (2007) and Merrifield (1993)

or lower valued land that passes from the hands of existing dwellers to investors and speculators; the altered spatial and property ownership form of a landscape or built environment, among other things. Lefebvre argues that this new set of relations simultaneously accelerates economic productivity, and also intensifies the state's political control over its territory. This inscription, or the production, of a new social space is effected through the authority of 'conceived' space (the space of technical, and bureaucratic 'representations of space': drawings, censuses, graphs etc.), which overwhelms the 'lived' space of dwellers (the space of gesture, meanings, embodied associations, habitus etc.).

The conceptualisation of the road project suggest a good fit with this Lefebvrian hypothesis. JVLR as not just an EW connector, but upgradation of metropolitan system, and of a national scale network. The expanding network is an abstract space whose realisation is privileged in the project. The JVLR scheme under MUTP was conceived keeping in mind the network logic of the road system in the city as a whole. It was not conceived (and would, in any case, never work) only as a local road widening project. This is clear in the WB's resettlement report on Majas (today, Sukh Sagar) which describes it as 'an improvement of the existing road', that was expected to 'reduce congestion' on the existing road, and 'reduce diversion to other congested parts of the network (Bandra-Sion Link Road) (Econ Pollution Control Consultants, 2002, pp. 6-7). 'The scheme links with intersection improvements at WEH and EEH and flyovers'. More interestingly, a single line in the same report reveals how JVLR was conceived as playing a crucial role not just in connecting one part of the city to another, but also by virtue of this improved 'access between the Mumbai port area and the national highway NH8 (Mumbai- Delhi)' (Econ Pollution Control Consultants, 2002, pp. 6-7)[7]. The construction and widening of JVLR, thus, should be viewed as a measure to produce a new practiced social space of transport networks, through upgrading the geometry, speed and volumes of traffic passing through its corridor.

Moreover, no attention was formally paid to more concrete and local aspects like 'community severance' (Handy, 2010, 2003) in the case of JVLR. Clearly, the narrow conceived logic of transportation planning that views city space as an instrument of enabling ever quicker automobile circulation, and constantly seeks to expand the 'globality' of networks, was

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[7] Paragraph 1.1.7

dominant in this larger project. The anticipatable transformation of the qualitative reality of streets, neighbourhoods and the social life they sustain – Lefebvre's 'lived space' – was not accorded proportionate attention in this or any subsequent study shaping the project[8].

A small innovation was required to operationalise the analytical potential of Lefebvre's theory. Lefebvre does not offer an operationalisable characterization of the important concept of lived space, but its resonance with the existing discussion of the concept of place, especially the aspect called 'sense of place', is notable. We therefore start with the idea of 'place' to help examine simultaneously and in a relational way, the social and spatial impacts of the road projects above on the neighbourhoods they pass through. Place includes both space and social, economic, psychological phenomena like relationships, infrastructural dependencies, legal status etc. (Cresswell, 2004). Most crucially, it represents a 'concretion of value' at multiple levels (Tuan, 1977). Synthesising the diverse characteristics of 'place' discussed in the literature, I conceive of it as being simultaneously 'out there' (in an empirically verifiable sense, hence empirical place) and a corresponding mental and embodied construct 'in here' in our selves (sense of place). Places are also approached as 'being' identifiable, stable formations that are also always undergoing change in the process of 'becoming' (Pred, 1984). Following Massey's (1991) lead, I believe that places exist in themselves as distinct, identifiable socio-spatial webs of multi-dimensional relations, but also in relation to other places and scales of flows.

Underlying the choice of place as the key lens is the recognition in different kinds of literature that they matter to individuals and households. Pred (1984) argues that places are always in the process of becoming, and that in their unfolding, individual life paths and projects (or

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[8] A senior transportation planner then in MMRDA (interview dated 20 February 2015), confirmed the fact that no studies about the well-known consequence of 'community severance' were carried out in the process of establishing the feasibility and design of the road projects. Moreover, the relatively progressive Resettlement & Rehabilitation Policy adopted for MUTP and thus applicable to JVLR, was notified at the insistence of the main funder, the World Bank. Interestingly, the later Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project (MUIP) abandoned some important progressive measures of this policy for ease of project implementation.
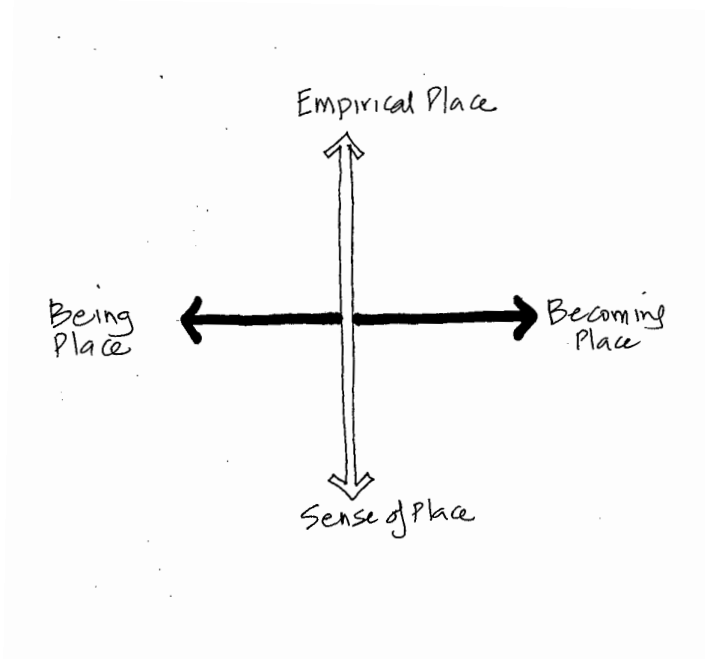
Figure 1.2: Double dialectic of 'place'

trajectories) and the larger places that these shape and are shaped by (or 'become') each other. More concretely, social psychiatric research illuminates the terrible material and psychological consequences of displacement that the poor and marginalized social groups face from the loss of a supportive and meaningful place (Fullilove M. T., 1996).

Given the focus on the places produced by the poor, we investigate 'informal placemaking' (Lombard, 2014). This conceptualization is located in the overlap between two concepts, 'slum as achievement' (Fuchs M. , 2005) and 'people as infrastructure' (Simone, 2004), which results ultimately in the proposal to consider 'place as infrastructure'. The 'maiming' and loss of place caused by JVLR is thus conceived as a form of structural violence experienced by the residents of the place as a whole, including those not displaced by the project.

1.3   Methodology

As my main methodological strategy for this mixed methods, qualitative case study, we use the notion of a 'trajectory of place' to track the transformations of place values across two kinds of road projects. Traditionally the research object of such a study has tended to be a specific event like displacement, community severance or inappropriateness and difficulties in

resettlement caused by a road infrastructure project. There is much value in such a strategy, which I adopt for the examination of the impact of flyovers on the relationships with place. However, in cases like Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road particularly, we believe that the nature of the impact cannot be fully appreciated without examining the history of the creation of informal place prior to the road project that disrupted it, and the experience of trying to make a viable place out of the Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) colony that the project offered as compensatory housing for the displaced. Expanding the research object from one temporal point (i.e. 'after' the road project), to the trajectory of place and its making before and after the road project in different modes and contexts, enables a more complex analysis of the implications of the road project on community and individual lives.

1.3.1   Research design

JVLR, involved two sub cases each focused on one or more research questions derived from the main research questions and objectives of the research: Pratap Nagar (to understand 'informal placemaking', the unmaking of place through erasure of the built environment, and the dynamic of resident protests against the project) and Majas resettlement colony, now called Sukh Sagar (to understand the experience of making place all over again in a state produced, formal space). Pratap Nagar was an old core of the informal settlement expanse of Jogeshwari East, and also the source of an important protest against the demolitions of community toilets in the construction of JVLR. Sukh Sagar was the major R & R colony where displaced households from Pratap Nagar and other settlements were resettled. Across the studies of Pratap Nagar and Sukh Sagar, the trajectory of place in the informal landscape was studied through connected accounts of the making of place informally; its resisted, partial unmaking through the road project; and the challenges of making place in the R&R colony. It should be noted that though JVLR is over 11 km long, the research focuses on transformations in an approximately 1 km long stretch from its beginning at the Western Express Highway.

1.3.2   Research methods

A combination of primary and secondary data related to the projects, experiences and outcomes was used. Primary methods like transect walks, photographic documentation, qualitative semi-structured and open ended interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGD), photographic documentation, and mapping were used extensively in both cases. In the JVLR

case, a number of different settlements were explored on foot, in guided walks, and interviews and FGDs with residents, accompanied by extensive photographic documentation and selective mapping. The flyovers case uses photography specifically as a tool for documenting and analysing the variable spatial transformation of the street across the study corridor. Secondary sources were official project related and policy documentation (e.g. project studies and reports, R & R policy, Existing Land Use (ELU) (MCGM, 2012) plan of the proposed Development Plan 2014-2034, which is currently under revision) and community correspondence with official agencies. Project related studies and reports were especially useful in illuminating technical rationales, aspects of the project and conceptualization, among other things.

1.3.2.1 Respondent sampling

The sampling strategy was designed to achieve a breadth of perspectives (maximizing variety) to enable a comprehensive account, and greater generalizability (Larsson, 2009). Broadly two kinds of respondents were envisaged: those, largely residents, who were expected primarily to provide accounts of place transformations from both case units, and those who could provide information and insight into the conceptualization and implementation of the road projects (primarily officials and engineers associated with MMRDA and MSRDC, but also a planner from Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM), a private engineering consultant, a project leader from the NGO involved among others).

For resident respondents the sampling strategy sought to tap insights from multiple perspectives within the affected communities. For instance, in constructing an account of the way Pratap Nagar and settlements were made into viable places before the advent of JVLR, we formally interviewed men and women who have entered the settlement between 20 to 50 years ago, and lived there for an appreciable length of time. Some of the older men and women interviewed had become local leaders and remained so for decades, while some younger ones found themselves drawn into different protest movements related to JVLR in different settlements, the consequences of which dog some of them a decade on from 2006.

1.4 JVLR: Introducing the project

The JVLR scheme under MUTP was conceived keeping in mind the network logic of the road system in the city as a whole. It was not conceived (and would, in any case, never work) only as a local road widening project. It intended to speed up traffic movement at the 'global' level of the metropolitan region at the very least. This is clear in the WB's resettlement report on Majas [CITE] which describes it as 'an improvement of the existing road', that was expected to 'reduce congestion' on the existing road, and 'reduce diversion to other congested parts of the network (Bandra-Sion Link Road). 'The scheme links with intersection improvements at WEH and EEH and flyovers'. More interestingly, one line from the report suggests a possibly wider geographical impact, with the road projected to improve 'access between [sic] the Mumbai port area and the national highway NH8 (Mumbai- Delhi)' (Econ Pollution Control Consultants, 2002, pp. 6-7).

In 2002, under MUTP, the JVLR scheme proposed widening the partly dual carriageway road (especially of the western section), to a uniformly 6 lane road; improvements in traffic management and minor modifications of alignments in the already widened eastern section; and junction improvements along the route. MUTP was established as a collaborative undertaking between Maharashtra State Road Development Corporation (MSRDC), Mumbai Metropolitan Regional development Authority (MMRDA), Mumbai Railway Vikas Corporation (MRVC), the public bus operator Brihanmumbai Electric Supply and Transport (BEST), Government of Maharashtra and was funded to an extent of 57% of total cost by a World Bank loan.

1.4.1 MUTP: Program structure

The initial conceptualisation of MUTP happened between 1994 – 2002. The project was intended to be a long term solution to the transport and communication issues faced by the city. The major objectives of the MUTP project were to improve the transportation situation (especially public transport) in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region and at the same to ensure the development and strengthening of the institutions involved. 57% of the cost of the Rs. 4526 crore project launched in November, 2002 was funded by the World Bank , while the balance was funded by the Maharashtra state government and Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (MMRDA). MUTP 1 was largely focused on improving suburban rail

capacity and performance, but also had a smaller focus on road transport with three main objectives:

1. To strengthen the role and the capacity of MCGM with regards to traffic management.
2. To construct two roads that would ensure east-west connectivity. JVLR and SCLR were built under this, so were three ROBs
3. To improve the capacity and efficiency of BEST.

A parastatal formed by the state government in 1996 for the quick construction of inter-city expressways called Maharashtra State Road Development Corporation (MSRDC) was appointed to undertake the implementation of the project. Both JVLR and SCLR would normally have been undertaken by the Public Works Department (PWD) that had completed the alignment of JVLR in 1989-91, but MSRDC's freedom from cumbersome state procedure and its record of fast implementation was preferred. MMRDA was appointed as a nodal agency responsible for coordination, feasibility reports, contracts, detailed engineering designs and rehabilitation and resettlement (R & R). The World Bank apart from providing financial support also set up guidelines for R & R. After the completion of the project it was meant to be handed over to the urban local body, Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM), for maintenance and operations which happened for one part in 2010 and another in 2011.

In 1998 Wilbur Smith Associates had been commissioned to conduct a detailed engineering study with road transportation need forecasts. The Environmental Impact Assessment was done by AIC Montgomery-Watson Consultants. They were hired by MMRDA and the EIA was conducted within accordance to the World Bank Operational Policy. Apart from these the MMRDA also carried out various other preparatory studies on the JVLR project which included baseline socio-economic survey in 1996, rehabilitation action plan and community environment management plan in 1998, and rehabilitation implementation plan in 2002. These were updated by MMRDA through the NGO contracted to manage RR activities, Slum Rehabilitation Society, due to the long gap between the initial study and the actual implementation of the

project which were then reviewed by MSRDC. The updated versions of these were recognised and used in the 2002 EA/EMP report produced by MMRDA.

1.4.2   Execution, Implementation and the R & R policy

JVLR's width in the DP 91 was notified as 45.7 m. The Right of Way initially in possession of the state was 30m; near deep cuttings and high embankments it was 60m. However it was decided that since it was 'difficult' to obtain all the land required (especially the land needed for service roads), the land would be acquired in phases as per DP provisions. The word 'difficult' refers to expected local resistance to acquisition since many common residential, commercial and infrastructural buildings stood on the service road alignmen. The phased acquisition of land can thus be understood as a strategy for preempting resistance by occupants.

The execution of the widening was planned in 2 phases. The road length was divided into three different section of the link road. Sections 1 and 3 (eastern and western ends) were included in Phase I, and section 2 in the middle in Phase II. The contract price finalised for Phase 1 was Rs. 66. 27 crore (NCC Ltd.-Maytas-Mahavir Joint Venture), while that for Phase 2 was Rs. 53.13 crore (Unity Infraprojects Ltd). The commencement date for Phase 1 was 17.07.2003 (period of completion: 20 months), and for Phase 2 10.02.2005 (14 months). MSRDC handed over Phase 1 to MCGM for operations and maintenance, by December 2010, and Phase 2 by December 2011 (See Table below). The overall approved cost of both the phases was to not exceed 132.25 crores as per the initial contracts. This amount did not contain funds needed for the rehabilitation and relocation of the people affected by the project. However the revised contract cost was Rs. 220 crores at the completion of the project.

1.4.2.1   MUTP RR policy significance (best practice)

MUTP was among the largest urban resettlement projects undertaken anywhere in the country upto then. The World Bank prescribed a relatively considerate RR provisions and insisted that the state government finalise this as policy. Its objectives were (quoting from (MMRDA, 2002))

  ● To prevent adverse social impact associated with implementation of MUTP

- To deliver the entitlements of PAHs for payment of compensation and support for reestablishing their livelihood; and

- To implement an action plan for delivering compensation and assistance in accordance with the R&R policy adopted for the project.

- To maximize involvement of PAH and civil society in all stages of resettlement and rehabilitation; and

- To ensure that the standard of living of PAHs is improved or at least restored.

Not surprisingly, within government (and at different levels within MMRDA) and World Bank, JVLR is regarded as a 'good' project, one that introduced a more humane and realistic RR policy for urban infrastructure projects, and whose RR process was also handled with as much sensitivity as possible within the rules (and sometimes beyond them) and available institutional capacity (which itself was upgraded). As a first urban project with a RR policy that sought to compensate PAHs with an attractive asset (a formal apartment), while also supposedly preparing them for life in a new kind of environment, the nodal state agency, MMRDA, also appears to have been learning on the job.

2 Informal placemaking in Pratap Nagar

2.1 Introduction to the case study

The findings of the JVLR case study are presented in three chapters. The case is organized around the 'becoming' dimension of place, that is, the process of its making and transformations loosely following (Pred, 1984)'s model. Of course, the 'being' characteristics of place constantly weave in and out of view and are considered significant too. The account also foregrounds the empirical dimension of place, even as the correlated 'senses of place' in each moment are invoked at different points.

The present chapter introduces the JVLR project and the direct impact it had on the existing informal settlements it partly erased and generally threw into uncertainty and precarity. The project is argued to have created a new practiced social space (in terms of transport time-distance proximities) at a regional or higher scale, one that speeded up economic processes. In doing this, it also reorganized local social space in the landscape it went through, and in particular broke up informal settlements in themselves as well as their ties with the surrounding landscape. These settlements are approached as informal *places.* We work towards the argument that informal place is an important infrastructure of upward subsistence, whose making involves an 'art of presence' (Bayat, 2010) but also, a project of presence (Benjamin, 2007), practiced against the inhospitability and hostility of various socio-spatial structures. The objective and the mechanism of place making is understood to be the reduction of vulnerability and the stabilization of life trajectories, and the reproduction of social and cultural forms alongside. The achieved viability of place (at any moment) is conceived as a bulwark against the threat of increasing vulnerability, and of precarity. One impact of JVLR has also been the creation of new spaces by the state for rehabilitating displaced households. Chapter Four focuses on the experience of such households – themselves marked by precarity of income as well as of place (aspects respectively, of empirical place and sense of place, in terms of our conceptualization of place) – in trying to create a new viable place, and the challenges presented by the imperatives of formality hard-wired into the spatial product of the R & R colony.

The next chapter (Chapter Three) argues that the state project of creating a new social space at a regional and even larger geographical scale for the purposes of more efficient capital accumulation, has maimed local place, a phenomenon that works as an infrastructure of upward subsistence for the poor. The multiple rounds of demolition and subsequent uncertainty around more demolitions for the incomplete service roads has introduced a more intense sense of uncertainty, or 'precarity of place' (Banki, 2013) for those living within its proposed alignment, which is, as always, a mix of hope against hope (for a better home and asset), and anxiety (knowing the struggles of past PAHs). This can be understood as the intensification of precarity of local informal place (empirically as well as in the sense of place). In one sense, the particular informal settlement considered in detail here, as well as its residents can be said to have moved upward from a position of very high vulnerability to one of relative stability and reduced precarity, over many decades prior to JVLR. The making of lives has, following Pred (1984), *become* the making of place over this history, through great courage, forbearance, effort, creativity, leadership and monetary cost. At the same time, spontaneous resistance to this intensification of precarity through an infrastructure project, though unable to match the power of the state (or alter the course of the project) directly, has both mitigated local suffering, and also seeded a capacity and desire among individuals and local groups for collective action outside of party political affiliations and beyond the individual settlement scale, that in some key biographies has extended to a wider engagement with city level developmental processes.

On the one hand, JVLR has spurred the realization of the residential and commercial development along it envisaged upon the undulating natural landscape in the DP 1991. It has also helped raise land prices high enough to attract severe pressures of redevelopment on informal settlement along it. Each individually and both together have involved new social and spatial fragmentations, precarities of place, as well as new inequalities of access to key infrastructure like that of *maidans* (playgrounds). On the other hand, the new R&R housing colony the relatively progressive policy has led to, is itself marked by newer fragmentations and vulnerabilities. Given the popular equation of formalization with the creation of greater security, the increase of certain vulnerabilities, precarity of place, and social fragmentation (say, through place maiming), in the wake of the project is worth pondering. This implies a

completely different route towards re-centring security of place (or reversing its precarity) than the one of informal placemaking. Given the high degree of uncertainty surrounding slum redevelopment processes, it also converges in a sense of increased precarity.

JVLR as in Development Plan 1964

Pratap Nagar   Indian Institute of Technology

JVLR at Jogeshwari

JVLR as in Development Plan 1991

Pratap Nagar   Indian Institute of Technology

JVLR at Jogeshwari

WESTERN SECTION   MIDDLE SECTION   EASTERN SECTION

Western Railway

Western Exp. Highway

Aarey Road

INDEX
- Fly overs
- Under passes
- ROB South
- Railway

Saki Vihar Road

L.B.S Road

Eastern Rly.

