RECONCEPTUALIZING VALUE & SPACE: LEARNING FROM THE SLUMDWELLERS OF DELHI

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Reading Committee:

Mark Purcell, Chair

Manish Chalana

Sunila Kale

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Abstract

Reconceptualizing Value & Space: Learning from the Slumdwellers of Delhi

Susmita Rishi

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Mark Purcell
Department of Urban Design and Planning

The world is urbanizing at a rapid rate and since 2009, more people live in cities than in rural areas. As the predominant mode of habitation, cities are understood as the spatialization of capitalist social relations in which the inhabitants who create the city are marginalized in favor of those who have the power and the means to realize the exchange value of the city. The fundamental contradiction between use and exchange value is inscribed on the urban, and space becomes a by-product of capitalist production. Space, however, produces the social and is socially produced. Social relations in the urban are not mediated and manifest by just capitalism and therefore this understanding of cities ignores the ways in which space is produced by those that interact with space as a more than a commodity. It fails to understand the urban as produced simultaneously through the agency, hope, and contestation that takes place in the everyday lives of marginalized inhabitants. Using grounded theory analysis, I present evidence from 124 ethnographic interviews

and 8 months of fieldwork in Kathputli Colony, Delhi to show that slumdwellers produce urban space through their everyday acts of living. Centering the stories and anecdotes that residents shared with me, I show that residents create and find value in their spaces which lies outside the capitalist relation of use and exchange. Based in the domestication of land, appropriation of space, incremental practices of building and socio-material engineering, residents create and instill value in space. Using Henri Lefebvre's (1994) dialectic of l'habiter and habitat as the difference between inhabiting and mere building, I conceptualize imbued value to articulate the kinds of value that residents create and instill in space through their continuous acts of inhabiting their settlement as ghar (home). The significance of this concept of imbued value lies in how it shifts attention back to the slum as settlement and demands that we reorient our understandings of the city by viewing it from the perspectives of slum-dwellers. From this vantage point, we see in urban spaces the more-than-capitalist spatial value that residents imbue on it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: **INTRODUCTION**

Har ek chiriya ne ghosla banaya aur koi ghosla todne jata hai toh usko yeh soch maarta hai…
toh inhe samajh mein nahi aata hai yeh ki yeh hamara ghosla kyun tod rahe hain?
Inko mera ghosla nahi dikh raha, inko sirf zameen dikh rahi hai.
Sone ke jaisi keemti zameen.
Ab yeh kooda kabada tha, ab yeh chandi sona ho gaya.. Yeh zameen sone ke bhao bik rahi hai.

Every bird builds a nest, when someone tries to destroy that nest, the thought of that destruction almost kills the bird...
Why don't they understand that they are destroying my nest?
They can't see my nest; they can only see the land.
Land that's as valuable as gold.
Moments ago, this was trash, now it's become silver and gold. This land is selling at the price of gold.[1]

I began this research in the summer of 2012 with a preliminary field trip to Kathputli Colony, Delhi. Over a month, I spent time with the residents in their homes and courtyards listening to them talk about the new in-situ rehabilitation project being initiated in their settlement.[2] Over this time, it became clear to me that most residents vehemently opposed the rehabilitation project and in particular the proposed 14-15 storey apartment buildings they would be living in. Residents claimed not to want the apartments, amongst other things, they brought up the issues around loss of livelihood and difficulty of adjusting to life in the apartments. But most often residents told me stories of how they came to live in Kathputli Colony, how they had built it into their *ghar* or home over a long period of time and how it was now going to be destroyed. When

[1] NoorJahan. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 23 February 2015.

[2] In-situ rehabilitation involves the eviction of residents and subsequent resettlement on the same location or a nearby location. I explain in situ rehabilitation in detail in Chapter 3.

talking about their *ghar* residents referred not just to their dwelling but to the entire settlement as *ghar*. Based in these early interactions, this dissertation became an endeavor to understand what the residents were seeing in their *ghar* that wasn't immediately apparent to those that did not live in Kathputli Colony. I was told many stories and anecdotes, but NoorJahan's quote from our conversation in 2015 became emblematic of the questions I decided to answer: What kept the planners and city officials from understanding Kathputli Colony as NoorJahan's home? On further reading and reflection over the preliminary fieldwork data, I realized that the answer was within the stories I was told. It was all about land and particularly the value of land. However, NoorJahan's words also made it clear to me that her *ghar* was more valuable than the land which had now "become more precious than Gold". What was this value and how was it different from the value of the land? This brought me to the questions that formed the core of this research project:

1. What value do the residents of informal settlements or slums find in their spaces of everyday practice?
2. How can this value or values be understood or conceptualized (exchange value/use value/other) and how is this value created?
3. What is the relationship between the value that residents find in their spaces and the fact that they have built the spaces themselves?

Cities today are understood largely as a spatialization of capitalist social relations, in which the inhabitants who create the city are marginalized in favor of those who have the power and the means to realize the exchange value of the city. Inscribed on the urban, then, is a fundamental contradiction between use and exchange value which is at the heart of capitalism. In this understanding of urban space, space becomes nothing more than an outcome or by-product of

capitalist production. This perspective leaves out other ways that space is socially produced and produces the social. It fails to understand the urban as, and produced to be, a space of hope, opportunity and agency for many marginalized people. In this dissertation, I take a step back from the capitalist understanding of value as a relationship of exchange and use, to instead focus on other values that residents of a city might find, and create, in their spaces. I center my reconceptualization of value and space on the ethnographic study of a recently evicted slum[3] in Delhi- Kathputli Colony. Based on 124 interviews and 8 months of fieldwork, I argue that Kathputli residents articulate a concept of value that lies beyond the capitalist value system typically applied to urban space. I offer instead the concept of imbued value to encompass the kinds of value that residents find and create in their spaces. For example, this value is imbued in space through the domestication of land and appropriation of space by the residents of Kathputli Colony. The significance of this concept of imbued value lies in how it shifts attention back to the slum as settlement and demands that we reorient our understandings of the city by viewing it from the perspectives of slum-dwellers. From this vantage point, we see in urban spaces the more-than-capitalist spatial value that residents imbue on it.

As the world continues to urbanize, the rapid expansion of cities will be accompanied by an equally rapid growth of slums or informal settlements (UN-Habitat 2010; Saunders 2010).

[3] I use the terms slum and informal settlement interchangeably in many instances in this dissertation. While scholars such as Alan Gilbert (2007) and Mayne (2017) have argued that slum is a pejorative term, I find the term useful in delineating a particular kind of settlement. One that is not just informal, but also considered illegal and illegitimate. It's a settlement whose residents are delegitimized because of where they live, amongst other reasons. Their experience of urban life is qualitatively different from that of a middle- or upper-class resident of an informal settlement. In the absence of a term that makes that difference clear, I use slum. However, the use of terms "slum" and "squatter" have declined in recent decades in literature and in most cases the terms "slum" and "informal settlement" are used interchangeably. I follow the same practice in this dissertation and specify otherwise when I talk about the informal settlements of the middle- and upper classes.

Historically understood as a challenge to development, the anticipated explosion in the number of informal settlements urgently calls for alternative understandings of these places and the lives of the people who reside in them. In this dissertation, I heed this call by bringing a focus to how people in slums create and value their space. The dominant literature on informal settlements can be divided into two main narratives; the first narrative of 'crisis' (Davis 2006; Hall and Pfeiffer 2000) looks at informal settlements and economies as problems that lead to exploding, swollen cities. The second narrative celebrates informality as 'heroic entrepreneurship' (Soto 1990; Saunders 2010). Other scholars (Roy 2005) argue however that these two narratives, though contrasting in their basic outlook towards informality, are nevertheless more similar than they appear. Both narratives treat the informal as an intrinsically separate sector and imply that these settlements will eventually be integrated into the formal city. Moreover, neither narrative recognizes informality as a 'process' that embodies degrees of power and exclusion; instead these two narratives, conceptualize informality as an exclusion or isolation from the formal market and global capitalism.

Based on these two narratives then, the traditional methods of addressing the "problem" of informal settlements have been largely focused on resettlement and tenure legalization, with some small attempts at in situ upgrading. Recently scholars have pointed to the need to form a newer understanding of the informal and formal as a continuum. An informal-formal continuum recognizes that the two are intrinsically linked and experienced as a series of transactions and networks that connect different economies, spaces and people to one another. This new narrative of informal urbanism calls for an understanding of the informal as a mode of urbanization, beyond and more complicated than just a reaction to the formal city. Building upon this emergent interest in the informal-formal continuum, my dissertation offers an alternate ontology of value, space and

informality. This ontology advances interdisciplinary research on informality and informal settlements by looking beyond the hegemonic capitalist understandings of value (exchange-use) to imbued value that residents find and create in their spaces.

This alternate ontology of value, space and informality is situated in a slum-Kathputli Colony- in Delhi, India. According to the 2011 census, 65 million people live in slums in India. Delhi, India's capital city and the second largest metropolitan area in the world, is no stranger to slums – it hosts 672 settlements, which are home to some 1.8 million people (CPR 2015). The "problem" of slums in Delhi was first conceptualized by the colonial-era Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT). Since the annexation of Delhi by the British in 1808, "native" populations were confined to the Old City or Shahjahanabad. This led to an increase in congestion and issues of sanitation. Beginning with the DIT and continuing into the post-colonial period, re-housing has been the favored approach to tackling the "problem" of slums. DIT's mandate had been to alleviate congestion in the Old City by "leveling out the intensity map" of population (Legg 2006b; Sharan 2006). Based in an "orientalist tradition" that essentialised the dichotomy between the 'rational West' and the 'irrational East', DIT sought a solution in the modernist rationale of science and technology. Gooptu (2001, 109) notes that DIT was crucial in creating a "discursive definition of the poor as a social problem and as a separate social class", a social class that shared undesirable habits and suffered from moral deficits and backwardness. This discursive understanding of the poor was inherited by Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in 1956, when it took over the reins of planning and development in post-independence Delhi. The population of Delhi doubled between 1947 and 1950, and this exacerbated the problem of congestion and overcrowding in Old Delhi. During the same period, the shortage of shelter for refugees (Hindus migrating to India from

Pakistan) led to the creation of newer informal settlements which were later deemed slums by the DDA.

Designed to create a planned capital city, the DDA was charged with drafting the Delhi masterplan and developing the city to provide housing, commercial and recreational space, and infrastructure (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014). Through the first Masterplan, created in 1962 in partnership with a team of American planners and architects from the Ford Foundation, the DDA acquired 56,834 hectares of land. From this total, 60% was to be used for building housing and 25% (of the land designated for housing) was to be reserved for building housing for the poor in the form of lower-income (LIG), and economically-weaker section (EWS) housing.[4] This acquisition of land was one of largest land nationalization projects in the world. Since being mandated with this task, DDA has consistently underbuilt housing through the terms of the next Masterplan 2001 and the current Masterplan 2021. The shortfall in housing, which is particularly acute for the LIG and EWS categories, has meant that while the population of the city is steadily growing, there is very little formal housing available on the market (Batra 2010). This led to the creation of several different informal settlement types in Delhi, so much so that by 2006, only 24% of Delhi lived in planned formal housing settlements built by the DDA. However, while the informal settlements of the poor (or, slums), were targeted for eviction, the informal settlements of the middle and rich classes were made part of the masterplan through regularization. The regularization of certain informal settlements and not others is what Ananya Roy (2003b) has

[4] There are two categories of families living below the poverty line in India- LIG and EWS. EWS or Economically Weaker Section is those families whose annual income is up to INR 3 Million [$4285 @INR 70/$] and LIG or Lower Income Group is families whose annual income is up to INR 6 Million [$8590 @INR 70/$] but more than INR 3 Million (Edwin 2019).

called a "spatial mode of governance" in which it is the plans and their implementation that produce and regulate illegality. As the plans are created by the same institution that implements them, the institution can decide through its power to create and implement plans that determine what is legal and what is illegal. Further, by deciding to keep certain built-up areas outside the development area for Masterplan 2001 and Masterplan 2021, DDA created the category of unauthorized colonies in the first place.

During the liberalization of the Indian economy in the early 1990s, Delhi began a process of privatizing the land market. There was a shift in the governance structures from what Harvey has termed as “managerial” to a more “entrepreneurial” role. In planning at the local and national level, this brought a renewed emphasis on public-private partnerships to aid in the realizing the “true” (economic) potential of land, which was identified as a “scarce commodity” (DDA 2010). This shift in the economy, land markets, and governance was also accompanied by a liberalization of the judicial system (Sundar 2011). This marked a departure from earlier interventions where the judiciary supported the rights of the poor inhabitants of the city. Instead, beginning in the late 1990s, in response to a series of public interest litigation (PIL) cases filed by Residents Welfare Associations (RWAs) representing middle- and upper-class neighborhoods in Delhi, the judiciary ruled to exclude the poor from the city. Holding slumdwellers responsible for the environmental degradation of the city, the courts initiated a new round of evictions in which some 45,000 families were evicted in 6 years.

Throughout Delhi’s history, the metonymic associations between “dirt”, “filth” and slums, as well as the “defiled” bodies of slum-dwellers, have continued to be used to justify the need to transform both the space and its residents into more socially and physically acceptable forms. This

has meant transforming slums into private property and slum-dwellers into "respectable" property-owning citizens of "world-class" Delhi. Slum improvement and resettlement, and more recently in-situ rehabilitation schemes, take up this task to "improve" the space of the slum and the people who reside there. The cycles of eviction and reordering slum space and people into these more acceptable forms have become more intense and frequent since the 2000s. Since its independence, India has followed an eviction-demolition-resettlement model for dealing with slums. Under this model, all slum residents are evicted, their dwellings are demolished, and these former slum residents are then re-housed/resettled outside the city.[5] However, in line with the recent United Nations recommendations for more humane solutions to informality, the country is now moving towards an in-situ rehabilitation model that relies on Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) arrangements. Under one iteration of the in-situ rehabilitation model (being implemented in Delhi), a private develop builds housing for eligible slum-dwellers on the same piece of land, while also utilizing 40 percent of the land to build market rate housing and facilities. Kathputli Colony, in West Delhi, was one of the city's 672 informal settlements (Govt. of Delhi 2013; CPR 2015) and Delhi's first in situ slum rehabilitation project. In this work, I found that in Kathputli Colony, the DDA has used the language of participatory planning and legal rights to facilitate the transfer of land held by poor residents into largely market rate luxury residential and commercial real estate through public private partnership.

All interventions used by the DDA and other agencies in Delhi to tackle the "problem" of slums focus on land titling and tenure legalization together. Land titling and property ownership

[5] As I discuss in Chapter 3, not all evicted slum-dwellers receive resettlement, whether on the periphery or inside the city. For more on the politics of eligibility in Indian cities see for example Bhan and Shivanand 2013; Bhan 2016; Doshi 2013b; Verma 2002; Doshi 2013a.

are premised on an understanding of land as commodity with a dual character defined by its use and exchange value. In its "parallel life" outside the physical world, land as commodity can create surplus value through the conversion of its exchange value. Land titling creates property owners who can then use the land as collateral for loans and credit, which creates surplus value. If land is not commodified, it lies dormant as "dead capital"(Soto 2001). While this capitalist understanding of land as commodity is discursively hegemonic in Delhi, my research revealed a more complex value regime. I found that residents of Kathputli instilled value – imbued value – in their spaces based in the domestication of land, appropriation of space, and establishing and maintaining kinship networks in space. This imbued value derives from the process of domesticating the land to make a home and then incrementally adding to and making their dwellings, through which residents inhabit space and create value. This value is central to Lefebvre thesis on the difference between *l'habiter* and *habitat*. Distinguishing between Home and House, *l'habiter* is 'to inhabit' or 'to reside', while *habitat* is a mere collection of materials. For residents, while they inhabit the space of Kathputli Colony through the everyday acts of appropriation and dwelling, the rehabilitation apartments are a mere aggregation of materials (Lefebvre 2003). Lastly, through these acts of instilling and imbuing value, the residents create a relationship of mutual belonging with the space they inhabit. Understanding of property as a relationship of belonging, held up by space (Keenan 2010), I argue that this relationship of mutual belonging subverts hegemonic private property regimes by creating an alternative understanding of property. This alternative understanding of property as a mutually constructed relationship of belonging sheds a bright light on the dwelling that NoorJahan finds more valuable than gold and silver. It is a step towards decolonizing property through the legitimization of alternative ontologies and epistemologies of

property, value and space. In the sections that follow, I present a review of the literature that my dissertation engages with and contributes to.

URBANIZATION TRENDS

Since 2009, more people now live in urban areas of the world than in rural areas. 55 percent of the world's population lives in urban areas today, with a projected increase to 68 percent by 2050 (UN-Habitat 2018).[6] This projected urban growth will lead to a shift in practices and processes of living, and a further accelerated urbanization. Most of this growth will take place in the global South.[7] The rate of urbanization is and will continue to be the fastest in the least urbanized areas of the world.[8] In 2018, one-in-eight urban residents lived in the 28 megacities of 10 million or more; by 2030, the world will have 43 megacities, where one-in-six urban residents

[6] Major parts of the world still remain rural. In Africa and Asia, 6 out of 10 persons live in rural areas, however, UN projections predict that the world rural population will start decreasing in the coming decades. Asia is projected to see an urban population increase of 1.7 billion, Africa by 0.8 billion and Latin America by 0.2 billion (UN-Habitat, 2010).

[7] Poor countries, the Third World, less-developed nations, developing nations, and the global South are terms used to refer to nations with widely differing levels of wealth, population size, and global influence. Until the last decade of the 20th century, the countries that we now call the global South were called the Third World, however this terminology lost its meaning and importance with the decline of the Soviet Union and the rise of China in the world capitalist order. Today this division is based on "quality of life" but that too may not be used as a limiting factor as many countries in what is traditionally the global South exhibit high quality of life and industrialization. This terminology and others which are used in its stead, are equally ineffective in capturing the diversity of social, historical, economic and political conditions that define the countries and cities of the region. However, the terminology becomes important because in spite of this diversity there are also important similarities especially when contrasted with the prevailing conditions in the cities of the richer nations.

[8] Urbanization is defined as the shift of population and economic activity from rural areas to towns and cities. Urbanization is different from urban growth, which is the natural growth (no. of births minus deaths) as well as rural-urban shift, while urbanization is the proportion of the population living in urban areas (Turok, 2014).

live (UN-Habitat 2015, 2018). Megacities will continue to play an increasingly dominant role in the world economy as the drivers of wealth and employment (UN-Habitat 2016a).[9]

Rapid urbanization, particularly in the global South, is also predicted to change the global patterns of poverty, informality and exclusion and make it more urban (Krujit and Koonings, 2009). While the proportion of the world's urban population living in slums has decreased from 46.2 per cent in 1990 to 29.7 per cent in 2014, the number of slum-dwellers has continued to increase from 689 million in 1990 to 880 million in 2014 (UN-Habitat 2016a, 14). The UN further predicts that as the world continues to urbanize, informal settlements will more than ever emerge as the place for the not only the poor, marginalized and underprivileged to live, but for also the middle-classes (Davis 2006; Saunders 2010; UN-Habitat 2010). Inequality, exclusion, segregation, and violence based on class, caste, race, ethnicity and religion, are pervasive features of cities in the global South.

Globalization is a megatrend that has defined urbanization in the both the South and the North and refers to the inclusion of some in the "wealth-creating" global process and the exclusion of others not capable of participating. Simply put, globalization may be understood as the increased connectivity of our world driven by technological advancements in transportation and communication, which has facilitated the rapid exchange of people, ideas, and goods (Tomlinson

[9] Megacities are usually defined on the basis of their population size, with the threshold between 5 to 10 million. Scholars such as Robinson (2002) have argued that many of the manifest characteristics (globalization, informalization, segregation and exclusion, violence etc.) of this type of "over-urbanization" are visible in all cities in the global South, irrespective of their size. Krujit and Koonings (2009) therefore propose a more qualitative definition of megacities as being large cities, in which geographic and demographic size are some of the many factors, which shape a certain kind of "urban pathology"; that of a "systemic disjuncture between opportunity structures for livelihood, service provision, security" and overall urban planning on one hand and the size and composition of the urban population on the other.

1999). As a process of worldwide interaction and integration of people, companies, and states, this restructuring of the global economy has created the need for new types of cities that coordinate decentralized forms of production. Globalization has also come hand-in-hand with neoliberalization- a politico-economic approach which favors free-market capitalism, deregulation, and reduction in government spending. Urban neoliberalism refers to the interaction of the processes of neoliberalization and urbanization (Keil 2016). Globalized urban neoliberalism impacts social and economic spaces of countries across the world now and is characterized by the universal backtracking of the welfare state, dismantling of institutional controls, hyper-commodification, shrinking of organized job market and increased exploitation of workers (Banerjee-Guha 2009). Economic restructuring and reconfiguration has led to the emergence of a new class of highly skilled professionals and a new middle-class (Fernandes, 2004; Shatkin, 2007; Ghertner 2014), whilst simultaneously driving the marginalization of the working class and rural migrants.

The new, growing middle class and the globalized economic relations of cities create an impetus for "retrofitting" the built environment to better meet their demands. These shifting demands of capital and the middle-class necessitate a new type of governance that is better able to push a redevelopment agenda (Hogan et al., 2012; Beall, 2009; Miraftab, Silver, and Beard, 2008). This has resulted in a shift from a mainly 'managerial' to an increasingly 'entrepreneurial' local government (Harvey, 1989). While there has been deregulation and privatization under neoliberalism, there is also more 'entrepreneurial' state intervention which creates new forms of governance that facilitate a market-driven economy (Banerjee-Guha 2010; Brenner and Theodore 2002). At the scale of the city, several processes characterize neoliberalism: increased constraints on planning and elected municipal governments; privatization of services; increased support for

public private partnerships; retraction of the state from urban development; and redevelopment of space for elitist consumption (Banerjee-Guha 2009).

Across the world, cities are deeply implicated in the reproduction, reconfiguration, and mutation of "neoliberalism as an ideology" (Brenner and Theodore 2002). At the same time, recent scholarship views the neoliberal project to be more than a top-down implementation of precise and homogenous ideology. Rather neoliberalization is now understood to be a flexible and ever-changing process in which market criteria are applied to governance at all scales by state actors in an effort to respond to "context-specific" challenges to accumulation of capital (Shatkin and Vidyarthi 2014; Ong 2011; Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2010). Based on path dependent interactions with actors and obstacles, this hybrid form of "actually existing neoliberalism" retains the original neoliberal imperatives but does not exhibit a homogenous structure or ubiquitous outcomes (Keil 2016). This more nuanced understanding of the neoliberal project has been useful in understanding its uneven and contested nature in the global South (Chattopadhyay 2017). While cities are shaped by social and political processes that play out across the globe, cities also change these processes through their interaction and opposition to these processes (Shatkin and Vidyarthi 2014).

Explosive urbanization, an enormous process of rural-to-urban migration, and the marginalization of the working-class has meant the informalization of urban labor markets and housing (Krujit and Koonings, 2009). Informality of tenure and the spread of informal settlements have frequently been attributed to the incapacity of cities to accommodate the influx of rural migrants. However, while both rural migration and poverty are undeniable sources of informality, it is becoming increasingly clear that these are not the only contributing factors. Studies from Latin

America show that an increase in the per capita income of informal settlement residents does not mean a decrease in population size. Rather while rural migration has greatly slowed down in Latin America, the population of informal settlements has shown a steady increase and as such these settlements are not only becoming more in number but are also becoming more densely populated.[10] Patterns of informalization, exclusion, and violence, which are familiar from the Latin American experience, are currently being reproduced in many countries in Africa and Asia.[11]

While cities around the world, and especially in the global South, are increasingly becoming the sites of deprivation and exclusion, these have also become sites where the "poor" have found new ways to develop agency through social movements. Social mobilization in the global South particularly has been closely linked to questions of political participation, access to public space and urban politics and empowerment.[12] One of the most radical ideas for advancing new models of urban development came out of Latin American cities in the form of participatory governance and budgeting. Challenging entrenched neoliberal urban logics of development founded on top-down privatization, homogeneity, and exclusion, "visionary mayors" working alongside the citizens in cities such as Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Bogota and Medellin have enabled new institutional protocols that have helped introduce new interfaces with the publics and unorthodox cross-institutional collaborations amongst other things (Cruz 2011). While not focusing on social movements in this dissertation, I focus on developing an in-depth understanding

[10] See for example: (Perlman 1976; 2010).

[11] In Latin America, sustained urbanization took place between the 1950's and the early 2000's. As such Latin America's urban population in 2008 was 78 percent. In its early concentration of large poor, informal and excluded population segments, the region is a forerunner of both Asia and Africa (Krujit and Koonings, 2009).

[12] See for example: Holston (1991); Appadurai (2002) and Bayat (2000).

of the reasons that residents prefer living in slums over resettlement housing or apartments that they are provided. To this end, I theorize imbued value as the value that residents instill in their spaces. My explorations of these alternative kinds of value contribute to this literature on urbanization in the global South. In fact, I propose that these values offer alternative epistemologies for understanding property and property relations in the context of rapid global urbanization.

UNDERSTANDING URBAN INFORMALITY

Historically, the study of informality or what is called Informality Studies, has focused on either labor forces, work and employment, or on the production of housing. This has meant that the politics of informality and the processes through which the residents assert their rights on the city are also conceived of in relation to either work or housing. Yet the everyday lived experience of informality makes this separation invalid, as spaces of work and home are embedded in each other at both the household, neighborhood and city level (Kudva 2009). The existing literature thus does not provide a good understanding of the relationship between work and shelter and between the formal and informal as processes of mutual construction, but rather posits them as exclusive. As a result, policy interventions and implementation are also focused on either work or shelter. My research intervenes in this literature by demonstrating that for residents of informal settlements, the ability to use the same space for work and shelter is both practically important and in effect brings value to their "home" spaces (Chapter 4).

Built on perspectives that emerged initially from studies of the Victorian industrial city, the literature on informal settlements and housing has a long lineage. However, it was only in the 1970's that informality and informal markets were defined along with the projection that

informality would diminish and eventually disappear as formal labor markets grew and subsumed them (Moser 1994; Rakowski 1994a). While the literature on informal settlements has mostly focused on the production of housing for or by the urban poor, we can draw conceptual parallels between the overarching narratives in the literature on informality as an economic activity and the literature on informal settlements. This literature can be divided into three main narratives. The first narrative of 'crisis' looks at informal settlements and economies as problems that lead to exploding, swollen cities (Roy and AlSayyad 2004). This "structuralist" narrative links work in the informal economy to both the uneven nature of capitalist development as well as to the absence of the state as a crucial regulator. This narrative emerges in the post-World War II era, when most cities of the global South were experiencing large-scale rural to urban migration. This led to an increase in the number, and population of people participating in both the informal economy and living in informal settlements. The second, "legalist" narrative, emphasizes informality as a rational economic strategy and repositions "the informals" as entrepreneurs stifled by institutional constraints imposed by the state (Rakowski 1994b; Kudva 2009; Varley 2013).[13] This narrative celebrates informality as "heroic entrepreneurship", which is a creative and spontaneous response to the State's inability to provide for the people (Roy and AlSayyad 2004). "Legalists" such as Hernando De Soto (1990) and Turner (1977) emphasize the entrepreneurial spirit and ethic of self-help housing, while structuralists such as Janice Perlman (1976, 2010) have sought to dispel the myths of marginality associated with informal and low-income settlements.

[13] Hernando De Soto (1989) calls the participants in informal activities—the informals. He sees informal (economic) activity as moral and law abiding as formal activity, with both fulfilling socially useful purposes.

Critiquing these two narratives, scholars have argued that despite the contrast in their basic outlook towards informality, they are nevertheless more similar than they appear. Both treat the informal as an intrinsically separate sector and imply that informal economies and settlements will eventually be integrated into the formal economic system and city, as the sector itself is formalized. Moreover, neither narrative recognizes informality as a process that embodies degrees of power and exclusion; instead both conceptualize informality and poverty as an exclusion or isolation from the formal market and global capitalism. Further, both narratives make it possible to wholly shift the responsibility for poverty to the poor themselves, which conceals the role of the State and even absolves it of responsibility. Both narratives are myopic or telescopic (Amin 2013), partly because they fail to investigate and understand the reason for the formation and creation of these spaces and settlements beyond the economic. My examination of the history of planning implementation and development in Delhi expands these critiques of the "crisis" and "legalist" narratives by demonstrating state culpability in the current reality (where approximately 70 percent of city residents live in informal settlements of some kind). Basically, Delhi's main planning authority has failed to provide formal housing. While the shortfall in housing was more acute for the poor, however, informal settlements in Delhi are home to all economic classes (Chapter 3).

In the third narrative, dubbed 'informal urbanism', urban informality is understood as an organizing logic and "a system of norms" that directs the process of urbanization itself (Roy and AlSayyad 2004). Against the standard dichotomy of two sectors, formal and informal, this narrative suggests that the informal and the formal operate as a continuum, where the two are intrinsically linked and experienced as a series of transactions and networks that connect different economies, spaces, and people to one another. This narrative of informal urbanism rejects the notion of a separate informal sector and instead calls for an understanding of the informal as a

mode of urbanization, beyond and more complicated than just a reaction to the formal (Roy and AlSayyad 2004; Alsayyad 2004; Roy 2005). Rather, in everyday lived experiences, the informal and formal do not exist in isolation but are blurred together and have an important temporal component to them, as people move between formal and informal activities and arrangements (Simone 2005; McFarlane and Waibel 2012). This blurring may be seen in the implementation of formal regulation over informal economic activity such as the licensing of street vendors. While studying transportation networks in Lagos, Nigeria, Rem Koolhaas argues that while these networks are largely inefficient when studied in terms of the formal city, in the perspective of the informal settlements these are highly efficient, where one can buy food and groceries while waiting in line for the bus (Co 2012). To further this argument, the money to buy this food as well as the funding for the public transportation comes from the formal city. The city or the urban thus is always already formal and informal (McFarlane and Waibel 2012), where the fragmentation does not take place "at the fissure between formality and informality" but through the informal production of space. What is being produced in informal settlements is urban space and urban informality in this context may be understood as a "mode of production" (Dovey 2013).[14]

In capitalist production, the means of production are owned by the upper classes. Neoliberal capitalism entails an affiliation between the state and the upper classes across the globe (Harvey 2005). Purveyors of the narrative of "crisis" predict that neoliberal capitalism will lead to a "planet of slums" (Davis 2006). However, others such as Roy (2005, 2009a), McFarlane (2011; 2011b), Simone (2004, 2010, 2018) and Dovey (2010, 2019) show that while informal

[14] "Mode of production" in Marxist thought refers to ways of organizing economic activity including both labor and means of production (capital).

settlements are linked to the formal structure, and work with it, they have a different mode of organization which is more self-organized, and where the means of production are controlled by the residents. While organized capital clearly benefits from the low cost of labor that is enabled by informal settlements, Moser (1994) warns us not to mistake it to be a pre-capitalist mode of production but rather as part of a complex network of co-dependencies between the formal and informal (Dovey 2019). McFarlane (2011a; 2011; 2011b) and Dovey (2010, 2019) have argued that the relation between the formal and informal be understood as an assemblage where the formal and informal "...intersect to form complex alliances and possibilities". Whether an assemblage or a continuum, it is clear that there is no clean distinction between the formal and informal city, and their co-dependency suggests the necessary existence of both.

In the metropolitan regions of the global South, informal urbanization is as much the purview of the rich and the middle class as it is of squatters, and the poor. As described in the case of Delhi (Chapter 3), these more formalized, wealthier settlements may not be any more "legal" than informal settlements, but as expressions of power they can command infrastructure, services, and legitimacy - marking them as substantially different from the informal settlements of the poor (Roy 2012). Perhaps most importantly, they can be designated as "formal" by the state, "regularized and regulated" while other forms of informality remain unregularized and unregulated. According to Roy (2009a), informality is an expression of variability of what is regarded as "legal" or "illegal", and as such it brings together the seemingly separated geographies of gated enclaves, suburbs and slums. While much of the city might be flouting planning norms, a selective implementation of the same norms produces a "calculated" informality through a "system of deregulation" that is also "a mode of regulation". In case of mass evictions of informal settlements at Yamuna Pushta in Delhi, (Chapter 3) this "calculated" informality can be understood

clearly whereby the spaces of the poor were deemed "illegal" and thus removed by the state on the order of the judiciary, while the same legal framework was not applied to make "illegal" the Commonwealth Games Village and the other formal spaces of the middle and upper classes occupying the same land (Bhan 2009; Dupont 2011; Bharucha 2006).

Asef Bayat (1997, 2000) in his work in Tehran and Cairo, describes the "street politics" practiced by poor residents of informal settlements to get access to infrastructure and services through the state. Unlike commonly understood forms of public protest and politics, Bayet shows that these "street politics" entail an articulation of discontent, a politics of redress and not protest. In this kind of politics, individual (but prolonged) direct action to achieve gains is interspersed with episodic moments of collective action and open protest in defense of gains. These politics are allowed until the encroachments and protests spill over the 'tacit' agreement between the state and the people. At this juncture, the regulatory apparatus kicks in and there is often swift and violent retaliation. So even though Bayat (1997) sees "the overemphasis on the language of survival strategies as having maintained the poor as victims" and lacking agency, it is also clear that in the end in both these examples the "system of deregulation" is under the control of the state. The urban poor take advantage of this "calculated" informality, but they are still subject to the state's authority and its ability to suspend the "system of deregulation". Informality must then be understood not just as an object of state regulation but rather as produced by the state itself (Roy 2005). Understanding the formal and informal as a continuum provides a potential opportunity to understand the different ways in which "…informality and formality are put to work as a resource, disposition, practice, or classification in the production of urban inequalities" (McFarlane and Waibel 2012). As a mode of urbanization, informality is not discrete, but is rather the "very circuits of articulation" that link different types of productions of urban space to one another (Roy 2005).