Eastern Exp. Highway
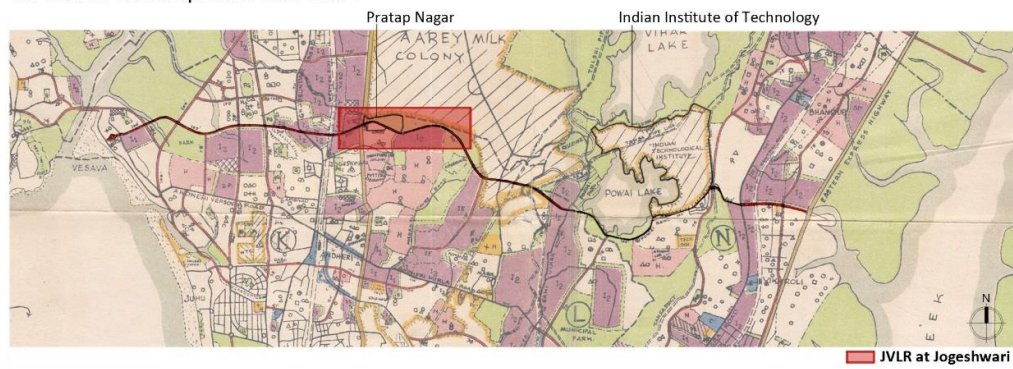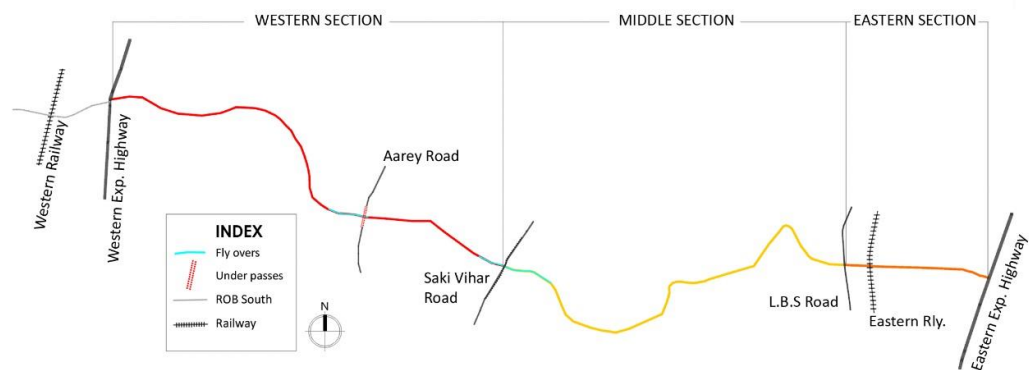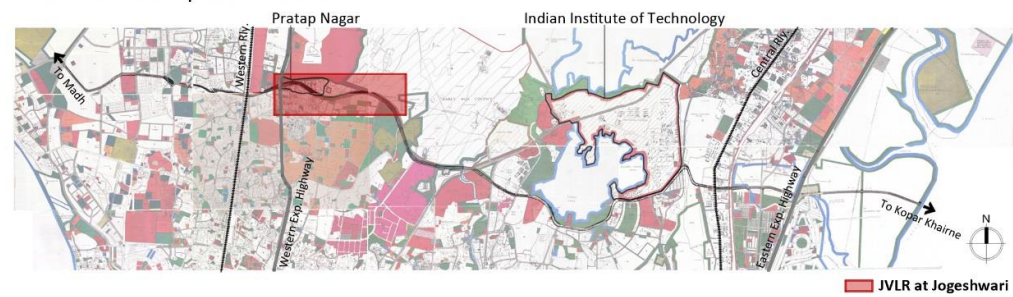
Older settlements and New Construction formed due to JVLR

Bandrekar Wadi | Ajgaonkar R &R Colony | Pratap Nagar and Majas Tekdi, etc. | Oberoi Towers | New Office Buildings | Kalpataru Towers | Green Fields Park | Sukh Sagar R & R Colony | Durga Nagar

Ganesh Talav   Karkare udyan   Park

Older Settlements   **Rehabilitation and Resettlement Colonies**   **Talav/Pond**   **New Housing**
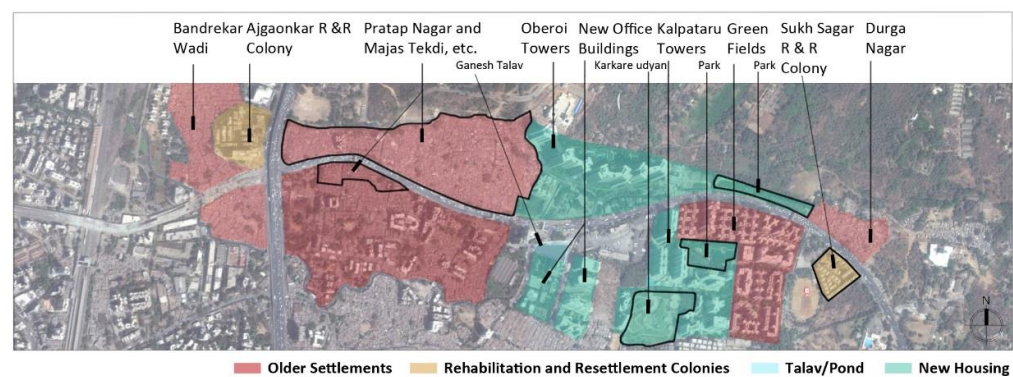
Figure 2.1: JVLR: Plans and Developments

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2.2   Making informal place

2.2.1   Landscape of informal placemaking

The broad historical overview of Pratap Nagar below instantiates (Pred, 1984)'s model of 'becoming place'. From the 1950s, life paths of relatively poor urban families were coupled with those of migrant dairy entrepreneurs from north India, presumably with the unofficial blessings of the powerful Parsi families who controlled all the land as well as the state's regulatory apparatus, in the process of transforming nature into the bare bones of unserviced, inadequately secure but incrementally improvable shelter. In the decades to follow, the families would have to tie together individual projects of upward subsistence while reproducing valued social and cultural forms, always in the context of crowding alongside spatial and infrastructural deprivations and the conflicts they led to, into some version of a common purpose that is conceived here as an inconsistently articulated shared project of placemaking. Individual biographies, and personal qualities influenced the trajectory of place. Constrained by the existing power structure (of the state, land control patterns, and other institutions) to an informality and insecurity of tenure, emergent leaders and ordinary residents nevertheless engaged with this structure to make it fulfil the promises on which its legitimacy rests. They contributed to the consolidation of security and well-being in place, and thereby produced individual subjectivities (including that of workers) in place that can be argued to have shaped the city at large[9].

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[9] For Bayat (2010, p. 5), prevalent scholarship ignores the fact that the settlements are a 'significant locus of struggle for (urban) citizenship and transformation in urban configuration. Scant attention is given to how the urban disenfranchised, through their quiet and unassuming daily struggles, refigure new life and communities for themselves and different urban realities on the ground in Middle Eastern cities. The prevailing scholarship ignores the fact that these urban subaltern redefine the meaning of urban management and de facto participate in determining its destiny; and they do so not through formal institutional channels, from which they are largely excluded, but through direct actions in the very zones of exclusion'.

(Left to right)

Figure 2.2: An entrance to Pratap Nagar

A narrow motorable road entering Pratap Nagar (to the left) off JVLR

Figure 2.3: Changed altitude

View of settlement indicating JVLR indicating the level differences of the original landscape. JVLR's flatter gradient necessitates a greater elevation in relation to the ground hugging settlement at various points

Figure 2.4: At a *paan* shop in Pratap Nagar along JVLR

Figure 2.5: One of the wider lanes of Pratap Nagar

Figure 2.6: The Buddha Vihar, from across JVLR

I don't insist that Pratap Nagar or Majas Tekdi (as a conceived entity, in the Lefebvrian sense) was being consciously 'made', as if to a plan[10]. In fact, informal placemaking is best conceived as a 'social nonmovement' in Asef Bayat's terms:

> 'In general, *nonmovements* refers to the collective actions of noncollective actors; they embody shared practices of large numbers of ordinary people whose fragmented but similar activities trigger much social change, even though these practices are rarely guided by an ideology or recognizable leaderships and organizations'. (Bayat, 2010, p. 14), emphasis original.

To some extent, at each point, a clearer vision of a better life has guided resident efforts. But the emerging sense of place and of community naturally would vary across individuals and groups (since place is a dialectic between its empirical and constructed reality). For instance, inspired individuals would seek to rally and organize community along lines of '*samaj'*, (literally, community, but often understood as caste) across diverse locations. Such action rubbed against the grain of processes of building community based on spatial propinquity or shared governance needs (as with chawl committees). It is also true that residents are very clear that Pratap Nagar and Majas Tekdi are different even if contiguous settlements. Place identity may be variably conceived or lived in relation to variable analytical or practical purpose. But I do believe that all of these variations and contradictions must be considered part of a limited 'universe' of possibilities that marks out the practiced identity of the

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[10] Majas is the name of the revenue village, and *tekdi* means hill in Marathi.

settlement expanse. Meanwhile, the deep sense of value and attachment to Pratap Nagar that old and new residents display suggests that the project of placemaking was and continues to be quite successful. We recall here the dialectic between empirical and sense of place: even if there is no distinct 'perceived' (or, physically marked and demonstrable) distinction between Pratap Nagar and Majas Tekdi, the fact that there is a 'lived' one for residents provides one layer of confirmation of the distinctness of each as a place on the sense of place side of the dialectic.

There is a large number of distinctly identified places (or *vastis[11]*, settlements) within the continuous, informal built expanse of Jogeshwari (East). Before JVLR this fabric stretched all the way to Andheri to the south. Just the one km stretch covered by JVLR included Pratap Nagar, Ram Wadi, Majas Tekdi, Datta Tekdi, Shiv Tekdi, and Durga Nagar among others. To the south, parts of this built environment are formally developed before the advent of JVLR, like the Maharashtra Housing and Area Developent Authority (MHADA)[12] colony at Meghwadi. Pratap Nagar reveals itself as a well maintained, and peaceful settlement with visible signs of economic consolidation by its residents over a couple of generations. At the other end of the spectrum are once isolated places like Milind Nagar (and disconnected from the Jogeshwari informal expanse), housing a highly marginalized dalit migrant community (from a single village in eastern Maharashtra, who moved to the city after a drought in 1972) that are even more deprived, though situated right beside the fast highway[13]. Unlike Pratap Nagar, for instance, they have never had community toilets and still defecate in the open 'jungle' around.

Pratap Nagar, a key site for this study, has developed as a contingently and incrementally developed collection of chawls (barrack-like ground storey row of small homes) many with a common toilet block at one end. It is difficult to date its origins, and some chawls existed from

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[11]*Vasti* is the Marathi word for 'settlement' predominant in this setting, though the Hindi *basti* is also frequently used.
[12] (Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority)
[13] Of course, before JVLR, Milind Nagar was poorly connected to the city.

the 1930s. Abutting the WEH and flanking JVLR it is among the older and economically more stable settlements. But by and large, most of the older residents believe that, like the rest of the Jogeshwari (E) swathe of informal settlements, it began to assume its current form from the mid to late 1950s and certainly by the early 1960s, and possibly before Jogeshwari was absorbed into Mumbai when the city limits were extended in 1957. A map of the settlement believed to be from 1964 obtained by another researcher (Kundar, 2014) from a lawyer working on land issues reveals it to have been at least settled to 70% of its current building footprint density by that time especially around the JVLR alignment (upper storeys began to be added only after 1990, and accelerated after 2005, as next generation families were added to households).

Accounts of place from old and middle aged dwellers of settlements like Pratap Nagar are marked by two themes. One regards the *achieved* (not given) orderliness, stability, sense of care and supportiveness of the place as a social and spatial fabric today, for everyday life and social reproduction. This orderliness is clearly acknowledged as being not perfect and beset by many constant threats, but the best that is possible given the continuing deprivations and vulnerabilities, and various conflicts arising from them, that were part of the life of the urban poor in mid-20th Century Mumbai. That is, we can safely conclude that it represents a 'good enough' value (Fullilove M. T., 1996). With all its limitations the informal settlement as a place comes across as a fairly viable matrix for meaningful social existence and basic physical survival within the city. Achieving such a place character has involved combating significant challenges like that of violence, whether within the community and outside the reach of the state, or occasionally that of state actors themselves. The second and related theme that animates many accounts is that of attachment to this place as a whole, including mainly the relationships with people, the rhythms of spatial practice and unexpected factors like the 'sacred' landscape around, which was also a landscape of occasional enjoyment. This attachment is clearly communicated in spite of the serious infrastructural deficiencies. This attachment is related to the empirical support and nurturance the place provides, as well as to the fact that it has been produced by those who receive such nurturance, the residents themselves. That achievement is significant given the inhospitable starting socio-spatial

conditions, the income precarity of residents, as well as the various vulnerabilities tied to the unauthorized nature of the settlement as well as its complex socio-spatial terrain.

2.2.2 Making place

While there are no census figures available specifically for Pratap Nagar or the informal settlements in the path of JVLR, the Community Environmental Management Plan (2002, p. 22) records that there were approximately 5226 tenements to the north (that includes a number of differently identified settlements like Pratap Nagar, Ramwadi, Datta Tekdi and Shiv Tekdi) and 1002 tenements to the south of JVLR (two lane road built in the 1990s) including the southern part of Pratap Nagar[14]. NK estimates that today there are 1200 to 1500 families in Pratap Nagar's northern part alone today.

The earliest period of the settlement in Pratap Nagar for which I was able to jog resident memories – the 1960s – coincided with a phase in which the municipal and state attitude towards 'slums' was of denial and hostility that Bhide calls 'phase of negation' (Bhide, 2009). Not surprisingly, then, these fringe settlements lacked roads, water supply or even toilets, as recalled by many old residents. Some chawls were built of plastered masonry with fired clay tiles on wooden roof structures. Others were inexpensive wattle-and-daub (walls of mud plastered on both sides of a framed array of *karvi* wood sticks) structures with fired clay roof tiles supported on rough wooden rafters. These had been built and 'sold' by informal real estate entrepreneurs associated with the upper caste north Indian (mainly from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar) migrant dairy entrepreneurs[15]. These entrepreneurs had negotiated permission from the Parsi families (who had legal control of the lands from the colonial period) and the municipal corporation to house stables in the landscape. They neither had title to land, nor any authorization from the gram panchayat for construction, so the constructions have been informal from the very beginning. HK, who lived in PN from 1960 to 1972, remembers that

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[14] Site number TF-1 in 'Annexure 2.1: Key Plan for Various Alternative Sites'. The report reveals that Pratap Nagar was itself considered (and rejected) as a site for resettling displaced PAHs, presumably through redevelopment. Here is the description of Site Alternative No. 2 (Land Bearing Cts No.375 (Pt.), S.No. I1 (Pt.), S.No. 13 (Pt.)): 'This land is situated in the North Western Corner of Western Express Highway and Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road. This land falls in NDZ as per the sanctioned D.P. [Development Plan] of K (East) Ward. However, this land is fully and densely encumbered with slums without any vacant pockets of land to undertake redevelopment scheme. There are 10 societies comprising of 5,226 tenements on the north of Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road' (Econ Pollution Control Consultants, 2002, p. 22).
[15] HK, interview, 6 September 2015.

the *bhaiyyas* would live near their stables north of the settlement beyond the 'jungle' and rent out chawls in Pratap Nagar. As housing need and Jogeshwari's attractiveness (due to its railway station) increased together, stables slowly were turned into houses, possibly with the informal support of the land 'owners' caretakers, local corporators and MCGM[16].

PS reportedly bought his *kholi* (room) for Rs 50 with an additional Rs. 100 as 'deposit'[17]. M's family bought theirs in 1969 for Rs. 500, and her friend R reported buying hers for Rs. 13000 in 1976[18]. The chawls continue to be referred to today by their owners' generally upper caste north Indian names like Pandey and Tiwari. Most owners still retain control of their structures collecting rent and paying house tax to the municipal corporation, though there are also cases of owner neglect leading to a take-over by residents through different legal means[19]. Poor migrants and young industrial or informal work centred families from the city in search of shelter bought rooms in settlements like Pratap Nagar. For many this was their second or third move *within* the city[20]. HK says that in the early 1960s families from UP were predominant in Pratap Nagar, and there were Christians (some from Goa) as well as many Maharashtrian Hindus. While some families had arrived in small groups (as PS reports in his case), most were strangers to their neighbours. Today Pratap Nagar has a slightly mixed ethnic (north Indian, Gujarati and Marwari) and caste profile, but one possibly dominated by Maharashtrian Other Backward Castes (OBC) who presumably also made up the bulk of the first buyers[21].

The settlements these initial entrants moved into were surrounded by 'jungle' (a mixed low scrub forest), and in the early 1960s people walked to and from the railway station that connected them to their jobs, especially afraid of being robbed in the dark on payday. Police presence was almost non-existent, and the nearest police station was a few kilometres away at Andheri. 81-year old PS, who was a Congress party worker and still is an important neighbourhood leader, recalls that only three or four people would alight from the suburban

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[16] PS even remembers a Keralite caretaker in the employ of the Parsi families who would regularly visit the land and whose 'permission', he believes, must have been taken for each chawl.

[17] Interview with PS, 24 August 2015.

[18] Joint interview with both of them 24 August 2015.

[19] Multiple interviews with NK. Interview with PNM of Pratap Nagar on 5 September 2015.

[20] M, R, SJ, NK's dad were among such people.

[21] NK also believes that there are about 500 Brahmin families of different ethnicities (from different regions of the country including Maharashtra and the UP-Bihar belt), though presumably this figure applies to the entire informal expanse of over 5000 families mentioned in (Econ Pollution Control Consultants, 2002).

train when he returned from the second shift around midnight, and they would make a makeshift fire-torch to walk to the settlement. In his case, home was bare shelter of wattle and daub, with roughly levelled earth inside and out. Most chawls had been built without a dedicated toilet block, so its residents had to go to the jungle extending into land owned by the State Reserve Police Force (SRPF) for defecation (later cordoned off with a compound wall). For water, women from Pratap Nagar settlement would walk through the jungle broadly to the north and east where the stable owners allowed them to fill up from their municipal taps[22]. In other settlements, residents dug wells for water where they could, and women washed clothes at the many ponds in the landscape. 50 year old RK who grew up in Majas village nearby and was resettled in Sukh Sagar after losing her house to JVLR, recalls a pleasant childhood but one without cooking gas (cowpats from the stables nearby were the cooking fuel used, like in many villages even today). She remembers that they would have to walk to Ram-Shyam talkies in Jogeshwari (West) half an hour away, for a litre of kerosene. She also recalls Adivasis living in small hamlets around today's elite Oberoi Splendor residential complex[23], from whom her family would buy vegetables.

A key initial aspect of placemaking in the informal settlements, was thus locating basic resources in the sketchily urbanized natural fringe of the city and establishing regular spatial practices and social-economic arrangements for accessing them. These *practices*, not entirely alien to migrants and urban dwellers who retained a connection to rural roots, took the place of absent hardware of urban physical infrastructure, in a manner resonant with (Simone, 2004).

Another aspect was the consolidation of the physicality of place to provide durable physical security, shelter, and basic comfort. Like other residents, PS too points around the house and outside with a sweep of his arm and asserts with some pride, 'All this was made by us'[24]. The

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[22] The proximity and contact with both, the State Reserve Police Force (SRPF) as well as the stable owners and workers, would soon lead to conflict and violence.

[23] Which was a theme park before the owner managed to get its land use changed from No Development Zone (NDZ) to Residential, following the construction of JVLR.

[24] Interview 24 August 2015.

masonry structure of the house, its painted walls, aluminium sliding windows, polished stone flooring, as well as the paved lanes and small open spaces with the narrow open or covered drains (carrying grey water from the indoor bathrooms without water closets (W.C.) that most houses have built by now), are all covered in the sweep of his claim. The transformation of a wattle-and-daub structure into a masonry (*pakka)* house like his is indeed remarkable. Elsewhere, KM, a firebrand community leader in her seventies, recalls that her husband (who worked for a few years in 'the Gulf') personally paid for putting up street lights decades ago in their lane[25]. PS remembers what was effectively a black market in electricity till 1964- the nearest legal connection was a kilometre away at Jogeshwari Caves, from which extensions were sold at a fixed rate per light bulb. While some of the chawl owners (or *imla maliks*) built common toilets for residents of their chawls, over time many residents themselves pooled money to build them by clearing a patch of jungle at the edge of the settlement. In KM's case, the family took the lead in building common toilets for the chawl they lived in. Water supply too, had to be fought for. PS claims he once threatened a road block on the Western Express Highway for a pump to push water up to Datta Tekdi from its then termination at Andheri Pump House. Later, PS say, the then corporator Raginwar got a pump house built nearby on a bridge over a *nalla* (natural water course).

The consolidation of physical infrastructure and the built environment was a crucial part of stabilizing the security of place. The relationship between quality (or existence) of physical infrastructure and physical security for the multiply vulnerable residents, and especially women, is clearly indicated by a number of recalled incidents. The riots of 1964 are a good example of external infrastructure dependency as a cause of violence and insecurity. KM recounts that women would always go in groups to fetch water from the municipal tap in the stables owned by dairy entrepreneurs from UP. While by and large this arrangement was peaceably practiced, there appear to have been some incidents of sexual harassment. One such incident ultimately led to reprisals by the community against the north Indians running stables, which escalated into a riot that was severe enough to empty out many of the peripheral parts of Pratap Nagar and nearby settlements. The house PS moved into and lives in today was then

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[25] Interview 27 August 2015.

on the edge of the settlement and murders commonly occurred in the jungle beyond even by day. Though by then Jogeshwari had been absorbed into Mumbai's city limits (in 1957), this was a '*tadipar* area', where criminals externed from the city would dwell away from the eye of the law. The riots unfolded in this tense setting with the settlement constantly wary of night time raids from the stables. HK recalls that they did not venture out of their homes for two days, and out of the settlement for a week. PS recalls that, to protect themselves from the *bhaiyyas* whose weapons were *trishuls* (tridents) and *phashis* (small axes), the community brought in and sheltered one externed tough (originally from the working class district in the Island City for a while), and on his being found out, even negotiated with the police to let him continue for the defence of the settlement!

The flimsiness of house construction kept women acutely vulnerable to sexual harassment. KM recalls that gangsters would try and enter a house where the man was out of town, by removing roof tiles. She remembers a dreaded local goon who was after a particular woman to send him her daughters. He attacked the woman in her house with his sword, slashing her thighs to terrorise her. The woman approached KM for help, who complained to the police and claims to have ultimately got him externed. But the police themselves could be a menace. KM herself remembers one police inspector in particular who knocked on her door late one night (while her husband was away in Saudi Arabia) asking for water and food. She warned him from inside never to come by late at night, and later complained to his superior. 'When he was called by his superior in my presence in the police station, he knew it was over, and came with a letter of resignation!' she says with a triumphant smile.

The highly dramatic (even dramatized) stories KM and PS recount illuminate the key role individual leadership played in stabilizing a collection of chawls and largely poor families from different backgrounds and with many causes for conflict, into a relatively integrated place that would provide support and meaning for everyday life[26]. Both had emerged as

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[26] Verification of the details of all stories and information received from such respondents has not been possible. However, I felt that it was not strictly necessary in the usual historical sense. One reason is that a number of events featured across interviews independently (like the 1964 riots) confirming their occurrence as well as

leaders in the course of dealing with challenges that settling in Pratap Nagar threw up. Apart from undeniable personal qualities, leadership capacities can be seen to be rooted in childhood preparation elsewhere, as with M and another woman leader I met, R who is around fifty[27]. KM's parents had been Congress party workers (who lived in a 'building' in Mahim (and not a slum) and who bought her the house in Pratap Nagar) and she grew up with politics all around. That might have contributed to her formidable courage: though not trained by anyone she says, she would pick up a bamboo and it would twirl (dangerously) enough to scare harassers away. 'I would run after them', she recalls, beaming. R's mother died early and she was raised by her aunt, and by her father who was in the 'military'. The rest of the family was in the police, so she says with a grin, she grew up seeing thieves being beaten up, and lost all fear. All of these community leaders were affiliated to political parties, though none of them became a political representative. Their stories reflect significant capacities for accessing and being heard by very high state officials right up to the Inspector General of Police (IGP) for the state, and state ministers, with local corporators. Sometimes, these capacities developed through social networks opened up by party superiors as with M and R. Clearly also, community leaders like these were (and continue to be), an important medium through which the state can both manage and provide basic guarantees of services and security for informal settlements[28]. Local corporators were often an important motor of upgrading many place amenities, and of defending the place as a whole. One Shiv Sena corporator, Raginwar, is remembered with respect by many for both kinds of work[29]. In the context of JVLR, he was a

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impact. So were certain details like the fact that the chawls were built initially as wattle and daub structures. Another kind of validation was more important. This pertained to who it was that suggested the interviews. This offered validation of a contextual kind, that the experiences and stories the respondent had were of significance to the historical trajectory of the place. I was taken to meet both by NK, himself, a 40 year old community mobiliser for the last decade or so, and deeply familiar with the history of the settlement and its leadership history. Before these meetings NK had also taken me to meet two women, M and R, both in their fifties, who had been mentored as political activists of the NCP/Congress by KM.

[27] Joint interview with R and M on 27 August 2015

[28] Services included selling milk and bread at the *balwadis* run by KM, and the Kamgar Kalyan Kendra set up by PS. PS's cover for the *tadipar* gangster for defence, if true, also illuminates his importance to the policing agenda as self-provider of security during emergency.

[29] But KM also recalls how he, as her competitor in one local election, deceived voters in her constituency into believing that she had withdrawn.

major critic of the alignment and supported a proposal to reroute it to skirt the settlement to the north by taking a bit of SRPF land[30].

Leaders gained personally too. KM volunteers that her desire to help others has also helped her consolidate financially through the various state programs and small infrastructure initiatives like public toilets, and a solid waste management scheme, that she runs alongside women's self-help groups (SHGs) among other things. At the same time, leadership has meant constant confrontation with powerful or violent elements, leading to many attacks and threats. Things have been very peaceful for many years KM says, and JVLR has made it better since police have easier access into the settlement. But just a few years ago, KM's younger son was critically injured when assaulted by a local gangster she had confronted in the past.

It is possible that the acute challenges of stabilizing a contingently convergent informal socio-spatial community into a viable place opens a vein of exceptional leadership like above. The broad objective such emergent leaders share is a guarantee of a productive everyday peace and efficiency, as well as 'improvement' in terms of education, vocational skills, and home based employment opportunities for women. Natural leaders like PS and KM have been active in setting up mechanisms like chawl committees, Ganapati *mandals* or in bringing state and municipal social welfare and urban management programs like Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) and Dattak Vasti Yojana (DVY) into their settlements. But ordinary residents too have been active in the governance of their lanes and toilets. KM is proud of the fact that Pratap Nagar is the cleanest *vasti* around, and though part of her pride is personal – she ran a DVY program in the settlement for years – it is also clear through other conversations that ordinary residents too are responsible for this achievement.

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[30] PS reports, with a slight laugh, having opposed this plan because he belonged to a competing political party. This offers a glimpse into the contradictions between the practice of individual leaders, otherwise clearly committed to the welfare of the community.

Formal governance structures were and have been markedly few in a settlement like Pratap Nagar. At one level, the place would appear to run on the informal cultural codes of interpersonal behaviour and personal acceptance of various trade-offs that has stabilized over decades of living together too close for comfort. Their importance is emphasized by the results of their being blocked by the architecture of Sukh Sagar (see Chapter Seven). Neighbourliness, and the cultural logic of kinship extended beyond family relations appear to form the basis of the governance of the slum. Part of the reason for the lean formal governance structures may be the fact was that there never was any large property with complex infrastructure to be managed by the residents together (unlike in the resettlement colony at Sukh Sagar studied in the next chapter). Most households paid rent to the chawl owners, or *imla maliks* (who sometimes live in the settlement) and the maintenance of the house property was thus a matter between the two parties (though, in practice the responsibility of the dweller). In many cases, chawl committees or a federation of a cluster of chawls are the key forum of association and mobilization of a sense of community. Individual leadership and the capacity to act together even if at a very small scale (of say 10 to 20 houses in a chawl) are challenges, especially in times of crisis, like when a municipal notice of demolition is served on the chawl owners because the chawl owner has failed to pay taxes for years. Then, there are capital expenses on repair, reconstruction of the community toilets every few years or the need to pave over or replace paving of lanes. These can go upto a few lakh rupees. In these cases, chawl committees must collect what they can from members, but also liaise with political representatives (MLAs, MPs) and get them to cover a fair share of the expenses through the official Local Area Development funds at their disposal. An important detail about the interplay between 'civil' and 'political society' in informal settlements like Pratap Nagar is involved here.

The chawl committee represents an arena of civil society association. Moreover, many individuals and committees prefer to first explore the 'civil society' route of engaging with the city bureaucracy at the ward level in trying to get their entitlements secured. This was emphasized a number of times. It is only when this route fails (or is perceived as being likely

to incur the wrath of the corporator – 'you think you don't need me?') that residents resort to the political society route.

Whatever the actual routes chosen at particular points, in a settlement like Pratap Nagar, there is a clear trajectory of upgradation of community infrastructure. For instance, NK reports that five years ago (around 2010) when their common toilet was to be replastered, it was actually completely made over (replastered *and* retiled) and one more 'box' with a European W.C. added for elders with back problems. The fact that such maintenance and upgradation practices continue with regularity is an achievement even in an economically more settled settlement since economic constraints are severe even for lower middle class families. In spite of the fact that chawl committees collect a very small amount – Rs. 10- 20 per month – to pay for cleaning of the lanes and community toilets, it is still a challenge to ensure their smooth functioning. KM says people have only recently become willing to pay Rs. 10 per month for Solid Waste Management. And PS reports that there is no chawl committee in his lane.

One important arena for fostering relationality and common purpose has been *utsav mandals* or festival committees. Festivals would be celebrated together spontaneously, but there was also active mobilization around them. PS started the Ganpati *mandal* in his neighbourhood in 1964, as a way of getting the newly arrived people together. Interestingly, the appropriate reproduction of cultural form was a twinned motive: he was unhappy at the lack of grace of an existing tradition of celebration that predecessors in the colony had initiated. MG, a political activist with Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS)[31] in his forties, believes that the old *mandals* were an important mechanism of doing community work and incubating local leadership though, he laments, their profile and objectives have drifted towards public spectacle and personal profit over the last decade[32]. He recalls that in his youth, ten to fifteen of his friends would pool together money to set up a *pooja* or other functions. A member of such a *mandal* enjoyed local prestige, and would be invited to intervene in disputes. When

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[31] An offshoot of the nativist political party Shiv Sena.
[32] Interview, 27 August 2015

particular families faced financial crises, the *mandal* itself or its activists, were known to organize a collection for their support[33].

Emergent community leaders, particular caste communities, and youth groups also produced valuable social infrastructure for social gathering, education, and general upgradation of skills. PS reports that he persuaded a state minister in 1974 to sanction a Kamgar Kalyan Kendra (Workers' Welfare Centre) next to his home on a patch of land that he is proud he has been able to protect upto now from monetization. The centre provides a range of subsidized educational and vocational training to families of registered workers in private and public sector enterprises, and serves a large part of the city nearby. An upper storey built over the small building a few years ago, is rented out to local residents for family events like naming or engagement ceremonies. Similarly, the dalit community that settled within the alignment of the JVLR and were displaced in 1990, built the Buddha Vihar and continue to maintain it even after displacement, as their religious space and a gathering space for the rest of the local (spatial) community. Finally, Prerna Mitra Mandal one of the many such social groups in every settlement, has been running a community library with about 5000 books for years, one that is supported with state government's library funds, though it keeps moving from space to space since it owns no premises[34]. What is important to note here is that each of these has been an initiative from within the community, one that builds a sense of collective life, while strengthening individual capacities.

2.2.3   Being achieved place

The foregoing illuminates important aspects of the *becoming*, or the determined, creative and collective *making*, of place against many odds. But what kind of place was made by the time the bulldozers for JVLR arrived? What were the values sedimented in its spatial practice (that is, in its space and social practice)? I will argue that Pratap Nagar at the time of JVLR appears

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[33] Such *mandals* continue to exist.
[34] '*Prerna*' means inspiration, and '*mitra mandal'* is literally 'friends' association'. The latter phrase is very common in the names of such groups. It is particularly instructive because it combines the impersonal civil society form of the gathering of rational subjects for a defined purpose, with the informal, affective dynamic of friendship. The actual practice of such associations is clearly founded on the affective normativities of 'friendship' commonly accepted in the social group.

to be marked by a definite sense of empirical socio-spatial integrity (borne of its relationality), identity, a related sense of interiority, and very strong place attachment. These clearly emerge out of the history of placemaking outlined earlier.

Certain practices reveal the social integrity associated with place, which is linked to sedimented forms of neighbourliness and social reproduction in the texture of everyday life. An erstwhile Pratap Nagar resident who was resettled in PMGP in 1990s, recalled that everybody in Pratap Nagar earlier lived in a way that if you gave one call *('ek awaaz dila ki…')* people from all around would gather immediately at the Buddha Vihar irrespective of caste[35]. Given the significance of caste divisions in Indian society, this is an important indicator of one mode of integrity in a spatial community. Another old timer recalls a related incident that substantiates this general memory, when a large crowd of women collected from Shiv Tekdi (about three fourths of a kilometre away) down all the way to Pratap Nagar to confront a ration shop owner who was thought to be harassing a local woman.

The integrity of the spatial community has been forged by imbuing the practice of neighbourliness with the spirit of kinship, itself shot through with the agenda of reproducing inherited social and cultural forms. M, a local political activist says, 'my neighbours taught me all about religious rituals *(devache sagle)*'. She points in different directions to the homes of her sister, mother-in-law, sister-in-law enumerating the different kinds of support she has received at different times of need. Of course, she quickly adds, those women are not really her relatives, except that she thinks of them in that way. 'My relatives say, "she does not need relatives, she wants only her neighbours!"', she says, and laughs at the scandalous charge she happily accepts[36].

The connection of the spatiality of place to the everyday (re)production of community is revealed in residents' comparisons of how news travels in the slum compared to that in the

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[35] Interview with PJ on 12 October 2014. The Buddha Vihar is the place of worship for the dalit converts to Buddhism in mid-20th Century under the leadership of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.
[36] Interview on 24 August 2015

formal resettlement colony. In the informal settlement, by and large, each house directly opens to a lane through which many people have to pass to reach their own houses or, 'so anyone who would pass by could see what is going on in which house, they would tell others that so and so happened'. Each house has only a ten foot (3 m) frontage, and lanes in Pratap Nagar are seldom wider than that. Thus somebody walking in the centre of the lane can 'cover' a large number of houses on either side informally during a short walk. The entrance door (and sometimes, also) a window together easily make between 1/4th and 1/3rd of the front wall visually and acoustically penetrable. This increases the possibility and frequency of (intended or unintended) communication between public and private spaces. Conversations in the lane thus, are often audible inside homes and vice versa, allowing news to travel fast. Clearly, of course, the penetration of communication is at the cost of individual and household privacy, which, as we shall see is upheld strongly at the formal resettlement colony Sukh Sagar, with its own unanticipated consequences.

The phenomenon of news (or rumour) reveals how a particular space may play a part in enabling greater social integrity[37]. This is one dimension of the spatial integrity of place – the fact that it keeps people in contact through their spatial distribution. There are other aspects too like the spatial and material integrity of home and the settlement at large, as well as to internal and external spatial relations including those with the larger landscape outside the settlement. It is also about the evolved system of amenities and landuses in the settlement and outside that enabled everyday life, and also a sense of integral territory. The material consolidation of home and settlement has been discussed earlier in the section on place making.

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[37] Social integrity is not assumed to be an unalloyed good for everybody. I recognize that it can be exclusionary and also repress individuality and privacy. I simply point to the fact that the spread of news through conversations and eavesdropping certainly enables people to stay in touch with each other's lives whether they like it or not. Interestingly, however, being out of touch is a reality that is reported as a problem in Sukh Sagar (see the next Chapter Seven).

Maps of Pratap Nagar from 1964 and 2004[38] (see Figure 26) show that it has always had an apparently irregular street network, but one that integrated different parts quite successfully. Over time, through the process of dwelling, various amenities like shops, food stalls, flour mills, meeting halls, and religious spaces emerged in response to diverse everyday needs. The external connectivities, though not perfect, helped access more specialized urban amenities for higher quality, scaled or more expensive goods and services. The settlements depended on the railway to integrate them with the city system[39]. This connectivity involved local challenges. The connection to the railway station was two-fold. A road wound its way past the Jogeshwari Caves from it to terminate in Pratap Nagar, but city buses, taxis and autorickshaws did not ply till the 1980s. This road was also too long for the walkers. So, most workers simply walked to the station through open land, and other settlements, negotiating streams and broad gutters the best they could.

In the other direction, going east, however, the settlements casually opened out and integrated with a vast, natural and undeveloped landscape, one with many sacred moments in the form of most notably, the Mahakali and Jogeshwari Caves, as well as temples and festivities associated with them. Locals like RK and SJ remember with great pleasure and pride, the grand Mahashivratri celebrations at the Mahakali temple at the foot of the hill on which the caves of the same name exist. But KM, who grew up in Mahim on the Island City, also remembers visiting this landscape for these celebrations, though it involved a long walk from the station in the hot sun. Other parts of the landscape were much loved sites of picnics that have waned only in the last decade (that is, after the widening of JVLR) – one young resident of Meghwadi remembers overnight camping trips in the 'jungle' which included fresh chicken bought from the tribal hamlets for a feast[40]. The landscape also offered a number of playgrounds (reserved as such in the Development Plan of 1991) like the recently renamed and formally landscaped Hemant Karkare Udyan, where 'all of Jogeshwari went to play'

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38 The 2004 maps incorporates data interpreted from Google Earth's satellite images.
39 HK remembers, though, that the connection to the railway station was poor: people would find various routes through the cluster of informal settlements, navigating streams and drains as they could. Interview 6 September 2015.
40 Interview with SMJ on 25 July 2014.

according to NK[41]. Another such playground was the one that has been taken over by a private club, Matoshree[42]. This connection to a larger geography and its resources and pleasures sustained the everyday life of the settlements empirically. Simultaneously, the practice of accessing these resources and pleasures constructed a sense of expansive territory for the residents of highly crowded settlements.

The sense and empirics of territory is a useful lens through which to approach integrity. The concept does two things. It can help combine discussions of integrity and identity. And it helps combine a discussion of empirical integrity of place with that of the 'sense' people have of it, as well as of being themselves integrated with the place through a feeling of control or right to presence and use. David Delaney believes that 'a cultural formation or social order is unintelligible without reference (if only tacit) to how it is territorially expressed'. The empirically marked and personally sensed territory may be considered central to the integrity of place. He goes on to argue that, 'any significant revision of the terms of territorialization (such as with respect to public and private) entails an equally significant social transformation (and vice versa)' (Delaney, 2005, p. 10). This argument is significant for the discussions of territorial rupture in the section on place maiming in the next chapter.

Here, I suggest that the empirical expression of territory may be either spatial or an aspect of dwelling practices. Spatial expressions may emphasise exclusive control or access through 'boundaries' (wall), while two others provide 'centres' organizing territory: either by expressing conceived (shop address on a signboard), or lived identity and presence (religious

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[41] Symbolic nationalist gestures have been employed, possibly to pre-empt political opposition to this landscaping. Hemant Karkare was a highly regarded senior police officer who was killed during the terrorist attack on Mumbai on 26 November 2008. Three other parks in the vicinity that have been landscaped similarly have been named after the other police officers who died during this attack: Ashok Kamte, Vijay Salaskar. A children's park as yet not take over for such exclusionist landscaping is named after armyman Sandeep Unnikrishnan, who was also killed in the same attack.

[42] Matoshree is also the name of the house of the late Bal Thackeray, the 'supremo' of Shiv Sena, and home to his son, who inherited the mantle of leadership. The current MLA (and former corporator of Jogeshwari (East) for fifteen years) of the belt under discussion belongs to the same party. The Matoshree Club has recently been taken back by the MCGM along with most other such open spaces lent out to non-state organisations for management.

structures and motifs) whether of an individual or social group. All such spatial expressions of territory also work as expressions of identity for residents. Going by accounts, Pratap Nagar does not appear to have had exclusionary boundaries. Addresses on shop signboard have always been the best distributed and visible indication to the outsider of officially accepted place identity. At a more monumental scale, the 'central' assertion of presence by social groups like the dalits through their Buddha Vihar, provide the singular focus for organizing 'sensed' territory. These are also markers for identity recognized from inside the community and outside. In pointing to the centrality of the Buddha Vihar for Pratap Nagar in practical and symbolic terms simultaneously, NK provides the best example of this phenomenon: the Buddha Vihar was apparently put on the cover of the MUTP report on rehabilitation by MMRDA. Internally recognised centre of identity and integrity, and therefore of territory, by the residents of Pratap Nagar, it was also recognized as such by the state agency.