As an organizing logic, urban informality is a process of "structuration that constitutes the rules of the game," (Roy 2005) determining the nature of interactions and networks between individuals and institutions. "If formality operates through the fixing of value, including the mapping of spatial value, then informality operates through the constant negotiability of value and the unmapping of space" (Roy and AlSayyad 2004). While the value is "fixed" into the formal through the mapping of zones of exclusion and privilege, informality exists through a constant negotiation of value. Formally, this negotiation is with the sovereign or state that legitimizes value. The sovereign maintains informality through a state of deregulation, by the negotiability of value. The elite and those in power can use or suspend the law to plan, build and develop new housing developments (McFarlane and Waibel 2012). The negotiability of value then exists through the "shifting designation" of informality (McFarlane 2012a). As an example, the recent discourse of slums as "illegal encroachments" in Delhi is largely a result of a series of court judgments both at the state and federal level, which position slums as "nuisances" that pollute and dirty public space (Ghertner 2008, 2011b; Dupont and Ramanathan 2008) (Chapter 3). There is a new value accorded to the idea of "nuisance" in public space, which reflects the ideals of the middle-class and elite to make Indian cities, especially Mumbai and Delhi, "world-class" and "slum-free" cities. In the courts, petitions for slum-demolition in order to remove this "nuisance" become linked to ideas of "illegality" and "illegitimacy" (Ghertner 2008).

This discourse of "nuisance" recalls older colonial definitions placed on the poor as "as a separate social class, sharing undesirable habits and practices and suffering from moral deficit and backwardness" (Gooptu 2001) (Chapter 3). Spaces of the poor (i.e. informal settlements) are subsequently cast as polluting. A burgeoning "bourgeois environmentalism" (Baviskar 2003) also casts new value on the sanitized, formal spaces of the planned city. At the same time, unauthorized

settlements of the middle and upper classes in Delhi, which are also built extra-legally, are regularized or made part of the development area of the masterplan. Even though both the slums and the unauthorized settlements are extra-legal and informal, only the slums are deemed "illegal encroachments" and demolished.

While the sovereign maintains informality using the negotiability of value, residents find other values in their spaces which the state delegitimizes and/or ignores. Informal settlements are seen as a "problem to be fixed", but as Perlman (1976) showed many decades ago, such settlements are already economically integrated in the urban (Dovey 2010). While the state, and other actors frame informal settlements as places to be fixed or formalized, scholars have written about the need to recognize the validity and the values embodied in informal settlements.[15] My research extends this argument by theorizing from the embodied values that slum-dwellers find in their settlements. I show that for residents of informal settlement such as Kathputli Colony, resettlement and/or rehabilitation into formalized housing provides an opportunity to enter the formal housing market and to become legitimate, propertied citizens of the city. However, when comparing the values that residents find in the rehabilitation apartments and their self-built settlement, residents find more and varied values in their informal settlements.

The narrative of informal urbanism presents planners and policymakers not with new "solutions" to the "problem" of informality but rather with new ways of knowing urban informality and informal settlements. Policy and planning approaches are not only tools and techniques of implementation but also ways of knowing. Such forms of knowledge "are a crucial ingredient of 'diagnosis and solution' calculus of policymaking" (Roy 2005). Through a focus on understanding

[15] See for example: Dovey (2010), Jenkins (2006)

different kinds of value, in this dissertation I build upon these new epistemologies of urban informality. These new epistemologies move away from an understanding of informal settlements, and particularly slums, as metonymic spaces of filth, toward an understanding of slums as spaces of value. This understanding is rooted in a critical exploration of why these spaces have value for the residents that live in them. Through a focus on the everyday lived lives of the people of Kathputli Colony, I elucidate how these values are more-than-capitalist and may indeed have the power to subvert the dichotomy at the heart of capitalism (exchange-use) through alternative understandings of valuing space. As I show in Chapter 4, this new conceptualization of value as based in belonging, appropriation and domestication of land, also allows for alternative, more relational understandings of property.

PLANNING AND INFORMALITY

Seen as lying beyond the sphere of regulations, norms and codes, spaces of urban informality are viewed as either "dismal concentrations of poverty" – concrete manifestations of economic marginality, or as "alternative and autonomous urban orders" put together through the entrepreneurial improvisation of the urban poor (Roy 2012). In both cases, the informal is understood as the "other" in a planned, formal city. At the same time, there have always been efforts to improve and integrate such spaces into the formal planned fabric of the city. Currently in planning practice, informality is understood to be a land use problem and is often managed through attempts to restore "order" to the city or to bring informality into the fold of formal markets

as seen in the discussion on Delhi's attempts at slum improvement (Chapter 3). These efforts have largely focused on environmental upgradation, resettlement and tenure legalization.[16]

A well-known example of environmental upgradation is the favela-barrio program in Brazil, which seeks to change favelas or squatter settlements into formally recognized neighborhoods or barrios through physical upgrading. Janice Perlman (2010) in her book shows the limitations of upgrading in this case where there have been considerable improvements in the physical conditions of the neighborhoods but other dimensions of life have worsened considerably. There is more drug related violence and residents have also become the target of the militarized violence of the state.

India, and particularly Delhi has largely an eviction, demolition and resettlement model towards informal settlements, where resettlement comes with some tenure security and (eventual) legal titles to land. In the recent case of mass evictions in the lead up to the Commonwealth Games in Delhi, residents of Yamuna Pushta in central Delhi were evicted and resettled to the outskirts of the city in the resettlement colonies of Bawana and Savdha Ghevra (Bhan 2009; Dupont 2011). However, the limitations of this approach are made apparent by the loss of livelihood experienced by a majority of the resettled dwellers leading to many moving back to other informal settlements in the city. In other cases, this has led to the breadwinner of the family living in the city, with the

[16] Land tenure is the rights that "individuals and communities have with respect to land— the right to occupy, to use, to develop, to inherit, and to transfer land" (Durand-Lasserve and Selod 2009, 102). Tenure legalization gives the right to live on a piece of land with/without land titles. Environmental upgradation focusses on the provision of infrastructure and services to existing informal settlements as a way to improve the environment. Resettlement refers to re-housing existing residents to other parts of the city as a means of improving environmental conditions in their settlements. For more on upgradation, resettlement and tenure legalization see: (Payne 2001; Durand-Lasserve and Royston 2002; Varley 2002; Van Gelder 2013; Nakamura 2014, 2015).

family living in the colony. Further, lack of adequate services such water and electricity has meant a deterioration in even the material circumstances of the residents (Chalana and Rishi 2015). Tenure legalization does not necessarily decrease overcrowding, improve sanitation or reorganize any of the social power relations (Datta 2012a). Studies on tenure legalization and resettlement have also shown that when residents are relocated to subsidized housing or plots, they sell off their rights to this housing, or land in order to profit on the transaction and to avoid a situation where the failure to make payments results in further evictions (Durand-Lasserve and Royston 2002; Datta 2013). This is not necessarily an issue of affordability but also of a mismatch of the rhythm of payments with the irregularity of employment. In fact in the case of Mexico city, the urban residents refer to repaying a formal loan or making a monthly mortgage payment as *endrogar*—which refers to not just the means to borrow but also to drug addiction (Varley 2002 in Roy 2005). Dovey (2010) shows that while resettlement might involve relocation to technically higher-quality housing, many of the advantages associated with the built morphology of the settlement are lost such as the complex use of public-private space, incremental improvement to buildings and home-based industry.

By far, providing security of tenure and land titling is the most favored approach to the "problem" of slums the world over. Security of tenure is defined as "the degree of risk of, or protection, against forcible eviction without due process and compensation" (Nakamura 2016a, 2). Proponents of tenure security through formal land titling explain the continued prevalence of poverty in the global South to underdeveloped property regimes. In this economistic understanding of informality, the poor in the global South already possess assets but these are rendered "dead capital" as the lack of property titles means that these can't be used as collateral for loans. Granting the poor land titles would mean that this "dead capital" would be "enlivened" and can be used as

collaterals for loans to invest in their dwellings, as well businesses. In the last few decades, this had been the predominant view promoted by UN-Habitat (e.g. Global Campaign for secure Tenure of 1999) and the World Bank amongst others. The belief is that formal property rights would not only provide security of tenure but also protect secure investments, unify land markets, improve access to formal credit, thereby reducing poverty and promoting economic development.

One of the major ways that de facto tenure security works in India is through "slum declaration" or "notification" whereby the local planning authority recognizes a particular settlement as a "slum" as defined by the State or National law. According to the national level Slum Areas (Clearance and Improvement) Act of 1956, Slum declaration means that "residents of declared slums are legally protected from forced eviction by local or private parties without due legal process and compensation" (Nakamura 2016a, 4). While the ownership of land stays in the hands of the original landowners, slum declaration gives residents the legal right to stay and to build housing with temporary materials. The residents now also have a legal basis on which they can appeal in court against forced eviction. Further slum declaration also makes households eligible for basic services provided by municipal and private agencies. In a study based in Pune, India, Nakamura (2016a, 16) found that slum declaration (which he interprets as a form of de facto tenure) led to vertical expansion of housing. The study however found no link between slum declaration and money spent on housing improvements. Nakamura (2016a, 17) speculates that this is likely because adding an additional floor is a much bigger expense than housing improvements. And the residents needed the assurance of security from eviction to invest that money in their homes. Further government agencies tend to be much less tolerant of vertical housing expansion in undeclared slums as opposed to housing improvement, therefore, vertical expansion becomes a

newer option for residents of declared slums. Horizontal expansion is also difficult in declared slums as in-migration creates scarcity of land.

Studies have also consistently shown that there is very little evidence that property rights provide legal protection from eviction and market-driven displacement.[17] Payne et al. (2009, 444) found that land titling programs failed in achieving desired benefits, such as "increasing access to formal credit, reducing poverty and reducing the need for future slums". Further, in most countries land titles did not mean protection from eviction but rather increasingly market-driven displacements in conjunction with land titling reduced security of tenure instead of increasing it. Rather research shows that "titling programs in housing markets can induce rapid changes to social landscapes, thereby devastating the kinds of social capital that the poorest residents depend upon most heavily" (Nakamura 2016a, 2). This research also shows that even without property rights, in many informal settlements residents' benefit from some or the other form of de facto tenure security. This de facto tenure security is largely based in time, the longer the time that residents have remained in a place, the lesser the likelihood of forced eviction. This does not mean that they will not be evicted but rather that eviction will come with resettlement.

In a recent article, based in her work in Mexico City and Guadalajara, Ann Varley (2016) has challenged the critiques of land titling. Even when residents enjoy a high level of de facto tenure security they actively seek out land titles, thereby in Varley's opinion upholding the "values of ownership". While Varley does not show how land titling leads to better participation in land markets and the formal economy, nonetheless her critique makes the important point that residents'

[17] See for example: (Payne, Durand-Lasserve, and Rakodi 2009; Bromley 2009; Durand-Lasserve and Selod 2009; E. Fernandes 2011; Gilbert 2002; Kundu 2004; Varley 2016)

understandings of value and land need to be understood contextually. Where the context is defined not just by their geographical location, form of government, etc., but also by the prevailing property regimes and their heritage.

Varley (2016, 14) found that in the case of land titling schemes in Mexico City, location was crucial in terms of retention of original residents over time. When land titles were provided in areas which were "well-known" or attractive to middle-class residents, gentrification was apparent. In undesirable areas such as ravines, hill-sides or peri-urban areas, "informal urban development" was and continues to be tolerated as these areas are "generally of scant interest to capital. The investment of inhabitants' labor in building and consolidation does not create a rent gap large enough to attract rival land uses" (2016, 14). Perlman (2017) found similarly that in Rio de Janeiro, those favela's that were next to rich neighborhoods and had views of the coast, gentrification was rampant. In the case of Rio however, gentrification was happening without the regularization of the favelas as many such successive efforts had failed.

The limits of tenure legalization, environmental upgradation and resettlement as planning and policy interventions are the limitations of the "ideology of space" (Roy 2005). What is redeveloped and upgraded in such policy approaches is space, the built environment and physical amenities, rather than people's capacities or livelihoods. Such an emphasis on the physical environment is an "aestheticization of poverty", where upgrading is equated with an aesthetic upgrading, rather than the upgrading of livelihoods, wages, and political capabilities. Roy (2005) points out that what is at stake is not simply the limits of these strategies but rather who sets the agenda for such policy interventions. Viewing informality as a separate sector, urban planning however has never addressed the formal and the informal together, therefore as shown above

planning has addressed only the physical, which lies in the realm of the informal and not livelihoods, and other socio-economic networks that exist between the formal and informal. This new narrative of informal urbanism has the potential to change how planning (both internationally and in the Indian context) understands informality and what interventions it makes, and on whose behest.

The relationship between urban informality and planning practice has always been complicated: on the one hand, informal spaces have been perceived as "unplannable"; on the other there have been a series of attempts to improve and integrate such spaces (Roy 2005). However, to understand informal settlements as unplanned is misleading (Dovey 2010). While the neatly zoned commercial districts and the housing for upper classes is planned by planners and architects, life in the informal settlements of the poor is based in strategic-actions and planning done by slum-dwellers themselves (Korff and Evers 2000). Informality is positioned as the unregulated, uncontrolled, messy, "illegitimate" and inefficient use of land against the backdrop of the ordered, regulated, legitimate and efficient notions of planned land use and settlement. This notion of "illegitimacy" is largely created around the notion of property rights (Porter 2011). Property rights are based on the exchange value of land in terms of how much money (as commodity) would a buyer pay for it (as opposed to the "use" value that others may find in the space). Most planning disputes are about property—who can do what where (Porter 2011). In planning, property is about "owning" land, and ownership is unitary and stable (Blomley 2008). However, property is not a thing or an object but is rather a relational claim: "property is one person's claim about something in relation to everybody else's claims about the same thing" (Porter 2011). Premising property rights, planning focuses on the questions of "whom does this belong to?" rather than the spatial question of "where should this go?" (Krueckeberg 1995). Interventions towards informal

settlements largely favor tenure legalization and land titling, which formalizes property rights. Focusing on the informal/formal as a continuum (without privileging the formal over the informal), opens up the space for planners to unsettle the "assumed clarity of who has the right to what" (Porter 2011) and directly address inequality.

In this dissertation, I focus on understanding what kinds of values residents of informal settlements find in their spaces beyond the capitalist understanding of value as a relationship between use and exchange value. This focus on alternative understandings of value based in the domestication of land, and the appropriation of space and land by the residents, allows for the building of a nuanced understanding of property based in belonging. Further, this understanding of property challenges the understanding of property as a unitary right based in the ownership. This more nuanced understanding of property has the ability to change how planning responds to claims on property that are based in ownership, as it allows for other forms of property to subvert such unitary claims (Chapter 4).

VALUE & SPACE

This brings us to the question of how is urban space valued? As I discuss in detail in Chapter 4, where I unfold the literature on "Value & Space" further, the predominant understanding of value and space comes from the classical capitalist renditions of the Labor Theory of Value. This economic theory is associated with Karl Marx, though its foundations may be traced to theorists such as Adam Smith. In the classical understanding of this theory, it is argued that the value of a commodity is only related to the labor put in to produce it. Value is then defined as "use value" which is the utility of a commodity or measure of its usefulness and as "exchange value," which is the relative proportion that this commodity exchanges for another commodity

(Graeber 2001; Henderson 2013). In capitalism however, the use value of the commodity and the labor put into creating it are not completely represented by its price or exchange value. In other words, in capitalism, the value of commodities as they are exchanged for each other – or when stated in terms of money units, their prices – are very different from their value in use i.e. their "use value" and other values. This relationship between use and exchange value is at the heart of capitalist value regime.

Urban scholars have argued that in the contemporary world, cities are a spatial manifestation of capitalist social relations (Harvey 1989b; Castells 1977). In this understanding of the urban, land as a commodity or property, must first and foremost realize its exchange value and this exchange value trumps the use value and other values that others may find in it. Under the paradigm of neoliberal capitalism, increased globalization of labor flows and manufacturing, and increased competition is used to promote capital growth (Low 2017). As a phase in late capitalism, neoliberalism is marked by a push to generate surplus value from erstwhile "non-productive" sectors such as land speculation, privatization of the commons and so on (Harvey 2005 in Chakravarty and Negi 2016). Increased globalization of capital and labor practices is facilitated by decreased state intervention in welfare programs and a general privatization and decentralization of state functions (Brenner and Theodore 2002). There is a shift in four processes: privatization, financialization, management and state redistribution. This shift in processes and policies facilitates a shift in wealth to the 'ruling class' and leads to "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2005). In this reading of the urban, inhabitants who create the city are marginalized in favor of those who have the power and the means, to realize the exchange value of the city and "'the market' becomes the model of social relations, exchange value the only value" (S. Hall, Massey, and Rustin 2007). In this understanding of urban space, space becomes nothing more than

an outcome or by-product of capitalist production (Anderson 2019). However, as Doreen Massey (1994) explains, space is both socially constructed and in turn constructs the social. Scholars, have also argued that while the capitalist value regime is hegemonic, the urban is not just a space of exclusion, but also a space of hope, opportunity and agency for many marginalized people.[18] A focus on the urban landscape as bring produced and reproduced in the service of capitalism therefore obscures ways that value is being created outside of the capitalist understanding of value as use and exchange. It also closes potential opportunities for intervention and analysis of labor, value and space. Feminist, and postcolonial scholars have addressed this gap in our understandings of what Anderson (2019) calls "more-than-capitalist" value. These works offer alternate conceptions of labor and value conceived beyond capitalist understandings.[19] However, these interpretations and understandings of economic and labor activity beyond capitalism, while expanding our understandings of the urban, retain a narrow focus on labor and alternative economies.[20] Further, while adding to our understandings of "more-than-capitalist value", these extended interpretations do not address space as socially constructed and lived. Therefore, there is almost no engagement with space as more than a container for labor and economic activity. In other words, in terms of value, what is needed is an emphasis on understanding the broader social production of spatial value through human activity that is not already subsumed by capital. This dissertation fills this gap by arguing that the values that slum-dwellers create and find in their settlements point us toward a more-than-capitalist spatial theory of value.

[18] See for example (Katz 1996; Gibson-Graham 2006b; Gidwani 2013a; Sanyal 2007)

[19] See for example (Pollard et al. 2011; Sanyal 2007)

[20] See for example (Gibson-Graham 2008, 2006a; Gidwani 2013b).

Here, I turn to Lefebvre (1991) and the dialectic of *l'habiter* and *Habitat* to understand the more-than-capitalist values that slum-dwellers find in their spaces. Lefebvre explains that *l'habiter* is "to inhabit" or "to dwell" and it is an activity, a process and a verb. *Habitat* on the other hand is a mere aggregation of materials with a pre-conceived order and function; a building or *housing. L'habiter* is grounded in space as lived, while *habitat* does not represent any participation from the resident (Lefebvre 2003; Elden, 1991). Due to industrialization and subsequent neoliberalization under capitalism, inhabiting is being reduced to habitat through the pre-ordering of space in the form of formalized housing and real estate. This conversion of inhabiting to habitat privileges the exchange value of a building over the value created by dwelling or *l'habiter.* While Lefebvre (2003) concedes, that social space is consumed, and is politically instrumental in the control of society and the reproduction of property relations, by emphasizing *l'habiter*, he also shifts our attention away from the dominant discourses and means of production of space. Using the lens of inhabiting to understand the differences between the formal and informal in Mexico city, Giglia (2009) concludes that what differentiates them is not just that they were built in response to different social logics of production but also that they are associated with different "cultures of inhabiting" the city itself. Cultures of inhabiting refers to the different types of relationships between residents and habitable space. These different types of relationships result in "…important differences in the way of producing, giving meaning to, and occupying housing and its surroundings" (Giglia 2009). While the process of inhabiting in the formal involves moving into and ordering an already produced house or *habitat*, inhabiting in the "informal city" consists of appropriating and ordering dwelling and space as it is built. The relationship with habitable space in these two cases is different and involves different processes. The difference between the formal city and the informal may be drawn on the basis of the degree to which dwellings are

incrementally built. While dwellings in the formal city may be incrementally added to, the degree to which the incremental building takes place is different. As in this dissertation I focus on the informal, what is pertinent to pay attention to is that while not all dwellings may be self-built, most dwellings are built slowly and incrementally. Therefore, the assertion that the relationship and degree of inhabiting is different between the formal and informal, stands. In other words, since the habitable space in the informal settlement is incrementally and often self-built, slum-dwellers have more opportunity to inhabit it. When we undertake the construction of a dwelling, we have a greater opportunity to order space according to our particular taste and needs and hence, we appropriate the space to a larger extent. In the case of occupying an already built space, there is order already incorporated and the opportunity to appropriate it is much less. Through the appropriation and ordering of space i.e. inhabiting it, we transform it into something familiar and useful, with meaning and value. Inhabiting in the context of "cultures of inhabiting" and Lefebvre's *l'habiter* is instrumental in transforming a "non-place" (Giglia 2009) into a place imbued with meanings and value. The more we are able to appropriate and inhabit a space, the more the opportunity to imbue meaning and values to it. My dissertation focusses on understanding this imbued value and meaning from the perspective of slumdwellers who have largely self-built their dwellings incrementally and in the process brought order to their space.

Peter Marris (1979) writes that "[a] slum is only a slum in the eyes of someone for whom it is an anomaly—a disruption of the urban form and relationships which to that observer seem appropriate to his or her own values and perceptions." First, by focusing on the value that residents find in their spaces in slum, this dissertation provides an understanding of slums from the perspective of its residents. Further, if the informal and formal are intrinsically linked, as the narrative of informal urbanism theorizes, then our values and perceptions of space and particularly

informality are also linked. In other words, our values and perceptions of the informal are influenced by our interactions with not just these spaces but also with people who inhabit those spaces. The residents of the informal settlements are part of networks and transactions with the residents from the "formal" parts of the city. So, then it may be hypothesized that their values and perceptions of their own spaces i.e. the informal settlements are influenced by these interactions. The area of value in terms of the value that residents of informal settlements find in their spaces is under theorized and researched. I focus on this value/values by engaging informal urbanism as a continuum between the informal and the formal; as a series of transactions and networks that connect different economies, spaces and people in the formal and informal together- I unearth how this value is conceived.

ROADMAP

The rest of this dissertation is structured in four chapters: Methods and Methodology, Delhi and Informality, Value, Space and *Ghar,* and Conclusions. In Chapter 2: Methods and Methodology, I present a discussion on my use of the ethnographic method i.e. interviews and participant observation in this research to collect data. I describe the inductive-deductive process that I used in this research to come to the questions I asked and to collect responses to them. Further, I discuss my use of modified grounded theory methodology to analyze the interview data through coding on Atlas TI. Chapter 3: Delhi and Slums begins with a brief discussion of the history of Delhi starting with Shahjahanabad. I then analyze and discuss the change and growth in Delhi's urban development area through a discussion of its urban history, and the changes brought about by colonial and post-colonial institutions such as the Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT) and Delhi Development Authority (DDA). I analyze the settlement typology prevalent in Delhi today

to show how only the settlements of the poor were targeted for eviction and deemed illegal and illegitimate. An analysis of the various policies and paradigms addressing slums in Delhi is followed a section on Kathputli Colony as the site for this research. I discuss the history of Kathputli Colony as a slum with a detailed analysis of the physical morphology of the settlement. I end with an analysis of the Kathputli Colony In-Situ Rehabilitation Project as a participatory and inclusive planning practice. In Chapter 4: Value, Space and *Ghar*, I unpack the brief review of literature on Value and Space that I have discussed in this Introduction. Using ethnographic data, I show how through the process of domesticating the land to make a home and then incrementally adding to and making their homes, residents inhabit space, and create value. I present my reconceptualization of the relationship between value and space as imbued value. I show how through inhabiting space at Kathputli Colony, residents imbue value in the space that lies outside both use and exchange and is produced through their everyday acts of living and inhabiting their spaces. Lastly, I elucidate how through these acts of imbuing value, the residents create a relationship of mutual belonging with the space they inhabit. In the concluding chapter: Learning from the Slumdwellers of Delhi, I present my analysis of what the concept of Imbued Value could mean for planning practice. I discuss the contributions that theorizing spatial values as more-than-capitalist and based in the lived experiences of slum-dwellers makes to our understanding of cities and the urban global South.

CHAPTER 2: **FIELDWORK AND METHODS**

In this project, my intent was to form an understanding of value that people find and create in their spaces through the lived experience of the residents of informal settlements. The main questions guiding my dissertation as stated before are:

1. What value do the residents of informal settlements or slums find in their spaces of everyday practice?
2. How can this value or values be understood or conceptualized (exchange value/use value/other) and how is this value created?
3. What is the relationship between the value that residents find in their spaces and the fact that they have built the spaces themselves?

Questions about value are hard to get at, particularly in the context of informal settlements and slums. Residents of slums are cognizant and made aware every day of the negative discourse around living such settlements. In my preliminary studies, most participants expressed the desire to no longer be identified as "slumdwellers" as one of the main reasons for wanting to relocate. Further the physical conditions created due to the lack of basic facilities such as access to drinking water, toilets etc. also make it very difficult to ask questions about value because to do so is to not acknowledge the conditions that people encounter and live with every day. However, at the same time these people are also intimately linked to these spaces, through their everyday acts of creating and changing the spaces that they live in. The questions I posed were an attempt to understand the meanings that undergird the socio-spatial life in these settlements: what is of value in these spaces

and why? My research project therefore required methods and methodology that would allow me to get to this 'undergirding'. In order to answer these questions, I used ethnographic methods along with grounded theory methodology to collect, analyze and synthesize data. Although my research cannot be classified as conventional ethnography or even critical ethnography, it is ethnographically informed through two primary data gathering methods- extensive semi-structured interviews and participant observations. Grounded theory is used to accomplish a systematic gathering and analysis of data, in order to generate theory (Asthana 2008). This carried out in overlapping phases of data collection, note taking, coding, sorting and writing, which occur at the same time.

FIELDWORK AND DATA COLLECTION

Ethnography and ethnographic methods are particularly relevant in the study of marginalized populations and regions as it "illuminates the unknown while it interrogates the obvious" (Fassin 2013). This has meant that in the debates on informality and informal settlements, ethnography and ethnographic methods have increasingly been used to offer perspectives on the practices and politics of life on the margins and peripheries.[21] Ethnography further has the ability to produce precise descriptions and nuanced analysis from varied perspectives. This provides flexibility and creativity for a project such as mine to address "complexity of contemporary social relations and cultural settings" (Low 2017, 2). Malkki (2007, 164) defines ethnography as, "situated, long-term empirical research" which is, "simultaneously a critical theoretical practice, a

[21] See for example: (Tarlo 2001; Roy 2003a; Das and Poole 2004; Snell-rood 2011; Datta 2012; Weinstein 2014; Ghertner 2015).

quotidian ethical practice, and an improvisational practice". Key to this understanding of ethnography as a methodology is that it cannot be prescribed in advance, but must be improvised in the field.

My data collection was done in three phases. The first two phases made up the preliminary fieldwork stage. In these first two phases, I spent a month each (August 2012 and August 2013) in Kathputli Colony, Delhi conducting semi-structured interviews along with Dr. Manish Chalana. During Phase II of preliminary fieldwork, Patrick Flajole, then a masters student at the University of Washington accompanied us.[22] My main fieldwork was carried out over a period of six months from October 2014 to March 2015. All the interviews during the main fieldwork phase were conducted by me independently. During Phase I, we conducted 22 interviews, Phase II- 38 and Phase III- main fieldwork, I conducted 64 interviews (Table 2.1).

As research is conducted using ethnographic methods, new questions emerge, and new concepts developed in order to grapple with and comprehend the reality that is the focus of study. Through extensive participant observation and interviews, researchers unearth what the group takes for granted and thereby reveal the "knowledge and meaning structures" that undergird their sociospatial lives (Herbert 2000). The point of ethnography is to develop understanding as opposed to simply collecting correct information (Malkki 2007) and the use of ethnographic methods allows the co-creation of knowledge through an interaction between the researcher and the participant. Thus, both the time factor - duration and frequency of contact - and the quality of the emerging relationship help distinguish ethnographic projects from other types of interview projects by

[22] For analysis and results from this fieldwork refer to (Flajole 2015; Chalana and Rishi 2016)

empowering participants to shape, according to their world-views, the questions being asked and possibly even the focus of the research study. During my main field study, improvisation became particularly important, as the residents were busy with a community survey. The residents expressed the need for an external person who would check documents while the survey was being conducted and since I was educated and not a resident, I was recruited to carry out this task. I had to abandon plans to conduct interviews to instead support the residents in the survey.

Table 2.1. Data Collection and Fieldwork Details

Phase	**Duration**	**No. of Interviews**	**No. of New Respondents**	**Community**		**Gender**	
				Artists	**Non-Artists**	**Men**	**Women**
Preliminary Fieldwork Phase I	August 2012	22	22	12	10	16	6
Preliminary Fieldwork Phase II	August 2013	38	21	17	21	32	6
Main Fieldwork	October 2014-March 2015	64	39	27	37	21	43
Total		124	82	56	68	69	55

Since the questions around value may not be asked simply as they are posed here in the dissertation, the methods used must necessarily allow for an iterative process of development and change which was facilitated by the use of ethnographic methods. The first step in this iterative process was to form an understanding of how people view and use their spaces through participant observation, and then ask questions in interviews, which were further changed based on how participants respond to them. All the interviews and participant observations took place in everyday spaces in Kathputli Colony such as common courtyards, dwellings, workshops and

public meetings in the settlement. For the participant observations, I would sit and hang out with residents and chit chat. I would make notes about our conversations, but most of all I made notes about the ways in which residents used their spaces. I also made free hand sketches of spaces that I was sitting in and observing. I maintained a journal where I kept extensive field notes. All interviews were semi-structured, in-depth, and some residents were interviewed multiple times over the three field study trips. Semi-structured interviewing is a technique to collect qualitative data by setting up a situation that allows respondents the time and scope to talk about their opinions on a particular subject (Asthana 2008), which in the case of this research was value and space. The objective was to understand the participants' point of view rather than to make generalizations about behavior. In-depth interviewing is built on a deeper process of mutual self-disclosure and trust building, with questions and topics evolving over time (Asthana 2008). Using open-ended questions, I tried to build a rapport with the participant so that the interview was more often a conversation. During the preliminary fieldwork phases, the endeavor was to form an understanding of Kathputli Colony as a settlement and the in situ project. The questions we asked during the preliminary fieldwork were therefore geared towards forming this understanding and were divided into five main groups. These groups of questions focused on learning about the residents themselves- how long they had lived in Kathputli and how they came about living there; what they knew about the rehabilitation project; what the process had been so far; whether they would be eligible for rehabilitation and if they weren't then what were they going to do.[23] During Phase I, these questions helped us form an understanding of the make-up of the settlement and the lack of information that residents had about the rehabilitation project. When asked about the settlement

[23] Refer to Appendix A for detailed questionnaire

residents would consistently talk about how long they had lived there and how important the settlement was to them. During Phase I, we interviewed mostly artists as we were new to the settlement and our access to residents was limited by our ability to form new acquaintances through residents we had met. During Phase II, the same questionnaire was used, however we were able to diversify the residents we interviewed and interview more non-artists. Analysis (discussed in subsequent sections) of these interviews revealed themes and patterns around history, identity and belonging. Many residents questioned the ways in which their lives would change once they moved into the apartments and talked eloquently about Kathputli colony as their home. Some residents made claims on the settlement based in the length of time they had lived there while others talked about the benefits of living in Kathputli Colony. Most residents claimed to want to continue living in Kathputli Colony. These patterns, themes and notes from participant observations brought me to the questions that I ask in this dissertation around value and space. I had made the mistake of asking a resident directly about what they valued in their settlement during phase II. I was soundly rebuked for thinking that there could be any value in a place where there were open drains and no sewage or toilets. However the same resident had before that talked at length about why they wanted to continue living in Kathputli Colony owing to their history there. It was clear to me from this experience that I could not ask questions around value directly, I therefore interpreted these in a myriad of ways. The questionnaire that guided my main fieldwork was designed with 3 groups of questions.[24] Most interviews would begin with me asking residents to tell me more about themselves, how long they had lived in Kathputli and their occupation etc. (Group 1). In many instances residents would talk about how long they had lived in Kathputli and how it was home

[24] Refer to Appendix B for detailed questionnaire

etc, and I would then move on to questions about Value (Group 3). These questions were centered around what differences residents saw between their own dwellings and the apartments, where would they prefer to live – apartments or dwellings and why, and what they found was good in Kathputli Colony. Other ways of getting to value were asking residents about what were issues they anticipated having in the apartments that they didn't have at Kathputli Colony. In some cases residents would talk about the In situ project during the first round of questions, I would then ask them more about the project (Group 2) and then move to questions around Value (Group 3).

What the participants choose to share with the researcher reflects conditions of their relationship and the interview situation (Heyl 2001). Building relationships of mutual respect where the participant trusts the researcher become important to ensure a genuine exchange of views and openness. During the main field-study trip, I spent the first half of the trip helping with the community survey and did not conduct any interviews (discussed in subsequent sections). Every morning, I would get to Kathputli Colony around 10:00 am. From 11:00-4:00 pm, me and a team of 2-3 residents would go door to door, collecting data for the survey. My main contribution was to verify eligibility by going over documents that the residents had. Through the process of conducting the survey, I built relationships with several different people within the different clans and when the time came to conduct the interviews, I could call on these people. I interviewed an equal number of artists and non-artist. Over the three field studies, I conducted some 124 interviews. All interviews were recorded on an audio recorder and oral consent taken before the interview. All data was anonymized, with pseudonyms used for all residents during the recording of data, transcription and analysis.