A final aspect of the reality of informal place that is very important is that of the palpable attachment to place, or 'place attachment', that residents in Pratap Nagar reveal in different ways in their conversations. It is also the shadow that hangs over the memories of Pratap Nagar that were shared in Sukh Sagar. The practical and emotional basis of that attachment may well be explained through the various kinds of support and sense of integrity that are revealed in the experiences discussed above. It is also reasonably traced to the fact that people believe they have made the settlement: KM's pride in the cleanliness of Pratap Nagar and PS's underplayed but sweeping claim that 'we built all this' are evidence of this. All of these together perhaps make Pratap Nagar the benchmark against which residents of Sukh Sagar evaluate important place values in that colony, as we will see in the Chapter Seven. Meanwhile, a snatch from an exchange with a woman who had moved from Pratap Nagar to Sukh Sagar, that captures the complicated nature of place attachment, as well as its ultimate roots in interpersonal relations. Most importantly, it reveals that place attachment must be understood in both directions: one's attachment to place, but also the attachment of place (that is, the people there) to oneself.

Researcher: Now that you all have come here, do you feel that anything has changed back in Pratap Nagar for the people there, because you left? Or, does it not affect them?

Woman: Oh, you mean did people talk about us leaving and all? Yes, some people said, 'good, that these people have gone, they used to fight a lot' [laughs]!

Researcher: Did they feel that you all left tired of quarrels, or that a part of their home has gone away?

Woman: Yes, people felt really bad when we left because good people moved out, that one of their families is moving out- people cried a lot. I think I must have felt the worst among all. We knew many more people there, but here everything is private.

In the course of tracing the making of a viable, supportive and much loved place against great odds, we have also come to a possible conceptualization of the role of informal places – as a socio-spatial assemblage of space, social organization, interpersonal relations and affect – in the lives of those who live or work in them. Extending Simone's (2004) influential reconceptualization of 'people as infrastructure', I suggest we think of a settlement like Pratap Nagar as a becoming, lively, but informal infrastructure of subsistence as well as of the bio-social reproduction of the self and a contingently gathered community. In keeping with the formal expectations from infrastructure, we have seen that it is, and is regarded as, an integrated and integrating force enabling various social, cultural and economic activities that secure anchorage for marginalized households in the society and economy of the city. Moreover, the place-ness is unarguably auto-constructed by dwellers through individual and collective action, even if the individual physical components (chawls, toilets etc.) were built by other actors, sometimes from 'outside'.

This conceptualisation offers a useful platform for the discussion of its fragmentation - 'place maiming' – by the more traditional road infrastructure project, and the response by resident communities in the form of protest and repair. That response itself can be seen as reflecting

place attachment as well as politically meaningful anchorage that place has provided for many selves. The next two sections are devoted to these two phenomena.

3 Place maiming, defence, and repair

3.1 Place maiming

The construction of JVLR in the 1990s and its subsequent widening to a six lane, high speed highway from 2004 onwards, erased a significant portion of the existing built environment of informal settlements that had emerged on its alignment. In this chapter, it is argued that this erasure amounted to the maiming of place as a lively and auto-constructed infrastructure. Thus, the argument assumes that erasure of one part of a built environment (that is, the disruption of spatial integrity) can significantly disrupt the integrity of place as a whole. This assumption is built on the close interrelations between space and everyday personal and social life that have been discussed in the earlier section.

The metaphor of maiming, is just that, a metaphor. It serves the important but limited purpose of highlighting both the integrity and changefulness of place (not to be extended to literal biological limit) - the organic nature of the metaphor is preferred to the thing-like idea of place in John Friedmann's similar intent behind the notion of 'place-breaking' (2007). The maiming of place evokes both, the loss of a limb as well as the stopping of flows that gave life to that limb, but also the possibility of survival and even repair. The concept of 'place maiming' is preferred to the more commonly used one of 'community severance' for a clearer emphasis on the integratedness of the social and spatial, as well as on the sense of integrity and liveliness that is ascribed to the idea of place, as through its 'becoming' character (Pred, 1984).

Applied to place, the idea of maiming evokes the drying up of pedestrian flows (arguably, the lifeblood of place) that would cut across the entire length of JVLR but are today channelled to a few bottlenecks of crossing, which at Pratap Nagar are the signal and the Ram Wadi underpass (Figure 3.4). The extra distance to be covered in crossing over, from paths that are

further east or west of these bottlenecks, along with the danger and unpleasantness of pedestrian traffic between the fragmented parts of place effects this maiming[43].

Place has been maimed by JVLR in three ways:

- fragmentation of once integrated places
- erasure of key amenities and
- the removal of a social group.

This has implied a loss of access and of relationality (the condition of existing in relation or in connection to something else) at various scales: within places (or settlements), between them, and between the larger

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[43] In a minor vein, maiming as a literal bodily fate is closely associated with JVLR along the entire kilometre of settlements. Stories abound of children, old people and even families being run over.

Figure 3.1: Road as spatial barrier

JVLR's width and the continuous traffic introduce a spatial barrier between two sundered sides of the settlements.

(Left to right)

Figure 3.2: Rush across without a traffic signal!

There are few traffic signals along the entire length of road and even those are open for pedestrians for very short periods.

Figure 3.3: High retaining wall of JVLR

The flatness of JVLR's gradient enables automobile speed and implies high filling like at Ramwadi, which becomes a barrier between two sides of the settlement. The rubble stacked against it is from the demolitions for the yet to be built service road.

landscape and place. It must be noted that its opposite is also reported: JVLR has connected old residents better to once far flung locations more efficiently in terms of time but at some money cost. This is discussed in more detail in the analysis, in terms of the paradox Henri Lefebvre observes in modern urban planning: it fragments as it integrates. The argument is that the fragmentation is local, and of place, whereas the integration occurs at the level of the global space of the city.

3.2 Fragmentation of place

JVLR literally tore through the built fabric of Pratap Nagar and other places along its alignment. It introduced a hiatus in the continuity of the built environment of place. One the one hand, a once continuous built fabric (or townscape, to use a more romantic term) is 'broken' up into two parts each on one side of the road, which is a visible (tangible?) loss of integrity if you consider the place as an integral and identifiable entity. On the other, in more direct experience that is an indicator of this break, a once continuous walk from one end of the place to another is now interrupted by the dangerous current of traffic that must be crossed at one short duration pedestrian traffic signal, to uphold the design logic of the fast road in producing the intended new regional scaled space. This implies the well-known phenomenon of community severance, which is severance or erosion of relationships or practical access, to other people and amenities.

It should be noted that when asked explicitly what impact JVLR has had on Pratap Nagar, respondents sometimes begin by reporting 'no impact, really'. Did they stop visiting their friends? No, not really. But this tends to be qualified and even contradicted by other accounts about actual visits, practices, and locations that must be accessed across the road. The answer that nothing has changed can sometimes be read as part of the coping, as well as the acclimatization to a 'new normal'.

K, who is in her sixties and is one of the women whose biography got entangled in the protests (see 3.5.1), lives on the southern side of Pratap Nagar, while her married daughter lives in the northern part. She visits her regularly by crossing at the signal, but times her visits with relatively low traffic at 2 p.m. Even so, when she crosses, she says with an illustrative gesture of hands gathered tight at the heart, she has to 'hold her life close'. The ruptured continuity of

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walking has broader impacts too, in relation to the territories different groups could command. SJ, who has lived in PN since the mid-1960s, recalls as we chat by the side of JVLR one evening that before the road was built children would easily spread out across the entire settlement to play hide and seek. Now, they stay on their sides of the road, and nobody allows their children to come anywhere near it. The children's game can easily be recognized as one of the practices of constituting the integrity of place and an assertion of territory by them. The curtailment of this territory corresponds to the rupture of the integrity of place as a mesh of practices and enactments. With K there is no permanent curtailment. Yet her fear as she crosses the road every afternoon, compromises the meaning, frequency and future of her practice of stitching parts of place together through a walk across the road.

JVLR's traffic has also disrupted people's access to important amenities that emerged at specific locations over history, in relation to the spatial continuity of the settlement. By interpolating an insubstantial and ephemeral, but deadly, barrier (in the form of traffic and the threat of an accident) JVLR has significantly disturbed the quality of access people on one side enjoy to an amenity on the other side that they had taken for granted over the years. Pratap Nagar's Buddha Vihar stands on the northern edge of JVLR (threatened under the service road construction). As mentioned earlier, though built by the dalit community, it has functioned as a community space with most public meetings occurring there. Today those living in the southern part of Pratap Nagar find it much more difficult to access this public space.

Source: Author/NDK

Figure 3.4: Place maiming at Pratap Nagar

Ruptured fabric of pedestrian flows and lost amenities, caused by JVLR. The base map was traced from a 1964 map of the settlement obtained from a local lawyer working on land and tenure issues.

The fact that most community meetings occur in the evenings when traffic is at its peak, only adds to the difficulty of crossing. The maiming effect is spread across the length of the informal expanse. In Milind Nagar, JVLR has cut off access to the market on the other side of the road. Its children too must cross the road to go to school on the other side, without an appropriately long traffic signal for the thousands of children (from all over Jogeshwari) crossing it twice in the day. Meanwhile, the resettlement colony built by MMRDA, Sukh Sagar, was born maimed in this sense: a key amenity, the flour mill lies across the road in the settlement called Durga Nagar. There is no traffic signal outside the colony, so twice a month women carrying ten kg boxes of wheat at their hips, must either walk about 200 metres west from the colony, climb up and down a storey and a half, walk 200 metres back east, or simply rush madly through small breaks in traffic with a prayer on their lip[44].

It is not only the practiced walk to and contact with specific amenities and people that JVLR has interrupted. While it produces a larger space at the regional level and beyond, it has also produced a new local space especially by realizing the vision of formal residential development embodied in the DP 91. JVLR has 'opened up' in one sense, among the last 'undeveloped' and developable landscapes within the city limits by connecting this space to the road system of rest of the city (and potentially to the metropolitan region if it continues eastward as a proposed link to Navi Mumbai at Kopar Khairane). There has been a real estate boom that AS, as well as a real estate broker in SS, believe JVLR has triggered with prices rising seven fold since the commencement of the widening project (in other parts of the city they have increased three to four times in the same period). Apart from Hirandandani who have been developing their famous and controversial residential-commercial complex in Powai from the mid-1980s, other established real estate companies like Kalpataru Constructions have also entered the belt, just to the north of the stretch of informal settlements. This boom has been shepherded and nurtured by local politicians who have turned the playgrounds used by 'all of Jogeshwari' (mainly male youth of the slums nearby) into landscaped, themed and controlled (or ticketed) spaces of leisure for the elite customers

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[44] FGD at Sukh Sagar on 21 August 2014. MMRDA tried to integrate a *chakki* (flour mill) into the shops in the colony but could not get permission from MCGM for it.

of the real estate business who are a big presence in the new demographic composition of the landscape. Parallelly, the once public *maidan* at what is today Matoshree, a private club, has been fully privatized and is off limits to non-members. This has suddenly shrunk the available options for play for young boys and men (young women beyond puberty continue to be restricted within the home zone for leisure).

3.3   Erasure of a key amenity

Erasure of amenities like toilets, or the *maidan* in Pratap Nagar, affects the health of individuals, and the social life of community. The demolition of the community toilets built on the RoW triggered a spontaneous protest whose shadow dogs the residents involved. It is common for such toilets to be built on the RoW, since these facilities are usually built after a settlement has emerged (that is, after available land has been used up for dwellings). The street space (especially of future widening) is the only space where toilets can be built in such a situation. The common toilets of three chawls in Pratap Nagar were demolished on March 24th 2006 to clear the path for road construction. Residents reported that they had been assured the toilets would not be broken, and that there was no notice or warning that they would be broken. One respondent recalled that a child using one of the bathrooms had to be hastily pulled out as a bulldozer approached. Replacement of the toilets was difficult since there was no space to build them. Finally, MMRDA officials negotiated with the owners of a house beside the road and acquired it for demolition, and a community toilet was finally built on the site as a result, residents believe, of the protest. Without the protest, residents believe they would have been left to deal with the loss of infrastructure by coping with it.

There were a number of *maidans* inside Pratap Nagar, and a couple are reported to have been erased because they were directly on the alignment of JVLR at Pratap Nagar. Objectively, or at the level of empirical place, these were small open spaces, in spite of the term *maidan* used to describe them by residents. Though two decades have passed since its erasure by JVLR first phase of construction, SJ and K both showed me the extent of the main *maidan* that stretched west from the existing location of the Buddha Vihar in Pratap Nagar[45]. K spoke of the various

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[45] This field demonstration squared adequately with the open space on the 1964 map of the settlement that formed the basis for Figure 3.4.

celebrations that would be mounted in the *maidan* especially the *garba* at Navratri. Today there is no such dedicated and appropriate space in Pratap Nagar for its place-wide community celebrations, and individual events have moved to different locations. For instance, Navratri celebrations have moved to one of the wider lanes of the settlement a block away from the main road though it is clearly not an adequate substitute. This persistence of a social practice, even when the community allocated and produced space for it has disappeared must be considered an act of self-repair by and in place. Such self-repair is probably much more difficult in the case of the formal open spaces like Karkare Maidan mentioned above, that have been appropriated for the elite through 'improvements' of landscape architecture by the MCGM.

3.4   Removal of a social group

The removal of a large number of its place-attached residents from a place is a sure measure of place maiming. This has happened in many communities including Pratap Nagar. However, it is most dramatic when an identifiable social group within a community is moved in entirety. Since they happened to be sited together on the alignment of JVLR[46] all dalit houses around the Buddha Vihar in Pratap Nagar were demolished and families displaced to PMGP in the first round of JVLR construction, leaving only their Buddha Vihar behind.

This could have spelt the end of Buddha Vihar, since it had lost the community that had built it and maintained it. Fortunately, the orphaned Buddha Vihar continues to be maintained by the displaced dalit community and shared with the community left behind. A trust maintains and manages the Buddha Vihar and the managing committee meets there every Sunday in the evening. In this instance, we see the self-repairing of place as a social entity after its maiming. The engagement of the displaced dalit population to the non-dalit community left behind is cemented in the space and practices of the Buddha Vihar, further reinforcing the idea of the

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[46] I was unable to pursue the question of why all dalit households converged on the alignment while settling in Pratap Nagar. Was it because they came in late and chose to run the risk as the best option they had? This is worth investigating, to understand the differential risks that are hard wired into what appears like a uniform slum or informal settlement.

valued integrity of informal place. NK, not a dalit himself, points out with some pride in this negotiated integration across caste and community lines, that the Buddha Vihar is actually the common space in which most of the important community meetings in Pratap Nagar are organized. The interpersonal dynamics between NK and PJ on the one hand, and the trustees of the Buddha Vihar on the other, in NK's house, clearly indicated that they continue to be connected deeply to Pratap Nagar even though they have (been) moved out of the settlement over two decades ago. The Buddha Vihar thus also appears to provide an enduring link of continuity with its 'original' place to the displaced dalit community, possibly affording a sense of continuity in social situatedness in spite of spatial displacement.

The maiming of place was *not* an avowed project (that is, it was not explicitly intended). At the same time it has not been acknowledged, been overlooked, or considered an acceptable cost given the larger public benefit of the road project[47]. However, it arguably is a good way to describe the outcome in which places – including spaces, facilities, people – were involuntarily disassembled, damaged, or moved elsewhere. Apart from the response of place repair above, these outcomes were anticipated and contested vigorously and with different degrees of 'success' by people most affected. The protests, arguably, emerge from the very place qualities they seek to protect and reveal the power of place.

3.5   Protest

The maiming of place that JVLR effected was vigorously protested by residents. Many protests by affected communities have marked JVLR. Some are considered successful to a small extent by the protesters, though they have also paid and continue to pay the price even for peaceful protest either in terms of continuing police cases, or being targets of threats of violence.

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[47] Different project related officials from the state as well as the NGO involved told me that the overall outcome of the project was positive, and that it was a much more progressive effort. This relative positive evaluation is endorsed partially by (Bhide & Dabir, 2010) who also point to its significant limitations. As Chapter Seven shows, the progressive R&R policy recognized households individually but not the place as a lively whole and infrastructure.

The nature of resistance and protest that was mounted against the JVLR project underlines the very strong sense of place, and of determination to continue living in it, that individuals and groups from settlements along the one kilometre long informal landscape were able to mobilise around. This sense of (shared) place (and fate) can be seen operative in the (unsurprisingly imperfect, but also real) solidarities expressed in protest action at settlement level (Pratap Nagar and Ram Wadi), as well as at the project level across settlements with very different lived identities (multi-organisation meetings and correspondence). We can thus infer multiple and nested scales at which the sense of place was operative (settlement and landscape). At the same time, we must also note the contradictory currents in relation to solidarity and social cohesion. In the toilet protests, the protestors have often been blamed by neighbours for unnecessarily inviting arrest through protest adding to their evident troubles. In Ram Wadi, meanwhile, the main protestor against unauthorized reoccupation of half demolished houses reported being threatened for his work by politically connected vested interests. Thus, the protests reveal two divergent relationalities uncovered by the project. On the one hand, place provides the anchorage and leverage to individuals and communities for asserting claims legitimized by their sheer humanity. On the other, under threat, it also undermines this legitimacy and threatens their very resolve and physical integrity.

When the various informal settlements developed on and beside the JVLR alignment, there was awareness about the statutory Development Plan's to build the road, though it is highly unlikely that exact positions of the alignment at different locations were known to the informal settlers[48]. Yet, given the uncertainty that always surrounds the state's avowed developmental intentions, the announcement of the project and of the implied displacement of many hundreds of families who happened to be living on the proposed road's alignment, led to mobilization, protest and negotiation from the first reported announcement in the early

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[48] The dalit community appeared to have settled right in the centre of the alignment and was hence displaced as a group. The history of their settling might be important to study. When they arrived was the stretch they settled on known to their enablers (and to them) to be the most likely alignment of JVLR, and therefore most insecure for housing? If so, it would point to intersections of multiple vulnerabilities in the spatial history of the dalit community.

1980s, according to PJ, a key figure in that process. The 1996 documentary film *Jod Rasta Tod Rasta*[49] captures the range of people from local residents, the corporator to the MLA, who had protested the destruction that would be caused by JVLR. In a memorable moment in the film that captures the readiness of citizens to questions the authority of technocracy by proposing a painless alternative, the local corporator, Raginwar, asks why the road could not have been rerouted north by about 100 m and run along the SRPF compound wall thus saving hundreds of houses from demolition.

Resistance and protest occurred at multiple scales simultaneously. Many protests and acts of resistance were small, local and even fragmented, that is, emerging from and often restricted to individuals and events in specific locations within a given settlement. For instance, the demolition of some community toilets in Pratap Nagar in March 2006 in Pratap Nagar sparked off a protest by local residents which is discussed in more detail below. Just a few hundred meters to the west, there was a parallel protest brewing around the site of the Jogeshwari South Rail Over Bridge (ROB), a bridge over the railway line that would enable JVLR to continue to the western side. This is a different project and part of the same vision, but protests by shopkeepers there moved on a parallel track and with a very different strategy. That the key actors involved in both mobilisations around the same infrastructural initiative split into different projects, had not met each other till a few years after the construction of JVLR is symptomatic of the fragmentation. Perhaps this had to do with the fact that the settlement under the ROB was not considered part of the informal expanse stretching east and south from Pratap Nagar, in a lived sense.

Another example of such fragmented protest was one man, SB's, long struggle (involving correspondence as well as many meetings in person at MMRDA) in Ram Wadi to hold the state to its stated intention, and not allow collusion between various state and non-state actors

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[49] Link Road is translated as *Jod* (link) *Rasta* (Road) in Marathi. *Tod* means 'break' in Marathi and Hindi. The title observes that a linking road also threatens to break existing links within the community. *Tod Rasta* can also be read as an exhortation to 'Break the Road'.

to profit illegally from demolition of homes[50]. Though he was unhappy about the demolitions, once they happened his protest sought to ensure that the state did not allow for unfair exploitation of the empty space before the service road was built (and which till late 2015 had not been built)[51].