GROUNDED THEORY METHODOLOGY

In this project, my intent was to form an understanding of value that people find in their spaces through the lived experience of the residents of informal settlements. In order to understand that value, I needed to interpret what residents were saying in the interviews was of value without using the work value necessarily. The need for this arose from the fact that I did not ask direct questions about value as discussed above. Along with ethnographic methods, while in the field, I used Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) to analyze the data collected through the interviews and observations, refine the questions asked and to finally iteratively arrive at conclusions. Through its flexible strategies for collecting and analyzing data, GTM helps researchers to conduct efficient fieldwork, "create astute analyses" and move ethnographic research toward theoretical interpretation (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001). Similar to ethnographic methods, Kathy Charmaz's (and others') approach to GTM assumes the existence of multiple realities, the mutual creation of knowledge by researchers and participants, and aims to provide an interpretive understanding of the studied world (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001; Charmaz 2008a, 2008b, 2014; Douglas 2003; Bringer, Johnston, and Brackenridge 2006; Bryant 2014). However, while traditionally ethnography relies on developing a full description of society or group of people and thus, provides the details of their everyday life, GTM moves the research and the researcher toward theory development. The ethnographic methods in conjunction with GTM, that I used in this research project follow what Charmaz (2014) described and labeled "grounded theory ethnography." Generally, an ethnographic approach would seek detailed knowledge of multiple dimensions in order to cover the "round of life" that occurs within a particular group (Charmaz 2014). In contrast, grounded theory ethnography focuses on a process or meaning being studied rather than on a

setting, and the researcher may move across settings in order to gain a more complete knowledge of the process or meaning (Charmaz 2014). Applying grounded theory methodology to an ethnographic approach moves the data analysis from description to explanation through the interpretation of abstract categories and development of theory (Charmaz 2014). Ethnographers may apply grounded theory analysis in order to develop abstract categories and construct theoretical explanations from descriptive data. The term "theory" in "grounded theory" is not meant to evoke "all-encompassing grand theory" but rather a "methodology to assist in the development of an explanatory model grounded in empirical data (Hatley 2013).

NOTE ON POSITIONALITY

Qualitative research such as what I undertook is interpretive and requires the researcher to be involved with participants in a sustained and intensive study experience (Hatley 2013). Ethnographic research moves beyond the claims of objectivity, neutrality and omniscience accorded to researchers, and encourages researchers to acknowledge and always be aware of their positionality (Herbert 2010). Ethnographic interviewing involves a complex form of social interaction with participants, and interview data is co-produced during the interactions. Inherent to all social relationships and to research relationships are power dynamics (Pacheco-Vega and Parizeau 2018). These power dynamics are based in the researcher's positionality i.e. are they an insider, and outsider, both or neither? What is their social class vis-à-vis the researched community? etc. While the cultural identity we associate with might help us build relationships with research participants (in this case- residents of Kathputli Colony), factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race, or sheer duration of contacts may many times outweigh the identity we associate with insider or outsider status (Narayan 1994).

My positionality as a researcher in this case is as both as an insider and outsider. I am Indian by birth, and speak Hindi fluently, but at the same time I am also a middle-class woman and live in the US now. As such my interactions with people at Kathputli Colony, were always be colored by this lens, not only because this is how I see myself, but also because the people at Kathputli saw me as this. In the beginning, residents would occasionally refer to my living in the US as an indicator of the amount of money and educational level I had achieved and contrast that with their own. In due course, this was brought up less and less. I was however never ever completely an insider. This became particularly apparent to me during the main fieldwork phase. Between August 2013 when we undertook preliminary fieldwork phase II and my main fieldwork starting in October 2014, a prominent NGO working on slumdwellers rights had begun working with residents at Kathputli Colony. The NGO had worked with the residents closely to help them get legal representation to challenge the rehabilitation project. The NGO had essentially become the mediator between the residents and the DDA, developer, elected representatives and any outsiders visiting the settlement. When I came back to Kathputli Colony in October 2014, I heard from many residents about the NGO and the great work they were doing. The residents seemed very hopeful that the NGO would help them thwart the in situ project or at least get some of their demands around eligibility incorporated. While the NGO workers never directly challenged my presence in Kathputli Colony, it was made clear to me through various conversations with them that I had to earn the right to be in Kathputli Colony. One of the ways I could earn this right was to help with a community led survey that the NGO had initiated in the settlement. While I was hesitant about participating due to my ethical concerns around who would own the data being collected, one NGO worker asked me directly at a community meeting why I did not want to give

back to the community? The worker asked me in front of some 50 residents why I was so hesitant to help the people and give back to the community. Further the worker pointed out that since I was from the US I knew how to read and assess documents and could provide valuable help during the survey. Participating in the survey therefore became a way to win the right to conduct research in Kathputli Colony, a right that the NGO was gate-keeping. Feeling trapped I gave in and for the first several weeks of the main fieldwork phase I went door to door with 4-5 community members conducting the survey. My being from the US was brought up many times when we went door-to-door collecting data on the number of people in a household, the kinds of documentation they had to prove eligibility etc. My identity helped to assuage fears and mistrust that some residents had of the process. This also became the principal way that I met residents that I had not met before during preliminary fieldwork. I was able to interview a number of residents I met while conducting the survey, but I was always sure to point out to them that I did not represent the NGO. My concerns about who would own the data from the survey came to a head in the early months of 2015. The data collection for the survey had been concluded by the end of December 2014, however the NGO had not finished "processing the data" in order for the residents to petition the courts that the number of apartments being built were less than the number of families eligible for rehabilitation through the in situ project. According to the NGO this had been the main reason to undertake the survey. The NGO refused to give me the data as it belonged to the residents of Kathputli Colony and subsequently refused to give the residents the data because it had not been processed yet. This became a major bone of contention between the NGO and the residents. While the data was eventually given to the residents in late 2015, the survey was never used to petition courts because the data was never "processed".

In order to understand value and space from the perspective of all residents, it was important that I interview residents across communities, genders and ages. Table 2.1 shows the break up based on community and genders. While I was able to interview men and women across the artists and non-artists communities, I was unable to interview younger women in the age group 21-35. Social relations in Kathputli Colony are very hierarchical, and most young women stay indoors and are responsible for the household chores. The young women I did interact with, were unwilling to share anything on the record, for the fear of older members of the family. During our conversations, on my questioning younger women about the project, I would often hear "I don't know, papa/mummy go to the meetings, ask them" ("*mujhe nahi pata, papa/mummy jaate hain meetings pe, unse poocho aap*"). I would sometimes follow up with, "But aren't you interested in what is happening here?", to which I would hear various versions of "I am not allowed to go or I am not interested". On some occasions, I was berated by the parents for asking the women such questions because this was none of their business. I also did not interview a substantial number of young men for similar reasons, though young men could easily be found hanging out in the communal spaces. However, citing similar reasons as those given by women, most young men did not want to be interviewed on the record. I had long conversations with them off the record however. Some of this, recorded in my field-notes has been used to draw conclusions in the project. As such, this introduces a bias in conclusions I draw in this work and at the same time opens up the opportunity to carry this project forward with a focus on the younger generation of residents.

DATA ANALYSIS

The interviews from phase I and phase II of fieldwork were conducted along with Dr. Manish Chalana. During the interviews, I translated the residents responses for Flajole, since he

did not speak Hindi. These translated interviews were recorded using a recorder. At the end of every day, Flajole and I would go back over the interviews and make extensive notes. On our return from the fieldwork, we went over the interviews again and used the interviews and fieldnotes to carry out basic coding and we observed themes emerging. Some themes that emerged were Identity, Value, Land. Based in these themes and interviews, I developed the research plan for the final fieldwork. About half i.e. 64 of the total 124 interviews were conducted during the final field study in 2014-15.[25]

While in the field I maintained an extensive fieldwork journal in which I recorded my impressions of each interview as well as participant observation. Most evenings I listened to the interviews recorded and added to these notes. While writing listening to the interviews, I paid particualr attention to residents talking about land, space and dwellings. Preliminary patterns around value in interviews were delineated using these field notes and I identified 35 interviews that had the most content related to the questions I was posing around value. In order to identify the interviews that I would transliterate, I used my fieldnotes and I listened to each interview end to end. While listening to the interview, I made extensive notes on the content of the interview. As I have discussed, there were myriad ways that I tried to get at the question of what was of value to the residents, and my focus on trying to cull down the interviews in this phase to determine which ones I would transliterate, was to select those interviews where the content pertained to ideas around value the most. It is important to note here that I did not focus on answers to particular questions but rather focused on the content of the entire interview. In this process it was not

[25] Refer to Appendix B for Interview Questionnaire.

important how residents answered particular questions but rather the questions were meant to steer the conversation towards certain things such as value, history , belonging. Interviews were identified based on how much content in the interviews pertained to space, land, dwellings, history and value (to name a few criteria).

I found that some residents were more articulate and eloquent in their conversations and particularly when it came to talking about why they liked living in Kathputli Colony and what they found problematic about the rehabilitation project for example. While others did not talk about why they liked living in Kathputli Colony? As an example, I chose not to transcribe the interview I did with Kona. Kona was one of the very few young women who had agreed to be interviewed. She works as an acrobat with Kalakaar Trust, one of the main NGOs in Kathputli Colony. I found during our interview and then going back over it later that Kona did not answer the questions about Kathputli Colony directly. Even though I had seen her at numerous community meetings, she claimed not to know about the rehabilitation project. Most of our interview focused on how Kalakaar Trust had helped her establish herself as an acrobat and the ways in which the NGO supported people at Kathputli Colony. While these were important insights into the life of some residents at Kathputli Colony, her answers did not pertain to the questions I was asking in this research. Another example is Kabila; a very prominent *pradhan*, who was interviewed in all three phases of fieldwork. While his interviews during the first two phases provided important information about the in situ project and the process of protest and negotiation that the residents were following with the DDA, he talked mostly about his own position as *pradhan* and the steps he had taken to help people in Kathputli Colony. As an example, during the main phase of fieldwork, he rambled on about the DDA and the developer and the politics of eligibility even

when I would ask him about how he had come to live in his shop-cum-home on bazaar street. I did not transliterate Kabila's interview.

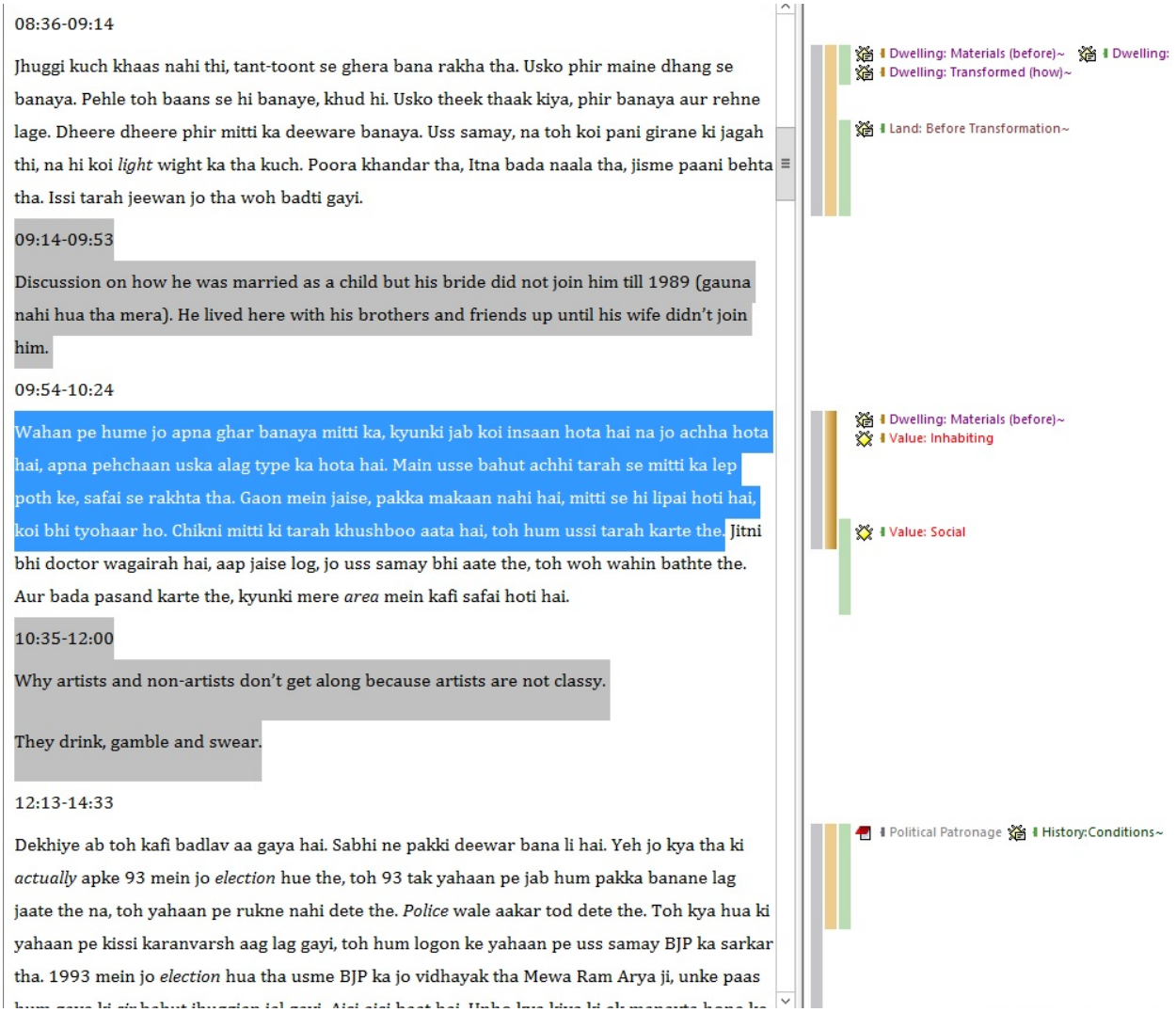

Figure 2.1. Example of coding one of the interview transcripts (Source: Author)

During the main fieldwork trip, I was unable to interview some residents whom we had interviewed during Phase II. During this phase of fieldwork and analysis, I went back over the notes and analysis from phase II that Flajole and I have curated. Using the same criteria as for interviews from the main fieldwork (described above), I identified 5 interviews which had

substantial content pertaining to the focus of this research. In addition, these were residents that I have been unable to interview during the main fieldwork phase. Some of these residents had moved to the Transit Camp and were unwilling to participate in the research due to fear of retribution, while others such as Danny were unavailable due to medical issues. I transliterated the 40 (35+5) interviews and then coded them using Atlas TI. Of these 40 interviews, 20 were with artists and 20 with non-artists, while 24 were with women and 16 were with men.

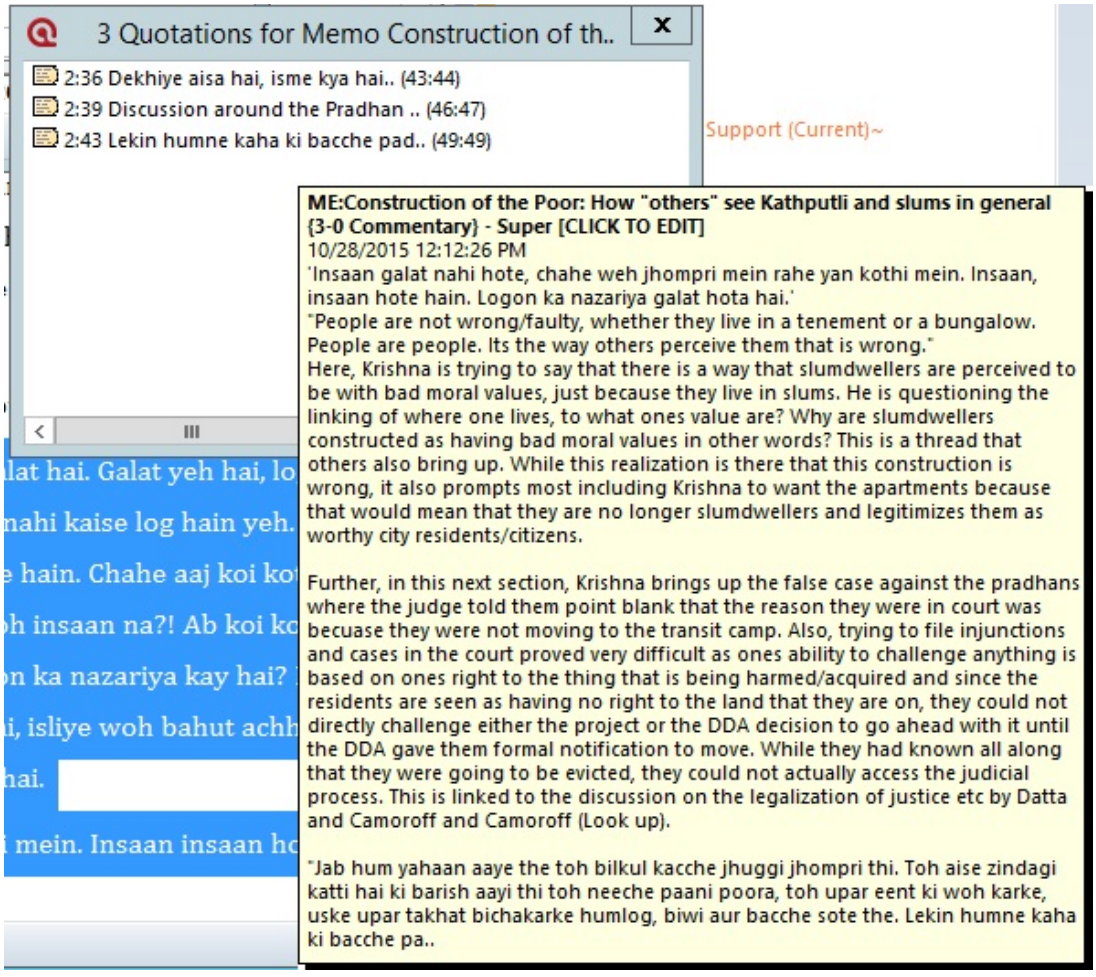

Figure 2.2. Example of coding memo (Source: Author)

This process of interviewing, coding and analysis was my interpretation of the process laid out by Cathy Charmaz and data collection and analysis went hand in hand while I was in the field.

I studied the data to separate, sort and synthesize these data through manual qualitative coding.[26] Coding here meant that I "attach[ed] labels to segments of data that depict what each segment is about" (Charmaz 2014). Coding helped distill and sort data, which then enabled me to make comparisons between different segments of data (Figure 2.1). This initial analysis of the data collected is called "open coding". The open coding procedure involves a "brainstorming" approach in which the data is opened up to all possibilities (Corbin and Strauss 2008). I then went over these codes to understand if the content was pertinent to the questions I was asking. After open coding the interview transcripts and fieldnotes, the initial open codes were integrated to create "code families"-such as Property, Value, Dwelling-by comparing different data segments together. Each code family consisted of several of the initial codes, which had overlapping and recurring meanings. During this phase, I also started writing memos on the overlapping and recurring meanings and themes emerging from the interviews (Figure 2.2). These codes and code families were then used to identify early trends and patterns. I also used these code families to eventually code the 40 interviews in Atlas TI. This is a process called focus coding, where initial codes are used to find the strong patterns in the data using codes. The patterns revealed formed the bulk of the discussion and analysis presented in this dissertation and particularly in chapter 3 and 4.

[26] Grounded theory begins with "inductive data", invokes iterative strategies of going back and forth between data and analysis, uses comparative methods, and keeps the researcher interacting and involved with their data and emerging analysis (Charmaz 2014). The process set out by Kathy Charmaz is less prescriptive and offers a set of general principles, guidelines and strategies, and heuristic devices rather than formulaic prescriptions.

CHAPTER 3: **DELHI AND SLUMS**

Delhi, India's capital city and the second most populous metropolitan region after Tokyo, has been continuously inhabited since the third century BCE. Delhi is built upon the site of seven historical cities (Chalana and Rishi 2015). Today, Delhi is the second largest urban agglomeration or megacity with 26 million inhabitants. Further, Delhi is projected to surpass Tokyo to become the most populous city in the world by 2028 (UN-Habitat 2018). In India, cities contribute more than 60 per cent of the GDP, with a projected growth of 300 million new residents by 2050 (UN-Habitat 2016b). By conservative estimates one-in-five of Delhi's 26 million live in slums or informal settlements. Delhi's urban landscape is marked with immense inequalities.

In Part I of this chapter, I trace the history of Delhi starting with Shahjahanabad and discuss change and growth in Delhi's urban development area through a discussion of its urban history, and the changes brought about by colonial and post-colonial institutions such as the Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT) and Delhi Development Authority (DDA). I discuss the DDAs inability to create adequate amount of housing, particularly for the poor has exacerbated the need for the poor to create their own informal housing. Through a discussion of the various settlement types in Delhi, I show how only the settlements of the poor were targeted for eviction and deemed illegal and illegitimate. The settlements of the rich and middle-classes were instead incorporated into the Masterplan with the DDA creating a ‘state of exception’. The liberalization of the economy in the 1990s led to the privatization of state functions, with the state moving from the role of a manager to one of an entrepreneur. This shift resulted in policy privileging public-private-partnerships as tools to create an inclusive, slum-free and world-class Delhi. During this time, a rising middle-

class, focused on the creating a world-class Delhi, used PILs to exclude the poor from the city. At the end of Part 1, I analyze the various policy paradigms that have been used in Delhi to address the "problem" of slums , including the most recent in-situ rehabilitation paradigm.

Part 2 deals with Kathputli Colony Delhi, the site of this research. I trace the history of Kathputli Colony and its evolving urban form to illustrate the incremental change that most JJCs undergo. The experience of eviction and resettlement to Sultanpuri on periphery during the Emergency reiterates the limitations of the eviction-demolition-model. The pilot in-situ rehabilitation project being implemented at KPC, while addressing some of these limitations failed to be inclusive. Further through an analysis of the participation process undertaken at KPC, I show that even though "community participation" is mandated by RAY, JNNURM and MP-21, in its practice and implementation it leads to more confusion and distress for the residents.

PART I: DELHI

PRE-INDEPENDENCE DELHI

Shahjahanabad- last of the seven cities that make up Delhi- was built by the Mughal emperor Shahjahan (1638-49) in the mid-1600s (Hearn 1974) and forms what is called Old Delhi today. The physical morphology of Shahjahanabad was typical of a pre-industrial city (King 2007, 186); defined by a thick brick wall that enclosed an irregular quadrant (Sharma 2005, 26). Extensive remains of earlier cities and newer settlements extended outside the wall forming a multitude of suburbs such as Tughlakabad, Nizamuddin, Mehrauli etc. (Dutt et al. 1994, 37; Jain 2016, 651). The settlement structure represented a closely knit, high-density orthogonal fabric with an introverted, inward looking character, particularly characterized by the *muhallas* and *havelis*

(Jain 2016, 653). The walled city was home to some 130,000 inhabitants, with the population rising to 150,000 when including the suburbs outside the walled city (King 2007, 186).

Direct European influence on the city began in 1803 when the city was captured by the British (King 2007, 189). In 1805 with the Mughal emperor retained as a titular head, the British took control of the lands, revenue and administration of Shahjahanabad, now called Delhi (Hosagrahar 2005; Jain 2016).[27] In 1857, the British met with the first large-scale resistance to their rule in the subcontinent.[28] This First War of Independence was an uprising against the rule of the British East India Company, which functioned until then on behalf of the British Crown. When in September 1857 the British entered the city after breaking months long siege they took opportunity to remove the Mughal emperor and take official control of the state (Dalrymple 2007). In late 1885, the governance of India was transferred to the British crown. The Crown found it necessary to discipline “indigenous” cities in order to create a "rebellion-proof" regime. British civilians moved out of the walled city to the Civil Lines, a heavy policed area meant to exclude Indians. Now largely segregated from the "criminal and dangerous classes" (N. Gupta 1981, 79), the British saw the native city as too dense and lacking in basic order and regimentation that they had come to value as a sign of class. The 'improvement' efforts by the British in Delhi post-uprising, were very similar in their tenets to those that led the French to formalize the cordon sanitaire in Algiers and elsewhere (Hosagrahar 2005). Underpinned by the need to control diseases,

[27] Delhi is an anglicized version of the original Dilli or Dihli and was used for the earliest Hindu settlement in the region. Its unofficial use endured through history with different rulers anointing the settlement with other official names. British began with calling Shahjahanabad Modern Delhi in 1805, but this was subsequently revised to Old Delhi after New Delhi became the capital in 1911.

[28] This uprising has been variously called the Indian Mutiny, the Sepoy Mutiny, the Great Rebellion, the Revolt of 1857 and more recently, India's First War for Independence.

an urban remodeling program was created. The "indigenous city" of Delhi was found to be the breeding ground of all forms of urban risk due to “badly constructed and ill-ventilated habitations”, poor drainage, and inhabitants as “irremediably vicious” (Hosagrahar 2005). Malaria, cholera, the “Delhi Fever”, poor water, heat, and damp were all found to threaten the health of British soldiers. The built fabric of this part of the city was further found to be the biggest stumbling block in achieving a sanitary ideal (Sharma 2014, 134). The lack of legibility of streets that wound their way into narrow lanes and cul-de-sacs spoke to the British of both inferior urban design and as a sign of degeneracy (Sharan 2006). In order to address these issues, as well as to articulate boundaries, and further cement the spatial segregation of the British from the “native” areas, massive clearances were carried out in the northern and eastern parts of the walled city, while the Indian inhabitants were crowded together in the remaining portions (Hosagrahar 2005). The military maintained a five-hundred yard building free zone around the city walls (Hosagrahar 2005). Despite the radical reordering of space through demolitions and the siege, Delhi recovered and by the 1870s a burgeoning land and property market developed outside the walled city (Jervis-Read 2010, 63). Extension of the railways brought in raw and finished goods from North India and led to the entrenchment of regionally significant wholesale markets in the city (Jervis-Read 2010; Hosagrahar 2005). Textile Mills and small-scale manufacturing workshops also developed. While in Western Europe, railroad and industrial growth had meant expansion beyond the medieval walls, in Delhi the boundaries established by the British military meant that there was rampant haphazard growth within the walled city and congestion from rapid urban expansion in this period. The British fear of the "laboring poor" persisted. This fear was fueled by a concern around issues of congestion, fears about the density of native population, sanitation and the potential “nuisance” from

workshops and “traditional and noxious” trades. In the colonial imagination, nuisance and disease called for the control of "dangers posed by native habits" and material improvements (Sharan 2006).

Prompted by fears of revolution and epidemics, the imperial capital was moved to New Delhi from Calcutta in 1911. The temporary capital was created in Civil Lines, while the new capital was being planned some 3 km south of Shahjahanabad or "Old Delhi" (Jervis-Read 2010, 64). Sir Edward Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker, the designers of New Delhi, tried to establish a cordon sanitaire around the walled city to "keep the rats of the old city out of the new".[29] Villages were cleared away before tree-lined avenues and parks were created at a grandiose scale, with public and private buildings to house British administrative and bureaucratic elite in New Delhi. Based on the Garden City movement, the central premise for the design of New Delhi was to promote health, light and air, but this vision was reserved for the British, with no place for the indigenous Indians in New Delhi.[30] Built between 1911 to 1932, New Delhi was envisioned to be the opposite of the crowded, dense and congested Old Delhi (Legg 2006b; Kalyan 2017, 55).

Booming small industries and workshop, as well as the ability to work on building sites pulled large numbers of people from the hinterland into the city. The population increased 44 percent in one decade between 1921-31 from 304,420 to 439,180 (Hosagrahar 2005). As rural

[29] Sir Edward Lutyens in (Goodfriend 1982, 473)

[30] British urban reformer Ebenezer Howard and his 1902 book “Garden Cities of Tomorrow” are the basis for the Garden City movement. Through an emphasis on orderly development, low density and physical separation of uses, the movement promoted healthy living. A cornerstone of the movement was the provision of extensive greenery in the design of cities. These ideas were exported from the metropole to the colonies as is the case of New Delhi. Other examples include Canberra and Mentem, Jakarta. When exported to the colonies, these ideas were for the "white expatriate settlement only, not for the indigenous population" (King 2015, 33).

Indians flocked to the new capital, they found insufficient accommodation and as such most of the population growth took place within the old walled city. Population density in the walled city and its immediate suburbs the west grew to 30 times higher than New Delhi and 100 times greater than in the Cantonment (Legg 2006b; Hosagrahar 2005). Large scale acquisition of land around Old Delhi for building New Delhi and control growth, hemmed in the settlement further (Goodfriend 1982, 473). With a burgeoning property market in the walled city and beyond, landlords looking to maximize returns, took to subdividing property as well as expanding existing properties into communal spaces, for rental and sale purposes. Often this was achieved by adding a floor or additional rooms, subdividing rooms into smaller rooms or appropriating courtyards into rooms, in order to accommodate the flood of migrants into the old walled city (Hosagrahar 2005). The further mixing of living and workspaces through this system of subdivisions, made it even more difficult to control, shape, and regulate construction, building modification and use for the colonial officials (Jervis-Read 2010; Hosagrahar 2005). The indigenous city was now held in contrast with the sparkling new imperial capital and found wanting for its congested, organic neighborhoods, over-crowding and unsanitary conditions. These understandings of the indigenous city were carried through in the representations of it in English-language newspapers, official documents, and reports. Hosargrahar (2005) through an in-depth archival analysis of official documents and newspaper reports shows that this characterization of the indigenous city as crowded and unsanitary was similar to the characterization of slums in late nineteenth century slums in Europe. These representations proved to be a premonition and within the next decade, all of Old Delhi was categorized as a slum by the Delhi Improvement Trust.

DELHI IMPROVEMENT TRUST (DIT)

By 1936, it was clear that New Delhi had been “consistently mis-planned” with too few houses built and transportation and commercial development going unchecked (Legg 2006a). This along with the “congestion” and “overcrowding” in Old Delhi prompted the Central Government to appoint A.P. Hume to scrutinize the causes and degree of congestion and propose a solution (Legg 2006b; Hosagrahar 2005; Jervis-Read 2010). In the "Report on the Relief of Congestion in Delhi", Hume (1936) cited chronic misgovernment since 1857 as the reason for the crumbling infrastructure and congestion in Old Delhi. The report engaged only with class statistics and made no mention of the social and religious geography of the city.[31] Using census data to assess the degree of overcrowding, Hume created an “intensity map” of population density and proposed a 'leveling out'. This meant moving people out of their current accommodations in the walled city and moving them into new housing outside the city. Hume also proposed the setting up of an Improvement Trust, which would be tasked with 'leveling out the intensity map' and would work in 'public interest' (Legg 2006a, 2006b; Sharan 2006). The report paved the way for the creation of the Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT) in 1937 as the main colonial authority for carrying out the large-scale urban redevelopment needed to create housing for 100,000 people (Chalana and Rishi 2015, 247; Kalyan 2017, 55). DITs main task was to create an elaborate slum clearance and re-housing program that would provide for the closure and eventual demolition of dwellings that it

[31] Stephen Legg (2006b) in his paper “Governmentality, congestion, and calculation in colonial Delhi” shows how population statistics were used in Colonial Delhi to create an indigenous "other". Legg goes into detail to show that while Hume was insensitive to local social distinctions in her report, he did go beyond the 'universal biological standard' to imply a difference between the needs of the Indian and European populations of Delhi.

deemed unfit for human habitation (Mann 2005, 257). Committed to decongesting the city center of Old Delhi and based on the recommendations of the Report, DIT drew up 26 re-housing schemes for just the first triennial followed by another 27 in subsequent years (Sharan 2006). However, the schemes faced an uphill battle in convincing people to move out of their homes. Residents were not passive receivers of 'civilizing projects' but rather engaged citizens (Hosagrahar 2005, 177; Jervis-Read 2010, 67). Instead of being the 'abstract calculable objects' that the Report had reduced them to, the DIT found resistant human beings who petitioned, protested and simply refused to move out of the city (Legg 2006b, 719). Between 1938-1943, the DIT built only 242 houses, with only 104 occupied (Hosagrahar 2005, 175).

Legg (2006a) argues that the DIT forwarded an "entrenched tradition of thought that reified distribution and devalued local custom and social relations". In the same vein, Hosargrahar (2005, 163) adds that the two fundamental notions that underpinned DITs work were first an assumption that people and societies were shaped by their environment and thus people living in similar environments shared a culture. Second, that 'rational design' and scientifically derived architecture had universal value regardless of culture and politics. Further, based in the ever-present British fears of the large numbers of 'rootless' and 'underdeveloped' poor, the DIT was crucial in concretizing in policy the "discursive definition of the poor as a social problem and as a separate social class, sharing undesirable habits and practices" (Gooptu 2001, 109; Jervis-Read 2010, 66). Much of the DITs epistemic leanings that valued scientific data as well as its anxieties around 'slums' and the 'poor' were carried into the post-colonial period through the Delhi Development Authority (DDA).

In 1947, India gained independence from the British and the country was partitioned into two new countries-the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The partition was marked by a mass movement of peoples from India into Pakistan and vice versa. Delhi as the largest city in North India was inundated with Hindus and Sikhs, moving to India from what was now Pakistan. The population of Delhi grew from 700,000 in 1947 to nearly 2 Million in 1950, making the issues of housing, slums and housing even more acute (Legg 2006a; Jervis-Read 2010). This influx of refugees exacerbated the existing issues of congestion and further disabled DIT's efforts at decongestion. Temporary shelters were set up for refugees, others squatted on available open land (often owned by DIT), while others found home in the abandoned houses in Old Delhi (Chalana and Rishi 2015, 247).[32] The DIT continued in existence through independence like many British era departments and committees.

In 1950, the DIT Enquiry Committee (Birla Committee) was created to devise a coordinated approach for the transition of British Delhi to Delhi-the Capital of independent India. The Committee went a step further from DIT, to comment on the connection that it saw between congestion or what it called 'bad environment' and behavior of people living in such conditions. Congestion was found to not only factor in the spread of diseases but also lead to 'juvenile delinquency', with the committee adding "Where honest toil can produce nothing but squalor there needs be no wonder that unsocial tempers rise" (Birla Committee Report, in Sharan 2006, 491). Similar to the DIT's response to fears of the “decay” and “blight” caused by “slums”, the committee

[32] Some 300,000 (approx.) Muslims left Delhi for Pakistan. A large percentage of these were residents of Old Delhi and their properties and homes were found abandoned by refugees coming into Delhi. These were inhabited by refugees and further subdivided to create more room for family members.

visualized the problem in a moral vein (Jervis-Read 2010, 67). Further, the committee kept with the DIT's painting of Old Delhi as a slum. The task of 'leveling the intensity map' identified by the Hume report remained the same, but was now re-branded as a national issue. The committee argued that the provision of housing was in the interest of the state and was an issue of national welfare and as India's capital, Delhi should set an example for large-scale housing (Legg 2006a). It was recommended that an intermediate institution between the Central government (elected) and the municipal government (also elected), be set up which be tasked with the technical task of urban planning for the city. This recommendation led to the creation of the Delhi Development Authority (DDA).

DELHI DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (DDA)

Based on the Birla Committee's recommendation the Government of India (GOI) setup the Delhi Development (provisional) Authority in 1955. In the same year, the Town Planning Organization (TPO) was setup to advise this provisional authority on "all matters relating to planning in the National Capital (DDA 1962). TPO was led by the Chairman of DIT and produced an Interim General Plan as a stop gap measure to guide planned development of the city until a comprehensive plan was prepared. One of the four elements of the plan were "Slum cleaning and improvement" (TPO 1956). Citing the Hume report (which had led to the creation of the DIT), the plan found that Hume's predictions on population had come true and consequently the predicted worsening of congestion had also taken place (TPO 1956, 50). Also, like Hume and DIT, the interim plan identified Old Delhi as “blighted” and lacking the basic services that create an environment for healthy living.

> It is difficult to spot an area within the (Old) city that is either not a slum, or on the way to becoming one. Squalor and filth, dirt and disease, these are the hallmark of life in the old city. (TPO 1956, 50)

The plan also concluded that in the old walled city, most “slumdwellers” were tenants and a majority of them belonged to the “lower economic strata” and that poverty was one of main reasons for the old city becoming a “slum”. In its recommendations however, the plan was more “humane” recommending that not only should any slum clearance and urban development program be comprehensive but that it go "beyond mere engineering and architectural solutions to the social, economic and human factors involved" (TPO 1956, 52). Taking a set away from the DIT, the plan recommended that any rehousing should keep in mind that the selected sites for rehousing be as close to existing work centers as possible or that new work centers be proposed near rehousing sites. The TPO therefore in its efforts to “improve” Old Delhi addressed both what were seen as the physical manifestations of poverty and the economic causes of that poverty. This was a departure from the previous efforts at 'improvement' having undertaken by the DIT mainly. Based on the recommendations of the TPO, the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act of 1956 was enacted to empower States and Union Territories to address the problem of slums (Kundu 2004, 260; Chalana and Rishi 2015, 247). The Act defines a “slum area” as an area in which the buildings are either "unfit for human habitation" or "are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faculty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morals" (GOI 1956, Chapter II Section 3). The Act does not use status of tenure

or ownership as an element to define what is a “slum”.[33] In other words houses inhabited by 'tenants or proprietors with legal rights' can be deemed a slum whether they have tenure rights or not (Braathen et al. 2016, 15). The Act therefore does not address the issue of either encroachment of land or squatting, and rather focusses on the physical conditions of the building. While the Act did recommend that relocation only be used when the present location "was physically hazardous or was required for a public purpose", it did not define either of these thoroughly and left it to the discretion of the State (Kundu 2004, 260). The Act itself followed much of the same language and ideals that were promoted by the DIT and by linking the condition of a building to the morals of the people that lived in it, the Act enabled the State to use it as an instrument for clearance of any informal settlement, historic neighborhood, urban villages etc. that were seen to be outside the norm, instead of actually addressing the issue of housing for the poor. The Act is used even today to designate a settlement as a “slum” or a “notified slum” and can then be used as "law to bring about demolition, upgradation and/or resettlement" (Datta 2012a, 35).

[33] It is necessary here to make an important distinction between what might in some ways be seen as two types of slums in the context of Delhi and India. The first refers to older housing stock which is the focus of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance Act of 1956). The second type refers to the often precarious, self-made structures colloquially called *Jhuggi or Jhompri or Jhonpri*. These often flimsy, cramped shacks are grouped together in Delhi as *Jhuggi-Jhompri* or JJ clusters (Dupont and Ramanathan 2008, 313). A quintessential JJ cluster or *Basti* reflects the income poor status of its residents through the built environment of the settlement (Bhan 2016, 8). There is a lack of infrastructure and basic services resulting in poor environmental conditions. Masterplans, planners and laws consider JJ clusters as 'informal' or 'illegal' since they are built in violation of planning norms and standard. The land that these JJ clusters are on is illegally occupied with the residents having no legal rights to the land. In Delhi, in part due to the nationalization of land through the 'Delhi Experiment', most *bastis* are on public land, usually owned by the DDA (Bhan 2016, 9). In the masterplans and planning discourse, the two types of slums are often clubbed together, and it is difficult to distinguish which type is being talked about. This has also historically meant that policy addressing the two types of slums does not distinguish between the two and no special provisions are made for one or the other.

As a response to the Birla Committee recommendations, the Delhi Development Act of 1957 formalized the (so far provisional) Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in 1957 as the main planning agency for Delhi (DDA 1962). Placed directly under the central government's Ministry of Urban Development, the DDA was created to "....promote and secure the development of Delhi according to plan" (DDA 1962). Further, the Act also required the DDA to execute a "civic survey" of, and prepare a Master Plan, for Delhi. With this board mandate the DDA with not only tasked with masterplanning for Delhi but also with providing housing, commercial, residential, recreational space and infrastructure.

THE MASTERPLANS

MASTERPLAN 1962 (MP-62)

With the assistance of the Ford Foundation, the DDA prepared the first twenty-year masterplan for Delhi in 1962 (Baviskar 2003, 90; Sundaram 2012, 169; Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014, 3). Delhi was identified as needing the "concept, development and execution of a plan for the metropolitan region" (Jervis-Read 2010, 72). Using projections for population growth to calculate corresponding requirement for housing etc., Masterplan 1962 (MP-62) proposed large-scale public land acquisitions, development and disposal through the DDA in order to control land prices (Milbert 2008, 192). This large-scale land acquisition was meant to facilitate the implementation of MP-62 through “high-degree” of public land control (Srirangan 2000). 62,200 acres of land were to be acquired and developed in two stages during the reign of MP-62, with the DDA as the sole authority for development. The revenue earned from developing this land would be used to feed a 'revolving fund' which would be used by the DDA to fulfill its obligations for balanced planned growth, as specified in the plan (Bhan 2016, 54). Once the land was developed,

it would be leased out for a fixed amount of time, instead of being sold. Thus, keeping land in public ownership. This was called the “Delhi Experiment”. The DDA was successful in meeting the projected goals for land acquisition acquiring 56,834 acres of land (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014, 3). DDA was the single actor which would control the building of or itself build all categories of housing for different income groups. These categories were defined as the low, middle and high income groups (Bhan 2016, 55). It was specified that 60 percent of land acquired by the DDA be provided for the poor through resettlement and new housing development (Milbert 2008).

Led by modernist traditions brought by the consultancy team, the finalized Delhi MP-62 envisioned the city as a “productive organism” with a land-use scheme that clearly defined and separated commerce, industry, work and home (Sundaram 2012, 170). Within the metropolitan region of the plan, two environmental concerns were outlined: slums and industrial units. The team found conditions in Delhi's slums desperate and at the same time slums were a “way of life” characterized by people who were "apathetic or even antagonistic to local authorities" (Sharan 2006). The team was also concerned with the growth in population of the city and particularly in the “slum areas”. The team found that residents of “slum areas” tended to retain their “village habits”.

Based largely in the colonial idiom of congestion, the post-colonial MP-62 also projected Old Delhi to have “too many people in too little space”, with the people characterized by moral turpitude and an inability to be “civic citizens” of modern India (Jervis-Read 2010, 75). All of Old Delhi was designated a “slum” in MP-62 with the DDA tasked with redeveloping the area through eviction and resettlement of residents at designated sites or resettlement colonies (Kundu 2004, 261). The specified that resettlement could not be to the “periphery of the city” but should rather

be in disparate parts of the city, so as to prevent the income-based segregation (Chalana and Rishi 2015, 248). Several slum areas within and around the Old City were evicted and demolished in the 1960s and the residents resettled to the periphery of the city in clear violation MP-62 (Tarlo 1995, 2928). This first wave of demolitions was followed by a much more forceful wave of demolition during 1975-77 period in which 1,41,820 of the residents of the city were evicted (Jervis-Read 2010, 79). This was a period of Emergency Rule in the country under which civil liberties were suspended and as a Central Government institution, DDA got additional power to pursue its resettlement and redevelopment agenda (Mann 2005, 261). Once Emergency rule ended in 1977, in response to the backlash in terms of electoral defeat of the ruling party, several subsequent administrations took a much more relaxed view towards slum areas. Residents could now obtain proof-of-residency and voter-identification cards, and many settlements also saw an upgradation of services such as electricity and water (Kundu, Schenk, and Dash 2002; Schenk 2004).

While the DDA was very successful in the acquisition of land during MP-62, it continuously failed to fulfill the second part of the "Delhi experiment" which was the development of this land. By 1978, 30,000 of acquired land was to be developed for residential use but only 13,412 acres was developed (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014, 3). By the late 1970s it was clear that the DDA had not been able to provide adequate planned housing and that it's had constructed less than 50,000 of the 75,000 apartments between 1969-1981 (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014, 4; Bhan 2016, 58). Further it had constructed far more apartments for the middle (24.7 % of total built) and upper class (49.8% of total built) residents than for the lower income residents (11.5% of total built). This shortfall in construction of housing is evident from the increase in the number of unplanned, unauthorized and informal colonies and settlements. By 1983, by conservative

estimates 30 percent Delhi's population i.e. More than 1.7 million people lived in these colonies and settlements (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014, 4).

MASTERPLAN 2001 (MP-01)

The term of MP-62 ended in 1982, however Delhi was the host of the Asian Games in 1982 which meant that there was an 8-year delay in the release of the next masterplan- Masterplan 2001 (MP-01) (Chalana and Rishi 2015, 249). The goals of MP-01 were somewhat more modest than its predecessor. While MP-62 had aimed to develop enough land to account for urban exemption and growth through 1981, in MP-01 only an additional 10,000 acre of land was brought under the purview of the plan. This was a meager 4.5 percent increase in the existing development area from MP-62 and left out areas that were already built up beyond the boundaries of MP-62 (Bhan 2016, 59). Increasing prosperity and a growing middle-class beginning in the 1980s and continuing into the 1990s, saw India liberalize its economy in 1992 under the guidance of IMF and the World Bank. This economic liberalization saw also a significant shift in the DDA's approach to delivering housing. Through a number of central government policies, the public-sector control of land and in turn housing established through the 'Delhi experiment' was reduced. Further with this shift, the DDA moved from leasehold to freehold ownership of houses and commercial properties (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014, 4).

Similar to MP-62, MP-01 also stated as one of its objective the "elimination of slums and squatting" as well as "provision of adequate housing and related community facilities" (DDA 1990). The plan did not however make any specific recommendations on how to achieve this, only mandating that 25 percent of all housing built be for low-income households (Chalana and Rishi 2015, 249). MP-01 underestimated the growth of Delhi, and in turn the growth of the informal

sector (Chakarbarti 2001). The Asian Games that had been responsible for the delay of the masterplan had also attracted a large number of rural migrants to the city to help in the large-scale construction and infrastructure development taking place for the games. Baviskar (2003) estimates that some 1 million laborers came to Delhi to help in the preparation for the games and after the construction was over, these laborers stayed in the city seeking employment in other construction projects and informal sector. Due to the acute shortfall of housing created for the lower-income groups during the previous masterplan in addition to this migration, the number of households in informal settlements in Delhi rose from 20,000 in 1977 to 150,000 in 1985 (Jain 2009; Chalana and Rishi 2015). While the number of informal settlements had grown rapidly and real estate had become precious, there was a lull in the cycle of evictions and demolitions between 1977-97. This lull, along with the provision of electricity connections and assurances by political leaders, contributed to the creation of a sense of security in the minds of dwellers of informal settlements who invested in land and housing in these settlements. Even though both MP-62 and MP-01 mandated that 25 percent all residential development be for the poor and low-income households, the DDA had failed to construct enough housing for the poor (Chalana and Rishi 2015, 250). Further the shift towards the privatization of land stimulated the real estate market which led to an increase in the value of land and housing. This created a further incentive for the DDA to demolish unplanned and informal settlements and evict the residents in order to realize its exchange value (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014, 5).

MASTERPLAN 2021 (MP-21)

Following the economic liberalization starting 1992, successive governments instituted social and spatial changes with the vision of making Delhi a "world-class" and "global" city

(Dupont 2011; Baviskar 2011, 138). In the same vein, Masterplan 2021 released in 2005 states that 'Vision 2021' of the masterplan was to "..transform Delhi into a global metropolis and a world-class city, where all the people are engaged in productive work with a decent standard of living and quality of life in a sustainable environment" (DDA 2010, 2). This vision of a 'world-class' and 'global' Delhi was further entrenched into minds of Delhi's leaders and middle-class residents with its successful bid for the Commonwealth Games of 2010. Seen as a coming of age of the country, the Games were seen as an opportunity to create "world-class" infrastructure that would "attract tourists, boosting local jobs and incomes" (Baviskar 2011, 141). This was envisioned to not only entail an improvement in the infrastructure but also in the "mindsets" of its people. Dupont (2011, 541) writes that this dream of Delhi as a "global world class" city during this period was linked with following an international model of modernization in its urban landscape which leads to a "certain repetition and standardization of urban forms, for example, the proliferation of high-rises, shopping malls and business centers, gated housing complexes and the multiplication of freeway flyovers". To this end MP-21 proposed a critical reform in the prevailing land policy in order to facilitate public-private partnerships (PPP) in order to incentivize the "recycling of old, dilapidated areas for their rejuvenation" (DDA 2010, 5).[34] Using "land as a resource for private sector participation", MP-21 sought to "rehabilitate" old urban neighborhoods and self-finance the

[34] In the wake of economic liberalization of the 1990's, a new National Housing and Habitat Policy (NHP) was evolved emphasizing strong Public-Private-Partnerships (PPPs) for tacking housing and infrastructure. Sivaramakrishnan (2011, 48) writes that "the government's role was to provide fiscal concessions to carry out legal and regulatory reforms and create an enabling environment." The policy laid greater emphasis on habitat and led to the creation of the National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy (NUHHP) 2007 as an amplification of the earlier policy. It was presented in the perspective of the 74th constitutional amendment emphasizing district and metropolitan planning as facilitating housing with a planned context. Following NUHHP, MP-21 also laid emphasis on the PPP as a development tool.

provision of housing for the urban poor in Delhi (Kalyan 2017, 84). Consistent with new urban national policy MP-21 focused on "optimizing" land use in the city in order to transform Delhi into "world-class" city (DDA 2010). MP-21 also added 50,000 acres of development area to the plan, with some already developed areas outside MP-01 being left out again. This essentially meant that some areas that had already been built up, were not considered under purview of MP-21, similar to MP-01. The plan promoted greater growth in the suburbs and shifting of economic activities out of the core to help ease pressure on the core (Dewal 2006). The DDA positioned its recommendations against a background of acknowledged failure to provide adequate housing for the lower and poor income-groups.

> .....up to the year 1991, the contribution to housing stock through institutional agencies was only 53% (excluding squatter housing). Therefore, the component of housing through non-institutional sources, viz., unauthorized colonies, squatter/JJ clusters, etc., is quite significant. This trend has continued in the current decade as well (DDA 2010 in Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014).

The DDAs inability to provide adequate housing had meant that almost 47% of the city's residents lived in “non-institutional” housing (DDA 2010). While the plan did not outline a clear policy on slum resettlement it promoted a more “humane approach” to resettlement with PPP being the key to effective resettlement. In practice MP-21 reserves a majority of land for creating housing for higher and middle-income groups and commercial, institutional, recreational and other uses.

SETTLEMENT TYPES IN DELHI

The DDA as the sole institution that master plans, acquires and develops land, and housing in Delhi has consistently produced inadequate amount of housing. In April 2014, DDA held 25 percent of the total land of the city i.e. 90,326 acres (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014, 7). The deficit

in allocation of land and housing production on the part of the DDA continues with MP-21 estimating that there is a shortfall of 400,000 units, 88% of which were supposed to be economically weaker section (EWS) housing. Bhan (2013, 60, 2016, 57) argues that this shortfall is for a very particular 'failure' of planning i.e. the DDA overbuilt housing for the middle and higher income groups while acutely under-building housing for what are terms as the EWS. By 2010, the DDA had built only a quarter of EWS the housing it was meant to build occupying only 3 percent of the land in the city (Ghertner 2010a). This however did not dissuade newer migrants from coming to the city in the search for work which was plentiful. In 1981, of Delhi's 5.7 million people, 1.8 million lived in JJ clusters and slums. This number rose to 2.25 of 8.4 million in 1991 and to 3.25 out of 12.25 million by 2001 (Ghertner 2010a).

Starting with the design and construction of New Delhi and then carried through to MP-62, MP-01 and MP-21, a scientific-rational process has been followed to create plans and comprehensive masterplans for Delhi and its inhabitants. The masterplans for Delhi all envision it as a “model city” which through the process of urban planning can be made 'prosperous, hygienic and orderly' (Baviskar 2003, 91). However, while these efforts to some extent acknowledge the need to create housing for the poor and lower-income groups of the city they do not recognize that the construction of this model city could only be realized through the physical manual labor of the working poor. The building of the planned city was mirrored with the mushrooming of an unplanned Delhi in the interstices of planned development. Contrary to popular understanding, this unplanned development did not only happen in the slums and informal settlements but rather gave rise to a varied typology of settlements in Delhi. Only 3.3 million city dwellers, that is 23.7 per cent of the population were housed in planned housing/colonies in 2008 (Bhan 2013). The rest

are forced to reside in unauthorized colonies, *jhuggi-jhonpri* (JJ) clusters, designated slum sites and resettlement colonies (Table 3.2). The DDA in 2012 owned 50% of all land that the 685 JJ and slum clusters were on (Banda, Vaidya, and Adler 2013, 4). This segmentation may be attributed to a large extent to the housing policies and shortfall in housing production on the part of the DDA. Further both in MP-01 and MP-21, the masterplan did not take under its purview some areas around Delhi where housing and development had already taken place, which meant that even though in some of these areas met the criteria for formal housing, it was not designated as such. Housing typology in Delhi is differentiate differentiated on the basis of tenure security, dwelling conditions, infrastructure status and "the degree of planning intervention" (Ahmad and Choi 2011, 78–80).

Planned Colonies are an outcome of planning by the DDA and are built on plots marked in the development area of the masterplan "in concordance with the use allocated to that plot in the masterplan or the zonal plan. Planned colonies are laid out based on the standards defined in the masterplan, comply with planning norms and are fully serviced with infrastructure (CPR 2015, 2). It is important to note that planned colonies fulfill these conditions when they were built and while there is a 'temporality' to having met all these conditions, planned colonies are "always been planned, legal and legitimate" (Bhan 2013, 60). In 2000, approximately 24% of Delhi's population lived in planned colonies. Planned colonies are a 'benchmark' against which all other typologies are measured to determine their legality, and legitimacy.

Unauthorized Colonies are built on land that is not included in the development area of the masterplan or on an area that is designated non-residential use in the masterplan. Before 1975, all unauthorized colonies in Delhi fell in the latter category since MP-62 hadn't developed fully. In other words "....infrastructural services were not provided and the land parcels not notified to be ready for planned housing to be built" (Bhan 2013, 61). Both MP-01 and MP-21 left areas that had already been built-up, out of the development area of the masterplan. This selectively left out area meant that any housing on it became unauthorized. Most of this housing is on land considered 'rural' or 'agricultural' by the masterplan. While this land is considered to have been “illegally subdivided into plots”, the residents/owners of the settlement possess documentation to prove tenure. Further, construction in such colonies is not necessarily done following the standards and norms laid out by the masterplan. While Unauthorized colonies are illegal and unplanned, they lie at the intersection of the formal (in transition of land) and informal (norms and standards of building), they are however legitimate (Bhan 2016, 62). No unauthorized colony has ever been evicted and residents enjoy a de facto security of tenure in unauthorized colonies. In essence this 'semi-legality' is a product of the masterplan and a separate policy mechanism has been created to bring unauthorized colonies into the 'legal ambit'. In 2013, four million people lived in 1639 unauthorized colonies, 895 of which were found to be eligible for regularization (CPR 2015, 3). Once Unauthorized Colonies are 'regularized' they become Regularized-Unauthorized Colonies. Regularization is the process of bringing an unauthorized colony is made legal. In this process the property titles are recognized by law and can be registered with the relevant authority. While a colony might be regularized and an attempt made to align it with planned norms, it will not become a 'planned colony' since it was not on when it was built (Bhan 2013, 62). There were two waves

of 'regularization', in 1962 and in 1975 in which 102 and 567 colonies were regularized (Bhan 2016). In a more recent round of regularization 1639 colonies applied in 1993. In this third wave, some 733 colonies were regularized in 2009 (Bhan 2013, 63–64).

Table 3.2. Settlement Typology in Delhi, adapted from (Heller et al. 2015)

	Type of Settlement	**Population in millions (2006)**	**Percentage of Total Population (2006)**	**Legality**
1	Planned Colony	3.909	23.70%	Legal, Planned, Formal [secure tenure]
2	Unauthorized Colony	0.874	5.30%	Illegal, Unplanned, Legitimate Formal/Informal [de facto secure tenure]
3	Regularized – Unauthorized Colony	2.099	12.72%	Legal, Unplanned, legitimate, formal [secure tenure]
4	Urban Village	1.049	6.35%	Zone of exception
5	Rural Village	0.874	5.30%	Zone of exception
6	Slum Designated Area (SDA)	3.148	19.10%	Legal, Unplanned, Legitimate, Formal [secure tenure]
7	Jhuggi Jhopri Cluster (JJC)	2.448	14.80%	Illegal, Unplanned, Illegitimate, Informal [no tenure security]
8	Resettlement Colonies	2.099	12.72%	Legal, Planned, Legitimate, Formal [Secure non-transferable Tenure]
	Total Population	16.5	100.00%	

It is at the discretion of the DDA which colonies will become legal and which will remain illegal, which will be notified and which will remain outside the development area of the city. There is no objective metrics for this process. Gautam Bhan (2013) explains that the regularization of unauthorized colonies is what Ananya Roy (2003b) has called a "spatial mode of governance" in which it is the plans and their implementation that produce and regulate illegality. As the plans are created by the same institution that implements them, the institution can decide through its

power to create and implement plans what is legal and what is illegal. Further by deciding to keep certain built-up areas outside the development area for MP-01 and MP-21, DDA created the category of unauthorized colonies in the first place.

Urban and Rural villages further challenge the understanding of planned, formal and legal. Rural villages are located on the periphery of the city, classified as 'rural' by the masterplan and characterized by agricultural activity. There are 227 rural villages in Delhi (CPR 2015, 5). The buildings in rural villages are not subject to the same planning restrictions as those in other areas. Urban villages are rural villages that were absorbed into the city and made part of the masterplan. These are dense settlements, marked by a mix of land uses. MP-62 included 20 urban villages, 106 in MP-01 and 162 in MP-21 (Bhan 2016, 68–69). Technically Urban and Rural villages are planned as these are part of the masterplan, however these are made part of masterplan through a suspension of planning norms and standards and hence lie in a zone of exception. Land use regulations also do not apply on Urban and Rural Villages. Urban Villages are legitimate if not planned. Residents of urban villages have security of tenure; however, they cannot sell or transfer land or property to others. Urban and rural villages are therefore, formal, legitimate, planned though not completely and legal with limitations (Bhan 2016, 69).

Jhuggi Jhopri Clusters (JJCs) and Slum Designated Areas (SDA) are together what is commonly understood as slums. SDAs are those areas in the city which due to age and condition of housing are designated a 'slum' under the 1956 Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act. While the Act defines a slum as an area "unfit for habitation", there are no objective measures defined by the Act and therefore designating an area as a slum is discretionary. No SDAs have been notified since 1994 (CPR 2015, 5). Most SDAs in Delhi exist in Old Delhi, almost all of

which was designated a slum in MP-62. It was later reclassified as a heritage area and then a 'special area' (Bhan 2016, 70). It is important to note here that 97 percent of all properties that are SDAs are privately owned (CPR 2015, 5). SDAs are also called notified slums, and once an area is notified as a slum under the Act, the residents are ensured resettlement after eviction as well as protection from 'arbitrary eviction'. SDAs are therefore informal and formal both, unplanned, legitimate and legal.

Jhuggi Jhopri clusters or JJCs are defined as 'squatter settlements' located on 'public land' (CPR 2015, 5). Residents of JJ clusters are considered 'encroachers' by the DDA as they are not formally allocated the land that they occupy (Ghertner 2010a). Migrants moving to the city, in finding a dearth of affordable formal housing have built these JJ clusters on vacant land. In the case of Delhi, it may be argued that this does not constitute the act of squatting since these colonies have been deliberately settled by state or private labor contractors in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Contractors recruited and coerced laborers from neighboring states to come work in the construction of planned areas in Delhi. As the DDA has consistently failed to provide enough low-income or EWS housing the contractors created labor camps on government land besides the worksites. Ghertner (2010a) points out that since in a majority of cases this took place with the approval of the government (informal or formal), these colonies are "planned violations of the masterplan" and do not constitute squatting. A lot of this construction work was long term and included building large residential estates, which after the construction as over provided other means of livelihood to the laborers and their families. In time the JJ clusters became semi-permanent. The local elected officials, realizing the potential of having so many low-income residents as their constituents began patronizing these settlements and helping residents gain

documentation in the form of identification cards. This began a relationship of political patronage that helped residents secure some protection from eviction. In 2014, there were and estimated 672 JJCs with 304,188 jhuggis or dwellings (CPR 2015, 5). JJCs are vulnerable to eviction and demolitions and the residents have not entitlement to basic services. While officially there is no security of tenure or ownership of property, there is a de facto system of buying and selling of jhuggis that exists which relies on social networks. There is no mechanism for a JJC to become legal and planned.

JJ Resettlement Colonies are the areas where residents of JJCs are resettled after eviction. Resettlement in a JJ Resettlement colony is the only at for residents of JJCs to become legitimate (Bhan 2016, 72). JJ Resettlement Colonies are the closest to Planned Colonies in typology as these are explicitly part of the development area of the masterplan. Further these are located in areas marked for residential use and laid out according to the norms and standards specified in the masterplan. Resettlement colonies therefore meet the benchmarks for a Planned Colony, however the difference lies in the nature of the title of property. In the case of JJ resettlement colonies, the residents are given non-transferable licenses to the property they are allotted. The properties can therefore not be sold or transferred to other people. Further while on paper JJ Resettlement Colonies are planned and therefore assured access to basic infrastructure, basic services are often received years after residents are resettled there.[35] The first wave of resettlement in the 1960s led to the creation of 18 resettlement colonies. During the Emergency period in the 1970s another 26 colonies were created. The last wave of resettlements was triggered by PILs and the 2010

[35] For more on the lack of services and facilities in JJ Resettlement Colonies refer to (Sheikh and Banda 2014; Chalana and Rishi 2015).

Commonwealth games and 11 new JJ Resettlement Colonies were created (CPR 2015, 2). These 55 resettlement colonies are scattered along the periphery of the city, far from where the JJCs were evicted. While there are no official estimates available for the last 11 colonies established in the 2000s, the first 44 resettlement colonies are home to some 250,000 households and approx. 1.25 million people.

Roy (2009b, 80) has argued that in Indian cities planning (and indeed the global South) cannot be understood as the 'forecasting and management of growth' but rather it should be understood as a management of resources particularly of land. This management is manifest through the dynamic processes of informality, where informality if a 'state of deregulation' in which ownership, use and purpose of land cannot be understood through any prescriptive set of regulations or the law. Further this informality is an ever-shifting relationship between what is legal and illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorized. In the discussion of the different settlement types above it is clear that it is the DDA which through the creation and implementation of the masterplans mediates this arbitrary and fickle relationship. While the DDA chooses to 'regularize' unauthorized colonies, it chooses to evict the residents of JJCs. Both unauthorized colonies and JJCs are illegal when understood through the masterplan’s norms and standards. Both these settlements types violate the masterplan in terms of land-use, however while the DDA has created a mechanism to 'regularize' unauthorized colonies, JJCs are evicted and demolished. In essence, these settlement types show that in some way or the other a majority of settlement in Delhi violates the masterplan and thus the law in some form or the other, however, while certain types of illegality is legitimized and legalized, others such as JJCs are not.

Ghertner (2008) has argued that while in recent years JJCs or slums have been designated as “nuisance” through various PILs, unauthorized colonies have been 'normalized' through regularization. The important distinction between JJCs and Unauthorized colonies is that while most JJCs are on publicly owned land, unauthorized colonies are privately owned. While the residents of JJCs designated as 'secondary category of citizens' are relegated to being evicted from their dwellings, often without recourse, the rights of private property-owning citizens are preserved and legitimized through 'regularization'. This designation of residents of JJCs is one inherited from the DIT, which for the first time linked spatial congestion with 'illicit' behaviors. The DIT as a source of policy was crucial to the "discursive definition of the poor as a social problem and as a separate social class, sharing undesirable habits and practices and suffering from moral deficit and backwardness" (Gooptu 2001, 109). Bhan (2016) characterizes unauthorized colonies as the terrain of both the working poor and the rich. Unauthorized colonies such Sainik Farmhouse are home to some of the richest people in Delhi and challenge the understanding of informality as the terrain of poverty and the poor.

APPROACHES TO SLUMS (JJCS AND SDAS)

The current schemes and policies that address informal settlements or slums can trace their origins to the DIT which entrenched norms and standards that continue to inform planning practices and policy even today (Chalana and Rishi 2016, 157). The DIT relied on urban planning tools such as zoning, land use and DIT's approach to tackling the 'problem' of slums had been clearance of “blighted”, “native” quarters and then re-housing residents elsewhere. Re-housing for the DIT entailed the eviction of residents from those areas deemed slums and then the demolition of their dwellings while the residents were relocated or resettled outside the walled city

in regimented, ordered dwellings. When in 1957 the DDA replaced DIT as the main planning authority for Delhi, part of its mandate was based in the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act 1956. The Act empowered governments at various levels to deal with the growing 'problem' of slums (Kundu 2004). As discussed above Slum Designated Areas Settlements (SDAs) were notified as slums under the Act were legal and planned as these were in most cases part of Old Delhi. Notification under the Act made these settlements eligible for improvements and awarded protection from eviction without resettlement. Since the Act specifies only conditions of physical dilapidation, settlements which were considered as “squatter settlements” were not notified under this Act, as to be notified, the settlement had to first be part of the planned city. Bhan (2009, 131) points out that the last SDA to be notified under the Act was in 1973.

In 1962, the *Jhuggi-Jhonpri* (slums) Removal Scheme (JJRS) was created for the identification and relocation of "squatters" through a local administrative body (Jervis-Read 2010, 78). JJRS concretized the DIT favored eviction-demolition-resettlement model whereby slumdwellers were offered plots in exchange for their demolished *jhuggis*. To be entitled to a plot, a person had to first prove that they were eligible for resettlement. Eligibility was determined by the person proving that they had been living in the settlement before a specific date. Once a person was deemed “eligible” they would be given a demolition slip and an allotment slip on eviction from their settlement, which acted as proof of their authenticity and entitlement (Tarlo 1995, 2922). During the first two decades of the scheme, regardless of whether the eviction was taking place from an SDA or JJC, the resettlement has been consistently on the periphery of the city, usually on the very edge of the development area of the masterplan. MP-62 while not specifying location directed that the resettlement colonies not be located on the 'periphery of the city' (Chalana and

Rishi 2015, 248). The first wave of evictions in the 1960s led to the creation of 18 resettlement colonies. During the Emergency period in the 1970s another 26 colonies were created with 1,41,820 homes demolished in Old Delhi (Jervis-Read 2010, 79). The last wave of evictions was triggered by PILs and the 2010 Commonwealth games and 11 new JJ Resettlement Colonies were created (CPR 2015, 2). In 1998, the population living in JJCs in Delhi was approx. 3 million in 1100 clusters and made up 27 percent of the population of the city (Dupont 2008, 80). In 2000, 14.8 percent of Delhi lived in JJCs, while 12.7% lived in resettlement colonies.

The JJRS is administered by the Slum and JJ Wing, which was instituted in 1960 under the Municipal Corporation of Delhi [MCD]. This has meant that while 80 percent of JJCs are on DDA land, the agency implement resettlement is housed in a different elected body. The process of implementing JJRS is made even more complicated by this and colloquial evidence suggests that this allows for more discrepancies in allotment to take place. Post the first two waves of evictions, there was a lull and a new "three-pronged strategy" was adopted by the government of Delhi in 1991 in dealing with informal settlements, and was approved by the DDA in 1992. The strategy was then restated in MP-21 (Dupont 2008, 80). The strategy centered around (Dupont and Ramanathan 2008, 318; Singh 2009, 16):

1. In-situ upgradation of clusters that were not required by the land-owning agency for another 15-20 years
2. Relocation of clusters located on land that was required for the implementation of projects in the 'larger public interest'
3. Environmental improvement of urban slums in all clusters irrespective of the status of the encroached land

The policy further specified and was reiterated in MP-21 that no “fresh encroachment” should be allowed on public land and at the same time existing 'encroachments' that had existed before 01.31.1990 "would not be removed without providing alternatives" (DDA 2010).[36] While the policy took a step forward by ensuring that residents would not be removed without alternatives, it still labeled people living in informal settlements as "encroachers" and "slum-dwellers" in similar vein to policies before it. While this policy adds nuance to the eviction-demolition-resettlement model, it is in essence the same. Of the three-prongs, relocation has been used most often leading to the eviction of some 69,410 families between 1990-2007 (Bhan and Shivanand 2013).