At the same time, this fragmentation was sought to be overcome by key activists (at least in the landscape east of Western Express Highway) in response to the scale of the project and the scale of mobilization it demanded for effectiveness of protest. This integrated some of the fragmented resistances, including that by SB mentioned above. Already by 2004 certainly, networks were being forged across the informal landscape which culminated in a series of meetings of more than thirty community based organisations and their three year correspondence campaign with MMRDA, the NGO assisting it in the project, other state agencies as well as the President of World Bank[52]. NK, a key figure in the toilet protests was also one of the key coordinators of this initiative[53]. The correspondence reveals the protesting organisations attempting to maintain a position of reasonableness, and insistence on the following of rules and procedures, and promise of peace in protest, and even appreciation for

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[50] 'What effects can there be after betrayal?' SB responded thus to my first question to him about the effect the erasure of part of his settlement in JVLR alignment had on the lived experience of place.

[51] After our interview in the evening, SB took me around to show the exact patch that he said, with evident satisfaction, remained free of unauthorized re-occupation because of his efforts.

[52] A complaint letter was delivered to him during an unannounced visit of his to Sukh Sagar, that activists had got wind of at the last minute.

[53] The umbrella committee formed in 2006 was called 'Prakalpagrasta Punarvasan aani Punarvikas Hakka Sangharsh Kruti Samiti' (PPPHSKS) roughly translating as 'action committee for the rights of the project affected, resettled and rehabiliated'. The CBOs whose names are in the correspondence as signatories or members are: Jai Bhawani Co-operative Housing Society Ltd., Anand Nagar, JVLR, Jogeshwari (E); Anantkrupa Shikshan Sanstha, 11, Vijay Mahipal Chawl, Pratap Nagar, Jog E; Shri Sainath Pooja Committee, Pratap Nagar, Gumpha Road, Jogeshwari E); Siddharth Vikas Mandal, Bhimsmruti Buddha Vihar, Pratap Nagar, JVLR; Omkar Sai Mitra Mandal, Pratap Nagar; Majasgaon Tekdi Rahivashi Seva Mandal, Majastekdi, Jogeshwari (E); Bal Vikas Mitra Mandal, Kamala Kutir Coop Society, Nirmalatai Raginagar Road, Majasgaon Tekdi, Jog E; Mangal Deep Mitra Mandal, Mehta Chawl, Sai Chowk, Gumpha Road, Pratap Nagar, Jogeshwari; Triveni Sangam Sport Club, 5/3, Kuntidevi Chawl, Agrawal Nagar, Gumpha Road, Gumpha Tekdi, Jog; Navtarun Mitra Mandal, Pratap Nagar; Smarangan Traimasik [3 monthly magazine], 11, Suyog Society, Vijay Mahipal, Pratap Nagar; Swarajya Mitra Mandal, Ram Wadi, Ambedkar Chowk, Link Road; Republican party of India, Pratap Nagar; Rashtravadi Yuvak Congress Party (North Mumbai Dist), 11, Suyog Coop Hsg Soc, Pratap Nagar; Shivchetana Mitra Mandal, Ramabai Thakare Vachanalaya, Pratap Nagar, JVLR; Nishikant Kala Mandal, Majaswadi, Samarth Nagar, Majas Road, Jog (e); Maithil Mitra Mandal, Thakur Bansraj Singh Estate, Bldg No. F, Room No. 6, Pratap Nagar, Caves road, Jog (E).

the MMRDA's Metropolitan Commissioner. The common complaint, however, is that neither have the most affected been consulted in advance nor have complaints and requests for improvement of conditions met with a real response, by and large.

The specific complaints are also frequently encountered in interviews in the field with people who were not directly involved in the protests. In particular, during the MUTP phase of JVLR, there were protests around the compensatory housing provisions , overall project conception and management, specific events (like the toilet demolitions at Pratap Nagar), the pressure on Project Affected Households to move into what they believed was an incomplete R & R colony (later called Sukh Sagar), as well as certain illegal processes accompanying project execution[54]. There were also agitations after the construction of JVLR to demand the installation of traffic signals at different places by residents of informal settlements as well as of the RR colony. Protests usually involved group mobilisations, or even individual activism usually with some support of the local community involved. Both incorporated several modes: correspondence with authorities, meetings, media engagement and public space protests.

Protests involved a combination of methods including correspondence, lobbying, and public agitation. They could be spontaneous in response to an unexpected event (as with the toilet protests), or build up over time after correspondence yielded no fruit. What is most interesting is the consistent desire of many leaders of protest before JVLR and now in Sukh Sagar, to keep political parties out of the picture, because of their perceived cynicism and instrumental use of communities[55]. This could be viewed as an implicit argument for the political primacy of a group interest derived from dwelling together and co-constituting a contingent place rather than from being part of a political formation controlled from outside the place for the benefit of a larger agenda. In other words, this aspect revealed the slum as being desirous of attaining civil society status (Chatterjee, 2004).

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[54] FGD at Sukh Sagar 21 August 2014
[55] Many discussions with NK; Interview with SB on 5 October 2014; Interview with KS among others in different settings reported this belief for their initiatives

The protests also appeared to have catalysed an elementary and ephemeral collective consciousness across the entire informal landscape, in relation to the project. In one sense, thus they could be considered part of an attempt at self-repair or the reinforcement of place. They reveal the emergence of a (perhaps ephemeral) sense of collective subjectivity in response to the threat of the project. In different research situations involving different respondents, a tone of 'we are no pushovers' accompanied accounts of various protests or agitations. Satisfaction was expressed in different interviews in Pratap Nagar, Sukh Sagar at the achievements of some protests, especially the toilet protest[56]. This sense of righteousness (and even mild triumph) complemented the sense of being wronged and betrayed multiply by different project agencies, by specific personalities, or by the project as a whole, that emerges in accounts across every location at some point. Particular individuals from agencies involved in implementing the project come up repeatedly as the focus of bitterness for their perceived role in terms of carelessness or alleged wrongdoing. At the same time, interestingly, a very small number of senior managerial personnel from MCGM and MMRDA, and once even from the NGO involved, were recalled for their support and professionalism. Overall, accounts of the various protests indicate a clear sense on the part of residents of settlements of being ignored in taking decisions that affect them the most.

The protest history highlights three aspects of relevance to this study, which are inextricably bound up with the sense of place, and I would argue, emerge from the process of making informal place:

a) a sense of possession and belonging associated with place (including with location, home, broader built environment and community) at different scales;

b) a sense of citizenship and a right to place springing from dwelling (even if unauthorized initially) as a human right, and leading to an imagined right to a socio-

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[56] FGD with Mahila Mandal at Sukh Sagar on 21 August 2014; Group interview about toilet protests in Pratap Nagar on 20 July 2014; Interview with KS, 30 November 2014.

economically meaningful presence in the city (in terms of individual biographies as well as social reproduction).

c) A commitment to due process and rule of law, but also to natural justice, as well as a spirit of democratic, peaceful methods in protest- the basis of the civil society mode of social life.

One instance of protest is discussed in more detail below. It concerns the apparently unannounced demolition of three community toilets in Pratap Nagar in March 2006. This protest can be interpreted as a demand for acknowledgement of one's existence in place and therefore of a right to consultation and adequate notice, as well as to basic infrastructure necessary for dignified survival. It thus partly opposed the state's logic of a macro scaled transport infrastructure project that demanded the destruction of basic and micro infrastructure of community and place. In this case, the empirical place process (the protest and its aftermath) are as important as its implications for biography and lived experience of individuals involved and therefore to their and others' sense of the becoming of place. This dynamic can be read back fruitfully into other protest instances, including that of SB (against illegal re-occupation of demolished houses) mentioned earlier.

3.5.1 Toilet protest

'Woman 1 (in her 60s): What was the agitation for? Men, they can go anywhere to relieve themselves but girls, women where will they go?

Woman 2 (in her 50s): There were 14 toilets, seven for men and seven for women. In the road plan, these toilets were barriers. One day before demolition they came and said that they will first build new toilet then they will demolish old ones. Next day they came with vehicles. They had told us that they will not demolish till the build the previous ones.

Woman 1: That day I was going to the toilet and I saw the bulldozer from a distance and came running towards my house. My son, who was in class eleven was standing there. In front of our eyes they razed the toilet to the ground.

Woman 2: They had told us that they will not break it but when the bulldozer came they took it in reverse gear and smashed right into the toilet. All of us were shouting asking them to stop it but they did not.

Woman 1: They had told us that they will build alternative toilets but they did not. Even after the demolition people gathered around them. Even at that time they said that they will get mobile toilets. Nothing like that happened for the next two days. In such a situation tell us what other option do we have but to protest?'

- Group interview in Pratap Nagar's Buddha Vihar[57]

On 24th March 2006 a block of community toilets in Pratap Nagar was demolished by MCGM since they hand been built within the proposed alignment of the JVLR[58]. Like with other such toilet blocks, by common understanding, the use of this one was restricted to a specific group of families that paid for its maintenance. The twenty year old block had 14 W.C.s serving residents of 3 chawls nearby. A few days before the demolition, various officials had reportedly assured residents that the toilet block would not be demolished till an alternative one was built. But it was demolished without the promised alternative, and with no notice, according to respondents. One respondent recalled that a child had to be pulled out of one toilet as the bulldozer made its way to it.

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[57] 20 July 2014

[58] In assessing the impact of the construction of JVLR on the communities left behind (Bhide & Dabir, 2010, p. 123) report this for Pratap Nagar: 'The impact on communities left behind is both direct and indirect. Direct impact on the communities left behind can be seen in forms of destroyed amenities like severed water pipelines, disconnected gutter lines, destroyed electricity boxes, destroyed toilets and loss of open spaces. The communities are not only inconvenienced but are burdened with the responsibilities of restoring these amenities. This phenomenon was very evident during our walk of Jogeshwari Vikhroli Link Road. One of the communities impacted is Pratap Nagar were toilets were demolished as they were in the 45 meters alignment. The toilets were demolished without notification causing inconvenience to the residents left behind. Struggles by JVLR Sangarsh Samiti and Janta Jagran Manch led to restoration of the toilets after a few months but the new toilets were located on the opposite side of the road, limiting access to the toilet facility. It further created conflicts with the adjoining community when people from Pratap Nagar started using other toilets. Water pipelines that were destroyed were not restored creating scarcity of water for people left behind. The gutter lines were severed and broken down at various places which led to dirty water entering into the nearby tenements. Common community spaces like the community library was seen destroyed'.

Not surprisingly, the demolition of the toilet caused much consternation. Given the acute shortage of toilets in informal settlements, each group tended to deny access to the toilets it had managed to get built through various means, to others. The group of families who had lost their toilets could bank on other groups allowing use of their toilets for a couple of days or so on humanitarian grounds. But not beyond that. The only alternative would be open defecation, an indignity that had been left behind two decades ago, and would hurt the women most. For the others in the community, the predicament of a small group represented an uncertain threat.

The lack of any action for building new toilets on the next day led the community to a sense of crisis. Empirically, it involved high infrastructural stress for a few families, but more broadly in its potential implications for the undermining of an already precarious sense of lived citizenship for the community. The state (represented by its agents) appeared to have gone back on its promise of providing minimal replacement for a key infrastructure of everyday survival for the already vulnerable community. An agitation coalesced around this trajectory of shared feeling and reasoning. NK, then a 30 year old bachelor from Pratap Nagar, who did odd jobs and had also volunteered for many years with Prerna, a community based organization that ran a library and engaged with issues related to community welfare, found himself at its head. Too young to register what was happening when the road was first built in the 1990s, he had slowly got drawn into the various mobilisations and protests around displacement and resettlement threatened by JVLR's proposed widening in the early 2000s, that were being steered by another slightly older resident of Pratap Nagar, SP. NK's family lived across the proposed alignment of JVLR in relation to the chawls affected by the toilet demolition, and was not itself affected.

No collective action had been planned, but so no permissions sought from the police for protest. On March 25th after NK returned from his dawn-early morning job of cleaning up a gymnasium nearby, a crowd of affected residents and others from the settlement was building up on the site of the demolition. After quickly freshening up NK went out to join those assembled. The animated but peaceful crowd spontaneously decided to stop the traffic on the

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key linking road in protest against the previous day's toilet demolition and the lack of an alternative arrangement. Police were already present in what the community thought was surprisingly strong numbers. As the crowd massed onto the existing 2 lane JVLR, the police started trying to disperse people. The men resisted and the police resorted to a *lathi* charge in which NK too got hurt. Soon the police started pushing the men, including NK, into police vans to take them away. On the side-lines a possibly sympathetic constable quietly told the watching women to go with the vans to the police station, to prevent the men from being beaten up. K was among the women who rushed into the vans in solidarity with 'our boys, who were fighting for us'. The van took them to the police station and detained everybody in it for the whole day. Everybody survived the day on a single *vada pav*. A criminal case was lodged against all of them. All of those detained had to pay a 'deposit' before leaving. Nobody remembers whether it was returned. Nine years have passed, JVLR has been built and is operational, but the case continues against 19 detained people including K who is arthritic. Every six months or so, all of them have to go through a harrowing (and humiliating) ritual of attending court for the case, only to end up with an adjournment to a later date. In the context of a traditionally patriarchal society, even in a more 'modern' city like Mumbai it is no simple thing socially for a woman to have an ongoing police case. Another woman, a Gujarati housewife in her 50s, tells us about the subtle and not so subtle criticism she has faced from relatives over this case. As she speaks, with her supportive husband listening, she passes a smile around the group conveying the irony of the situation:

> Did we do anything illegal? They came and demolished our homes and our toilet. Women were really suffering. We protested for this reason. Were we doing Dadagiri or was it their fault? They questioned us, why did you come to the streets? Why did you protest? *Arre*! Won't we protest for our lives?

The protest did achieve something on the ground. Two mobile toilets were hurriedly installed by MMRDA. Permanent toilets were difficult to build since there was no land available, in the densely residential settlement. Later, a responsive RR official from MMRDA pushed the envelope of the rule book and one family agreed to give up their existing house in exchange for an RR apartment, and a permanent toilet was built. NK and others who continue to pay for

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protesting against place maiming through destruction of critical infrastructure especially for a vulnerable group like women, are convinced that place repair could be enforced to some extent only because of their protest.

The protest also changed participants' future lives, especially those dealing with the ongoing police case as mentioned before. But for NK it also seems to have changed the course of his life. From doing odd jobs that left him enough time for his social activism, he moved on to a nearly decade long career in an NGO that had been active at the city level. It has led him to acquire a greater familiarity with state procedures, and improved his mobilisational and organizational capabilities. He has learnt to engage the state in advocacy or confrontation (public protest), work with academia, do relevant research, file RTI applications, analysing technical drawings and court judgements, among other things. While his work in the intervening decade has expanded his 'site' to the entire metropolitan region, the trajectory of his work returned to his formative landscape. In 2014 he began mobilizing tribals just a little in Aarey Colony threatened by the proposal to build a car shed for the Metro III project, actively drawing on his knowledge of the appeal procedures of the World Bank, and aspects of state R&R policies, acquired during the protests around JVLR.

3.6   Making and maiming: an overview

Pratap Nagar, and the larger informal expanse was *made* as a viable place out of inhospitable socio-spatial terrain through the force of dwelling by urban poor households from the mid to late 1950s after the inauguration of Jogeshwari railway station. The residents were not squatters, from their perspective. They had bought homes from informal real estate developers and speculators (associated with the dairy business in the landscape) who reportedly had the informal backing of employees of the landowners[59]. These residents were part of the lower level labour force in the industrial and trading activities in the city, and found Jogeshwari attractive because of the station on the suburban train line, as well as the real affordability of

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[59] The dairy activity was authorized and the Parsi land 'owners' accepted rent from these entrepreneurs. There are reports that the owners' agents supported the business of chawl building and sale.

shelter there doubtless traceable to its illegality/informality and the peripherality of the location. The becoming of the informal expanse of Jogeshwari can thus be seen clearly explained as a complex dialectic involving the time-space allocation activities of the dominant structure, the entrepreneurship of those exploiting its gaps, and the life projects of urban poor households.

What is today (and was before JVLR) a *stable* and vibrant, *upwardly mobile* neighbourhood with two storeyed homes started as a scatter of unserviced chawls on levelled but unpaved land often without basic services like water supply and sanitation, and little guarantee of law and order being for long beyond the practical reach of the police establishment. Significant individual leadership, including by women, and physical, economic and psychological cost for already vulnerable households, and particularly women, was involved in producing a place out of such challenging starting conditions. The making of a viable, stable and supportive place was thus a 'project', in Pred's terms, of individuals and the collective. In turn, the trajectory of the production of a viable place (or its 'becoming') is connected to the dramatic trajectory of highly marginalised households away from high initial vulnerability and towards socio-economic consolidation over the course of one generation. Many families stabilized the base for their next generation, something visible in the upper floor extensions and overall physical upgradation of the homes and the infrastructure (like community toilets) undertaken rapidly after 2006. Place, thus, can be seen as a community produced infrastructure of subsistence and socio-economic consolidation. As such an infrastructure of meaningful, hope sustaining subsistence, its making must be considered a production of value.

This place is experienced and remembered as integral, with its own conceived and lived neighbourhood culture and identity, as well as tacitly known geographical boundaries within a large informal expanse. Its integrity involved a range of produced (created, protected, maintained with money, effort and rhythmic use) 'good enough' amenities like open spaces and religious buildings, that in turn strengthened collective feeling. The state and political

structure as well as their actors, have always been closely involved in the maintenance and upgradation (however minimal) of the place over the decades.

The integrity extends to the strong sense of place identity and attachment that continues to bind past and present residents to the place, including some in the alignment of the service road who hope (in spite of the well-known experience of SS) for a better shelter through R&R. That strong attachment to the practical value that place embodies, as well as the power that accrues from the relationality (social networks etc.) built up over decades of residence, can be seen to be the fuel for the active mobilization and protests and negotiations with the state on the JVLR project. It is also clearly the motivation that has driven initiatives of self-repair of place that followed the inability to stop the maiming of place. Place was defended and repaired within the narrow space for protest and even narrower for repair and recovery. Some aspects, like the loss of playgrounds for the youth, are beyond repair. The process of protesting itself may be considered part of self-repair, and in fact prepared many activists in the landscape for larger scale mobilization as well as engaging the technocracy of the state.

The protests (and negotiation) could not protect place from being maimed in different ways, through the erasure of the informal built environment in the alignment of JVLR. The unauthorized nature of the settlements ensured that. JVLR has affected both the being and becoming dimensions of informal place. Made place has been maimed, while a trajectory of social and household consolidation and has been disrupted for at least a thousand displaced households. For many others, the effects of the disruption of laboriously built up supportive infra of place (toilets, *maidans* etc) is difficulty to gauge clearly. However, the population of the informal settlements has experienced deterritorialisation through the loss of sacred and recreational (picnic landscape, also *maidans*) geography[60].

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[60] The physical remodelling by the road has snipped many pathway networks and traffic obstructs the old pattern of pedestrian movement across the landscape. The capture of large *maidans* on behalf of the elite residents of the new real estate developments by local politicians through 'landscaping' has meanwhile deprived informal settlements' youth of play space.

In fact, JVLR has produced a new geography, or a new practiced social space with its new connectivities. In practice its benefits are spread across the city or region while increasing the vulnerability of local informal place. Older residents' experience of the benefits for them is fainter (and more generic) than of the increased danger, uncertainty, and loss.

With the real estate boom that was reinforced by JVLR's construction, a condition of uncertainty has also been unleashed over the landscape with extreme and opposite promises for every household – being dishoused or hitting the jackpot in terms of a redevelopment or R&R apartment. Stabilisations in social relationships and informal codes of conduct in community activities (like Ganpati *mandal* events) founded on a spirit of voluntarism have been replaced by new traditions of private profit seeking under the patronage of local politicians who have amassed wealth and power through alliances with the real estate developers. This could be understood as one undoing of place as a process of consolidation.

The undoing of place as process and as achievement has also been accompanied by self-repair of place, as well as an experience of better connection to a wider geography for some[61]. Self-repair has included the maintenance of certain spatial practices by displaced sponsors (like the entirely displaced Dalit community and its Buddha Vihar), or the migration of *dandiya* from the lost *maidan* to an inner lane. Individual life trajectories have been buffeted by the shocks to that of place, especially of the nearly thousand displaced households, whose placemaking challenges in one RR colony are outlined in the next chapter. Those from the landscape who were displaced but ineligible for RR have been shifted to a transit camp in faraway Kokari Agar which is a hotbed of uncertainty and violence. The life trajectories of the protesters in Pratap Nagar have been weighed down by a criminal case that is yet to be settled a decade later. But even here, NK, the young man who led the protests has simultaneously moved to a

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[61] I have not been able to get more data about this, beyond mentions in a few interviews, but it would be a study worth undertaking for better evaluating the impact of a network upgrading link like JVLR for those living along it.

higher scale of city based activism, in a professional capacity. Place endures, lives repair themselves and communities regroup, as place does not cease becoming in new sites or old reconfigured ones. What is clear however, is that JVLR has been an important factor (though not the only one) in deflecting the trajectory of relatively even consolidation that marked places and lives in the informal expanse of Jogeshwari, towards a more uncertain future. That uncertainty is epitomized by the predicament of a state created framework of future place, the R&R colony of Sukh Sagar, whose formality came with the promise of dignity and security. That is the subject of the next chapter.