In-situ upgradation as a strategy is based in the National Slum Improvement Policy of the Government of India which emphasizes the improvement of slums on a "as is where is basis" (Banda and Sheikh 2014, 3). In-situ upgradation of any JJC is restricted by the land owning (LOA) not requiring the land in the near future, and this was a limiting factor for its implementation. In most cases the LOA (DDA in majority of cases) and the implementing agency the Slum and JJ Wing were part of different institutions and there was no incentive for the LOA to allow for upgradation as there was fear that it would lead to further entrenchment of the settlement. In-situ upgradation provided de facto tenure security with assurance of protection from eviction but no actual land titles or licenses. While in-situ upgradation was promoted by the Ministry of Urban Development as the preferable method of addressing JJC, in reality it was implemented only in

[36] This date of eligibility, which determines who gets resettlement or not is constantly changed to bring more residents under the purview of the policy. This is also indicative of the enormity of percentage of population in JJCs.

four cases in Delhi with the last one executed in the mid-1990s (Banda and Sheikh 2014, 4; Dupont 2008, 80). Environmental improvement is a 'low-impact' process in which JJCs are provided to improved basic services such as water, drainage, roads and streets (Banda and Sheikh 2014, 2).

While the policy tries to ensure that 'squatters' interests are protected in the event of an eviction, the policy has been undermined due to the intervention for the judiciary. As the policy allows for eviction based on “larger public interest” it opens the door for evictions to take place. "Larger public interest” may be interpreted in different ways, as has been seen by the judicial interventions in Delhi vis-a-vis slums. In the Almitra Patel case (2000) and the Okhla Owners' Association case (2002) the judiciary went a step further- while asking the state to evict slumdwellers, denied the obligation of the state to provide resettlement or relocation alternatives to the evicted residents.[37] In many of these PILs, petitioners representing RWAs and or industrialists represented 'public interest' as the need for a 'clean and green' Delhi, and were able to initiate court directed evictions.[38] Dupont (2008, 81) argues that this use of PILs to represent 'public interest' as environmental and sanitation considerations that trumped the needs of the poor, exacerbated the antagonism between the need for stable housing for the poor and the aspiration for a 'clean and green' Delhi.

Between 1990 and 2007, there were 218 individual instances of evictions in Delhi which led to the displacement of 64,910 families of which and average 52 percent were given resettlement lots or apartments (Bhan and Shivanand 2013, 56). This means that 48 percent of all evicted

[37] For details on the two cases refer to (Dupont and Ramanathan 2008; Bhan 2009; HLRN 2013; Heller et al. 2015).

[38] For details see: (Baviskar 2003; Ghertner 2011a).

families did not get resettlement housing. Post 2007 data shows that the resettlement ratio is even lower at 21 percent (Bhan and Shivanand 2013, 57). There is no data to elaborate on what happens to the people that do not get resettlement. In my informal conversations with activists working in Kathputli Colony and other informal settlements in Delhi, it was clear that existing slums in Delhi are getting denser. The DDA and other LOA have been able to prevent newer 'encroachments' from taking place, as directed by the policy and so new migration as well as people rendered homeless by evictions are absorbed into existing informal settlements. In 2005, the same year that MP-21 was initiated, the DDA made an important change to its three-pronged strategy. Citing paucity of land, enormity of the "problem of JJCs" and court interventions needing fast resolution, it was proposed that rehabilitation of eligible "squatter" families be undertaken in pre-built multistoried 'tenements' in place of plots (Jain 2009, 125).

India's embrace of economic liberalization in the 1990s resulted in a shift from state-directed development to market-driven strategies and thus a switch to 'entrepreneurial' governance. This has shifted attention from the state to non-state actors such as non-government organizations, civil society and the private sector in policy arenas (Chattopadhyay 2017). Further, implementation of neoliberal economic policies has meant that a substantial proportion of the population has been 'lifted out of poverty' and joined the new middle-class.[39] Between 2004 to

[39] How the 'new middle-class' is defined and hence the number of people in it measured, is a point of contention amongst scholars and economists [see for example (Banerjee and Duflo 2008; Homi 2010; Meyer and Birdsall 2012)]. In the Indian context, the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) defines those households with an annual income between INR 2 Lakh and INR 1 Million as being part of the new middle-class (Shukla 2010). Most scholars however find that in the context of the global South and India in particular, income bounds such as those set by the NCAER, are not an accurate measure. A consumption-based measure, which defines the new middle class as those that spend between $2 and $10 per capita per day has been found to be the most accurate instead (Banerjee

2012, the new middle class in India grew from less than 30% of the population to 50 percent of population. In absolute size, the new middle class in India doubled in that time period, from 304 million to 604 million (Krishnan and Hatekar 2017). This growth in the middle class is in turn redefining urban production and consumption patterns and pushing for the creation of middle-class centered cities as a "visual urban embodiment of globalization" (L. Fernandes 2004). Growth of the middle class has altered consumption patterns effecting every section of the economy. In housing, this has meant a shift from a 'need based' to a 'choice based' consumption pattern. Access to more disposable income in the middle-class has pushed up prices, size, and quality of housing (Sengupta 2011). Leela Fernandes (2004) finds that the remaking of the urban Indian landscape to cater to the desires of the middle-class, is premised on the marginalization of the poor. Further, this has also allowed for a "growing amnesia" (Kothari 1993) towards the needs and preferences of the poor in Indian cities.

In Delhi, liberalization has meant a change from a nationalized land ownership model into a more privatized one as well as a privatization of state services and provisions such as privatization of power supply. This shift towards 'entrepreneurialism' (Harvey 1989a) in urban governance is demonstrated by a shift towards public-private-partnerships (PPP) as the main engine for developing publicly owned land in Delhi. In the wake of economic liberalization of the 1990's, a new National Housing and Habitat Policy (NHHP) was evolved emphasizing strong Public-Private-Partnerships (PPPs) for tacking housing and infrastructure. The policy laid greater emphasis on habitat and led to the creation of the National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy

and Duflo 2008; Krishnan and Hatekar 2017). The figures presented in this work are based on this measure.

(NUHHP) 2007 as an amplification of the earlier policy. NUHHP recommended earmarking of 20-25 percent of land to be made available for affordable EWS housing (MHUPA 2007). This recommendation is in fact similar to MP-62's mandate that 25 percent all land be developed as EWS housing by the DDA. A mandate the DDA was unable to fulfill. Following NUHHP, MP-21 also laid emphasis on the PPP as a development tool. The policy stressed the need to minimize forcible eviction and resettlement to the periphery and encourages in-situ upgrading with tenure security of up to 15 years using PPP model (Jain 2009; Chalana and Rishi 2015). The discursive and conceptual changes brought about by globalization, neoliberalization and a subsequent shift towards more 'entrepreneurial' governance has meant a dissipation of state efforts in affordable housing sector (Sengupta 2011). While historically India had a very "hands-on" approach in generating housing for the low and middle-income households, this approach has changed post-liberalization.[40] In this vein, NUHHP strongly promotes the role of the private sector as developer and builder, with the government playing the role of 'regulator' and 'facilitator' (MHUPA 2013).

The PPP model with in-situ upgradation or rehabilitation is also promoted by JNNURM. JNNURM or Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission is a $2bn flagship program in urban policy intervention by the Government of India. Launched in 2005, the same year as MP-21, JNNURM has a clear urban vision of building "world-class cities" (Bhan 2016, 137). As a new urban governance program, the Mission parallels the World Bank's focus on 'good governance' and is funded in part by the World Bank. While JNURRM focuses on larger

[40] There is an estimated deficit of 25 million units in India, with one-in-three of all urban households unable to afford housing at market rate. In the six major Indian cities[40], up to 54 per cent of households are unable to afford housing at market rates (Sengupta 2011).

infrastructural improvements to the urban environments of Indian cities, the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) announced in 2009, focuses specifically on the national goal of "slum free cities" by 2022. Similar to JNURRM, RAY incentivizes the provision of central support for the redevelopment of slums and the construction of affordable housing for more "inclusive" urban development (MHUPA 2009). Encouraging states to tackle the problem of slums in a "definitive" manner, RAY reiterates the multi-pronged approach proposed in JNURRM, of bringing existing slums into the formal system, redressing the failures of the existing system that lead to the creation of slums and addressing the shortage of urban land and housing (MHUPA 2013). In Delhi, specific strategies were crafted under JNURRM and RAY, to create and provide housing for the poor, that centered around in-situ rehabilitation of existing slum clusters, incrementally upgradation of resettlement colonies, development of night shelters and reconstruction of government owned areas in the walled city, with special emphasis on the first (DoUD 2006). RAY also promotes a “whole city” approach and in situ redevelopment of existing slum areas through “community mobilization, participative decision-making” (Sivaramakrishnan 2011). Emphasis is also placed on mapping, surveys and biometric identification of slum-dwellers. Similar to the Hume Report, DIT and DDA, RAY, and JNNURM also privilege the scientific rational perception of slum areas and slum dwellers over a more contextual, socio-demographic understanding that pays attention to the specifics of individual settlements (Chalana and Rishi 2015, 259). However, there is very little guidance on what a “whole city” approach means and on how to promote “community mobilization” and “participative decision-making”. Indeed, for all its emphasis on a scientific rational understanding based in measurable parametric gathered through surveys etc. RAY and

JNNURM provide no matrices or guidance on what community mobilization and participative decision-making might look like.

PART II: KATHPUTLI COLONY JJC

Kathputli Colony (KPC), was a five-decade-old informal settlement or JJC spread over approx. 13 acres of land in an area of West Delhi called Shadipur. The Delhi Metro runs along one periphery of the settlement and connects it to New Delhi (Figure 3.1). KPC is centrally located and just 5 miles approx. or a 10-minute metro ride from the central business district of Connaught Place (Dupont et al. 2014, 38). Suffice to say that this connection to the city center meant that the land that KPC commanded high real estate prices in 2008 when the *in-situ* project was initiated.

The permanent settlement began in 1956 when an extended family of puppeteers sought refuge on a small rocky outcrop in Shadipur on a rainy day (Dubey 2016, 39; Sandal 1985, 48). They had been hounded out of their temporary settlement on a vacant lot in Old Delhi by policemen that morning. This was one of the 450 families of peripatetic [non-food producing] nomads from Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra etc. who would settle in Kathputli Colony over the next three decades. Traditionally each family would have its own migratory route, and Delhi would be one of the stops on this migratory route. There were some 27 different sites across Delhi such as Old Delhi, Ajmeri Gate, More Gate, Nizamuddin, Okhla Junction, Bhogal etc.- that these families would camp on, when their nomadic travels brought them to the city (Dubey 2016, 39).

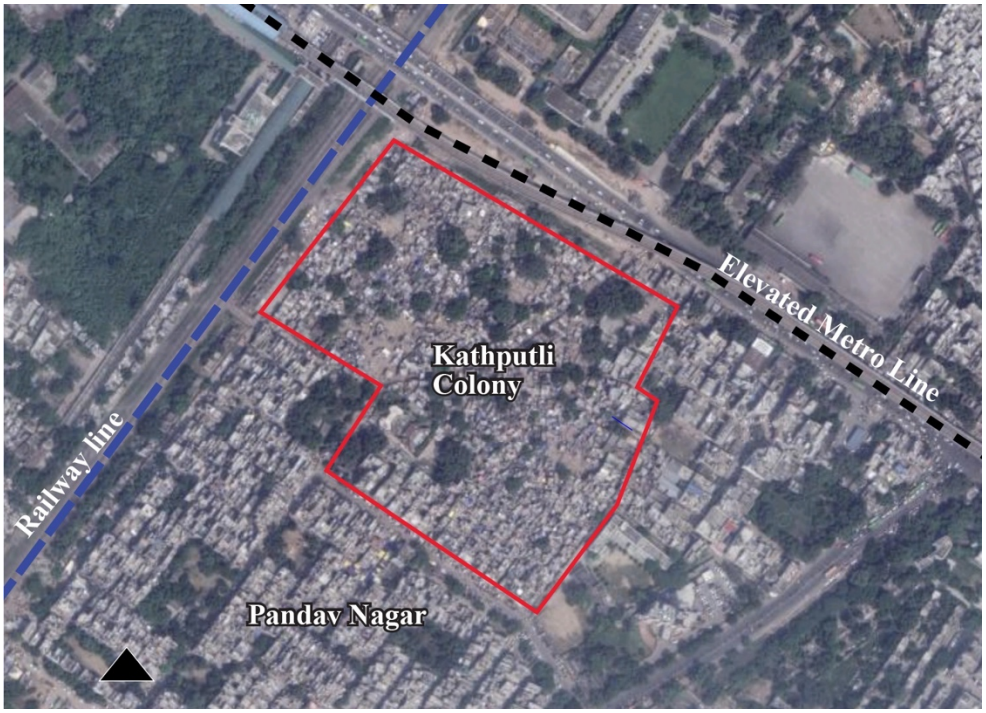

Figure 3.1. Plan view of Kathputli Colony showing the elevated metro line and railway line abutting the settlement. (Adapted from GoogleMaps by Author)

Through the 1960's, 70's and 80's, other itinerant artists' families were forced out of these temporary camps. Most of these families fled to Kathputli Colony "... which in those days was a stretch of wilderness forming an unfrequented fringe of West Delhi." (Sandal 1985, 47–48). The settlement is named after its original residents- the puppeteers-puppets are called *Kathputli* in Hindi. Gradually other street performers and craftsmen from Rajasthan, as well as folk artists of other regions –from Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and Haryana especially– who used to live in precarious conditions in different parts of the city moved into this settlement, thus the colony became known as the "artists' colony". By the early 1970's, some 60 families of artists lived at Kathputli Colony. At this time, Rajeev Sethi and his NGO Sarthi became interested in working

with the itinerant street performers.[41] Through Sarthi, Sethi encouraged other street performers and artists to settle in Kathputli Colony. Sarthi also helped the artists learn the importance of organized action and invested in getting them work by organizing shows through the Sangeet Natak Academy and All India Radio (Dubey 2016, 40). With Rajiv Sethi's efforts by the early 1980s, the number of families had grown close to 300. (Sandal 1985; Chalana and Rishi 2016; Dubey 2016).

KATHPUTLI COLONY IN 2015

As is the case in other parts of Delhi, non-artists migrants or what we understand as rural migrants, from across India but predominantly from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat began settling in Kathputli due to the availability of vacant land, coming directly from their villages or from other places in Delhi largely in the mid 1980's and later (Chalana and Rishi 2016, 159; Dupont et al. 2014, 40). In 2012, when I first came to Kathputli Colony, the settlement was an agglomeration of some 4500 families-40% of whom belong to non-artist occupations.[42]

In the late 2000s the settlement comprised of several distinct communities, differentiated along lines of geographic origin, layered with religious affiliation, caste and occupation, with

[41] Rajeev Sethi is a world-renowned designer and artist

[42] In the first three months of my fieldwork in 2014-2015, I went door-to-door with a community worker and two representatives of KPC to conduct the survey. Based in this experience I can estimate confidently that there are at least 4500 families the called Kathputli home in 2014. An exact number is not available because the community survey was undertaken under the guidance of a prominent NGO. The NGO then embargoed the data from the survey to "process" it. Inevitably the actual data and results of the survey were never revealed. Further it is important to note here that this number does not include renters and boarders, and due to issues of access and security, it is difficult to estimate the number of renters and boarders at Kathputli Colony. Neither the community survey undertaken in 2014-15, nor any of the other surveys undertaken by para-government institutions enumerated the renters and boarders. For more on the role of the aforementioned NGO at Kathputli Colony, refer to (Raman 2017).

occupation being the most distinct factor of differentiation (Dupont et al. 2014, 41; Chalana and Rishi 2016, 161). In my conversations with residents, first and foremost residents identified themselves as artists or non-artists and then went on to identify with place of geographic origin or religious affiliation or caste. Spatially this meant that the artists and non-artists settled on opposite sides of the main street. Most residents mentioned asking for permission from the original few families that had settled in Kathputli before settling permanently. As newer families arrived belonging to both artist and non-artist occupations, they would approach the leader or *pradhan* of the original puppeteer families to ask for permission to set up a dwelling. They would be directed as to where they may settle with reference to the main street. Each family and group formed a cluster and over time as more people moved in, the settlement expanded horizontally. The settlement was hemmed-in on all sides with the main road on the north-east, the railway line on the north-west and the development of Pandav Nagar on the south-east and south-west. The settlement expanded horizontally also through the sub-division of open land including cluster courtyard spaces and public open spaces. During this sub-division, the newer residents were not restricted by occupational or other community affiliation to the existing residents. Some dwellings were sub-divided and sold informally to new residents who might not belong to the same community. This meant that over time the clusters remained distinct but not spatially discrete as seen in Figure 3.3 (Chalana and Rishi 2016, 162).

Officially called Shadipur Road, the main street was commonly referred to as the *bazaar*. The street almost perfectly bisected the settlement transversally and was the only street within the settlement which was navigable by cars and small trucks and was lined by shops and homes on both sides. The built structures were predominantly two stories high, with shops, businesses, and

small eateries on the lower level and home-cum-workshops on the upper level. A number of the shops also doubled up as sleeping quarters at night. Most shops, particularly those selling products made within the settlement, were owned by residents of Kathputli (Chalana and Rishi 2016, 161).

The street was paved in asphalt and had been sequestered in places to create bathrooms, kitchens, and additional shop space and was therefore narrower in some parts and wider in others. At its widest, it was approximately 10 feet, with open sewage drains running on both sides. A number of homes and establishments had built a platform over the drain to partially cover it. This platform was 14 inches high approximately and was used as an additional space to sell wares, fruits and vegetables, as well as a space to wash clothes and cook using the *chullah*.

Figure 3.2. Picture showing the dense two-three storey dwellings at KPC, with Delhi Metro running in the background.

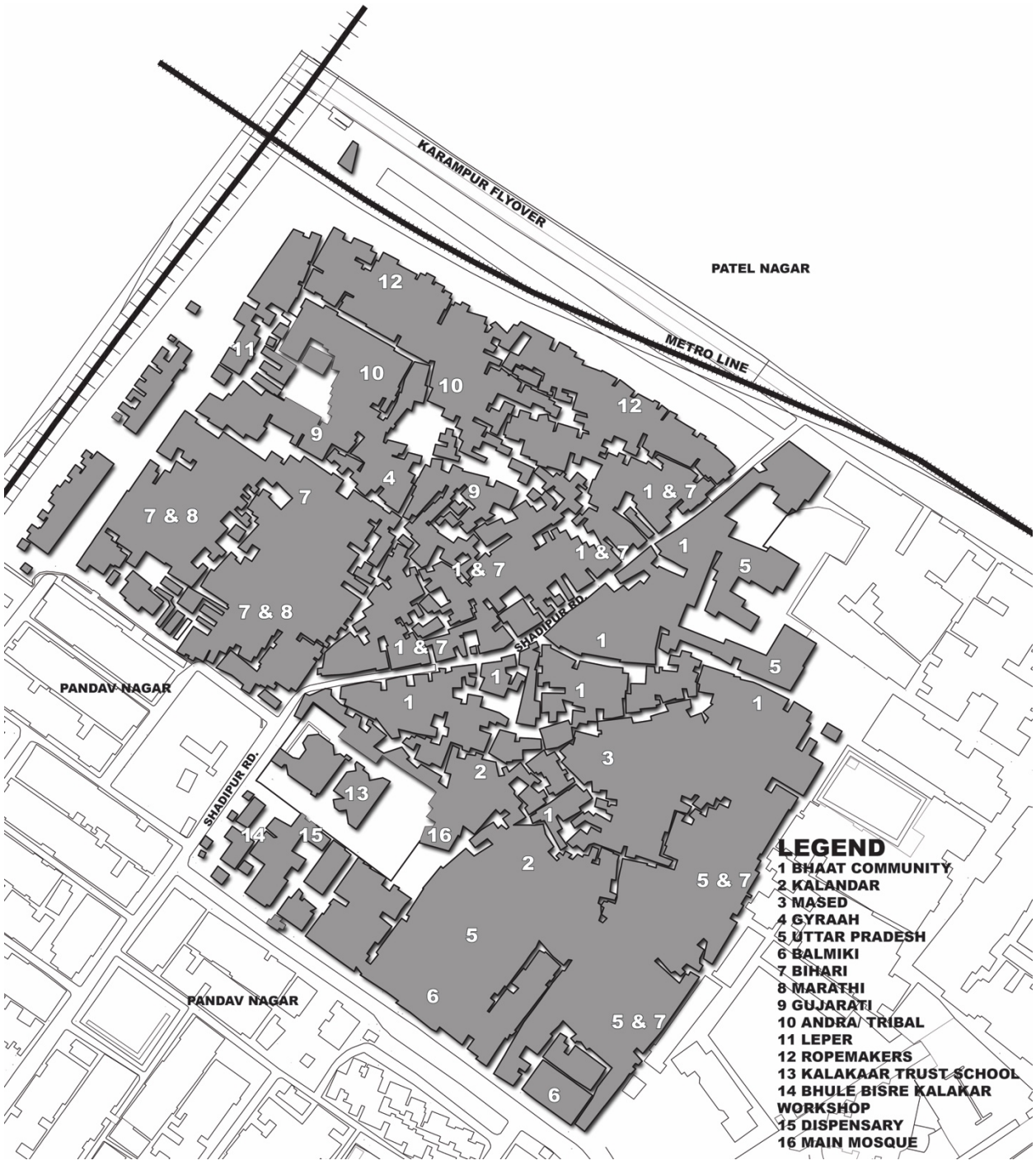

Figure 3.3. Neighborhood map of Kathputli Colony showing location of various clan clusters.

The bazaar was connected by a network of narrow streets, paths and alleys or gullies to the rest of the settlement which were mostly unpaved. Sewage drains ran on one or both sides (and sometimes in the middle) of these network of streets, which were in varying states of disrepair. During the monsoons, these sewage drains also collect and carry the runoff and there is persistent problem of flooding through the settlement. Residents often brought up the narrowness of some gullies, which according to them, were not even wide enough to walk-abreast in places.

Over time, the settlement grew vertically as well. Most dwellings were at least 2 stories high, with a substantial number of 3 storey buildings in the artists section of the settlement (Figure 3.2). The artists parts of the settlement also had somewhat larger dwellings with private courtyards in places, owing to their ability to annex more land per family as the early residents of the settlement. This also enabled them to recreate and retain more of the traditional vernacular courtyard dwelling form (Chalana and Rishi 2016, 162). Most dwellings in the artists area of the settlement had access to a private or shared courtyard which along with the roofs were used for making and storing their wares, as well to practice their craft. The women used the courtyards during the day to carry out daily household work. The *chullah* for cooking was made in the courtyard and used communally by the families living around the shared courtyard.

The non-artist parts of the settlement had smaller dwellings, with higher density of dwellings. The dwellings are predominantly one-room and stacked on top of each other (Figure 3.4). Some non-artist parts of the settlement, such as where the community of leprosy patients lived, had also received help in building their dwellings from international non-profit organizations. These parts of the settlement had wider streets, with a more formal and regimented

spatial character (Figure 3.5). While the sewage system was still self-built, they were covered over with concrete slabs.

Most dwellings in KPC, though still largely self-built, had nevertheless transitioned into more permanent materials such as brick walls plastered in cement, with concrete or stone slabs and iron girders for roofing (Figure 3.2 & Figure 3.4). The floors within the dwellings were paved with rough cut stone and/or cement. A community of rag pickers and garbage sorters lived along the railway line on the north-west edge of the settlement. Their dwellings were still largely temporary with a much lower built form. The dwellings were built with bricks plastered in mud, with tarpaulin or metals sheets for roofing.

Figure 3.4. Picture showing one bedroom dwellings stacked one-on-top of another in the non-artists section of KPC.

Figure 3.5. Picture showing a part of the settlement that had more regimented spatial character.

There were few informal gathering spaces interspersed throughout the settlement. The workshop owned by BBK was one of the largest. It was located on the south-east end of the bazaar bordering Pandav Nagar. Most public meetings in KPC were held in this space which was designed like a village *chaupal*—with a tree located in a large open courtyard. The open courtyard served as a formal and informal gathering space for men and women of Kathputli, though it was frequented more by the artists than the non-artists. Next to the Workshop was a school run by an NGO called Kalakaar Trust. The school building was surrounded by open space. Some informal gathering spaces in the settlement were centered around religious structures. There were several religious structures that served their various constituents (Chalana and Rishi 2016, 163). Land-use

was mainly residential except for the bazaar, where was more mixed use. There are a number of small shops and make-shift tea stalls through-out the settlement.

As a result of the privatization of electricity in Delhi in 2016, all households in the settlement have individual electrical connections (Dupont and Saharan 2013, 15; Chalana and Rishi 2016, 164). Many households have not just fans but also televisions and refrigerators. There were no formal water connections to any of the households in the settlement, and an informal and illegal (but tolerated) network of piped and extractive connections was built by residents to access potable water. A small number of households could buy informal water connections whereby water was pumped to their dwelling from a legal connection in Pandav Nagar. Such households paid a monthly fee to both the owner of the legal connection as well as the line man who worked for the state water agency. Residents that had access to such a connection, then subsidized the cost by allowing their neighbors to either pipe water from their household or fill water in large buckets and containers for a small fee. But water supply through the formal connection was not regular and water flowed four hours a day- two in the morning and two in the evening. Those residents that were not able to afford such a connection or pay a neighbor, accessed water from two tube-wells in the settlement (Mehta 2011, 169). The local politician in the early 2000's paid to get an overhead water tank put on one of these tube-wells. Located in the non-artists area of the settlement and the households around this tank were able to access water 24/7 or when available. Residents without access to a piped connection filled large buckets at the tube-wells and carried them back to their dwellings. This work was mostly done by the women, and particularly by the younger women in the household. The tube-wells would become a temporal informal gathering space for

young women of the settlement. While waiting around for their turn to fill the buckets, they would meet peers and exchange gossip.

JJCs such as Kathputli Colony have a disproportionately lower access to municipal services, particularly sanitation and waste management (Syal 2019). It is the 'illegality' of the JJCs that results in lack of service provision (Datta 2012a; Yiftachel 2009). When infrastructure is provided, it is in essence absent because its inadequacy and inaccessibility.[43] At Kathputli Colony, there was a large garbage collection area opposite the BBK workshop. Household garbage from Pandav Nagar and surrounding areas and the settlement was collected here. The collection area was infrequently cleared and cleaned. The garbage would spill onto the road creating unsanitary and unhygienic conditions. The collected garbage attracted flies and insects as well as cows, dogs, pigs and other animals. There was no formal sewage collection system. The residents had dug sewage drains outside their dwellings, some of these were lined with bricks and cement over the years with help from the area collector and other political representatives. Municipal workers were assigned to clean up these drains, and they would clean them occasionally. While cleaning them, the sludge that the works would remove would be dumped along the sides of the drains in mounds, which would then attract flies and other insects. Eventually the sludge would end up back into the sewage drain.

There were four badly maintained toilet blocks built by the MCD (Municipal Corporation Delhi). In my numerous visits to Kathputli, none of these had running water or access to stored water. The maintenance is taken up by different private contractors, and there is charge levied for

[43] See for example: (Mcfarlane 2008; Desai, Mcfarlane, and Graham 2015; Truelove 2016; Cornea, Véron, and Zimmer 2017; Syal 2019)

every visit. A small number of residents had built make-shift toilets over the sewage drains to accommodate the women of the family. In all there were some 100 toilet seats for the 4500 families at Kathputli Colony (Dupont and Saharan 2013, 15; Dupont et al. 2014, 41). With the bad maintenance of toilets, no running water and charge per visit, people often use open areas on the fringes of the settlement to defecate, and small children use the open drains.

THE EXPERIENCE OF EVICTION

The settlement at Kathputli was first evicted and the dwellings demolished in the late 1970s, during the extensive beautification drive undertaken by the government of Indira Gandhi as part of the second wave of evictions (Chalana and Rishi 2016, 159).[44] While newer research dates the eviction on 25th May 1976 (Dubey 2016, 41; Raman 2015, 49), the earliest mention of the eviction dates it to July 1977 (Sandal 1985, 49). Between June 1975 and March 1977 was a period of suspended elections and curbed civil liberties, under a national Emergency declared by the then prime minister Indira Gandhi. During this time, Press was heavily censored and as such very few reports of the actual eviction exist, and the date is contested. For Nanhe and other residents, their recollections of that first eviction are not linked to a specific date, but to the time of the Emergency and to the reign of Indira Gandhi. Nanhe is a respected elder at Kathputli Colony. While not a *pradhan* or leader, he is well-known amongst the artist for his art, and for helping others get work. People look up to him and often come to him for advice about both personal and

[44] The first wave of evictions in the 1960s led to the creation of 18 resettlement colonies. During the Emergency period in the 1970s another 26 colonies were created with 1,41,820 homes demolished in Old Delhi (Jervis-Read 2010, 79). The last wave of evictions was triggered by PILs and the 2010 Commonwealth games and 11 new JJ Resettlement Colonies were created (CPR 2015, 2). During the second wave, a small number of JJCs outside the Old city were evicted and KPC was one of those settlements.

professional matters. Now in his late 60s, he has lived in Kathputli for most of his life. Megha came to Kathputli as a 4-5 year and like Nanhe hails from a family of traditional puppeteers. Megha is a well-known matriarch amongst the artists and respected for her folk singing and activist work. As we sit cross-legged in their sun dappled courtyard of their home, Megha offers us sugary tea. They are lucky to be in Kathputli they say, they lost their home in that first eviction. Nanhe and Megha recollect:

> During the time that Emergency was declared by Indira Gandhi, she evicted us from here (Kathputli Colony). We were given receipts. There were some 300 families here at that point and there were no houses here then. There were tents and small jhuggis. These were built with bricks and mud, similar to what is built in villages. We were evicted from here and we were given receipts. - Nanhe[45]

Following the eviction-demolition-resettlement model, the DDA moved the residents to Sultanpuri, on the outskirts of the city. The receipts that Nanhe and others mention were allotment receipts for a 2000 sq. ft. (approx.) of land. Many remember Sultanpuri as a desolate place, where work and services were hard to find.

> ".....Our colony was demolished, we were evicted from here. We were sent to Sultanpuri. We could not find any work or start a business in Sultanpuri.....we stayed there for 5-6 months. But we found no resources there. We neither had any food nor did we have dwelling. It was winters by then. We didn't have any money to figure out where to sleep and what to eat." - Megha[46]

> Sultanpuri was a jungle. We would bring firewood there from Mayapuri on a bus. There were no facilities there. So people came back here [Kathputli Colony]. Some people had been given receipts and some had not.....we returned those. There weren't as many houses then, only some 300-

[45] Nanhe. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 28 December 2014 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[46] Megha. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 19 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

> 350.....there was no source of livelihood there (Sultanpuri).....Sultanpuri, where they had sent us, girls were being harassed on the street. We were afraid. No one would go to work even when they had work. My oldest son is now some 40 years old. He was born in Sultanpuri. We had erected a tent in the jungle, he was born there. In the jungle, we couldn't find a midwife or a doctor. There was a lady, she was very old, she helped me (in the delivery). - Sania[47]

As Sania and Megha explain, lack of services and the distance of Sultanpuri from the city itself, as well as a lack of public transportation meant that people had to walk and take multiple forms of transportation to access basic necessities and services. Being dislocated from Shadipur and Kathputli Colony meant that their source of livelihood, was harder to access. Their current and future clients all knew Shadipur as a place to contact them, but with the eviction and resettlement at Sultanpuri, there was no way of getting in touch with them. Echoing the experience of residents in Sultanpuri, studies on newer resettlement colonies on the outskirts of Delhi such as Savdha Ghevra and Bawana JJ Resettlement Colonies have shown that relocation to outside the city has led to a disruption and loss of livelihood and pushed families further into poverty (Menon-Sen, Bhan, and Jagori 2008; Rao 2010; Sehgal and Narain 2010; Chalana and Rishi 2015). Further these studies also show that relocation has meant a rise in crime and a shift in the household dynamics, with women shouldering much more of the household responsibilities. Unable to find work and struggling to find access to basic services, residents abandoned the allotted plots in Sultanpuri and moved back to Shadipur depot.

> Then we one-by-one left that place (Sultanpuri) and came back here (Kathputli Colony). We returned all the receipts to the government...when there is no source of income, then what would we do there?... After that we came back and we erected the tent homes again...slowly people started making more

[47] Sania. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 14 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

> money as they started getting more work. For example, I spent everything I earned I used to build this double story house for my kids. In this (house) we have celebrated marriages, mourned deaths and spent our entire lives. - Nanhe[48]

> So that year, we all came back. We cleaned up the area under the bridge, a lot of encampments were laid out under the bridge. We lived quite a few years under the bridge, perhaps 10 years. This place (Kathputli Colony) was lying vacant, so we slowly made jhuggis here, set up tents, made encampments. We weren't troubled by the police during this time, the DDA also did not say anything. If they had troubled us in those early days, we would have not left our place in the village. We would have at least had a permanent home (in the village). - Sania[49]

By the time they started moving back to Shadipur, the Emergency had been lifted. It was clear in my conversations with residents that there was some surprise on the part of those returning about the ease with which they were able to come back and re-inhabit the same settlement. They came back to find no presence of the police or the DDA. In retrospect, many residents now point to the absence of any obstruction to resettling at Shadipur as a sign that they could stay. This move back was no planned mass-exodus however, but rather a slow trickle of residents moving back. As Sania explains above, on their return, they found that the site at Shadipur was sitting vacant. In one of our conversations, Megha pointed out that their traditional nomadic lifestyle made it easier for them to move back to Shadipur. They brought their tents with them, and just as easily as before, set up homes and dwellings.

[48] Nanhe. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 28 December 2014 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[49] Sania. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 14 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

THE IN SITU REHABILITATION PROJECT

The current rehabilitation project represents the culmination of the many unsuccessful attempts by the DDA and other organizations to rehabilitate or relocate Kathputli Colony (Dupont et al. 2014). Under this project, a developer would build dwellings for the residents of the settlement *in-situ* - on the same piece of land- and in return get part of the land to build market rate commercial and residential property. It was promoted as "a pilot project" and "a benchmark for many such projects with the ultimate goal of making Delhi a slum- free state" (Mathur 2009). The Kathputli Colony In-Situ Rehabilitation Plan was publicly announced in September 2008 (Chatterjee 2008). The then Union Minister of State for Urban Development, Ajay Maken, laid the foundation stone for a 14-storey housing complex for the residents of the colony in 2009 (Dupont and Saharan 2013, 18).