4 Making place against formality

The previous chapters described how a viable place was made informally in Pratap Nagar, and later maimed in the process of realizing the formal development plan. As mentioned, displacement was accompanied by the production of an R&R colony, today called Sukh Sagar. This chapter examines residents' experiences of trying to produce a viable place out of this formal spatial setting.

4.1 Introduction to Sukh Sagar

Formal housing is usually assumed to be a firm foundation for rehabilitating the precarious existence of slum dwellers. It is the legality of tenure, and of the built environment, as well as the putative safety and healthfulness of the latter's material qualities (presumed to derive from the same formality), that underpins this assumption. The higher economic value of the apartment as a commodity in the formal real estate market is also a consideration in this assumption.

Sukh Sagar reveals how the picture is much more complicated. There are important benefits, but the difficulties and complications that R&R colonies present to the PAHs can sometimes worsen their socio-economic status as well as the life trajectories. Moreover, for the entire range of households, it presents a new set of challenges that involve significant costs of various kinds. These are very clearly challenges that are intrinsic to the formality of housing for the poor, as it is conceived and practiced by the state. At one level, these costs may be traced to the lack of fit between the lifestyles, habitus, and capacities dwellers bring and the system of affordances hard wired into the spatial product of R&R housing. At another level, they are also related to the unpredictable new social dynamics and implications set off by the sudden occupation of households individuated by the resettlement process.

The experience of Sukh Sagar is significant for a variety of reasons. MUTP's R&R policy was the first urban policy of its kind in India, and is widely accepted as being a relatively progressive set of provisions and practices. It contrasts favourably, for instance, with the

experience of displacement followed in R&R for the 1990s construction of by the PWD. People resettled in the PMGP colony at that scheme were allotted 180 square foot apartments with such poor quality that more than one person recalled it as nothing more than a *gotha* (stable)[62]. By contrast, the criteria and process for establishing eligibility under MUTP was much smoother and also less likely to exclude households because of its operational logic alone. Eligibility was established on the basis of the Baseline Socio Economic Survey (BSES) conducted by the NGO associated with the implementing agency. Every household found to be residing in a separately identifiable home in the informal settlement was to be deemed eligible for a dwelling unit. Finally, eligibility was decided in the case of JVLR by the implementing authority, in this case MMRDA, and not by the remotely located District Collector's office (as was the previous norm, which was also adopted for a later road project Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project or MUIP also executed by MMRDA). Finally, in practice, MMRDA's personnel also tried to ensure that self-chosen groups were allocated units together in the new R&R buildings and were not arbitrarily broken up and scattered across the colony[63]. Sukh Sagar is thus an example of what the best efforts in R&R can be expected to achieve. It helped that the funder, the World Bank, was committed to the relatively progressive aspects of its policy (with all its limitations granted).

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[62] Interviews with PJ and PD on 12 October 2014 at Pratap Nagar.
[63] Interview, with a senior MMRDA R&R official on 5 November 14.

Figure 4.1: Sukh Sagar's main street leading to JVLR in the distance

(Left to right)

Figure 4.2: Shop line on ground floor of Sukh Sagar buildings

Shops are provided on the ground floor of every building, though many resettled shopkeepers displaced from locations on the main road, find little business inside the colony**.**

Figure 4.3: Informally built temple in Sukh Sagar

Though against the rules is the only meeting place for women in the colony, who are otherwise isolated because of the multi-storey architecture.

Covered Space outside restaurant

Rehabilitated Shops

Entrance Gate 1

Vegetable cutting Space

Jogeshwari-Vikhroli Link Road

3 M.wide Pathway

3 M.wide Pathway

Community Hall G + 2 Storeys

Parking Area

Proposed Entrance

Stage

Open S.T.P

Sub Station

Line of Rehabilitated Shops Gr. storeyed structures

Reading Stand

Connection from outside

9 M.wide Road

3 M.wide Pathway

Entrance Gate 2

U.G. Tank 1

Sub Station

10.5 M.wide Road

Line of Reha- bilitated Shops

U.G. Tank 2

Temple

3.05 M.wide Pathway

3 M.wide Pathway

N

LEGEND

Rehab buildings
Other Structures
Water Tanks
Informal Additions

U.G. Tank 3 for Shops(under construction)

Source: Author/NDK (interpreted from MMRDA's drawing received from NK)

Figure 4.4: Site layout of Sukh Sagar

Sukh Sagar stands on a plot measuring 9400 sq.m. abutting JVLR, and reasonably close (approximately 1 km) to the settlements from which its residents were displaced. It was part of a larger plot of 20,414 sq.m owned by Madhu Fantasy Land (also owners of the land on which the elite residential complex called Oberoi Splendor stands), that had reserved for a Recreation Ground (R.G.) in the DP 91 (Econ Pollution Control Consultants, 2002, pp. 23-26)[64]. The owner agreed to part with the plot in return for Transferable Development Rights (TDR) (Econ Pollution Control Consultants, 2002, p. 24). MMRDA's Community Environmental Management Plan reports that a total of 1068 PAHs were to be resettled for JVLR (Econ Pollution Control Consultants, 2002, p. 8)[65].

The colony has had multiple identities since its inception, the last of which is slowly and finally taking root, which is relevant to understand the trajectory of place. In the MMRDA project records it is referred to as 'Majas colony' (or just 'Majas') after the revenue village in which it is located. Locals have long called it Durga Nagar, by association with an older informal settlement of the same name across the road, and in the last couple of years it has been formally renamed Sukh Sagar through the registration of a federation of cooperative housing societies representing each building in the colony. The changes in the colony's name indicate steps in its journey towards securing its independence as a governance entity, as well as place identity. 'Majas colony' and 'Durga Nagar', as geographical identifiers attached from outside the place say nothing about its own incipient reality, promise or identity, 'Sukh Sagar' (which means 'ocean of happiness' in Marathi and Hindi) clearly articulates the aspirational agenda for the place developed from inside. This qualitative shift also reflects the slow shift of ownership of the place. 'Majas Colony' was in the control of MMRDA, a state agency tasked with developing and populating a socio-spatial product. 'Sukh Sagar' speaks of a desire of the people and place to make their own fates.

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[64] This plot of land (Land Bearing Cts No. 190 (Pt.) Of Village Majas) was reserved for a playground in the Development Plan. The reservation was deleted by the MCGM for the project. It is common knowledge in the informal expanse of Jogeshwari East that the owner of Madhu Fantasy Land is the son-in-law of the original Parsi owner of the entire Majas village, who still has many land parcels including the Pratap Nagar site in their control.

[65] The total of 1068 resettlement units included 858 residential units with the rest being Residential+Commercial (51) and Commercial (159)

The desire for peace (as a pre-condition of happiness) coded into the colony's self-chosen name is understandable. The process of shifting into the colony began with a mix of hope, uncertainty, distrust, conflict, protest and resistance. In spite of the trauma of facing demolition, many households welcomed the opportunity to move into a 'flat' and dreamt of a firmer and more legitimate foundation in city life through this asset[66]. However, the process of resettlement did not begin well. Residents report being asked to move into the colony even when the water supply was not commissioned[67]. This was confirmed by respondents whose houses were not under threat and who continue in Pratap Nagar. One resident of the colony CS, a real estate broker, also said that they only came to know of the ten year moratorium on selling the houses only after their houses were demolished. If they had known it before, they would not have agreed to move, he said. His argument was simple: this was no free gift of a house, just compensation for what they already had[68]. Conflict between the PAHs on the one hand and the project implementation agencies (including the NGO assisting and MMRDA) escalated to a situation where an effigy of the NGO head was burnt by protestors.

The following account of the resettlement colony at Majas focuses on the struggles of its residents to shape a viable place out of the template they were given (the built environment as well as the assumptions about its governance and social life that it came coded with). The account focuses on the structural arrangements and processes as well as smaller, more routine details and problems that are often easily dismissed as 'teething troubles'. These include issues with the built environment and infrastructure, governance and management processes and with the relationality that has emerged (or not) at a social level. Each is believed to have shaped the other, and can even *become* the other in the totality of place that emerges.

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[66] In an informal telephonic conversation in March 2016, an ex MMRDA officer who was involved in the project reported being rendered speechless by an old woman who gave him a big tearful hug after moving in. A Sukh Sagar resident also remembered the head of the NGO with great warmth, in the middle of complaints about the entire resettlement process.
[67] FGD with women of a colony Mahila Mandal, 21 August 2014
[68] Interview 8 December 2014

4.2 Built environment

The built environment of Sukh Sagar is determinedly formal, in every sense of the term. It is the contingent realization of the conceived space of the project leaders, planners, architects, engineers and other technocrats executing the infrastructure project. In the deepest sense of the term, it is a spatial product that is shaped by abstract quantitative logic constrained by project economics and the legal and policy frame governing the project.

4.2.1 Layout

Sukh Sagar abuts JVLR to the north and a playground along the Poonam Nagar road to the West. The old settlement of Durga Nagar sits on the other side of JVLR. Fifteen buildings (instead of the planned sixteen, most with seven storeys, only one with four), together house 1072 apartments of 20.91 square metre each[69]. Five buildings have three staircase cores with four flats on each floor, while the rest have only two. A number of buildings inside the colony have shops on the ground floor for those who lost business establishments to the JVLR project. In addition, there are two flats on the ground floor in each building reserved for the society office and a *balwadi* (children's care centre). Each building has two toilets on the ground floor, accessed from outside, for use by shop staff. Two key changes in the original plan have been made. One low building along the western edge has been built as a community hall with a MCGM run health post on the first floor, in place of one originally planned residential building. And, an additional line of shops was built along JVLR after an agitation by displaced shop owners who refused to accept shops inside the colony on the reasonable grounds that their business depended on exposure to JVLR and would collapse inside the colony.

A typical building module (with two staircase cores each serving four apartments on each floor), is deployed across the trapezoidal plot to create a layout with uneven spatial quality across different locations. There are two entrances to the colony from JVLR. The eastern gate is on one of the two 12 meter wide roads that meet almost at right angles halfway into the colony. The other 12 metre road, running roughly East-West, ends at the western compound

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[69] One building was replaced in the plan with a community centre that is built but was not yet inaugurated as of 8 December 2014, when I was led on a guided walk in the complex by VS, the ex-Chief of the federation.

wall, where a gate was originally planned, according to a senior resident active in internal governance issues. Such a gate (opening to the playground) is now perhaps unlikely to be built. Late in 2014, a large masonry open-air stage was built across this road at its end, reportedly as a project of the local corporator and MLA.

The corner where the two main roads meet acts like the social centre of the colony. A shrine has been built nearby through the initiative of one of the residents (more about that later), and a shop selling south Indian snacks is just beside in one of the buildings in the eastern line. One of the seven brokers also has his shop near this corner.

The buildings are built entirely (including the walls) in reinforced cement concrete (RCC) and are arranged to form two major 'enclosures'. One of them (north of centre) is almost rectangular and was a garden in the original plan (but has since been turned into an open Sewage Treatment Plant, or STP). The other one, towards the south, is triangular and has the lone four-storeyed building placed in it, breaking up the integrity of its shape and making it less easy to use for social purposes. The buildings cast almost the entire awkward shape of land in shade by day, discouraging social use except as parking space.

The main underground tank of the colony is in the abutting playground drawing on the existing supply line to Poonam Nagar to the West. Water is pumped into 3 underground tanks inside the colony from this external Underground (UG) tank, and from there upto the overhead water tanks in each building. MCGM is currently in the process of installing a new water main under JVLR to cater to the new demand following the real estate boom the road has triggered. There is pressure on Sukh Sagar to delink from the old water tank and draw water from this new line. A new underground water tank was being built in the south-eastern corner of the colony late in 2014 to enable this transition, though there is opposition to this switch within the colony.

4.3   Governance

The R&R policy for JVLR stipulated that Majas colony (Sukh Sagar) would be in the possession of MMRDA for ten years, and then handed over to a federation of building specific

housing societies that were expected to be formed and in working order by then. The societies and the federation would be responsible for the management and maintenance of the entire complex. A separate cell for 'post R&R' within MMRDA's Social Development Cell (which handles R&R), was responsible for catalyzing the formation of cooperative housing societies in each building as well as the federation, along with the NGO. In reality, the process of forming societies in each building and running them as per the rules has proved to be difficult. The federation has been even more difficult to build and has only been registered last year.

The challenge of governance in the new built and social environment of formality has been formidable for the colony. It is also a key dimension of making and sustaining a viable place, since the informal contract of the slums is not adequate here. A broker living and working in the colony argued that the difficulty is caused by the expense and complexity of the formal model of cooperative governance and maintenance of the built environment[70]. As seen in the earlier chapter, in the slum there would only be lane committees with only a few people that would look after Solid Waste Management (SWM) and cleaning of drains in the lane. They would have no difficulty in collecting an affordable Rs. 10-15 every month from every household. Now, the monthly expense here easily crosses Rs. 1000. In addition, there is a lot of paper work for individual societies, correspondence and much time has to be spent in following up with state agencies and utilities for every small thing. A large number of residents neither have the capacity, education nor time for this. One outcome that seems likely therefore is that control of the societies and the federation would be concentrated in the hands of those already more materially and socially empowered. The federation ex-president, VS, for instance, is a businessman and as reported by another respondent, was a chawl owner in his original settlement. He got three flats as compensation for the rooms he lost. He still owns a chawl there that was spared demolition. In general, different people report that only those who could afford the more expensive life in the R&R colony have stayed back and a majority have returned to other locations or slums[71]. This suggests that the pre-existing structural hierarchies are likely to find their way into colony governance.

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[70] Interviewed on 8 December 2014.
[71] The broker mentioned earlier and a number of women in the FGD reported this.

Neither the societies nor the federation appear to have any control over the big decisions and initiatives related to infrastructural and maintenance challenges, since MMRDA has possession. MMRDA, on its side, finds itself overstretched financially. It has already spent much more money than initially planned in a number of rounds of infrastructure replacement, building maintenance as well as covering pending electricity bills for public lighting. Different officials in MMRDA have noted with satisfaction that top leadership has always had an attitude of stretching budgets to accommodate these unforeseen challenges. However, in the colony, among those involved in different ways with the formal governance system there is much disquiet about the issue of control.

Colony infrastructure offers a good example of the way the issue of control has played out. On the one hand, the entire built environment and infrastructure is built without consulting them on the basis of assumptions about lifestyle, economic and management capacity of dwellers for maintenance, replacement options after expiry etc. On the other, as problems have surfaced on various infrastructural fronts after occupation, solutions and modifications too have been implemented without significant participation from residents. MMRDA officials, meanwhile, confirm that the local political leaders have been very active in lobbying for these problems to be solved, and it is safe to imagine that they have been consulted more closely, as others in the colony also claim.

'We had a good garden here' says VS, as he shows me around the large, fenced off central open space[72]. 'D sahib [from MMRDA] had even taken a lot of photographs of the garden' he says to emphasise how good it was, 'but now it is a sewage treatment plant'. He adds for good measure, 'it is a centre of dengue'. The decision to install a new sewage treatment plant (STP) was taken after the previous system of pipes leading into a battery of septic tanks choked and sewage flowed back onto the ground all around. According to an MMRDA engineer working on this site, the blockage was caused by residents throwing all manner of inappropriate things into the toilet, from broken spoons to sanitary pads. VS and RK alleged that the decision to shift to build the new STP was taken against the wishes of the residents because of the

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[72] Interview during guided walk on 8 December 2014.

pressure of the local political representative[73]. Whatever its logic and provenance, as it stands the open to sky STP has taken up all the open space there was for a garden. It also reportedly sends up dirty foam from its churning that rises up into the homes in the adjoining buildings. As we turned around, the ex-chief asked me rhetorically: BMC[74] [MCGM] sends a notice to everybody for a little water accumulation to guard against dengue. Why don't they send MMRDA a notice for the open sewage plant (since it attracts so many mosquitoes)?

The water supply system has its own complications for governance, and equally daunting future challenges in a quickly changing external context. The retired government employee, who has worked closely but informally with the federation chief on a lot of paperwork and negotiations with various authorities, said that each house today gets 15 minutes of running water. Initially, when they moved in, there was also a bore-well that had been sunk by MMRDA for construction related use. That ran out in two years. The complication in the MCGM connection is that there is a single water meter for the entire colony of more than a thousand flats. This makes it very difficult to tide over defaults in payment by individual apartment owners to the federation. The federation has been asking for individual water meters for each building, but that request has not yet been accepted. As if this was not enough, the electricity bill for pumping water clubs together three buildings. The cost of electricity and of labour to operate the pump every day approximates Rs. 25000/- per building annually, to recover which the federation charges each building society a monthly fee of Rs. 50 per flat. If one building does not pay, however, all three buildings are likely to go without water[75].

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[73] RK, interview, 12 April 2014

[74] BMC used to stand for Bombay Municipal Corporation before the city's name change. Since the abbreviation persists in the popular mind it has also been continued occasionally by the body as Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation.

[75] Interview 8 December 2014

Source: Author

Figure 4.5: Garden turned STP in Sukh Sagar

The former garden space (with a drawing of its visualisation) has been turned into a Sewage Treatment Plant

The shops are perhaps the worst off: they have not had any water connection all these years. The ex-chief says that the new tank under construction in one corner will be dedicated to the shops on his suggestion. But then, he adds, things are not settled. The current water supply main enters the colony from the west, from a sump tank in the adjoining open playground, from where it is distributed to a number of underground tanks. Following the rapid real estate development of the area triggered by JVLR, MCGM has commenced work on laying a new water main along the road, and would like the colony to take its connection from this rather than from an older network from one of the local roads, as now. The proposal is being viewed through the lens of distrust and fear of uncertainty following a change of situation that colony residents have acquired. There is a concern that the real reason for the suggested change is that the local political representative wants to remove the underground tank from the playground to the west and beautify it like the others in the vicinity, to increase the value and appeal of elite real estate projects. On the other hand, MMRDA officers are convinced that the new main will provide better water pressure, a prospect much to be desired.

Uncertainty, distrust, and hope/fear of the future hurtling unpredictably at the present colour the mood across different places of the marginalized along JVLR. Naturally, the question of control dogs the smallest issues in Majas. For instance, in relation to the need to paint the buildings on the outside, a retired government employee resident who helps with a lot of the paperwork claimed that MMRDA got societies to sign a bond saying 'after this we will not do any more repairing. And they only did 'L-type' painting. You know what that means? They only painted the front and one other side of the building. When people asked they said no rain falls on the other sides! We saw this and refused to sign on the bond. The possession is yours, and we should repair?'[76]

'Possession' is a big issue. The same person explained why. 'If we don't get possession, they will say tomorrow, we want to build a 28 storey building here, so go away. Better we get possession. Then each building will maintain its premises properly'. The emphasis on possession, thus seems to speak to two realities of perception in the colony: distrust of the state agencies involved (who, on their part, argue they have already stretched themselves beyond policy limits to help the residents), and a belief that better internal governance hinges on more control over the property.

It is almost time for MMRDA to exit the colony now, so possession may actually be imminent. However, that in itself may offer new challenges, given the lack of a consistently functioning system of cooperation as well as of financial stability of the societies, and the pressures of 'outside' forces. An important objective (or hope) of the R&R programme has been inducting slum dwellers into the formal mainstream of civil society. Since a large proportion of the original allottees has exited very close to moving in, this objective may have already been undermined[77]. However, even with the community that exists, there seems

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[76] Interview 8 December 2014
[77] Though it is also shared by many who live here. Women told us during an FGD (conducted on 21 August, 2014) how they have become more *vyavasthit* (proper, formal, well-mannered) in their everyday behavior and lifestyle after moving into the flats. In the slum they would walk around in their informal home wear ('nighties') but now dress more formally when leaving their apartments. This could also be taken to mean that the territory of informal control has shrunk for women.

to have been inadequate recognition of the intricate involvement of political parties in the life of the slums the community members have come from. In terms of Partha Chatterjee's (2004) broad distinction between political and civil society, one could argue that official rehabilitation protocol has been designed without acknowledging how much the former is part of the desired-for latter form in the case of the Sukh Sagar community. This has already been seen in the case of the conflict related to the new stage on an internal road and reading stand outside the colony that have been Shiv Sena projects, and the politically motivated opposition to the shrine, and is fully acknowledged by non-partisan (in relation to specific political parties) leaders of the community. When MMRDA leaves the scene, it will inaugurate another momentous period of uncertainty, another round of power tussles around the control of the society as a political space.