Much before the public announcement of the rehabilitation project in early 2008, DDA hired Gian P. Mathur & Associates (GPMA), an architecture and planning firm to consult on the project.[50] Together GPMA and the DDA formulated and finalized the details of the project, which then formed an essential part of the developer's contract (Banda, Vaidya, and Adler 2013, 24).[51] GPMA carried out both a Total Station Survey, and a door-to-door survey, and documented some 2704 dwellings and 13,520 residents (Gian P. Mathur & Associates 2009b).[52] GPMA (2009b,

[50] The exact date when the firm was hired is unclear. As per Tender notice N.I.T. No.:-41/EE/WD-5/DDA/2007-08 the DDA floated tender in January 2008 to hire a firm for this task and by early 2009 GPMA had produced the report.

[51] For details of tasks assigned to GPMA refer tender notice N.I.T. No.:- 41/EE/WD-5/DDA/2007-08 issued January 2008 by DDA.

[52] This did not represent the total number of residents or dwellings but rather the number that was deemed eligible for rehabilitation as per the guidelines of the DDA.

2009a) deemed in its report that 2800 EWS units were required for the rehabilitation of Kathputli Colony. Each unit would be 305 sq. feet. As per the project document (Gian P. Mathur & Associates 2009a), the EWS houses would be planned in a high-rise pattern, with a density of 600 units per hectare (approx. 240 units/acre), and the developer would also build facilities such as primary school, multi-purpose hall, police station, health center etc. to support the EWS units. In exchange for building the 2800 EWS units, the developer would have the right to construct and sell up to 170 dwellings at commercial rates with free hold tenure (Gian P. Mathur & Associates 2009a).

On 6 October 2009, the DDA awarded its first in-situ slum redevelopment project to Raheja Developers to rehabilitate Kathputli Colony, for an amount (approx. INR 61.1 million) considerably below the actual market rate. Under this redevelopment project, Raheja would build 2800 apartments for the displaced families on part of the site (60% of total site area). The remaining 40% of the land can be used for real estate and commercial development for sale at the market rate, and thus will make the investment profitable (Dupont and Saharan 2013, 18). Both Rajiv Awas Yojna (RAY) (Raman 2015, 374) and Delhi Masterplan 2021 (DDA 2010, 39) stipulate that to make the project feasible for private developers, a maximum of 40% of land be used for remunerative purposes and a minimum of 60% of land be used for the rehabilitation of the residents. The firm has ambitious plans to build a high-end 54-storied residential tower- the tallest in the city- as well as a luxury commercial complex on the site (Kalyan 2013). The 60:40 land share stipulated by RAY and Delhi MP-21 curtail the amount of land available for housing the existing residents. This further limited amount of land available, along with the prescribed density defines the design of the buildings that would be built for the residents (Raman 2015, 374).

As a first step, the developer would temporarily relocate the residents to a transit camp before construction may start. Finding vacant public land near the settlement was a problematic task for the DDA. A major obstacle in the selection of a site was the opposition of various residents' and traders' associations to the location of the transit camp in their neighborhoods (Dupont and Saharan 2013; Dupont et al. 2014). Eventually, the transit camp was located at Anand Parbat, about 1.25 miles away from the settlement.[53] The construction of the Transit Camp was completed in March 2013 (Dupont et al. 2014). According to the development contract between the developer and the DDA, time for completion was defined as two years from the date of commencement of the project. This time line was considerably exceeded due to several reasons, including obtaining all mandatory clearances and finding a suitable site for the Transit Camp (Dupont et al. 2014), and more recently because of the resident's refusal to move to the Transit Camp. The Transit Camp is rows of one-room tenements of 120 sq. ft. built with pre-fabricated materials. Bathing facilities are shared, as are the portable toilets.

THE POLITICS OF ELIGIBILITY AND PARTICIPATION

Kathputli Colony was evicted in November 2017 amid protests, struggles and presence of police. Of the 4500-5000 families that made up Kathputli in 2017, 2800 were given accommodation in the transit camp. 492 families were given EWS apartments in DDA Colony, Narela on the north-west periphery of the city. 772 families were found to not have adequate documentation to establish eligibility for resettlement or rehabilitation and were evicted without either.

[53] The distance between the actual settlement and the transit camp while within the 1.5-mile radius stipulated under RAY and JNURRM, is closer to 2.5 miles.

In the case of KPC, access to information, establishing eligibility and participation are closely linked. In the spirit of RAY's mandate for community involvement, DDA used one of the two prominent NGOs in the settlement as the main interlocutor between itself and the residents. Why this NGO was chosen and what were the things taken under consideration while picking just this one NGO are unclear. However, a number of issues arose with the ability of the NGO to serve its intended role vis-à-vis the project. One of the biggest issues with the NGO was its ability to communicate with, and represent the entire settlement as it worked almost solely with the artists. Almost from the beginning, the NGO team was embroiled in this tussle for power, which negatively affected their ability to dispense and gather information, as well as fulfill their consultant role to DDA. When in 2008 the first survey for enumeration was being undertaken by GPMA, most people in the settlement had almost no understanding of why the survey was taking place. Members of the NGO went door-to-door with the survey team, however most people told me that they were surprised that a survey was taking place and had no idea that they were going to be 'rehabilitated'.

> We didn't know anything before the survey. When the DDA was conducting the survey, the surveyors told us that your jhuggis are being surveyed and apartments will be constructed for you here now. However, they did not tell us that a deal had been struck for this land with Raheja builders. We found out about the deal from the newspaper. That's when we found out that this land had been sold for 6 crores. This was around 2009 sometime.....and the DDA began to put pressure on us. So the land was sold, we'd been living here for 50-60 years, we should have at least been asked us. - Ram Singh[54]

> We found out about the project after we filed an RTI (Right to Information) request. The surveyors only said that you will be given homes here….. The

[54] Ram Singh. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 30 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

> deal that they made with Raheja (Builders), we were not told about that. We were also not told that the land had been sold. Through the RTI we found out that this land has been sold. We had to ask the NGO to help us understand what deal had been made. We have lived here for more than 50 years, did we not deserve to know that the land was being sold? - Nanhe[55]

The surveyors, as employees of GPMA and not the DDA, did not provide much information. At the time of this initial survey, the project had not been awarded to Raheja Builders, however, that it would be awarded to a private builder was already decided, as that is the premise on which the PPP model for in-situ rehabilitation works. No information regarding the tenants of the in-situ rehabilitation model was passed on to the residents. As there was no precedent of an in-situ rehabilitation project, the residents had no colloquial knowledge to fall back on to form an understanding of what the project might entail.

Informational meetings were held at the school run by the NGO and a sample flat was built on the premises. Dupont et al. (2014, 42) documented the attendance of 50-100 people at each of these meetings. Even a 100 people out of 4500 households is a small number. The lack of consensus regarding the NGO and its team's role and ability to represent the settlement introduced bias in the consultation process during the preparatory phase of the project. Further, a number of meetings during this time and later while I was doing fieldwork 2012-2015, were held between *pradhans* and the DDA. This method of passing on information to a few to have it dispersed to all, did not translate into high levels of awareness. Most residents remained largely ignorant about the proceedings of meetings and results.

[55] Nanhe. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 28 December 2014 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

In 2012, when I first went to KPC, another team had begun to hold separate meetings with the DDA in a consultant role. This second team represented the *pradhans* that had originally opposed the NGO team. Often two different sets of meetings were held with the DDA, one with the NGO team leading and another with the *pradhans* leading. This led to more confusion and rumors, as each team would present different information to the residents. This also led to more public meetings where the information from the teams would be dispersed. Most residents expressed a fatigue towards the number of meetings and expressed an inability to attend owing to when they were held (during the day) as they worked. This was particularly true for the non-artists, most of whom worked as daily wagers or traditional service workers. Most women in non-artist households worked as maids or took up work that augmented the family income. The artists worked in shows, marriages, parties etc. which were in the evenings. During the day, most artists would work on preparing for their shows etc. and on creating their wares such as drums or *dhols* and puppets. They had more flexibility with time during the day, since both teams were led by artists, this added an additional bias against the non-artists' ability to participate.

When during a project's execution and how, participation takes place is important to quality of participation. In the case of KPC, participation was interpreted more as a dispersal of information, rather than a cycle of feedback from all parties involved to ensure a democratic process. This is first and foremost apparent in when the NGO team as a consultant was brought on board by the DDA, after it was decided and announced that KPC would be rehabilitated using the *in-situ* rehabilitation PPP model. During the same time that another model of PPP was being

initiated in Govindpuri in South Delhi.[56] A series of four JJC settlements were being redeveloped using PPP in which the land was not sold to a builder but rather the builder was given land near the settlements to build EWS housing, once the housing was ready, residents would be moved into it and the land would be available for development. EWS housing here was four storeys tall, unlike the 15-18 storeys being built at KPC. While restrictions of available land may be cited for the decision to follow a different approach in KPC, this decision was taken before the residents even knew of any project being initiated. Secondly, both the NGO and the *pradhan* team have been used largely for dispersing information to the other residents. Even the sampled flat that was built, was built without any feedback or consultancy with the residents or the team. Once the flat had been built, some minor changes such as the addition of a balcony were made on the insistence of the residents. While necessary consent was sort after decisions had been made pertaining to almost all aspects of the project, the residents feedback prior to or when those decisions were being made, was never solicited. In 2015, after years of delays and unable to move residents to the Transit Camp, the DDA introduced the "Draft Slum Rehabilitation Policy 2015" and directly citing the KPC project stated:

> It had been assumed that the slum dwellers would move out of the Kathputli colony of their own volition as the redeveloped colony was supposed to be the major incentive. At no point of time a formal or an informal agreement was drawn up between slum dwellers, DDA and the developer, wherein the JJ dwellers prior consent was sought for the rehabilitation. (DDA 2015, 2 Section 2)

[56] For more refer to (Glegziabher 2016).

Even while conceding that the delays were because no prior agreement had been reached between the different stakeholders involved, the draft policy does not talk about participation; participation and consent taking are conflated in this scenario. Many residents conceded that they understood that not everything they desired from their new dwellings and settlements would be possible, however they wanted to be consulted.

> We are not saying only listen to us, if we are asking for 10 things, agree to 5 and we'll agree to 5 of yours. But if you don't even ask, then there is no beginning or end. This is what you are giving us and we can take it or not.- Krishna Singh[57]

In most resettlement and rehabilitation schemes, eligibility for resettlement is determined based on an arbitrary cut-off date that documents uninterrupted residency in the settlement. Families that settled after this cut-off date, or do not have the necessary documents to prove residency, are deemed ineligible and outside the purview of the Scheme and therefore evicted without any compensation (Chalana and Rishi 2015). Four different household surveys were carried out between 2008 and 2012. During the survey, the family was asked to present documents to establish residency, they were photographed, a video document of the family in front of their dwelling was recorded and the dwelling was given a house number designation which corresponded to the entry in the survey ledger. This process was done in order to establish and record eligibility. Once the survey was done, the data was analyzed and final eligibility determined. While the first survey undertaken by GPMA recorded 2754 dwellings at KPC, the 2010 survey by the DDA land management department revealed 3100 dwellings (Dupont et al. 2014, 43). These

[57] Krishna Singh. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 24 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

various surveys created a lot of confusion pertaining to who was eligible for rehabilitation and who was not. It was not until late 2015, after a series of RTI filings that the survey results were released to the residents. Operating on limited information and rumors until the survey released, many residents expressed anxiety and apprehension about their own eligibility. The residents did know how many dwellings were counted owning to the house number painted outside every dwelling. It was clear to those whose dwellings did not have house numbers, that they had not been surveyed.

> The rule that the state has created for [our] dreams to come through, the DDA should follow that rule. We are also ready to follow that rule. There are so many people who have jhuggis here and so many people are living here. We are not asking for more people to be added. But if there was an oversight on the survey then the DDA must correct it. All the people that are living here [KPC], following the rule, they should be counted into the written records. For an example my neighbor, he has been living here with me from the start. How can I deceive him and take a house while he gets nothing? In today's world, you live together and sing together. - Gunjeet [58]

A number of dwellings belonging to Gunjeet's community did not have house on them. His neighbor had been away visiting relatives in the hospital on the day of the original survey and his dwelling was entered as locked in the survey. Even after repeatedly filling papers with DDA, his dwelling was noted as locked on all four surveys. DDAs approach of "calculating without numbers" (Ghertner 2010b) is revealed by the conflicting numbers (2754 in 2008 and 3100 in 2010) of eligible families, as well as the number of apartments being built and the number of units in the transit camp capped at 2800 when it's not clear how many families are eligible for resettlement. Further, the treatment of the upper storeys during the survey created more confusion about who was eligible for resettlement. In many cases, no house number was assigned to the

[58] Gunjeet. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 28 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

dwellings on the second and third levels. When residents such as Zahira insisted on having all the dwellings in their cluster surveyed, an alphabet was added to the house number. In other words, if Zahira's dwelling had house number '1234' say, then his son's dwelling on the second level was given '1234A' and his son-in-law on the third level was given '1234B'. When this matter was brought up with the surveyors, the residents were told that only first level dwellings would get rehabilitation apartments. While RAY, JNNURM make no mention of dwellings on upper levels, the residents were finally informed at a community meeting in 2013 by a DDA official that this was indeed true- no accommodation was made in the current resettlement or rehabilitation policy for slum dwellers on upper levels.

> Another crucial issue where no information caused confusion was 'financial conditionality and occupancy status' of the eligible families in the flats. It was not clear whether the flats would be allotted with rental, leasehold [with or without conditions] or full title rights. People here are very poor as well. Some even beg to run their household. However, instead of recognizing this and giving us subsidized housing, we are being told that we will have to pay 2-4 lakh rupees. This started with us getting free housing but now we are paying so much while everywhere else in Delhi, when the govt. has resettled people they have had to pay 75,000 rupees or less. If people in Kathputli Colony had 4 lakh rupees, why would we live here? – Krishna Singh[59]

As Krishna Singh points out above, the brochure given to the residents in 2009 when the Union Minister inaugurated the project claimed, "free housing for the poor", however at numerous occasions DDA officials mentioned that the residents would have to pay for the apartments, albeit at a subsidized rate. This became a major point of contention between the DDA and the residents who felt that the DDA should keep with the original promise of free apartments. Many residents

[59] Krishna Singh. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 24 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

were daily wagers and the idea of paying even 2 lakh rupees seemed undoable. Further, as with the survey, issue of upper level resettlement and other issues mentioned before, the residents felt misled by the DDA. This added to the overall feeling of suspicion and mistrust towards the DDA.

In closing, both RAY and JNNURM promote "community participation" as a key tool in moving towards 'slum-free' cities. RAY further mandates that the decision-making process to create a redevelopment plan for a slum should "necessarily be done with the involvement of the community" and under the leadership of a local NGO (Dupont et al. 2014, 39). Further MP-21 in its vision identifies a framework that relies on"…sustainable development, public-private partnership and community participation" (DDA 2010, 7). As the KPC project is developed under the auspices of JNNURM, RAY and MP-21, its execution was mandated to involve "community participation". However, even though RAY and JNNURM lay emphasis on the use of enumeration methods and data collection for prediction they provide no parameters for how and when this "community participation" should take place. This ambiguity opens the doors for interpreting "community participation" in a myriad of ways. At KPC, DDAs interpretation and process of initiating and conducting the "community participation" shows a lack of intent to create a democratic participation process. Rather "community participation" is restricted to receipt and dissemination of limited and misleading information.

CHAPTER 4: **VALUE, SPACE AND *GHAR***

In this chapter I focus on moving beyond the reductive understanding of the city as a spatialization of neoliberal capitalist relations, and instead focus on understanding it as socially produced through the everyday acts of its residents. I focus on the ordinary practices of the residents of Kathputli Colony as a way of understanding how value is created by them. Moving beyond the use-exchange value relation at the center of capitalism, I instead focus on the value that residents of Kathputli find in their spaces. This focus on value beyond use-exchange dichotomy then aids in forming an understanding of property beyond the hegemonic private property model. This hegemonic private property model requires that the residents relinquish the value that they create through their everyday acts, in order to acquire the exchange value of rehabilitation apartments. As Ghertner (2010a) explains, acquiring the power to generate surplus value (central to the capitalist relation), is not an additive process, but rather a substitutive one. Residents must give up home of *ghar* to access property. Property here exclusively refers to private property. For residents of Kathputli Colony, this constitutes giving up their self-built spaces, to acquire rehabilitation apartments as property. Residents in Kathputli Colony, however, speak of other ways of valuing land and space centered around inhabiting space and Lefebvre's (1991) *l'habiter.*

In this chapter I show how through the process of domesticating the land to make a home and then incrementally adding to and making their homes, residents inhabit space, and create value. I call this imbued value- the value that the residents imbue on the land and spaces through the process of inhabiting and homemaking. In order words, through the appropriation of land and

space, residents' take a step back from the capitalist value relationship between exchange and use, to imbue value on their spaces. For residents, while they inhabit the space of Kathputli Colony through the everyday acts of appropriation and dwelling, the rehabilitation apartments are a mere aggregation of materials. For the residents the difference between their own spaces and the rehabilitation apartments is what Lefebvre has defined as the difference between *l'habiter* and Habitat (Lefebvre 1991). Inhabiting space at Kathputli Colony, residents imbue value in the space that lies outside both use and exchange and is produced through their everyday acts of living and inhabiting their spaces. Further through these acts of imbuing value, the residents create a relationship of mutual belonging with the space they inhabit. Using Sarah Keenan's (2010) understanding of property as a relationship of belonging, held up by space, I argue in the last section, that this relationship of mutual belonging subverts the hegemonic private property regimes by creating an alternative understanding of property.

THEORIZING VALUE & SPACE

A new epistemological approach to urban informality requires new engagements with the question and meaning of 'value'. There are two large streams that converge on the term 'value' in social theory. The first deals with 'value' in a sociological sense - the conceptions of what is good, proper, or desirable in human life (Graeber 2001). Central to this understanding of value is the contrast between intrinsic and instrumental value (Schroeder 2012), where intrinsic value is said to be the value that a thing has "in itself," or "for its own sake," or "in its own right" (Zimmerman 2010). Instrumental or extrinsic value is value as a means of achieving something else. While intrinsic value is non-derivative, extrinsic value is derivative (Santas 2003). These categories are however not mutually exclusive as there may be objects, things or actions that have both types of

value. The second stream deals with "value" in the economic sense. In particular this stream deals with value in terms of the degree to which objects are desired, particularly measured by how much others are willing to give up to get them (Graeber 2001). These economic theories of value further fall into intrinsic or objective theories and subjective theories. The objective theories hold that the value of an object, good or service is contained in the thing itself and therefore intrinsic to it. The subjective theories on the other hand advance the idea that the value of a good is not intrinsic to it, nor is it determined by the labor required to produce it but rather the value is determined by the how much an individual is willing to exchange for the good in order to meet desired ends (Graeber 2001).

Economics offers a third stream of value theory - labor theories of value. These theories are associated with Karl Marx (though their foundations may be traced to theorists such as Adam Smith), and they argue that the value of a commodity is only related to the labor put in to produce it. Value is also defined as "use value" which is the usefulness of the commodity (its utility) and as "exchange value," which is the relative proportion that this commodity exchanges for another commodity (Graeber 2001; Henderson 2013). However, the price or exchange value of a commodity in capitalism does not completely represent its use value, nor the labor put into creating it. Anderson (2019) using Kojin Karatani (2003) points out a number of oversimplifications in the classical interpretation of Marx's Labor Theory of Value. The theory that a "commodity's price is determined by and reducible to the value of the total aggregate labor time given in the inputs contained within particular commodities" is premised on the understanding that the only source of economic value is human labor. Further, the relationship between use and exchange value whereby there is a "measurable equivalency between the utility and value of a commodity" and where the

utility or use value can be cleanly translated into exchange value and is reflected in the price at the moment of exchange is an oversimplification as well. Both of these oversimplifications focus on value *ex-post facto* or after "the event", i.e. after the basic commodity-production process. "The event" is a fraught transitional moment or the "leap" when value changes forms (Anderson 2019). From a reverse standpoint i.e. *ex-ante facto* or before "the event", instead of a commodity what would become legible is that there exists a "…mass of heterogenous creative activity, value, and indeterminate latent potential" which hasn't taken form into capitalist or non-capitalist value. Therefore, focusing on seeing and understanding value *ex-ante facto* or before the event provides opportunities to fully interpret and see value without the reducing it to just use and exchange.

This brings us to the question of how is urban space valued? Or how do we understand the value of urban space? Many scholars (i.e. Harvey 1989b; Castells 1977) assert that cities today are a spatialization of capitalist social relations. Urban processes such as "real estate speculation and construction" in the contemporary city become the "principal source for the formation of capital, that is the realization of surplus value" (Lefebvre 2003). Inscribed on the urban then is the fundamental contradiction at the heart of capitalism—between use value and exchange value, where use value is never completely converted into exchange value. Capitalist industrialization overtakes the city by asserting the primacy of exchange value. It seeks to commodify everything in the city, including space, by reducing it to economic exchange value (Purcell 2014). However as I've explained earlier, the value of commodities as they are exchanged (i.e. their price) in capitalism, does not encompass completely the use value and other values that may be found in them. The relationship between exchange and use is central to the value regime in capitalism.

Central to the capitalist consumption of commodities is the "property relation" where the city is carved into segments by the "system of private property", a hegemonic system that dominates all other claims to space (Purcell 2014). Commodified space is managed in a particular way by segregation into discrete zones through plans and maps. Lefebvre (2003) gives the example of Haussmann's plans for Paris, where the "proletariat" were deported to the periphery of the city, "simultaneously creating the suburb and the habitat", maximizing rational coherence. This functional, rational separation of uses, separating users from each other and "storing them in sterilized spaces," or *habitat,* can be seen in the comprehensive plans for contemporary cities such as the Karachi Masterplan 2025, Delhi Masterplan 2021, etc. Purcell (2014) explains that ownership of land (which is acquired by paying the exchange value for it) confers extensive control over the land, on the owner. Under this regime of property rights, the role of the land in the everyday life of the surrounding community need not be considered and therefore those that inhabit the land play no role in the decisions taken about the land and thus "...property rights alienate urban space from *inhabitants*..." (Purcell 2014, emphasis added). Ultimately, in this formulation and understanding of cities and urban space as merely a spatialization of capitalist relations, urban space is merely as an "excrescence" or by-product of capitalist production (Anderson 2019). Urban space is then produced and reproduced in the interest of facilitating the production and absorption of surplus capitalist value. However, this point of view has been critiqued for leaving out other aspects of "production" of urban space as well as obscuring potential opportunities for intervention and analysis.[60]

[60] See for example (Katz 1996; Gibson-Graham 2006b; Gidwani 2013a; Sanyal 2007)

Questions around household and reproductive labor, and economic development have been addressed in longstanding debates by feminist and postcolonial scholars. These works offer "parallax" conceptions of labor and value conceived beyond capitalist understandings.[61] Scholars such as Gidwani (2013a, 2013b), Gidwani and Maringanti (2016) and Gibson-Graham (2006a, 2006b, 2008) offer interpretations and understandings of economic and labor activity beyond capitalism. In these works, scholars argue that capitalist value making is best understood as one of many ways to conceive of labor and economic activity that takes place, with a greater volume of such activity being in excess of the process of capitalist value making. Postcolonial scholars in this debate argue that capitalism is not a totality without an outside but rather it is a collection of disparate processes in which 'autonomous' forms of labor and value become reduced to the "abstract money form of value" (Gidwani 2013a; Anderson 2019). "Informal" and "need-based economies" have been the focus of a large body of literature focused on the urban global South.[62] Varied forms of labor activity, and related questions of value have been at the center of such analysis and have offered "more-than-capitalist" (Anderson 2019) understandings of creative sociality.[63] In these works, analyses of the urban present vibrant readings of existing heterogeneities that suggest and necessitate theories and concepts which better respond to the forms of labor, value and sociality that co-constitute "the economy" in these cases. Through these situated ways of knowing and questioning processes of "urban spatial-structural formation" the emphasis shifts to a more open set of questions about the ongoing spatio-social and speculative

[61] See for example (Pollard et al. 2011; Sanyal 2007)

[62] See for example: (Patel 2004; Patel, Viccajee, and Arputham 2018)

[63] See for example (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004; Simone 2004, 2010)

negotiation of value for capital (Anderson 2019). While this literature moves beyond an understanding of the urban as a spatialization of capitalist relations, the focus remains on labor and alternative economies. Such parallax understandings of labor and value, while adding to our understandings of "more-than-capitalist value", do not address the co-construction of space and society. Space is understood as a container for labor, economic and other activities and not as a factor in, and result of, the co-construction of said activities. This represents a gap in literature, which calls for a focus on understanding value as co-constructed through and by spatial activity before it is subsumed by the capitalist value regime. Through a focus on the spatial activities of slumdwellers and value creation through those activities, this dissertation fills this gap. In this dissertation, I show that for the residents of Kathputli Colony, the price (exchange value in money) that the developer paid for the land did not fully represent the use and other values that the residents of Kathputli found in it. Further, when reflecting on the rehabilitation apartments being provided in exchange for their self-built dwellings, residents found that the apartments also did not reflect the value that they found in their spaces. My research therefore illuminates the limitations of capitalist value theories in understanding *ex-ante* spatial values that are socially produced, reconceptualizing value based in residents' own assessments of the value of their home space.

How can we conceptualize "more-than-capitalist" value regimes which take into account marginalized residents' assessments of the value of their *ghar?* Henri Lefebvre in particular has tried to articulate the "more-than-capitalist" (Anderson 2019) aspects of spatial value or how value and space intersect. Lefebvre's (1991) dialectic of *l'habiter* and *habitat* is one such articulation that gets at the (so far) indeterminate aspects of value in relation to everyday life. Inhabiting and *habitat* are a dialectic for Lefebvre, where *l'habiter* is "to inhabit" or "to dwell" and *habitat,*

denotes a box or building or *housing* (Lefebvre 2003; Elden, 1991). While *l'habiter* or inhabiting is an activity, a process, a verb (and a noun) inscribing involvement of the inhabitant or resident of a city, *habitat* is a mere assembly of materials, which is devoid of any real involvement from the inhabitant. Typified by, but not restricted to the planned spaces of housing estates and new towns, *habitat* is imposed from above as the "the application of a homogenous global and quantitative space", with the requirement that "lived experience allow itself to be enclosed in boxes, cages, or 'dwelling machines'" (Wilson 2013). Further, *habitat* is "brought to its purest form by a State bureaucracy", when "public and semi-public initiatives" are driven by "simply the goal of providing as quickly as possible at the least cost, the greatest possible number of housing units" (Lefebvre 1991).

L'habiter or dwelling has a more rooted understanding of space, "one that is closer to lived reaction". A dwelling or the act of inhabiting then is unique to each individual and group and intrinsically linked with the need to survive, cherish, and protect. "The idea of *residing* has a poetic resonance…the human being …cannot do anything but inhabit as a poet. If we do not provide him with…the possibility of inhabiting poetically or even inventing a poetry, he will create it as best he can" (Lefebvre, 2003). Marie Huchzermeyer's (2012) case study on isiQalo in Philippi, Cape Town is particularly useful here. IsiQalo appeared over a period of several months to become home to some 6000 people. It was first occupied by a small number of people 7 years ago. But, starting in November 2011 with a spate of evictions from backyard shacks in informal settlements and townships in and around Philippi, isiQalo grew from just a few shacks to approximately 1600-1800 dwellings. This was land that had previously been quarried for sand and as more and more people arrived, the quarry became a multifunctional space—part quarry, part home, crèche,

market. There is no tenure security and the settlement has been directly under the threat of eviction. However, what this example clearly delineates is the "poetics" of dwelling practiced- not consciously but through their acts of survival- by a group of people who were denied the ability to dwell by the state. Having been displaced from their dwellings, these people inhabited another space and created the informal settlement of isiQalo. Through their lived experience of everyday life, the inhabitants appropriated and produced the city around them and thus inhabit it.

In the modern world, Lefebvre suggests that inhabiting is increasingly being reduced to habitat and this reduction may be traced to the formalization of housing and real estate under capitalism which privileges exchange value of a building or *habitat* over the value created by dwelling or inhabiting it. The city is reduced to a product and the inhabitant to a user or a "buyer of space" (Lefebvre, Brenner, and Elden 2009; Merrifield 2011) and displaces those that are unable to pay the price for the commodified space. Hernando De Soto in his book *Mystery of Capital* (2000, 39–45) describes the "mystery" to be the ability of formal property within capitalism to give assets that serve "immediate physical purpose" such as houses used for shelter, a "parallel life as capital outside the physical world". Commodities appear to us as objects with a "dual character" having both use and exchange value. The "parallel life" of a commodity outside the physical world is the exchange value that can be converted into surplus value. Mobilizing the "dominant value" or "potential energy" of a commodity to produce surplus value over and above its "physical assets" is facilitated by formal property through the coordination of use and exchange. This ability to produce surplus value, is the inherent property of landed formal property according to De Soto. Land titling as a practice of legalizing physical assets and in turn allowing the 'owners' to use that asset as collateral for loans and credit is how this surplus value is produced.

In this regime of understanding value and space, land (in slums) as 'property' is 'dead capital,' as it cannot be leveraged to produce more capital - i.e. "capitalism cannot work its wealth-creating magic" (Dovey 2010). Ghertner (2015, 178) argues that this story of the power of formal property to generate surplus value by representational means (as collateral) underpins the promise of contemporary, capitalist world-class cities: "the promise that property can morph penury into plenty". Seeing the "dead capital" in the slums of the global South, De Soto and others push land titling and tenure legalization as means to release this "dead capital" and convert it into formal property that can produce surplus value. Land which is not converted to property does not have the ability to produce surplus value and therefore is capital lying dormant or dead. This understanding of the city as a spatialization of capitalist social relations, valorizes the creation of surplus value through the commodification of land. However, there is considerable evidence that instant formalization does not work. Incorporating residents into the formal market, which does not function in their interests, instead displaces them to lower levels of informality (Huchzermeyer and Karam 2006). Dovey (2010) argues that market-based legalization and/or resettlement of informal settlements should be seen as coercive eviction and a greater threat to informal settlements than forced eviction.

Further, imagining slums as spaces of 'dead capital' ignores and even blinds our gaze to the other values that the residents who create and live in these settlements find and imbue in them. Understanding space and indeed the city through this lens of segmentations of released and dead capital is economic reductionism. Space (slums) as dead capital imagines there being nothing or only the dormant potential to create surplus exchange value. However, "space is never empty, it always embodies meaning" (Lefebvre 1991, 154). To understand space as socially produced is to

focus on the social, political and economic forces that produce space and not just on economic processes. While Lefebvre concedes, that social space is consumed, and is politically instrumental in the control of society and the reproduction of property relations, by emphasizing *l'habiter*, he also shifts our attention away from the dominant discourses and means of production of space. Inhabiting or *l'habiter* . By focusing on the 'lived' spaces of the residents of Kathputli Colony, and the kinds of values they find in them, we can illuminate the subversive power of these values to upend the formal property relation into a more relational understanding. This relational understanding of property based in the values of inhabiting and belonging, allows for better interventions through planning.

MAKING *GHAR*, DOMESTICATING LAND

The land settled at Kathputli Colony, was a rocky outcrop in West Delhi in the 1950s when the first long-term residents moved there. Residents recall the landscape as a combination of big ditches into which water from surrounding areas drained and clusters of *Kikar* (Gum Arabic) trees. The areas around the settlement were largely uninhabited. The first step before building can commence in any construction project is to clear ground. This is done in order to make the ground suitable for building. In order to build their dwellings at KPC, residents had to begin by preparing the ground. Gunjeet has lived in Kathputli for more than 50 years. He is a non-artist and the *pradhan* of a community of traditional medicine-men and recalls moving to KPC as a 17-year-old newlywed. Moving to KPC with his parents and new bride, Gunjeet recalls encountering vacant land which was pockmarked by big ditches and dirty water.

> When we came here, there was muddy water and ditches everywhere. Because of the mud, no one could live here. It was because there were drains

> everywhere here, and mud would flow out of them onto the land. It would smell very bad…Me, my wife and my father, we first demarcated this area using a rope. We collected earth from vacant land nearby, and filled this up. After filling it up, we diverted the drains from this area.- Gunjeet[64]

Rama is an artist and a well-known singer. She comes from a family of puppeteers. I talked to Rama and her two younger sisters in their home near the main bazaar road. They explained that in their family the women have always been accomplished singers, two of them have even sung playback in a Bollywood movie. She was born in Delhi in a different settlement and moved to KPC with her family when she was 5 or 6 years old. Her two younger sisters were all born in KPC. She recalls the land at KPC being covered with a jungle, and there being nothing but trees everywhere.

> When we came here there only bushes and trees and five-six jhuggies on this end of the land, where now our dwelling is. There were a few small houses in Pandav Nagar, but mostly it was empty land covered with trees as well. Our father spent many days cutting down the trees to create a clearing and then we built a jhuggi of our own from an old military tent. I remember that we spent the first few days sleeping outside. It was all a jungle and we used be scared of going out at night. – Rama[65]

Amita belongs to a Gujarati non-artist family. She came to KPC from a settlement in Karol Bagh (a nearby area of West Delhi) as a 15-year-old newlywed in 1980. Amita works as domestic help in the nearby areas, while her husband is a taxi driver. Her neighbor, Anu is a middle-aged, non-artist who works as a nanny for a family in Pandav Nagar. She came here after her wedding in the early 1980s.

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[64] Gunjeet. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 28 January 2015.

[65] Rama and two sisters. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 29 December 2014

> There was nothing here, there such deep ditches here that you could not see the land. We brought each brick, every bag of earth, we brought that on our heads, and we made this plain (level). We have made it better.
>
> When we came here, there was nothing here. There were deep ditches, trees and bushes. There was nothing here. We brought earth, bricks, stones that we carried on our heads and then we made this *ghar*. We made the land plain (level) to make this *ghar.* – Amita[66]
>
> We have made it what it is by carrying earth on our heads. Where my *jhuggi* is, there near where Gunjeet lives, there were the biggest ditches- enough to sink elephants… We first filled them with construction rubble and then covered it with earth on top. – Anu[67]

Building dwellings on this land was a process of domestication (Datta 2012a) of (public) land. Domesticating the land meant appropriating and reordering the 'malevolent' to become a home. Appropriating and reordering the outside to make it into home, required physical labor of clearing the land, fetching earth to fill ditches and cutting down trees. Residents moved to a "non-urbanized" piece of land and domesticated it, to then build their dwelling incrementally on it. During this process they gradually transformed an initially "uninhabitable" seeming territory into something domestic, into *ghar.* In residents account of this domestication, much was sacrificed to this physical labor in which men and women partook equally.

> All of these ditches, we would go to Kirti Nagar. From Kirti Nagar we would get *begasse*[68], what comes out of the machine, that we would put in these ditches. We filled these ditches with *khoi* and sawdust. Then to cover that we

[66] Amita. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 19 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[67] Anu. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 19 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[68] *Begasse* or *ganne ki khoi* is the leftover sugarcane husk once juice has been extracted from whole sugarcanes. It is commonly used as fuel.

> put earth. But there was no earth available here. I would have to go even further to get that. I would go to Chunna bhatti to get that.- NoorJahan[69]

NoorJahan moved to KPC as a young bride. Like Gunjeet, and others, she recalls big ditches that required filling in, in order to make the land habitable. She talks of the lack of earth on site to fill the ditches and therefore she had to walk long distances to other parts of Delhi such as Chunna Bhatti, in order to get materials to fill the ditches. Deepa is a member in one of the non-artist communities and has worked as a domestic help in the past. She now stays at home and takes care of her neighbor's kids, while the parents go to work during the day. Her three children have grown up and work as well. She moved to KPC in 1980 after she married her husband who works as a chauffeur. For the first few years she worked as domestic help in the neighborhood around KPC.

> When we came here, a lady from our region who lived here, and she told me that the land near her *Jhuggi* was available so we could live there if we wanted…. I have been here since 1980. In 1980, KPC was a big puddle of mud…. This land where we are was empty, someone had been living here but they had left, and there was a *peepal* (banyan) tree. The previous people had leveled the ground somewhat but it was all still not flat and water would puddle and collect. This puddle we dried slowly by burning wood and filling it with ash. – Deepa[70]

Unlike NoorJahan who used sugarcane husk and other organic materials, others relied on construction rubble, ash and earth to fill the ditches. They carried the rubble on their heads for long distances. Like Gunjeet, NoorJahan, and others mentioned above, other long-term residents like

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[69] NoorJahan. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 23 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[70] Deepa. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 20 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

Sania, Jatin, Megha and Kabila, tell stories of carrying earth, brick mortar and other materials long distances to fill the ditches. Others talk of cutting down *kikar* trees with their hands and bleeding for days as *kikar* trees are thorny and difficult to cut down.

Beera is a retired puppeteer. He is in his 70s and recalls moving to Kathputli Colony when he was 6 or 7 years old.

> There was an open *maidan* here, this land was empty. You could hear jackals and animals at night. This land was lying barren, there were a lot of bushes and plants. One used to be afraid at night. This is where we put up our tent, just back here....then slowly we cut the bushes and created an *angan* (courtyard) and then the rest of this *jhuggi.*[71]

Many residents described the land to have been "unusable" or "wasted", of there being "nothing" before they settled and appropriated it. In appropriating through their physical labor and time, land which was vacant and not being used, the residents argued that they were making it "valuable". In creating a *ghar* or home for themselves, through the act of domesticating the land and appropriating it with their embodied labors, they were imbuing it with value.

> Body, mind, soul and money, all is here. What we earned, we earned through hard work. I used to go far to work, on the way if I found even a brick, I would carry it back, so that we could build out shack. This didn't get built just like that!
>
> DDA doesn't see people, or the lives that they have lived here. DDA only sees the land- land that should be vacated so that they can build big malls, parking and we should be thrown somewhere on the sidelines, in a jungle. So that we should go back 30-35 years. That which we have built with so much hard

[71] Beera. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 29 December 2014 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

> work, it will all go to waste and we will have to start again as backward people. For us this land is invaluable, it's made us what we are. - Hema[72]

Several residents made references to the cost of the land or the exchange value i.e. the amount that Raheja Builders paid for it under the PPP model, during these conversations. However, they did not see this imbued value reflected in the cost or exchange value of the land. Rather, in terms of exchange value, they would refer to the land being "invaluable" as NoorJahan does below.

> We have withstood a lot of difficulties here to make it what it is. There were storms, there would be water everywhere. Sewage and other water would mix. Each rope bed would have to be put on four-four bricks because water would flood here. We'd spend the whole night draining water out by hand to survive…we withstood all that and made this from hell to heaven. Now, (the govt.) wants to snatch their land back. This is our home; this is invaluable to us. - NoorJahan[73]

This value wasn't about use either since it wasn't about a need fulfillment or purpose, for it didn't come just from them being able to live on the land, but from them making the land habitable. So it wasn't just that the land was now habitable and they could build *ghar* on it but that they had made it habitable through accretion and appropriation. For the residents, this imbued value lies beyond the relation between use and exchange value since in terms of exchange it was invaluable or unmeasurable in that parameter. Rather it was about the act of appropriation, of making, producing and changing. Through inhabiting the space, but also creating and producing space, residents identify imbuing value in it. Thus, through what Lefebvre has called *poeisis* i.e. to dwell poetically, residents create imbued value.

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[72] Hema. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 15 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[73] NoorJahan. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 23 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

MAKING *GHAR*, BUILDING INCREMENTALLY

The incremental *jhuggi* that residents describe in various vignettes and anecdotes in this section is not just "built" but "dwelt" and "inhabited" through the current of precarious life activities (Mcfarlane 2011b).[74] The process of building this incremental *jhuggi* or *ghar* involves the acquisition and translation of various materials into new uses over time. This process of "sociomaterial engineering" includes the translation of various spaces such as roofs that become practice spaces first and then become spaces for expanding the dwelling and courtyards that become gathering spaces sometimes and at other times become workshops to build furniture. Residents carry out this "sociomaterial engineering" in conditions of paucity and it may indeed be understood as a result of their precarious conditions. The everyday spatialities of resident-material-environment relations in incremental home-making or *making ghar* are a way to produce the city through the "labor of assembly". Incremental home-making demonstrates that this improvisation is not simply ad-hoc but the product of tinkering and tweaking over time. As laborious and historical accretion, incremental building represents ways in which residents inhabit the city and produce it. Living in conditions of precarity and paucity, residents "make do" with the materials, spaces and objects that they can acquire and through "sociomaterial engineering" create their *ghar.* The ability to engineer and translate materials, objects, spaces and socialites is a function of the practice of incremental building and imbues value on their spaces.

> This home we built in 1990….before that we used to live here, but there were empty ditches here and people used to shit in them. I came here after my marriage in 1985-86. At that time, I used bamboo poles and tarpaulin to create

[74] See Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 to understand how incremental building has changed the built environment in Kathputli Colony.

> two different rooms. I hung a curtain to make a door for our home. When V.P. Singh gave us *tokens* [in 1990], I thought we should make do something to make this better, so I used the mud form the ditches to make walls, like we do in the village.
>
> At that time, below that bridge, there was a makeshift room and, in that people, would dump construction material. I collected pieces of brick from there and with the mud, erected the walls and then plastered them with more mud.
>
> By late 1990 we had a mud plastered dwelling (*ghar)* here, but there was a fire. In the fire, a lot of *jhuggies* burnt down and only a few around us were left standing.... I decided then, that whatever bricks I can find around me, when going to work, at my employer's place, on the way back. I will bring them here. People would discard old bricks, and I would carry them home. So slowly I made the whole house (*ghar)* permanent.
>
> After a few years, I started replacing the thatched roof with these Tin sheets that you see now. This didn't happen in a day, it happened slowly. The Tin sheets made it hard to sleep in the summer because of the heat, so we created this courtyard. In the summer, we sleep here. This bathroom, we made when my daughter grew up, a few years ago. Now this is all that you see. - Asha[75]

Asha is a non-artist and works as a community mobilizer and social worker at KPC. She lives in a dwelling with a courtyard in the middle, with her husband, son and daughter. She describes the process of making *ghar* as first putting together bamboo poles and tarpaulin to create rooms and using a curtain to make a door. She then slowly scavenged bricks to start building more permanent walls and then plastering them with more mud and slowly she made the *ghar pakka* (permanent). When talking about their dwellings, like Asha, residents told me detailed accounts of how the dwelling came to be what it was then. Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 show the transition from temporary and *kuchha* building materials to *pukka* materials.

[75] Asha. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 20 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

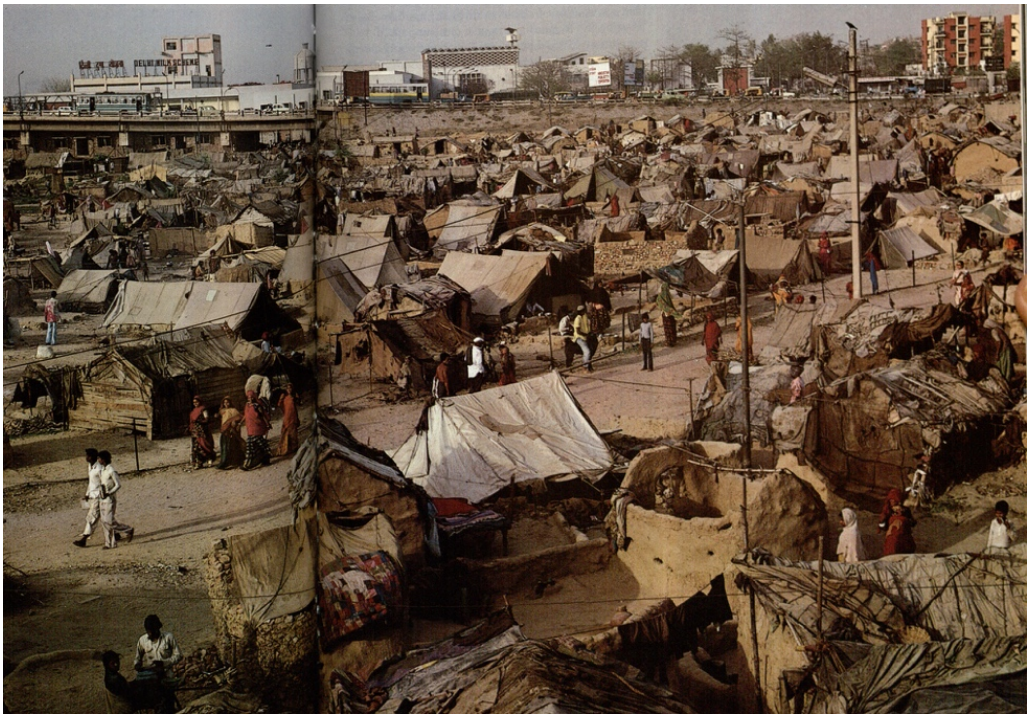

Figure 4.1. Settlement at Kathputli Colony in the 1980s (Sandal 1985)

Figure 4.2. Settlement at Kathputli Colony in 2015.

> In the beginning, the space we had was only enough to put a *palang* (bed) in. We started with that. We put up bamboo poles on it and then covered it with *chatai* (straw mats) ….so then when we would go work, we would collect cardboard and jute bags on the way when we could and bring them back with us. We would reinforce the *chatai* with those. Then we started building mud walls. The roof was temporary with *chatai* and grass for quite a while.
>
> We lived like that for 10 years. But that space was very small, so then we acquired this *ghar* that we are sitting in now. We have both of these because that is the only way we can all live here. When we moved to this second *ghar*, it was also had mud walls, so a few years after moving here, we decided to made brick walls for both of them, because the walls would get wet and stay wet and leak.
>
> So we built the brick walls and the roof that you see today. The roof our neighbor helped us make, he works as a construction worker. He heled us make this with these girders and stone slabs, and then we plastered it on top. - Deepa[76]

Deepa's *ghar* is actually two dwellings, that they acquired over time. The dwellings are both single story and make up three habitable rooms, with some space in the front that acts as a shared courtyard. These dwellings face a large open drain (approx. 1.5 mts wide) that carries water from neighboring Pandav Nagar to the bigger municipal sewage drain. While Deepa extended her *ghar* horizontally by acquiring another dwelling and making it more *pakka,* others extended vertically. Deepa's ability to extend vertically was restricted because she and her neighbors realized that the municipal drain that ran in front of their homes also ran under their homes. As such the ground was not stable enough for them to extend vertically when needed. Here again, residents adapted to the lived reality of Kathputli Colony to accrue more space horizontally instead of vertically to continue to adapt and appropriate their settlement to their everyday needs and

[76] Deepa. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 20 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

experiences. Many residents told me stories of incrementally building their dwellings over time. They told stories of adding different elements, of making small changes here and there.

The residents drew a distinction between their space at Kathputli which they often referred to as *ghar* or home and the rehabilitation apartments which they called flats or DDA flat. This difference is what defines the imbued value I have identified- the difference between the continuous process of making-home, and a flat or building. For most residents, this continuous process of making-home allowed for the creation of flexible spaces that fulfilled the changing needs of their families. Further, making-home for a number of residents involved a process of creating and maintaining extended kinship and social networks in and around their *ghars*. Both imbued value to their *ghar* and distinguished their *ghar* in Kathputli from the rehabilitation apartments they were being given by the DDA.

Figure 4.3. Ram Singh sits on a wooden platform in the Bazaar Street, working on a new *dhol.*

Ram Singh is a *dhol* (drum) player and puppeteer and comes from a family of traditional acrobats. He lives in a one-room dwelling along the Bazaar street. Outside his dwelling, he has sequestered a part of the street with a wooden trunk shaded by a homemade awning of old bedsheets. As I join him on the trunk, he explains that during the day he sits on the trunk and works on his *dhols* and during the night the trunk becomes a makeshift shop from which he and his wife sell omelet bread and tea to residents returning late from work (Figure 4.3). His two sons are dancers and use the roof of their *ghar* to practice their dance sequences during the day and to sleep during the summer. They also store his *dhols* and other paraphernalia on the roof.

> Our *jhuggi* was right here, where my *ghar* is now. It was like a *jhuggi* before- bamboo poles with tarp over them. After 1990, we made it more *pakka* (permanent).... slowly everything changes. I was an acrobat and now I make and play the *dhol*, and at night this (points to the trunk he is sitting on) becomes my stall.....
>
> We have made this *ghar* ourselves, and we are living in it the best we can. Here we don't have to worry about where our kids will go. We'll build a room for them upstairs, just like we built this *ghar*. We have built this, and we have spent our life here. Whether we live 1 year, 2 years or 15 years, we are here. - Ram Singh [77]

For Ram Singh, the *ghar* that he has made for his family has spaces that serve multiple uses. In the process of making *ghar*, he has created spaces that serve the needs of his family right now and have the flexibility to fulfill other needs-such as the need for another room- that may arise later. He explains further that the apartments have no outside space where he and his family can

[77] Ram Singh. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 30 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

carry out their daily chores. They will be restricted to the apartment itself. Nor do the apartments have an independent roof, where they can expand their dwelling if need arises.

NoorJahan supplements her family's income by helping her husband who is a carpenter, make furniture and doors. Her home has two rooms and a kitchen, with a courtyard in between them. The courtyard is where they make the furniture.

> The problem is that say I work as a carpenter, if I work in an apartment, then whoever is below me, they won't be able to stand the noise. Here, we have a little bit of space. Look (pointing to the courtyard floor) how the floor is all broken and pockmarked. We work here, that's why its broken. There on the 14th or 15th floor, it will all break. Where will we work. That's why we can't move into the apartment.
>
> We make doors for example. My husband takes on extra work at night. Here, in the courtyard, there is space. Where will we do this there? There we'll have to take the doors up and down the stairs? Or will be use the lift? How will we take the big doors all the way up and down? - NoorJahan[78]

The courtyard is a flexible space that most residents have created in their homes. Many residents use the courtyards as sitting and living spaces, as well as spaces where they carry out some supplementary activities to add to their income. NoorJahan's courtyard has a monkey ladder going up to the roof of her home. The neighborhood women use the ladder to access her roof where they dry clothes, sit in the sun during winter and to chat and catch up.

Like NoorJahan, Mohan is a non-artist and his community lives in much smaller dwellings than the artists owing to their late arrival in KPC. Mohan runs a small grocery store in the ground floor room of his two room home. The second room is on the upper level and serves as a bedroom

[78] NoorJahan. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 23 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

cum kitchen for his family of four. The shop is his main source of livelihood. He explains that when he bought the *ghar* 25 years ago on his move to KPC, there was only the lower room. The upper room did not exist at that time. His kids were very young and he started selling small gorcery items of daily use from his home. Eventually the home started serving as a shop during the day. They were able to add the upper level 10 years ago and have some more breathing space. He will not be getting a replacement shop through the in-situ project and will therefore lose his source of livelihood. He adds that in his community the dwellings are very small and most families live in a single room. However each family has access to a small courtyard or open space which acts as an extension of the room. This flexibility to extend outward is very useful and adds value to their *ghar*.

Figure 4.4. Women working on assembling IC chips in the shared courtyard.

Women in Mohan's community and other non-artist communities take up small work assignments that they can undertake from their homes to supplement the family income. While some might take up some sewing work, women in Mohan's community use the courtyard space to gather during the day and assemble IC chips to earn some extra money for their family.

Sudha lives in an extended family cluster which has 21 homes. Her brother-in-law is the patriarch of the family. Sudha's husband died of typhoid a few years ago. Her home is at one edge of the cluster, and her blind mother-in-law lives next to her. The homes in the cluster are connected by a series of connected courtyards, some of which have been covered over to create more space. Sudha is the sole breadwinner in her family of 6. She buys, sorts and resells recycleables such as plastic bottles, bags, clothes, electronics etc. She stores the bags of sorted and unsorted recyclables in a covered courtyard. The courtyards in the cluster are communal spaces where women come together to cook around a common *chullah* or wood fired stove. Sudha depends on the other women in her extended family to help in taking care of her young children, while she is out collecting or selling the recyclables. Together the extended family supports her blind mother-in law to carry out her everyday tasks.

> You see how we live here. Even though my husband is dead, I can take care of my family. We live, cook and sleep together. My sisters take care of my children when I am away as we live so close to one another. I don't know where we will ger apartments. Here we are near each other, in the apartments we might not be. We all eat food cooked on the chullah, but in an apartment on the 10th floor, where will you light a *chullah*?- Sudha[79]

[79] Sudha. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 23 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

In our conversation, Sudha recalled that her husband had been adamant about living in the extended family home units because he wanted to be close to the family. This turned out to be a boon for her when he passed, as she had his extended family to take care of her and her children. Sudha's concerns about loss of kinship networks was echoed by many others but particularly women in the settlement.

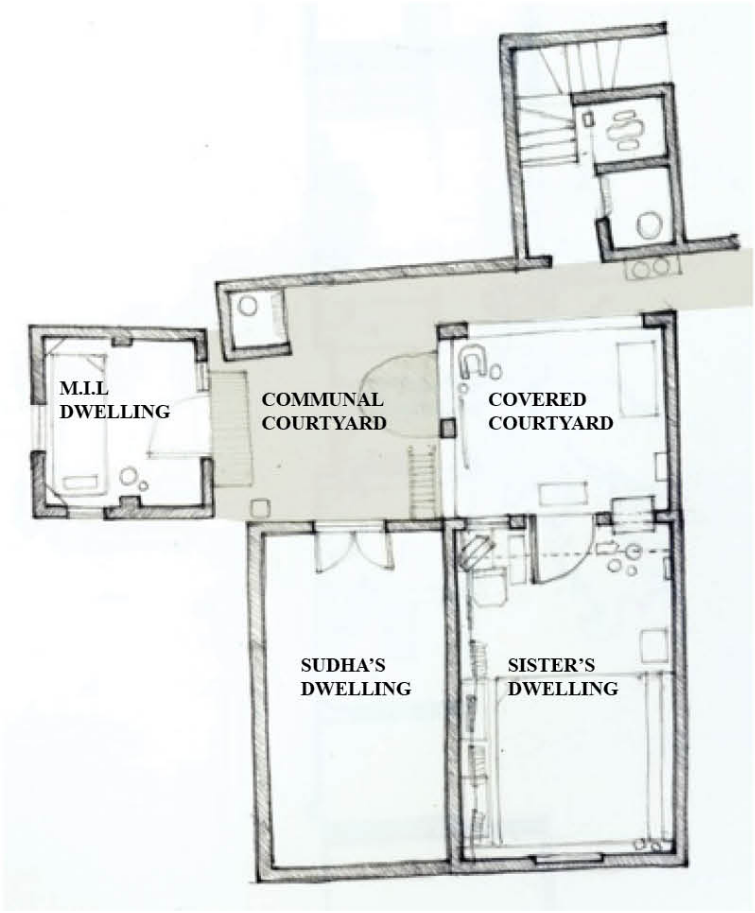

Figure 4.5. Sketch plan of part of Sudha's extended family dwellings

Work and space are gendered in the settlement with the women solely responsible for cooking, taking care of the children and household chores. Most women also supplemented the family income by taking on other jobs such as sewing, or running small tea stalls etc. The loss of communal spaces such as courtyards where cooking and other household chores are shared

amongst extended families was of bigger concern for women. Such spaces etched out during the incremental process of making-home, added value to their spaces by responded to their need for communal spaces and allowed for them to continue living in extended social networks of mutual support and aid.

Asim a young magician, lives on the ground level of two-level dwelling. His three brothers, their families and he, share the two dwellings with their elderly father, who is a well-known *pradhan* of the magician community at Kathputli. Asim got married a year ago and has recently brought his wife to KPC. His father partitioned off the room they shared on the lower level of the dwelling, into two parts using curtains to give the young couple their own space. Reflecting on his dwelling Asim remarks that while the space they have is limited, they are able to help each other. They all share everyday chores and there a sense of security in having your family nearby.

> Whether its guests or anyone else, we sit here together and eat. We walk around here in this small courtyard, wash clothes here too. Everyone's clothes get washed together. We settle the family as it grows because the dwellings are independent. My wife has come here recently. She is going to have a baby. My sisters-in-law are right here to help with the household work but also with everything else. We don't have to worry. Everyone living near us is also part of our family. Uncles, aunts, friends, we live right amongst them. Here we are together. In the apartments we will be alone, each family on its own. - Asim[80]

Asim's older brother Wasim explained to me in a later conversation that he had been reluctant to bring his new bride to Kathputli Colony 15 years ago when they had gotten married. But since he had no money of his own, they had ended up living with the family. They stayed however even after they could afford to live in Pandav Nagar because his wife appreciated the

[80] Asim. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 06 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

support that other members of the family provided in terms of taking care of both the *ghar* and their 4 kids. His wife had been able to go back to get a diploma because she didn't have to worry about the *ghar.*

As these vignettes illustrate, for artists and non-artists alike, their *ghar* in KPC allows for their everyday home spaces to double up as work spaces, as well as other spaces where they can practice their craft, get together with kin etc. For many people in KPC work (supplementary) and living is carried out in the same spaces of the *ghar*. Even though the dwelling size may be small, flexibity of spaces in terms of use, means that the total space used for daily activies is much more. The residents point out that this will not be possible in the apartments and is an imbued value that these spaces have because of the way that they were created through an incremental process of making their *ghar* through the appropriation and inhabiting of space. Residents also pointed out that while their current dwellings allowed for expansion upward, this would not be possible in apartments as someone else would be living above them and the roof would be communal property. This was of grave concern for Zahira and others like her, who had expanded their dwellings vertically to make room for a growing family.

> I have five children and they all have children of their own now….. they live in the rooms above our home. (the DDA) are saying now that those who have rooms on the ground will get compensated but the ones who live on the first or other upper floors will now, so how am I to live without my kids? Where will my kids go? - Zahira[81]

> Our home has three levels, with us children on the upper two levels. We built the upper levels in the last 10 years as we children grew older. It has allowed us to live at KPC or we would have to go somewhere else. My brother gets

[81] Zahira. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 27 December 2014 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

> married next year, in the apartments we'd have to all six live in the same apartment, while here in KPC we live in separate rooms. They are small but we can build more. - Manjeet[82]

Zahira and Manjeet here reiterate the importance of their dwellings having not just spaces allowing for flexible use but also the dwelling itself being morphologically flexible, allowing for expansion. Incremental building of dwellings and space in informal settlements is a function of income flows, as well as the capacities and ability to acquire and store materials. Further, it reflects the growing needs as families become larger. Smaller increments such as walls, courtyards, stairways etc. are used in a myriad of ways to appropriate and adapt spaces over time. Through their lived experience of everyday life, the inhabitants appropriate and produce the city and thus inhabit it as described in this section. Residents domesticate land and inhabit space through an incremental process of making-home which allows for the creating of spaces that are flexible to their current and future needs. Further these spaces allow for the maintenance of extended social and kinship networks. These are different ways in which residents of Kathputli Colony imbue value in their self-built spaces. This "informal morphogenic process" (Dovey 2019) involves incremental appropriation of space and accretion of materials, through which residents create and inhabit urban space. It is through this process that value is imbued in space. While the "formal morphogenic process" street layouts, construction and building precedes the residents living in the spaces and for the residents of Kathputli is represented by the rehabilitation apartments.

[82] Manjeet. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 5 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

MAKING *GHAR*, HISTORY AND BELONGING

Space is socially produced (1991) and contingent on who inhabits it (Massey 2005). As an open interactional system, connections in and through space offer the possibility of social and political relationships among a multiplicity of people (Low 2017). As the 'simultaneity of stories so far' which are practiced, embodied and relational, space is not fixed in meaning. This is due to the heterogeneity of people, things and relationships passing through space. For the people of Kathputli Colony, the stories that they tell of their space are one of inhabiting and appropriating it and that gives their space value and meaning. And in the process of inhabiting and imbuing value to it, they were becoming part of the land and of the dwelling, of this space that they had built.

> "We made it what it is….it was nothing before us. It is in us and we are in it". - Danny[83]

> "For us this land is invaluable, it's made us what we are."- Hema[84]

I heard this in my different ways, from different residents. For residents, the difficulties that they faced during the time that they had been living in KPC, added to this imbued value. Some residents told stories of losing loved ones in the process of this building. One resident told me of how she lost the twins she was carrying because she would hide bricks in her skirt on the way home from work.

> We have withstood a lot of difficulties here to make it what it is. There were storms, there would be water everywhere. Sewage and other water would mix. Each rope bed would have to be put on four-four bricks because water would flood here. We'd spend the whole night draining water out by hand to

[83] Danny and Wife. Interview by Author, Manish Chalana, and Patrick Flajole. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, August 19, 2013 (Preliminary Fieldwork Phase II)

[84] Hema. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 15 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

> survive…we withstood all that and made this from hell to heaven. Now, (the govt.) wants to snatch their land back. This is our home; this is invaluable to us. - NoorJahan[85]

> Our community has seen a lot here. They've been two fires and a lot of people have lost their homes here. But, we've come together and rebuilt. It is difficult to lose everything when you are poor, you don't have anything left, but we had Kathputli Colony. We could live here even if we'd lost everything.- Bobby[86]

Like NoorJahan, Bobby and others, most middle-aged and older residents told different stories of the difficulties they had to overcome to remain and these stories gave meaning to the space and added value to it. Gunjeet's community lived in an area of KPC, where there was subsidence of land. Gunjeet and his extended family had spent many years filling up the big ditches in the area and diverting the water away, however the scavenged materials they had used to fill the ditches were compressing under the weight of the dwellings above them. This was leading to subsidence, and their dwellings had sunk below the level of the streets around them.

> These ditches that we filled with earth that we dug up, these ditches have now sunken into an abyss...this has sunk into an abyss, but we are still here. There were two big fires, and our homes burnt to the ground, but we are still here. This land has seen all of this. It knows, it knows us. What do those flats know (of us)? -Gunjeet[87]

For Gunjeet, NoorJahan and other long-term residents of KPC, the land/space had borne witness to their embodied experience of living through the flooding, the fires and other such

[85] NoorJahan. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 23 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[86] Bobby. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 6 January, 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[87] Gunjeet. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 28 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

difficulties. While the land bore witness to their struggles, they bore witness to the land changing through their appropriating it and this created a sense of belonging or that the land knew them.

> Where should we go from here now madam? Everything is here- ghar, kids, friends, family. Everything is in Kathputli Colony. I am here since 1986, it's been so many years, I've learnt everything here, I've seen everything here, where do we go now? What else do we have, this is it.- Amrish[88]

Belonging according to Davina Cooper (2007) is a conceptually ambiguous term that can signify membership of a community, property ownership, a relationship to place etc. Using Cooper and others, Keenan (2014, 12) defines belonging as "the state of fitting smoothly, or without trouble into either a conceptual category or a material position". Belonging is a relational term, as can be seen from the claims made above.

> "We built slowly, with our own hands, but we made what we wanted. I make puppets and *dhol* here in the street. My sons practice on the roof. This house has some of us in it…. our sweat and tears. Now they say this is worthless…. live in apartments. How am I to build puppets in an apartment? What does an apartment know of me?"- Ram Singh[89]

Like space and belonging, property is also relational. What counts as whose property determines whether it counts as someone else's or not. Property is also socially constructed and contractual (Gray 1991) and has the power to exclude. It is a socially-constructed contract, where the relationship between property and subjects gives it the power to exclude. In terms of private property, my owning a piece of land is a contract held up by society and state and excludes others from using that land.

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[88] Amrish. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 22 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[89] Ram Singh. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 30 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

Keenan (2010) however argues that "property can be understood as a spatially contingent relation of belonging". This is an inversion of the focus on exclusion in current hegemonic understandings of property and proposes that property be instead understood as a set of networked relations in which the subject is embedded. This understanding of property focusses not on the subject but on the space around the subject, the constitutive relations of that space and "the ways in which they are structured to form networks of belonging that make property". In the present case, it brings focus to the networks at Kathputli Colony that together validated and 'held-up' the claims to land being made by the residents. These claims were based in their domesticating, appropriating and inhabiting the space of the settlement and creating a mutual relationship of belonging with the land. Kathputli Colony belonging to its residents, while not a traditional claim to ownership, is a claim held up by the social relationships that the residents have with each other.

> "Thinking about property as a relationship of belonging capable of being framed through law as well as through other social, cultural and/or political networks helps emphasize the social and cultural specificity of conventional understandings of property enforced through law." (Keenan 2010, 428)

Understanding property as a relationship of belonging then opens up the field for us to question the primacy given to private property, and to instead focus on other ways of understanding property that may not be recognized by law. This opening provided by property as belonging becomes particularly important in cases where the epistemologies of knowing and understanding property are not validated and can thus 'unsettle' property. Nick Blomley (2004) and Irene Watson (2007) have written about land in settler colonial states as 'unsettled spaces'. Blomley (2004) argues that one of the reason that settler colonial states rely on a system of land titling is that it

ensures that claims to property are uncontested, that 'ownership is complete and zero-sum', that only the owner and the land as their private property are recognized in a relationship of belonging.

Keith Basso's (1996) long term ethnographical work with the Native American Western Apache lends credence to this claim. Apache's understandings of land and ownership are based in self-reflective moral relationships. Wisdom is passed on from elders to juniors by enacting knowledge through the process of visiting different important places and recounting traditional stories. This creates an 'enduring reciprocal relationship' in which Apaches inhabit their landscape and are inhabited by it through the thinking of narratives set in place (Low 2017). This relationship of mutual belonging- similar to the ones described by residents at Kathputli Colony- has no place in the contemporary private property regime. So, while the Apache belong to the landscape, and the landscape belongs to them, this relationship of property as belonging is not held up by law. These alternative understandings of property as belonging are subversive and if given attention and legitimation, have the power to upend the hegemonic private property regime.

While for many residents, Kathputli Colony was a place of history and belonging, *ghar,* this was not true for every residents. In particular, this was true for the one community most ostracized in Kathputli Colony- the *safai karamcharis* or municipal waste workers.

> Look around you, this is one of the cleanest parts of the colony. But if you talk to other people in the colony, they will tell you that we are dirty because we are *safai karamcharis*. I am the pradhan here but they never invite me to any of the meetings. We have always had to live separate from all of them, so we would prefer to get apartments here or in Narela. The government has sent other communities that belong to our caste there. - Hari[90]

[90] Hari. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 20 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

For Hari and his community of municipal waste workers, their caste and work had meant that while their dwelling was *ghar* or home, the settlement as a whole did not feel like *ghar*. When I asked Hari about his *ghar* he explained that they had built it incrementally over time. While he felt that the dwelling was his *ghar* the settlement felt alien to him because of the ostracization. Hari's example elucidates the relational nature of belonging and property.

MAKING *GHAR* AGAIN

Residents therefore saw value both in their own spaces and in the rehabilitation apartments, however, when asked which they preferred, they almost unanimously would propose the ideal of self-built dwellings in Kathputli Colony but with better infrastructure and services. Suraj elaborates here:

> I would prefer if they divide up the land into 20-22-25-yard plots and give those to us. But those must be here (at Kathputli Colony]). We'll use the same materials we have here and make a dwelling (*ghar*) on the plot. The roof will be ours, home will be ours…I will make one home (*ek ghar*) on the lower level, my son will build his above it and my grandson will build above that someday…If they divide this up into plots, the filth will get cleaned…there will be covered sewage drains…the streets will be wider, they will be wide enough that if there are homes on both sides, a vehicle can pass between them. There will be drains for water drainage. The government will provide these services, right? That would be ideal. - Suraj [91]

Suraj's ideal situation is if the residents are given plots in KPC. He proposes that in that scenario, they would use the same materials and start with making one room for their home. Then his sons and grandsons can incrementally add to this *ghar* and build above his *ghar*. In this

[91] Suraj. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 31 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

scenario, while the residents retain the ability to build the kinds of home that they desire, the issues with sanitation and lack of infrastructure are solved as that would be provided by the state. There were different versions of Suraj's solution that I heard from other residents, with the common theme of plots in the same location, with services provided by the state.