4.3.1   Relationality

Quite simply, in the residents' narratives Sukh Sagar does not come across as a viable replacement for the place that was left behind even ten years after being occupied, in spite of specific compensations for private life and status. Sure, compensations are noted (personal freedom, privacy and its benefits) and appreciated, but they are not judged as adequate to advocate the same for all slum dwellers[78].

The process of making a viable place out of the built environment of Sukh Sagar has been characterized by wearying struggles of all kinds that continue to date by residents singly or in groups, with: other individuals or groups in the colony, MMRDA, social and political actors in the neighbourhood outside the colony and with the physical matrix of the built environment and the social one of rules and regulations that constrain or compel habitational activity. The drivers or causes of these different struggles have often been related to each other. The struggles included: adjusting family and individual life rhythms to the unfamiliar, materially inhospitable built environment of the colony; large increase in routine maintenance and other expenses including unexpected shocks like a huge unpaid electricity bill arrears; coping with and battling a tense atmosphere of violence and uncertainty especially after dark for the first

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[78] FGD conducted on 21 August 2014 in one of the ground floor apartments handed over to residents as an office space for the cooperative housing society formed in every 'wing' of a building.

few years; forging a stable peace; organising formal building and colony governance systems in place; coping with and remedying incompleteness, deficiencies, obstructions and breakdowns of the built environment and infrastructure inside and outside the colony; grappling with factional power tussles in the colony along personality, place of origin, city level party political lines among others.

4.3.1   Social relations and realities in the colony as context for governance

The various threads of interpersonal relations, everyday mechanisms of conflict resolution or de-escalation, the culture of mutual adjustment, and cooperative action, interact with formal mechanisms of the governance of the physical and social space of the colony, to produce the functioning built environment and infrastructure.

Who lives in the colony is important for the actual stability and effectiveness of the management and governance system. The broker estimates that only a third of the original allottees stay in the colony. That original allottee pool was drawn from multiple settlements, with a predominance of Pratap Nagar. This variety itself became a basis of conflict born of place 'origin'. Moreover a third of the flats have been rented out to a transient population of young middle class men with 'good' jobs, who room together (they form the main customer base for an entrepreneur selling South Indian snacks in a rented, partitioned shop space on the main street in the colony). With supposedly two thirds of the original allottees out of the picture, and one third of flats occupied by a transient population, the basis for developing a sense of a negotiated datum of common understanding, is weak. According to VS, this is an important cause of the lack of unity he has had to battle in the colony.

People rent or sell their flats illegally because they are forced to, says CS, the broker mentioned earlier. 'Otherwise why would anybody go back to the chawl to stand in line in the morning [for the common toilet]?' he asks. Monthly expenses can be around Rs. 2000 per flat (Rs 500 to 600 for maintenance charges, Rs. 800-900 for electricity and then additional expenses of contributions for building functions, Ganpati celebrations etc)[79]. Most such people

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[79] From interviews with CS, a real estate broker living and working in the colony, and VS.

who leave either find another place in a nearby slum or go farther away from the city to find rentable flats[80].

People also leave for other reasons. An elderly, ex-resident of Pratap Nagar told us of his late brother's family which moved into the colony after losing their home. Back in Pratap Nagar, the family would live opposite his house and he would keep a constant watch over his nephews, to make sure they did not stray into bad company. Once they moved into the colony (which is three quarters of a kilometre from Pratap Nagar), he could not visit daily as before, and in a few years the nephews started falling behind in studies and began getting into trouble of various kinds. Their mother would work the whole day and had nobody to keep an eye on them. Finally, she sold her apartment (against the rules) and went back to Pratap Nagar where family support has ensured that the young boys got back onto a reasonable life trajectory in spite of weak education. Families like these, as well as those who sold off their homes early on, thus become doubly displaced, and sometimes even face the prospect of being rendered homeless.

The predicament of the family above is related partly to the anonymity characterizing social relations that have emerged in the R&R colony from the start. Equally, the social sphere of the colony has also been divided along lines of the settlement of origin: that is, the particular informal place from which people have been sent to the colony. The MUTP R&R policy practice encouraged group resettlement by processing the eligibility of individuals in identified groups of choice, rather than individually at different times, to enable allotment together. In Sukh Sagar, PAHs from Pratap Nagar, Durga Nagar, Pameli Nagar and Sariput Nagar (all within a length of one kilometer along JVLR) have been resettled. The biggest contingent, 472 families, was from Pratap Nagar. Different respondents[81] believe that the atmosphere of conflict was a result of a power struggle for supremacy of various kinds in the social sphere of the colony between groups from different settlements. Caste prejudices, as well as differences in lifestyles and behavior practices, that different families and groups

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[80] One woman in the FGD of 21 August 2014 reported that some of those who left the colony early on started a settlement on the adjoining playground.
[81] Including NK and ST.

brought into the artificial community of the colony also sparked conflict and unhappiness[82]. In the absence of a stable fabric of social relations built on long familiarity, an accompanying consensus around territorial privileges, and the social power of key residents no actors or mechanisms existed for a long time to mediate conflicts, which often escalated to physical violence or its threat. This sense of threat was perceived acutely, as was the reality of physical violence in the common spaces on the ground that persisted. Only in the last two or three years has the threat of violence in the public space of the colony subsided according to a range of residents[83].

Political parties active in the area have also been at work trying to gain greater control over the colony through various means. These include the formally legitimate engagement of the MLA and corporator (both from a nativist political party, Shiv Sena) in MMRDA's decision making process regarding infrastructure and governance issues in the colony. This is often hotly contested by some in the colony who claim to be wary of the place becoming an instrument of power for outsiders. They have reason for wariness. Residents report attempts by a locally dominant nativist political party to ensure monopoly over new projects (even informal ones, like a small shrine opposite building No. 2) by opposing and harassing people taking the lead on such projects, or by trying to introduce their own spaces (like a newspaper reading shelter, or *vachanalay*) into the colony. VS pointed to a performance stage that has been built right on an internal street that actually terminated in an originally planned (but not executed) additional entrance gate to the colony, which has now been blocked for good. In the case of the shrine that a lady championed and started building with her own hands, there were police complaints against her by a resident aligned with the Shiv Sena, for unauthorized construction. She proved a tough nut to crack, however, and the shrine thrives as the centre of the cultural life for the predominantly Hindu women in the colony. It is a small but important

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[82] On the sidelines of a discussion during the FGD on 21 August 2014 with women in Sukh Sagar, a woman turned to me and said softly in response to an older question about the source of conflict in the colony, that the '*bhangi*' (an old pejorative caste descriptor, now considered offensive and unlawful) families in a particular building were the problem, and always quarrelling loudly. She was quickly shushed by her neighbour the community leader, herself more aware of the right and wrong things to say to outsiders.

[83] From separate interviews with ex-Chief of federation, and the retired government employee mentioned earlier (8 December 2014). Early in 2015, though, there was a major threat of violence when young men from outside the colony reportedly entered it and got into a quarrel. Fortunately it did not escalate into actual violence.

effort at mitigating the social disconnections imposed by the architecture of the colony, especially on women who no longer have everyday access to public space as part of their chores as before in the slum. In this episode, VS (the ex- chairman of the federation) reported that he and most other residents had supported the lady since the facility was welcome for most people. He also said that people did not want the reading shelter since there was a danger that the youth wing of the party would turn it into their informal office. As it is, he said its youth members sit around at their existing reading shelter just outside the colony by JVLR at night, drinking and being a nuisance. By mid- 2015, this shelter had been upgraded to a proper pavilion with new benches and newspaper reading stands[84].

4.3.2   Disconnections: social relations, built environment, safety and violence

External and internal disconnections have marked the experience of place for the residents of Majas. ST believes that the former is the big problem: "the main problem is crossing the road[85]. There is no traffic light outside our gate, neither is there a Foot Over Bridge. There is just a cut in the median to allow people to cross. There is traffic on this road all twenty four hours. And people drive really fast at night -speed breakers get destroyed in 4 days!'. It is so bad that at 4 p.m. school children have to cross the road holding hands. 'We have seen children being hit by speeding vehicles, dying on the spot'. A poor family sitting on the footpath having food in the afternoon was once killed by a car that ran up the footpath. He fears an extreme disconnection with the service road that will actually run beside the gate. 'It will be impossible to step out of the colony. Apparently, BEST buses are planning to be on this road from January [2015]!'. The fear haunts everyday activities that necessitate crossing the road. For instance, a large percentage of women from the colony go to a *chakki* (flour mill) to have wheat ground. Every fortnight, many carry boxes weighing 5 to 10 kg to and from the *chakki* (flour mill), which is across the road since it could not be integrated into the colony (though MMRDA tried)[86]. The options they have are both tough: either negotiate the fast traffic with this load, or walk a great distance and then climb the Foot over Bridge (FOB) to the other side.

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[84] Interview 8 December 2014
[85] Interview 8 December 2014
[86] FGD on 21 August 2014.

Internal disconnections can be traced directly to the architecture and the behaviour it induces or allows. During a conversation in Pratap Nagar about the Majas resettlement colony, PD, an old Dalit community leader said, 'people start locking doors when they move into a building'. Reacting to my puzzlement, he says, 'What do you mean why? That is the way of the building *(tithe tasach aste)*'! His equally senior friend, PT, in a white dhoti-kurta and Gandhi cap, nodded and added, 'In the chawl, if anybody comes into the lane I can ask him where he is going, who he wants to meet. We know everybody around and if not people around will gather to check on strangers'[87]. These remarks encapsulate much discussed aspects of slum life on the ground as well as its symmetrical opposite in the tower. On the one hand, in the slum, there is ease of informal social contact, spaces where public and private realms interact, constant informal surveillance based on intensive knowledge of families and individuals living in the lane. On the other hand in the tower, there is a greater privatization of everyday life, the loss of informal contact and sociability, and the dependence on formal security systems (that are often difficult to sustain economically in a resettlement colony).

R&R colonies usually start of as mass housing spatial products, designed on the principle of economic efficiency, private consumption, and often ignore or sacrifice other use values that are key to the viability of everyday life for future residents. A key common sacrifice is sociability, or the affordances for social contact that the housing offers. Sukh Sagar is no different. Socio-spatial disconnections of various kinds mark social life in the colony.

The key characteristics of the built design and materiality impacting everyday social life, and therefore the governance prospects, are worth comparing with that of the informal settlement from which residents have moved: the stacking of homes one upon the other in the tower (instead of stringing along a lane), the seclusion of poorly lit, common spaces at different levels, shared between homes away from the public spaces of the colony on the ground

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[87] Interview 12 October 2014

(instead of lanes through which one can moves to many others, and ultimately to external roads) ; only four homes sharing a common landing space (instead of scores of them sharing a lane); the lack of shade and occasions to pause in the public open spaces on the street; the acoustic isolation provided by concrete walls of every home, among others.

These characteristics construct the R&R colony as an assembly of private spaces (and so, of privatized households), distinctly demarcated and even separated from shared public spaces. Privacy is gained and casual sociability lost: 'Now we have to plan in advance if we want to go and meet,' said a woman with a bemused laugh at the strange formality the architecture had introduced into social relations that were sustained without a thought in the old place[88].

CS lists the benefits of the design and built environment that others also mention: a toilet in the house, greater privacy, and related benefits. These are not to be sniffed at. A non-Maharashtrian family that bought a flat in the colony illegally eight years ago took the decision because there was only one toilet in their old settlement and children had to wait in queue for half an hour in the mornings. Privacy too is valuable. The broker says, 'children can study without disturbance. Also you don't have to hear other people's opinions on everything'. However, the ex-chief of the federation, who is around, butts in: 'but the unity is gone'[89].

Why should the built environment disrupt 'unity'? A woman living on a higher floor explains: 'I come to know what is happening on the 3rd floor only if I am going down, or out. The ones who live below won't come to know what is happening on the upper floors. The people above and below will come to know about what is happening with one another only when someone informs them, that 'such and such happened in Sawant's or Joshi's house. If something happened in the chawls everyone would come to know'. Another woman, speaking of old ties says, 'they didn't sustain. People who lived together as one family don't do so anymore. We have been divided up as people from this building and that building. Now no one has time to go and visit people in other buildings, so the relationships have been damaged. We had lot of

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[88] FGD, 21 August 2014
[89] Interview 8 December 2014

exchanges earlier but now none of that is there. Earlier I used to visit a friend every time I passed saying 'So, Surekha, what's going on?' But now we all go and come in the lift no one comes to know who has come and gone when. Earlier there were conversations all the time but now even though we stay in the same building we cannot meet unless we plan'.

What is the extent to which disconnections occur? One woman reminisced how she could leave her children outside and work inside her home without any worry. If she had stepped out for work, someone or the other would take care of the child – for instance, the *maasi* (aunt) next door would feed them and ensure that they did not get hurt. In the colony she has to look after her children herself. She also mentioned how there was a wide network of people looking after the child. If she/he ever got into any mischief in any part of the *basti* it would reach the mother's ears. Someone would be able to identify them as so and so family's boy. Another narrated a more disquieting anecdote[90]. A few years after moving in one day as she was flipping through an old community publication she suddenly saw an obituary for somebody she knew well, who lived a few buildings away in the colony. She recalls being doubly shocked when she discovered that the publication was already a year old. She said it was unthinkable that back in her old settlement, a friend could have passed away and she would not know for a year.

There are a couple of ways in which this can be explained. One is to do with the way formal design focused on maximising spatial and cost economies through vertical stacking of apartments usually enables or disables the possibility of contact between public and private realms, especially unplanned encounters. In addition, the material specifications that ensure thermal comfort also engineer (as they are meant to) a successful acoustic disconnection between home and street. The other, flowing out of the previous point, is a speculative possibility: the everyday territory of women, especially homemakers, has been shrunk by the architecture, engineering a social disconnection.

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[90] FGD 21 August 2014

4.4   Sense of place in Sukh Sagar

It is not surprising, given the peculiar pattern of costs and benefits, that residents are ambivalent about their place. On one hand, there is anger at the often undignified treatment by a calculative state rationality throughout the process of rehabilitation. On the other, a recognition that the state is much more powerful than the community, with the difficulties of resistance leavened by the promise of more substantive citizenship through property. The formal apartment is very clearly a valued asset for those who have been able to hold on to it, that is, for those who could afford the economic costs of the transition to formality. The move also appears to promise a symbolic admittance into the formal, 'proper', city. But does this mean admittance to civil society, and if so, on what terms, and in what circumstances? In the FGD, some women told us with enthusiasm that they have started dressing and behaving in a more 'proper' way, compared to before in their settlements where they would always be casual and informal. This new sense of propriety combines with the pleasure of property in the construction of an implicit narrative of hope, that of actually finally entering formal civil society. On the other hand, it is clear, that the actual conduct of place in the resettlement colony has been shaped as much by the political society historically woven into the social life and sociality of life in everybody's settlements (or place) of origin prior to JVLR.

The ideal of civil society as a collaboration of free and autonomous citizens that underwrites the abstract formality of built environment or governance system in Majas must face contradictions with the lived structures of personhood, political identity, household economics, place and community coded into residents' habitus over the history of informal placemaking prior to JVLR. A glimpse of this may be seen in the informal strategies and initiatives of making a viable community and place out of the unpromising social space at hand. The shrine that one of the women instituted against much resistance allegedly directed by an 'outside' political party through its resident members, has provided a space for women in the entirely Hindu colony to socialize[91]. This is an important effort to combat the

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[91] Guided walk with NK and interview with RK on 12 April 2014. Corroborated by others including VS in the interview on 8 December 2014.

disconnections forced on them by the architecture. On the other hand, VS alleges that the stage that blocks a possible additional entrance from a public road to the West has been built on the orders of the same external political party. This stage too, may be conceived of as a facility for enabling social contact and ultimately solidarity. It must be stressed that some capable individuals and formations within the colony see hope only in the civil society ideal. That is evident in the significant efforts to develop the formal governance framework for the city through official registration and other procedures. They see this perhaps as both, a chance to be free of patronage politics that dominates the landscape as well as to increase their own existing social power. At the same time, residents also recognise the complications of management and governance that await them once MMRDA relinquishes control over the colony. The existing alignments of certain sections of the residents with different political actors and parties (evident in the episode of the stage) may easily converge with these uncertainties to enable the professional politicians to strike deeper roots in the social space of Sukh Sagar.

4.5   Conclusion: Sukh Sagar

Sukh Sagar's experience reveals that displacement involves not just the loss of a specific shelter, or specific amenities but something greater than the sum of these things: the loss of the supportive infrastructure that a viable and stabilized place as a whole offers. The loss is accompanied by another challenge: making a viable place out of a ready-made, rigid, socio-spatial arrangement or a spatial product. The challenge is greater when such products have been conceived and produced on the basis of reduced and abstract understandings of needs and capacities, and without any real reference to actual conditions, capacities, limits, resources, readiness, attitude towards shelter and place, and in general, the lived experience of individuals, families or communities. The argument is that before they were moved, residents were much better embedded in the informal places that, though marked by significant deprivations, had been made viable and supportive of life through their own investment of time and effort.

More specifically, the case suggests that the interrelated formality of spaces and protocols of formal spatial products like Sukh Sagar is a key obstruction to successful placemaking for the urban poor. This is particularly so when the formality is imposed, and not emergent as in Pratap Nagar. The obstructions work at multiple levels, from disabling casual and widespread social contact in person, to entailing significant time, capability and monetary costs. The last, particularly, appear to have effectively dishoused two thirds of the PAHs once dishoused by the project, thereby defeating the objective of improving their lives as a collateral consequence of infrastructure projects (the essence of a 'win-win' argument). The informal departure of formal owners from the colony has also meant a weakening of social integrity since non-resident tenants and illegal tenants cannot find the same common purpose in practicing a formal governance model of the cooperative housing society.

As we saw, the particular kind of architectural formality (multi-storey stacks of apartments clustered around a lift core, visually disconnected from open public spaces of the colony below) inhibits the informal forging of social bonds and community that goes to produce viable places (as infrastructures of everyday life) even in an apparently inhospitable under-serviced socio-spatial terrain (previous chapter). In Sukh Sagar, on the other hand, private life has been enabled and improved (especially with toilets), but the socio-spatial networks constituting the broader place on which the functioning of urban poor households, especially women and children, depends, have been weakened. Particular life trajectories have been significantly affected due to this, as we saw with the case of the family that moved back to Pratap Nagar as there was nobody to look after the boys going astray.

The weakening of relationality (and social integrity) because of the particular formality of the architecture, and unintended double displacement of PAHs, may be related to a stunting of the agency of the community and the place as a whole. That lack of agency or power is what VS, the federation ex-chief, rued when he kept repeating, 'there is no unity'. As we saw with the protests at Pratap Nagar and elsewhere, individual and collective agency may be considered key outcomes of successful placemaking activity. Residents' agency and power both appear to be stunted at Sukh Sagar, doubtless also because of formal control still being with MMRDA who also produced the space (unlike at Pratap Nagar, which its residents did). The reduced

agency of the inhabitants makes them vulnerable to the power structures and interests of local political parties and leaders to intervene and attempt to take charge especially by altering the space of the colony, as with the stage and the reading shelter.

The stunting or repression of agency and relationality may be associated with the failure of residents to develop a strong sense of place identity and attachment. Ten years after they lost it, the informal place of the past is etched in memory as a good place (as a whole) in spite of its significant challenges at the level of privacy and infrastructure. The formal place, by contrast, is adjusted to: it fills the gaps of significant challenges like private toilets but obstructs a relationality leading to a sense of community.

In this context, the struggle of some of Sukh Sagar's leaders to forge a viable formal institutional fabric out of the collection of households in the colony can be seen usefully in relation to the civil society-political society dialectic identified by Partha Chatterjee (2004). Chatterjee holds that the urban poor and slum dwellers have tended to mobilise for their rights and needs through the form of 'political society', that is through political pressure that, for instance, ensures that the 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' (Bayat, 2010) is regularized by the state in response to such contingent pressure rather than on the basis of formal rights related to citizenship. VS and many others (including some grassroots political activists) across the informal and the formalized social space of JVLR reveal a deep distrust of this form, and especially of career politicians who (may have even emerged from among the ranks of the poor) have control of it. Instead they actively strive for acquiring substantive membership in civil society as individuals and place based collectives, and breaking the perceived circle of disempowerment embodied in membership of political society. This faith in the substantive power and entitlements of citizenship, in law and official procedure, is also reflected in the reasoned (even when intensely aggrieved) tone of many of the letters of the protestors to the MMRDA mentioned in the earlier chapter. Those protests, we saw, can be traced to a sense of attachment and ownership in relation to informal place made by the residents. If a sense of collective agency is tied to a strong sense of belonging to and ownership of place as Pratap Nagar's case suggests, then the stunting of such a sense may well obstruct the formation of such collective agency. The absence of a viable sense of collective

agency (because of a relationality that did not take hold), may derail many residents' desire to acquire substantive membership of civil society through a truly effective institutionalization of place identity as a federation of cooperative housing societies. The example of the disputed stage construction in Sukh Sagar suggests that political leaders are keen to retain their hold over former members of 'political society' a form that those leaders could control more easily. If they gain control of the institutional structure of the new formal place of the R&R colony, an opportunity of 'civilification' that is important to many resident activists and also part of the state's calculus of R&R processes, may well be lost. This important loss could then be justifiably traced, at least in part, to the resistance the spatial configuration and institutional protocol has offered to the PAHs effort of making a viable and inclusive place out of it.

5 Discussion and conclusions

The case study of JVLR was framed as a contradiction between the state objective of producing a new abstract social space of upgraded transport networks at a metropolitan or larger scale, and the popular project of producing place as an infrastructure of subsistence enacted by the urban poor who settled over decades on the alignment of the road set out in the Development Plan of 1964. This chapter is devoted to reconciling conclusions from this study of the 'trajectory of place' with the conceptual framework that organized the larger study of socio-spatial transformation in Mumbai over the last couple of decades. As mentioned earlier, the latter framework focused on concerns of spatial justice and violence as played out in the course of urban socio-spatial transformations engineered by the state-market axis. The question of inequality has been central to this framework, implying special attention to trajectories of poverty and vulnerability accompanying the transformations.

5.1 Differential urbanism

JVLR has produced a new landscape of uncertainty. Though the widened road was handed over to the MCGM in 2011, the larger project of East-West connectivity is not yet complete. A flyover from the recently opened ROB South is poised in the air with no clarity about where it would land on JVLR. Meanwhile, the originally planned service road of JVLR is yet to be completely built on either side. On the ground there is much confusion about exactly how many houses are expected to 'go' in the service road construction. Given that there have already been four rounds of demolitions on the stretch over the last decade or so, a new tide of precarisation is poised to break over the informal settlements. Meanwhile, the land prices JVLR helped raise through improved connectivity for land all along it, have also intensified the pressures for redevelopment on the same settlements. That uncertainty is part of the disturbance of a hard-won socio-spatial stabilization that was described in the chapter on placemaking. The new social space produced in the existing landscape by the project is fragmented, exclusionary, and has reterritorialized the landscape in favour of the real estate market and its customers, the new entrants who presumably will enact a new round of placemaking founded on secure property ownership.

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Combining the accounts of the making, maiming and the challenges of founding place again in the inhospitable matrix of Sukh Sagar, some things are immediately clear. JVLR has acted like a particular kind of developmental vector, one that is a force of formalization. The spatial impact of such formalizing developmentality is well anticipated in Henri Lefebvre's observation that modern planning tends to integrate as it fragments, even as it accelerates the commodification of space. JVLR has fragmented local places, even as it integrates wider geographies. These fragmented places were previously integrated through pedestrian mobility and social relations born of and nurtured propinquity against great odds. The wider geographies are integrated by JVLR through the unequally accessible automobile – predominantly the passenger car and the goods vehicle – and the economic relations it sustains.

An important outcome of the fragmentation of settlements has been the undoing of place as achieved fact as well as a trajectory of consolidation. The difficulty displaced PAHs have faced in producing a viable place out of the R&R colony in Sukh Sagar is perhaps a related contradiction. The upgradation of private amenities has been achieved in state R&R planning, at the cost of community feeling and a viable empirical or sense of place, producing a new space of conflict. Stability, integrity, identity and supportiveness for everyday lives of the poor have emerged as key characteristics of valued place in the case study, both in their presence and absence. The trajectory of these in the landscape appears to be clearly deflected away from the direction of consolidation after JVLR. It could thus be argued that JVLR has inaugurated a dynamic of deplacialisation – the undoing of place – through its different effects. This idea encompasses the active maiming of place, as well as the production of spaces that resist appropriation and placemaking. It also encompasses the widespread production of other non-places or spaces of circulation and consumption (Auge, 1995): the road space itself, the elite residential complexes (that are the spatial products of real estate industry), as well as the transformation of appropriated *maidans* into commodified leisure spaces for the conspicuously consuming classes.

JVLR reveals that the deplacialisation has had a differential impact. It has effectively pulled the phenomenological and empirical ground of place from under the feet of the informalised urban poor to produce a 'levelled' space which is remade through placemaking activities of, or

on behalf of, the elite customers of real estate development. Clearly, deplacialisation implies differential impacts. Possibly, then, JVLR may be seen as an instance of what we may call 'differential urbanism'. The concept combines the observation of the differential impact of JVLR
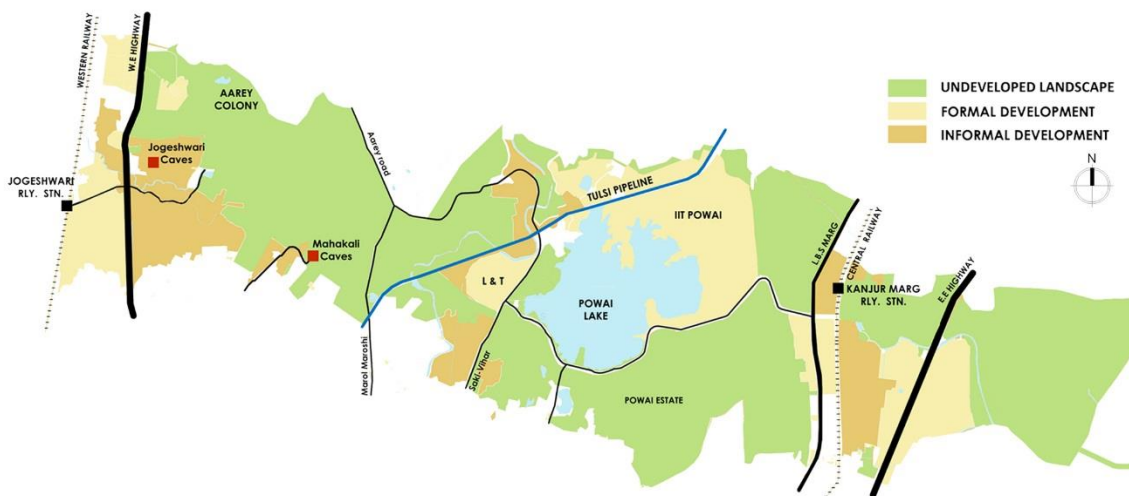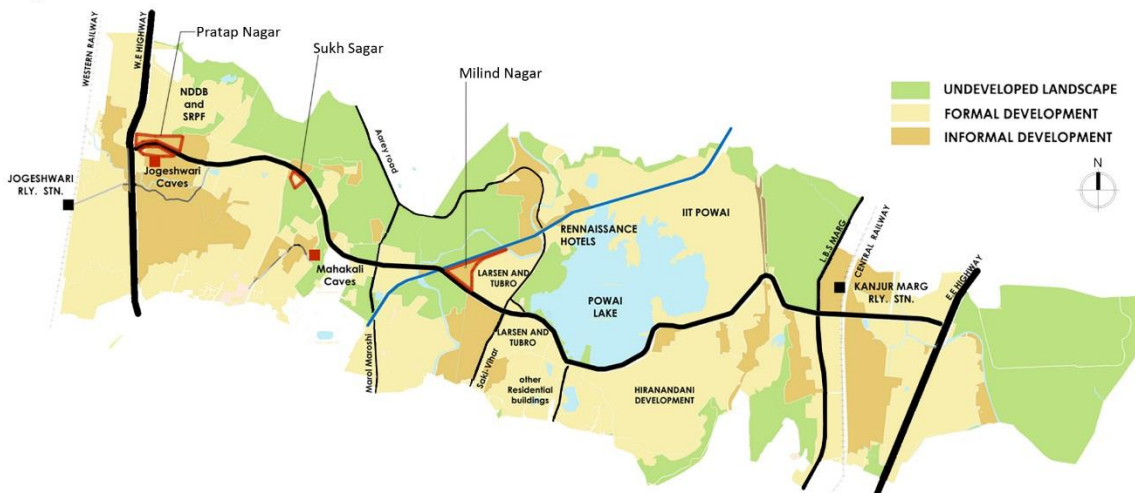
Figure A.

Figure B.

Source: Author/NDK

Figure 5.1: JVLR as developmental vector

The figure above (A) is an approximate reconstruction of the land use pattern before JVLR was first built in the 1990s. (B) shows the current land use pattern, based on Google Earth images and direct observation.

mentioned above with Lefebvre's conceptualization of 'differential space' as the conflicted and contradictory space that abstract spaces (or non-places) inevitably become by virtue of the social conflicts they embody[92].

5.2   Unequal commitments of state planning

It has been argued that planned urban development in Mumbai, as elsewhere, has privileged the objectives of economic growth and accumulation, and those of the historical, business and political elite (Banerjee Guha 1994, (Bhide, 2013)). JVLR reveals that this 'state-market axis' simultaneously implies a weak commitment (and occasional hostility) of the state and its planning apparatus to the barest subsistence needs of the poor. On the one hand, the state completely ignored the implicit call to action presented by the serious housing crisis evident in the informal self-provision by the urban laboring class over the decades of the 1960s- 1990s in the form of informal settlements along JVLR's proposed alignment. On the other, it firmly upheld the primacy of the logic of property and legality enshrined in urban planning, through its implementation of the project even in the concession of providing an R&R colony to displaced people, land for which was acquired by compensating the owner with Transferable Development Rights. Though this value orientation is possibly central to Indian democracy, it must be identified as the key on which (at the level of theory) turn the planning proposal and project formulation of JVLR, and the subsequent socio-spatial transformation spurred by its realisation. There is a clear privileging by the state of its responsibilities for enabling economic activity over possible ones for enabling subsistence and meaningful social reproduction of the poor. This is one form in which the state's complex relationship with the market is revealed.

The process and afterlife of the project too offer interesting insights into the marketization of state procedures, and its inegalitarian developmental vision. As has been observed in the

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[92] It could be argued that deplacialisation is only a stage in a larger cycle. The dialectical theorization of space and place offered by Lefebvre and Pred certainly implies that these non-places would themselves be turned into new kinds of places by the new inhabitants of real estate developments. That is, deplacialisation would be followed by placemaking all over again. In essence, that is also the account underlying Lefebvre's conceptualization of a differential space that emerges in the process of the appropriation of abstract space like that produced by the road.

literature, MUTP instituted a relatively progressive R & R policy for urban development projects (Modi, 2009) (Bhide & Dabir, 2010). However, the outsourcing of the critical aspect of Resettlement & Rehabilitation to an NGO can be interpreted as the adoption of a mechanism of corporate streamlining in the governance and management of state infrastructure projects. At the same time, it also signals a conscious distancing of the state from the indirect violence caused to the affected urban poor by a state developmental project. The fact that an unelected parastatal body like MMRDA (which was answerable to the state government, and not to the locally elected municipal corporation), decided on the fate of a project directly affecting voters from the city reveals the weak commitment to democratic principles in urban development.

The afterlife of JVLR too is important. The DP 1991 already envisaged commercial and residential real estate development around JVLR, which has now come to fruition. Thus, the real estate boom in the Jogeshwari to Vikhroli landscape following the road widening can be seen to have been codified into the Development Plan. But the planning establishment has gone further in apparently unequal support for the real estate boom. It allowed changes in land use on selected developers' plots from 'No Development Zone' (via 'Recreational') to 'Residential' to spur this boom, while denying this very change to abutting slums, though the latter were adversely affected by the project. A more concrete aspect of the afterlife of JVLR has been the elite capture of planned open spaces historically used by youth from nearby informal settlements. Open spaces are being landscaped in such a way through the initiative of local elected representatives as to make it impossible for them to play their games, while at the same time elite customers and occupants of surrounding real estate developments get manicured spaces for genteel recreation. This can be understood as a state authorized transfer of *territory* between two social groups, in the ultimate interest of real estate developers and their elite clients.

The afterlife of the project at the city level is particularly important. Though JVLR itself was planned by the municipal corporation originally, the project set the stage for a complete de-democratisation of transport infrastructure development in Mumbai after the mid-1990s with parastatals like MMRDA and MSRDC making decisions on new road projects and metro,

elevated rail that affected the city and its more vulnerable dwellers directly[93]. This is most directly reflected in the fact that the progressive aspects of the R&R policy for MUTP adopted at the insistence of the World Bank, were quickly omitted in the subsequent Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project (MUIP) which only built roads and was funded by the MMRDA itself.

5.3   Violence and peace production

We have seen that violence, or its possibility, has dogged the making, maiming and re-making of place in the JVLR landscape. Informal placemaking involved combating and overturning a culture of interpersonal and gang violence in an unruly informal landscape, initially out of the practical everyday reach of Mumbai's police system. As a starting point then, the making of viable and stable place can thus be viewed as an act of producing peace out of an unruly, violent and inhospitable socio-spatial terrain. The subsequent erasure of a part of the informal built environment in the construction of JVLR can then be considered an act of violence, whose immediate object is not persons, but *place*. Doubtless, as we have seen, damage to place has had significant impacts on the trajectory of consolidation that individual households were on in step with their participation in the consolidation of place through its collective and informal making.

In this context, Lefebvre's observation that '*there is a violence intrinsic to abstraction*, and to abstraction's practical (social) use' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 289) is highly relevant[94]. As we have argued, JVLR was meant to upgrade the performance of a 'global' road network stretching way beyond city limits, and must be seen as a project of imposing a new abstract space on the existing social space at various scales. The violence of place maiming, as well as the subsequent experiences of violence and conflict in Sukh Sagar can be traced to the thoroughgoing imposition of an abstract space at local and 'global' scales. The erasure of the settlements privileges the abstract claims of network performance and the legality of the Development Plan over the concrete integrity of people's homes, community and a neighbourhood. The inevitable protests against the callousness of the actual process

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[93] The resonance with the American highway construction history in the 20th Century – in which state government technocrats regularly took decisions that damaged city life, and that of the most vulnerable groups like blacks, immensely – is uncanny.
[94] Original emphasis.

(unannounced demolition of necessary infrastructure like community toilets) were met with direct and indirect violence police violence, including a *lathi* charge (like a baton charge), and the registration of criminal cases against peaceful protestors and bystanders that have dragged on through rituals of humiliation at regular hearings for a decade without signs of closure. On the other hand, the formality of the architecture and governance system of Sukh Sagar, the R&R colony, steers households and individuals towards a privatized lifestyle founded on property-linked status (and newly 'proper' behavior as a woman resident observed), and disconnects them from each other. In essence, formality privileges and imposes abstract representations (say, architecture and governance arrangements) of physical and social relations on social space. Reflecting on the abstract representations of space that dwellers internalize Lefebvre argues:

> '[i]n the face of this fetishized abstraction, "users" spontaneously turn themselves, their presence, their "lived experience" and their bodies into abstraction too. Festishized abstract space thus gives rise to two practical abstractions: "users" who cannot recognize themselves within it, and a thought which cannot conceive of adopting a critical stance towards it' (1991, p. 93).

The disconnections engineered by the space of Sukh Sagar, and the consequent stunting of relationality, have hampered the forging of a viable governance system, a sense of community, and the making of a viable place in general. Sukh Sagar has been a space of conflict and fear for the first seven or eight years of its existence, and incidents of violence continue being reported.

One putative benefit of JVLR's upgradation of the metropolitan road network reveals how the rise of abstract space can spur varied violences through the more effective commodification of previously inaccessible land under informal settlements. By putting its landscape on the metropolitan highway map JVLR has contributed to the seven fold increase in nearby real estate values. This increasingly attracts developers seeking redevelopment opportunities to the informal settlements socio-spatially fragmented by JVLR itself, setting off a complex dynamic involving speculation, intimidation, and further social fragmentation. Because of the new accessibility it has bestowed upon all parts of the landscape, JVLR has also spurred redevelopment in the informal settlements along it, and developers' offices are mushrooming

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in settlements as instruments of persuasion and coercion for consent. Resistant communities are being broken up through bribery and intimidation. Speculation about promised windfalls is the other side of the coin of uncertainty everywhere.

There is evidence that the pressure towards fragmentation, disconnections and the abstraction of selves exerted by JVLR is constantly in conflict with dwellers' drive of re-integration to produce a 'differential space' of which Lefebvre says:

> It will also restore unity to what abstract space breaks up – to the functions, elements and moments of social practice. It will put an end to those localisations which shatter the integrity of the individual body, the social body, the corpus of human needs, and the corpus of knowledge (1991, p. 52).

In Sukh Sagar, the small shrine built by a woman resident informally and in the face of some harassment, has enabled women to gather routinely and partially overcome the disconnections imposed by architecture. In Pratap Nagar, the maiming of place has been followed by various acts of coping and self-repair across the landscape, acts which must be seen as those of forging a productive peace. On the one hand collective practices (e.g. the Navratri dance) that were anchored to lost infrastructure like that of a small open space, have sustained by being moved in other inhospitable spaces (a wider than normal lane) in the settlement. These lived rebuttals to the violence of abstract space are important to note as grassroots commitment to build back peace, dignity and well-being, but the data does not offer any conclusive indicators of the potential of the contested, tense and creative differential space to dislodge the acceptance of inequality that lies at the heart of urban and infrastructural planning in Mumbai.

Spatial justice and the trajectories of poverty and vulnerability

> 'Spatial justice as such is not a substitute or alternative to social, economic, or other forms of justice but rather a way of looking at justice from a critical spatial perspective. From this viewpoint, there is always a relevant spatial dimension to justice while at the same time all geographies have expressions of justice and injustice built into them'. (Soja, 2009)

In *Seeking Spatial Justice,* Edward Soja (2009) suggests that any discussion of spatial justice must address questions of process as well as of outcome. The focus on the *trajectory* of place before, during and after the completion of the project has vividly demonstrated the experience of the process. One important aspect that the account underscores, and which Soja argues is pivotal, is that those most affected by the project felt the least consulted, and continue to be besieged by anxiety and uncertainty around their fate. This was the experience of the resettled households too, in spite of the fact that MUTP had a relatively progressive R & R policy. This is one way in which it could be argued that JVLR was spatially unjust.

At the level of outcomes, JVLR involved the undoing of a trajectory of socio economic consolidation that accompanied and powered informal placemaking. For those who were displaced as well as left behind, JVLR's placial costs involved the loss of social networks, solidarities and support systems. These households thus saw an increasing sense of economic and place related precarity. At its most concrete this precarity involved a double displacement for a reported two thirds of the households in Sukh Sagar who could not cope with the economic and social challenges of staying in the R&R colony. At its most general, there has also been a general qualitative placial impoverishment for the entire swathe of informal settlements, including the loss of a once-sacred jungle landscape, and playgrounds. Further, one of the gains of the process of informal placemaking before JVLR's construction had been the stabilization of social and spatial conditions, which can be seen as a progressive attenuation of the high levels of vulnerability that early residents faced. JVLR, however, has ushered in an enduring landscape of uncertainty that appears, confusingly, to increase feelings of vulnerability even as it holds out promises of a windfall in the form of an R & R apartment for those staying on the alignment of the unbuilt service road. Nobody on the ground knows for sure where 'the line' of the service road is located. Thus, the increase of precarity and destabilization of various cultures of collective living and solidarities, lead to an argument about the spatial injustice of JVLR at the level of outcomes. The multi-dimensional, but always non-violent, protests and resistances in the informal settlements as well as in Sukh Sagar confirm that the project was indeed experienced as having an unjust spatial impact both in terms of process and outcome

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Mapping References

Figure 2.1: JVLR: Plans and Developments

base map:

a. development plan 1964,

b. development plan 1991

c. google earth satellite image, drawn by: Purva Dewoolkar

d. google earth satellite image

Figure 3.4: Place maiming at Pratap Nagar

base map – a. city survey map 1967, *courtesy*: Ghanshyamdas Mishraji, Lawyer

Figure 4.4: Site layout of Sukh Sagar

base map – a. MMRDA plan, *courtesy*: Nitin Kubal, resource person

Figure 5.1: JVLR as developmental vector

base map- a. development plan 1991,

b. topography map 1926, *courtesy* : Andre Baptista, Archaeologist

c. existing land use, 2013- http://www.mcgm.gov.in/