> The best solution for us would be to get land here. We don't want your apartment, give us some small plot here, say 12 yards or 12.5 yards, that will be enough. We will live in tents again, use plastic. The advantage in that is that as we save a little money, we can build it. Like we've done here already. Eventually we can build it up to be 3-4 rooms. We can build a staircase on the outside to go up to the other rooms, one on top of the other. The government can provide services. If we are no longer here, our children will be, their kids will be here someday. If in the future we get land titles, that would be great but even without that, living here would be best. - Asha and Husband[92]

> We have a small family- it's my husband and in-laws and me. My husband and his father have lived here for 20 years, and they have built an upper unit in our *ghar* for me and him. We want to have children but we will need more space. In the apartments, it will be all of us in one apartment. We would prefer to live here in Kathputli, only if the state would give us water and sewage and roads. Then we can manage. We can build as we want. - Sunita[93]

> I would ask the government to leave us as we are. If not, then just clear this settlement....and a lot us plots here. Whether everyone gets 10 square yards or 10, give us what we can get. Lay down the sewer lines, electricity and water and you [the government] don't need to spend any more money. We will start with building a jhuggi and each can have its own toilet. Then, like before, we will build it incrementally, slowly add to it and we'll have a home (*ghar ban jayega*). - Ram Singh [94]

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[92] Asha and Husband. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 4 March 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[93] Sunita. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 20 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[94] Ram Singh. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 30 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

Amrish comes from a long family of painters. He now makes Rajasthani miniature paintings, that he sells to various vendors in Delhi. Amrish's *ghar* is on the upper level of a shop on the Bazaar street and does not have access to a courtyard. However, he uses the roof of his neighbors' dwelling as an outdoor space to sit, paint and cook. In our conversation, Amrish confirms that the wares of his trade do not require a lot of storage space and he can paint in small spaces. The rehabilitation apartments therefore work for him and his family however, he expresses a desire for a plot of land on which he can rebuild his *ghar* the way he wishes.

> It will be good for us if we get land, that will be best for us. If we get land, then that means we will get a roof. If we get a roof, then we can use it as a workshop to paint. Later when we need more space, we can build rooms on the roof. We can construct according to our needs, desires and ability.
>
> If we have our own space, or the DDA gives us a plot, and makes sure there is a sewer connection...we will build again...the government can give as they wish- 20 yards, 22 yards- they can give us whatever they want. If its land, we will build ourselves.- Amrish[95]

It was clear that the residents were confident of their ability to build again, but also that they preferred it. Many residents mentioned that they would be able to customize the spaces as they built and that they would build incrementally and they'll make-home again. The ability to "sociomaterially engineer" was important to residents. It is clear that residents found *imbued* value in their self-built spaces, and that they were confident in their ability to recreate or reestablish the value if allowed to self-build again.

[95] Amrish. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 22 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

CHOOSING BETWEEN *GHAR* AND PROPRIETY

As I've discussed in the earlier sections, residents shared that the rehabilitation apartments did not respond to their ways of living and needs. Rehabilitation apartments were rigid in use with single-use spaces which could not easily be adapted to serve the various functions that residents desired of their spaces. Further, residents preferred dwellings which could be expanded to incorporate spaces for growing families and needs, which apartments could not. Even though residents saw problems with the rehabilitation apartments being awarded to them, when asked if they would take rehabilitation, many responded in the affirmative. Residents cited issues with sanitation, hygiene and access to toilets as the reason for taking the apartments. Ghertner (2010a) in his work with the residents of a slum in Delhi found that such evocations were based in what he calls the "propriety of property". Property and particularly property ownership becomes a tool for claiming propriety by those whose behavior and selves are seen as "filthy", "illegal" and "illegitimate".

Aman and Raghav are in their early 20s and have grown up in KPC. We are sitting in the workshop, drinking tea and they are berating me for wasting my time talking to the 'oldies'. Both Aman and Raghav have travelled to Cape Town together to perform in an international festival. They both express a desire to move into the rehabilitation apartments. When I ask them why, Aman begins with a description of how clean Cape Town seemed the first time they went there. Raghav chimes in:

> And then look at what's around you here. There is shit everywhere. Who wants to live like this? - Raghav[96]

> Every time, I have to go the toilet, I have to pay 2-5 rupees. And look around you, not everyone can afford to pay every time, so people go wherever they can. At least in the apartments, we will have our own toilets. We will not have to live with other peoples' filth. - Aman[97]

As discussed in Chapter 3, JJCs such as Kathputli Colony have existed for many decades, however, their illegal status results in a lack of service provision (Datta 2012b; Roy 2005; Yiftachel 2009). As of 2018, garbage is collected from only 32 per cent of JJCs, and underground sewage exists in only 16 per cent JJCs (GNCT Delhi 2018, 202). Even when infrastructure is provided, it is effectively absent due to its inadequacy and inaccessibility (McFarlane 2008; Desai, Mcfarlane, and Graham 2015; Truelove 2016; Cornea, Véron, and Zimmer 2017). This lack of service provision prevents residents from disposing their waste properly and creates an environment that seems unhygienic and unsanitary in addition to the lack of dignity that results from having to relieve yourself in public and shared spaces. While most residents identified lack of toilets and issues with hygiene and sanitation as the main issues at KPC, almost everyone situated the blame for the environmental conditions on the state and parastatal agencies.

> What happens when you flush the toilet in your house? It goes to the municipal sewage drain. You didn't build that, they did. - Ram Singh[98]

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[96] Raghav. Interview by Author, Manish Chalana and Patrick Flajole. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 27 August 2013 (Preliminary Fieldwork Phase II)

[97] Aman. Interview by Author, Manish Chalana and Patrick Flajole. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 27 August 2013 (Preliminary Fieldwork Phase II)

[98] Ram Singh. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 30 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

> This dirt is because of the government. Now, how many public toilets does the state build? there are so many people here, and everyone is constantly looking for work. If people had toilets in their homes, they would use those. But if you charge people for using a public toilet, they will not pay. If I must go 5 times a day, I pay 5 times? If we had that much money, why would we live here? What I am saying is that if in your home, if the *jamaandar*[99] doesn't come for two days, the house is dirty. Here there are no *jamaandars* and no toilets. - Gopal Singh[100]

> When we think about Kathputli, we think about living in a clean and hygienic place. We want to live well. We have tried a lot, but we can't do everything with our hands. Now if we have made a [sewage] drain and it is backed up, we can't do much about it. We don't have the machines needed, not the tools required to fix the problem. When we have tried to get help from them (municipal council), we have not been helped because we are a JJ Cluster. If sanitary workers come here regularly and clean the drains, the problem will be solved. - Asim[101]

Ram Singh, Gopal Singh and Asim, all point out that the issue is the lack of basic infrastructure. Such infrastructure is provided for other parts of the city but not to *JJCs* like Kathputli Colony.

During a similar part of our conversation, Sania explained that the reason she would like to move, even though only two of her four sons were eligible for apartments. Her sons were tired of living in KPC. Her sons, she elaborated, could not even bring friends home, because they lived in a slum.

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[99] There is no direct translation of *Jamaandar* in English. It refers to the community of people who have traditionally cleaned toilets

[100] Gopal Singh. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 25 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[101] Asim. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 06 January 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

> The streets here are so narrow that in places you cannot even walk abreast. If someone dies, you must carry their body in your arms because there is no room for anything else in most places. How can you invite anyone to visit you here? There is sewage everywhere when it rains and even right now, look at where you and I are having to sit, over a sewage drain. - Sania[102]

Sangeet, a young community organizer, who had been instrumental in mounting protests against the project and evictions, echoes Sania:

> You are here because you are doing research here. If I told any of my friends from engineering school that I lived here, they would never talk to me again. I am a slum-dweller. Slumdwellers are not bad, but I think so because I live here. To the outside world, we will be slumdwellers as long as we live here. Once we move to the apartments, we will live in a normal housing society instead of living in a slum. That is the only way we can stop being slumdwellers. - Sangeet[103]

Sangeet is the only resident in KPC who has a technical degree from an engineering school. On my probing to talk further about what he meant by being a slum-dweller, Sangeet explained that slum-dwellers were thought to be poor, uneducated, filthy and carriers of disease. Slum-dwellers were encroachers and squatters who did not know how to behave in polite society. He explained that he understood that that's not who they are, but other peoples' perceptions mattered. And these perceptions would change if they lived in 'normal' apartments.

> 'Normal' apartments means apartments that everyone else lives in. Not like here, where there are no toilets, no water, no roads. Apartments that we will own like everyone else. - Sangeet[104]

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[102] Sania. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 19 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[103] Sangeet. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 21 December 2014 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

[104] Sangeet. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 21 December 2014 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

In our conversations, I found that the younger men of the settlement often evoked this idea of living in apartments changing how people saw them. The “territorialized stigma” (Ghertner 2015) of the slum had become attached to the residents and rehabilitation into apartments came with the promise of transforming the residents’ fates and potential. In the case of KPC and my work there, residents almost never talked about owning apartments or property. This in part was because there was always ambiguity around what kind of title they were going to get once they were allotted the apartments. It was not clear to them whether they would be property owners or not. Nonetheless, my conversations with Sangeet, Sania and others revealed their understanding of the new apartments as a tool towards becoming acceptable, legal citizens of the city.

Kathputli Colony is in the eyes of the law a JJC or an illegal squatter settlement, and its residents' have no rights to the land that they are living on. At the same time, there is a pervasive discourse that views informal settlements such as Kathputli Colony as unhygienic, unsanitary and characterized by sub-standard housing. The residents in turn are seen as unwanted migrants creating "nuisance", with immoral habits and behaviors. Demolition of Kathputli Colony was not a condition that its residents desire. They had however, accepted it as the only route to a legitimate status in the city, because if demolished, they might receive ‘rehabilitation’ from the state and through this rehabilitation become legitimate and legal residents of Delhi. They too might become residents of a legitimate, respected, and clean housing complex. In the case of residents being evicted and resettled to the periphery, Bhan and Shivanand (2013, 54) have compared the experience of displacement to be a “double-edged moment” for the poor. It is a moment of violence and eviction, but at the same time, the moment also offers the possibility of legality and tenure security through the process of resettlement. For the residents of Kathputli Colony, eviction from

the settlement and rehabilitation is a similar double-edged moment. As opposed to the imbued value that residents found in KPC, the apartments could be argued to fulfill other needs such as access to toilets, better services and infrastructure. While residents found more-than-capitalist values in the form of imbued value in their current settlement, they also desired the 'propriety' that living in apartments would bring.

THEORIZING VALUE FROM KATHPUTLI COLONY

> They are excluded so they take....but they are not seizing an abstract right, they are taking an actual place: a place to lay their heads. - Neuwirth (2005)

An examination of the urban morphology at Kathputli Colony as I have presented in the previous chapter, and the vignettes I present in this chapter reveals the precarity, constant material negotiations and embodied praxis of urban life in Kathputli Colony. It reveals an organic approach to the production of urban space that enables slum-dwellers to create space for themselves in the city. Reduced to its more basic function of shelter, the built form generated through the everyday practices of residents at Kathputli Colony reveals a more real and living city. Many activities become possible not because there is a well-developed infrastracture available, but rather because the infrastructure exists through lack and paucity. This level of informal urban function is characterized by precariousness and hardship, and defined by necessity (Boeck 2011). While the city is dominated by a capitalist value regime that facilitates "accumulation by disspossession" (Harvey 1989), marginalized residents "make do" by producing their own spaces and settlements. While far from an ideal way to live, "making do" generates the possibility and capacity to become willfull actors in the city. "Making do" becomes a mode of compostition which is in its essence precarious and informal. For residents, "making do" opens up the "times and spaces for alternative

living" (Vasudevan 2015). While the capitalist value regime makes their settlement spaces invisible except as land to be commodified, residents "live in actual homes in communities in places with actual histories that collide with contemporary circumstances to produce actual presents" (Pithouse 2006). An analysis of the particularly ways by which the "actual presents" are produced in space at Kathputli Colony reveal that residents "making do" appropriate space and create value. While "making do" in the city, through domesticating land and space, and building incrementally, residents produce urban space (Vasudevan 2015).

The built environment of Kathputli Colony is a result of the precarious processes of accretion and assembly in which materials and infrastractures are incrementally added and continuously altered in order to be constantly reworked and altered to satsfy new needs and possiblities. As described in the preceding sections, through the embodied material processes of domesticating uninhabitable urban land into their *ghar* - Kathputli Colony residents not only produce urban space but also value. Residents order space and incrementally build their dwellings through almost constant accretion of materials and space, and through these processes of appropriating attribute meaning to their surroundings. Through appropriating space, they are doing no more no less than "ordering and domesticating the world" (Dovey 2010) that is converting it into something useful, familiar, with meaning and value. Residents domesticate land, and inhabit space through an incremental process of making *ghar* which allows for the creation of spaces that are flexible to their current and future needs. Further these spaces allow for the maintenance of extended social and kinship networks. The everyday spaces of Kathputli Colony, when looked at through these process of making *ghar* can be understood as *l'habiter*- they are "dwelt" and inhabited continuously and are continuously becoming *ghar.* Home-making or making *ghar* is a

cummulative process of assembly.[105] Where we acquire the materials and objects to assemble, how and where we assemble them is unique to each individual and intrinsically linked with the need to survive, cherish, and protect. These acts of inhabiting, tinkering and accumulating thus are like a jazz composition, where each resident is improvising while appropriating and adapting. And through these acts resident imbue value on their spaces. By continuously "dwelling poetically" or *poeisis* (Lefebvre 1991) residents imbue value on their spaces while producing urban space. By imbued value then I mean the value that the residents imbue on the land and spaces through the process of inhabiting and homemaking. While reflecting on the rehabilitation apartments they would get, residents referred to them as merely 'flats', while Kathputli was *ghar* or home. Through their lived experience of everyday life, the inhabitants appropriate and produce the city and thus inhabit it as described in this chapter. While the contemporary city is dominated by a discursive understanding of property rooted in exchange value, the residents of Kathputli Colony lay emphasis on the imbued value that they find in their spaces.

Further, when comparing their *ghar* with the rehabilitation apartments, residents find that while the apartments bring them the 'propriety of property', they do not represent the same values as their *ghar.* Imbued value is not captured by the capitalist value relation of use and exchange, and is indeed a conceptualization what Anderson (2019) has called "more-than-capitalist". The value that residents derive from domesticating land, and building incrementally while incorporating some aspects of use, is not completely captured by it. In order words, through the appropriation of land and space, residents' take a step back from the capitalist value relationship between exchange and use, to imbue value on their spaces. Attention to imbued value then, has

[105]See for example: (Jacobs and Smith 2008; Noble 2004; McFarlane 2011)

the power to reorient the city away from its reductive role as a producer of capital towards revealing the active creation of a different kind of value on the part of the inhabitants. This imbued value is in addition to the exchange and use values that define the capitalist value regime. As shown in the sections above, residents make it clear that imbued value is not represented by exchange value and that while there are use values that are important to residents, "dwelling poetically" creates a value that's more than use. Thus, imbued value that residents create through incremental building, domestication of land and acts of everyday living is a "more-than-capitalist" value.

Like space and belonging, property is also relational. What counts as whose property determines whether it counts as someone else's or not. Property is relational, socially constructed and contractual and these characteristics of property mean that it has the power to exclude. Keenan (2010) however argues that "property can be understood as a spatially contingent relation of belonging". This is an inversion of the focus on exclusion in current hegemonic understandings of property and proposes that property be instead understood as a set of networked relations in which the subject is embedded. This understanding of property focusses not on the subject but on the space around the subject, the constitutive relations of that space and "the ways in which they are structured to form networks of belonging that make property". In the present case, it brings focus to the networks at Kathputli Colony that together validated and 'held-up' the claims to land being made by the residents. These claims were based in their domesticating, appropriating and inhabiting the space of the settlement and creating a mutual relationship of belonging with the land. Residents referred to how long they had lived in Kathputli Colony, the process of domesticating land, as well as, home-making at various times as reasons for which Kathputli was 'theirs'. While making such claims residents disparaged claims that DDA as the LOA made to

Kathputli, since the DDA had until 2009 been turning a blind eye to Kathputli. Kathputli was what is was because of that the residents had done there and therefore it belonged to the residents. Kathputli Colony belonging to its residents, while not a traditional claim to ownership, is a claim held up by the social relationships that the residents have with each other. This claim to property as a social relationship of belonging was not the main focus on this dissertation, but has the potential of adding to the alternative epistemologies and ontologies of value, and space.

CHAPTER 5: **LEARNING FROM THE SLUMDWELLERS OF DELHI**

> Every bird builds a nest, when someone tries to destroy that nest, the thought of that destruction almost kills the bird...
> Why don't they understand that they are destroying my nest?
> They can't see my nest; they can only see the land.
> Land that's as valuable as gold.
> Moments ago, this was trash, now it's become silver and gold. This land is selling at the price of gold.[106]

In November 2017, Kathputli Colony was evicted, with a majority of residents moving to the transit camp in Anand Parbat. Through years long process of contestation, protest, and negotiation, the residents had been able to ensure that other than the 2800 families originally deemed eligible for 'rehabilitation', another 492 families were given EWS apartments in DDA Colony, Narela. With this eviction came demolition and by December 2017, NoorJahan's *ghar*- Kathputli Colony was no more. In the following sections, I first provide a summary of the arguments, discussion and analysis presented in this work. This is followed by a section on the what can be learnt from this work and I end with some proposals for where this work might go in the future.

[106.] NoorJahan. Interview by Author. Recorded. Kathputli Colony, 23 February 2015 (Main Fieldwork Phase)

VALUE AND SPACE IN KATHPUTLI COLONY

While Delhi has been continuously inhabited since the 3rd century BCE, it was only in the colonial era that slums or informal settlements were identified as a 'problem' (Chapter 3). This is relevant, since the settlements that were identified as slums by the DIT made up large parts of the old city of Shahjahanabad. These parts of the 'native' city were seen as congested owing to the form and design of spaces. This 'congestion' had been further exacerbated by the confinement of 'native' populations to the Old city after the annexation of Delhi in 1808. With the shifting of the colonial capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, concerns around barely 'regulated haphazardness and disarray' (Jervis-Read 2010, 64) in Old Delhi became institutional concerns. These concerns were based in the fear of transfer of diseases from the Old Delhi to New Delhi. With the construction of the wide boulevards and gardens of New Delhi, the shortcomings of the Old city were increasingly stood out against the new, modern city. Large numbers of rural residents from the hinterland of the city migrated to Delhi to work on building sites. Along with a growing small industry and workshops sector, this further increased the pressure on housing and services in the 'native' parts of the city. The DIT mandated with alleviating the problem of congestion adopted an approach of 'leveling out the intensity map' of population and re-housing people into new, regimented housing enclaves (Legg 2006b; Sharan 2006). Essentializing the dichotomy between the 'rational West' and the 'irrational east', the DIT privileged rational planning of spaces in order to address the problem of slums. Further, the DIT also was instrumental in linking unsanitary spaces and issues of hygiene with the habits and behaviors of the people that lived in these spaces. In other words, the DIT placed the onus of congestion, unhygienic conditions and spread of diseases on the habits and behaviors of the residents of Old Delhi. Gooptu (2001, 109) notes that

DIT was crucial in creating a "discursive definition of the poor as a social problem and as a separate social class", a social class that shared undesirable habits and suffered from moral deficits and backwardness. This discursive understanding of the poor was inherited by Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in 1956 when it took over the reins of planning and development in post-independence Delhi. With the influx of refugees from Pakistan post-partition, the population of Delhi doubled between 1947-50. Refugees sort shelter in Old Delhi, where existing dwellings were subdivided and added to, increasing the problem of congestion and overcrowding. Further shortage of shelter in refugee camps set up across the city also led to the creation of new informal settlements which were later deemed slums by the DDA. Charged with drafting the Delhi masterplan and developing the city through the provision of housing, commercial and recreational space, and infrastructure, the DDA is Delhi's main planning authority (Sheikh and Mandelkern 2014).

Under the first MP-62, the DDA acquired 56,834 hectares of land under the largest land nationalization projects in the world. MP-62 mandated that 60% of this land be used to build housing, and 25% of this land be used specifically to build LIG and EWS housing. However, the DDA consistently underbuilt housing through the terms of not just MP-62 but also the next two masterplans i.e. MP-01 and MP-21. In the meanwhile, owing to rural-to-urban migration and a growing middle-class, the population of Delhi was steadily growing. The shortfall of housing, particularly acute in the LIG and EWS categories led to the creation of several informal settlement types in Delhi. These informal settlement types in 2006 where home to 76% of Delhi's population. The DDA has created a mechanism through which many of the informal settlements of the rich and middle-classes are 'regularized' or made part of the masterplan, while it continues to evict and

demolish the informal settlements that house the poor of the city. The liberalization of the Indian economy in the 1990s saw a shift in the governance from institutions moving from a 'managerial' role to a more 'entrepreneurial' role. Liberalization also saw the Indian economy open up to more FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) and led to a new spurt in the growth of the middle-class. In Delhi, liberalization began a process of privatizing the land market (from the previously nationalized market). In planning at the local and national level this brought a renewed emphasis on PPPs to aid in the realizing the true (economic) potential of land, which is identified as a "scarce commodity" (DDA 2010). This shift in the economy, land markets and governance was accompanied by a liberalization of the judicial system (Sundar 2011) as well.

DIT's construction of the poor as a social problem and suffering from "moral deficits and backwardness" became entrenched through Delhi's history. The 'defiled' bodies of slum-dwellers housed in informal settlements with unhygienic conditions and lack of sanitation were used as a reason to transform the space of the slum. This involved the elimination of these spaces, and re-housing of residents in other, more acceptable spaces which were often on the periphery of the city. This transformation in space was imagined to also bring about social transformation and tackle "moral deficits and backwardness" that the poor suffered from. Slum improvement, resettlement and in-situ rehabilitation schemes are used to improve not just the space of the slum, but also the people that reside there. Part of this conversion, is the conversion of space into privately held property and the residents into "propertied subjects" (Roy 2003b).

The in-situ rehabilitation project (Chapter 3) initiated at Kathputli Colony marks a shift in policy national and local level. JNNURM at national level promotes housing for the poor near where they work, have opportunities to work and within city limits (Chalana and Rishi 2015).

RAY focused on the national goal of "slum-free cities" by 2022 and incentivized the provision of central support for the redevelopment of slums. Further RAY promotes the construction of affordable housing for more inclusive urban development (MHUPA 2009). Under RAY and JNNURM, specific strategies were developed in Delhi to create housing for the poor centered around in-situ rehabilitation of existing slums, basic upgradation of resettlement colonies, development of night shelters for homeless and reconstruction of publicly owned areas in the walled city (Chalana and Rishi 2015). All of these policies and strategies also promote participation of residents of existing settlements in the planning process. The participatory planning process at Kathputli Colony has been largely superficial, with most residents accessing information through informal means and leading to confusion and rumors. The process of 'participatory planning' followed by the DDA whereby an NGO and a group of *pradhans* were chosen as the interlocutor led to more fracturing within the community. The fracturing of the community led to further delays in the execution of the project, as well as led to confusion among the residents vis-à-vis what the parameters of the project were, who was eligible for rehabilitation, how much would the rehabilitation apartments cost etc.

Secondly, similar to the eviction-demolition-resettlement paradigm used by the DDA before Kathputli Colony, the in-situ rehabilitation project focuses on the provision of property rights. In the case of in-situ rehabilitation, the rehabilitation apartments come with security of tenure which after a 10-15-year period has the potential of being converted to property rights. Land titling and property rights are based in an understanding of land as a commodity, with a dual character defined by its use and exchange value (Soto 1989, 2000). Land as a commodity can create surplus value through the conversion of its exchange value in its "parallel life" outside the

physical world. Property owners can use land and property as collateral for loans and credit (surplus value). Land not commodified as property is "dead capital". Therefore, land titling schemes for slumdwellers such as resettlement and in-situ rehabilitation are schemes to realize this "dead capital" and release its surplus value. This is part of the hegemonic private property regime. For slumdwellers and residents of informal settlements, acquiring the power to generate surplus value (central to the capitalist relation), is not an additive process, but rather a substitutive one (Ghertner 2015, 180). Residents must give up what they have right now, to access property. Property here exclusively refers to private property. The substitutive process of generating surplus value for residents of Kathputli constitutes giving up their self-built spaces, their homes or *ghar*, to acquire rehabilitation apartments as property.

The first group of long-term residents moved to Kathputli Colony in the late 1950s on a Western edge of Delhi. They encountered largely uninhabited land, covered with shrubs and *kikar* trees. Water from surrounding areas drained onto the land and collected in large ditches. In order to build their dwellings on this land, resident began by clearing the trees and filling ditches. Water was drained out and the ditches filled with scavenged materials such as jute bags, sugar cane husk and construction rubble. By cutting down trees, draining the ditches and levelling the land, residents transformed the uninhabitable into the domestic. The embodied labor of scavenging materials and carrying them long distances was shared by men and women alike. These were acts of ordering space which domesticated the "malevolent" to make it habitable by processes of appropriation. In these accounts of Kathputli Colony, residents recalled the land being "wasted" and "unusable" before they domesticated it. In this process of appropriating land to make it habitable, residents claimed to have made the land "valuable", of making the "land what it was"

from there being “nothing”. By ordering and domesticating the land, converting it into something useful, meaning and value was attributed- imbued value.

Kathputli Colony for residents was *ghar* and not just shelter that is made possible by building on vacant land in the city. The settlement was *ghar,* a shared home, the continuous making of which created value for the residents. This value is what I call imbued value. In addition to domesticating land, residents also described imbuing value in their spaces through incrementally building and adding to their dwellings. Residents described in detail the processes of scavenging, acquiring, storing and reusing materials to build first *kuchha ghar* made of temporary materials. Over decades, residents continuously added, adapted and appropriated their dwellings and space to make their dwellings more permanent or *pakka.* These processes of building, adding, adapting and appropriating are most accurately described as being “dwelt” (McFarlane 2011) and *l’habiter* (Lefebvre 1994). Everyday spatialities of incrementally making *ghar*, as described by the residents, are a product of assembly, tinkering and tweaking over time by which residents inhabit and produce urban space. It is these everyday spatialities that also imbue value in space and make Kathputli Colony *ghar* rather than just a place of shelter and refuge.

Incrementally building dwellings allows for residents to “sociomaterially engineer” their spaces through translation and adaptation. In these processes of translation and adaptation, roofs become practice spaces, and courtyards, and then are built on to become additional storage and living spaces. Other examples include the translation of courtyards into storage spaces for materials and wares, open shared kitchens and workshop for building furniture. Carried out in conditions of paucity and precarity, these practices of “sociomaterial engineering” and incremental building also represent ways in which residents inhabit and produce the city. “Making

do" with materials, spaces and objects acquired in conditions of paucity, residents create *ghar* through incremental building and "sociomaterial engineering". The ability to engineer and translate materials, objects, spaces and socialites is a function of the practice of incremental building and "sociomaterial engineering" and imbues value on their spaces.

When comparing their self-built spaces to the proposed rehabilitation apartments being provided, residents claimed to not want the apartments because the apartments did not allow for these various practices of "sociomaterial engineering" and incremental building. In particular, residents brought up the inability to translate spaces meant for living into work spaces as they did frequently in Kathputli Colony. Further, the inability to expand the spaces within and outside the apartments to meet newer needs such as expanding families, need to store materials temporarily etc. also meant that residents did not see the apartments as potential *ghar*. The differences between residents everyday lives and practices that are enabled by their self-built spaces and their potential everyday lives in the rehabilitation apartments represent what Giglia (2009) has called "cultures of inhabiting". Cultures of inhabiting are the differential relationships that residents have to habitable space and result in differential ways of producing, giving meaning to, and producing housing (Giglia 2009). Giglia differentiates between the formal city and the informal city on the basis of the degree to which spaces and dwellings are self-built. The more spaces and dwellings are self-built, the more their degree of inhabiting and more ability residents have to produce space and give meaning to it. In other words, informal "cultures of inhabiting" enable residents to imbue more value in their spaces as opposed to formal "cultures of inhabiting". This is expressed quite clearly by residents, as they differentiate between the rehabilitation apartments and their own self-built spaces on the basis of the ability to appropriate their self-built spaces, while the apartments

appear to be more rigid in their use. Using Lefebvre (1994), these differences in the apartments and *ghar* (in Kathputli Colony) is the difference between *l'habiter* and *habitat*. I've discussed the theoretical differences between these two in detail before, and I won't go into detail here but to conclude that for residents *ghar* allowed them to inhabit or to dwell poetically, while the apartments were mere *habitat.* Through the vignettes and anecdotes I have shared in this dissertation, it is clear that while the apartments represented exchange value with the potential of generating surplus value, as well as some use value to the residents, their own self built spaces and *ghar* represented value that they had created through their everyday acts of domesticating land, incremental building, "sociomaterial engineering" and appropriation. Imbued value is not captured in the exchange-use relationship at the heart of capitalism and therefore represents "more-than-capitalist" value.

The hegemonic capitalist value regime of exchange-use dominates the discursive understandings of property in the city. Residents of Kathputli Colony however, lay emphasis on the imbued value they find in their spaces, and claim not to want the rehabilitation apartments that represent the capitalist value regime. Residents make claims to the settlements and land instead based in history i.e. the length of time they have lived there and belonging i.e. the land knows them because they've made it what it is. These understandings of belonging and history are also connected to imbued value as these are based in the appropriation and domestication of the land and settlement, and the incremental building, and "sociomaterial engineering" practices that residents undertook. In other words, the residents claims of belonging and history are based in them being active producers of urban space that inhabited the land at Kathputli Colony and made it valuable by imbuing value in it. Imbued value then has the potential of reorienting the city away

from its reductive role as a producer and by-product of capital towards revealing the active creation of a different "more-than-capitalist" value by its inhabitants.

Space and belonging, property are relational. In terms of property, one person's owning or something, determines whether it may be owned by someone else or not. Further, property is socially constructed and contractual and these characteristics of property mean that it has the power to exclude. Alternatively, property can however also be understood a relation of belonging which is spatially contingent (Keenan 2010). This is an inversion of the focus on exclusion in current hegemonic understandings of property and proposes that property be instead understood as a set of networked relations in which the subject is embedded. This understanding of property focusses not on the subject but on the space around the subject, the constitutive relations of that space and "the ways in which they are structured to form networks of belonging that make property". In the present case, it brings focus to the networks at Kathputli Colony that together validated and 'held-up' the claims to land being made by the residents. These claims were based in their domesticating, appropriating and inhabiting the space of the settlement and creating a mutual relationship of belonging with the land. Residents referred to how long they had lived in Kathputli Colony, the process of domesticating land, as well as, home-making at various times as reasons for which Kathputli was 'theirs'. While making such claims residents disparaged claims that DDA as the LOA made to Kathputli, since the DDA had until 2009 been turning a blind eye to Kathputli. Kathputli was what is was because of that the residents had done there and therefore it belonged to the residents. Kathputli Colony belonging to its residents, while not a traditional claim to ownership, is a claim held up by the social relationships that the residents have with each other.

LEARNINGS & FUTURE PATHS

> Learning emerges through a relational co-construction of city and individual, where the individual's experiences, perceptions, memories, agendas and ways of inhabiting the city.....(and is) embedded in the current of people's lifeworlds and is shaped relationally. – Colin McFarlane (2011a)

Learning from the slumdwellers of Delhi contributes to the debate on informality and how planning should address it on a global level. This research articulates a link between poor urban residents "making do" practices and more-than-capitalist value production. While in this dissertation I focus on the residents of Kathputli Colony, Delhi and the value that they create through their everyday lived experience, this project brings to the fore an important piece which lies outside our understanding of value- Imbued Value. The city is largely understood as the spatialization of capitalist social relations, Imbued Value as a concept elucidates what the city might mean beyond just the spatialization of capitalist social relations. Imbued value as created by the residents of Kathputli Colony lies beyond the capitalist relation of exchange-use. We might live in a "..world in which the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights" (Harvey 2008, 23), but Imbued Value represents the sphere outside this regime. While residents of slums and informal settlements are marginalised in favor of those who have the power and the means, to realize the exchange value of the city, Imbued Value represents their efforts to create a world for themselves, a *ghar.* Imbued Value and the understanding of property as a relationship of mutual belonging subverts the hegemonic private property regimes by proposing alternative ontologies and epistemologies of property and value. This ties into the work around alternative ontologies and epistemologies of understanding the city and slums done by

organizations such as SPARC, Mahila Milan and SDI.[107] Expanding this work further to other settlements in the global South with a focus on understanding value and property from the perspective of residents has the potential of adding more nuance and depth to these alternative ontologies and epistemologies.

Further, through a focus on the morphology of the settlement and the everyday, incremental practices through which residents build their *ghar*, this work shows that urban space is produced just as much in slums as in formal planned parts of the city. While through the accretion of materials and history residents build their settlement, the lack of basic and adequate infrastructure and services creates an environment which is unhygienic and unsanitary. As this dissertation has illustrated, residents recognize that the lack of, and inadequate service provision and infrastructure has led to a deterioration of the physical environment in their settlement. Residents also recognize that lack of service provision to their settlement is premised on their "illegal" status as residents of the city. Since the settlement in itself is "illegal", service provision is lacking and/or mismanaged and inadequate. Nakamura's (2014, 2016b, 2016a) work on service provision and tenure security has shown that tenure security promotes incremental investment in dwellings, which service provision improves the general environment of the settlement. Experts have proposed that the best response to tenure issues is to move incrementally through the middle-ground of providing informal tenure and formal individual titles (Dovey 2010; Payne, Durand-Lasserve, and Rakodi 2009; Durand-Lasserve and Selod 2009; Huchzermeyer and Karam 2006). The most important move is to secure tenure and prevent displacement in order to prevent loss of

[107] See for example (McFarlane 2012b; Patel and Bartlett 2016)

livelihood, community and security (Huchzermeyer and Karam 2006). The issue at hand is to how to maintain the productive aspects of informality, the entrepreneurial flexibility and the embodied values that residents find there while also making sure that the physical environment is conducive to living and flourishing. What this work from Kathputli Colony elucidates clearly is that residents are not passive and unaware, but rather constantly engaged in "tinkering" and producing urban space. Residents engage in an informal morphogenic process (Dovey 2019) which is incremental and self-organized. Income flows and capacities to acquire and store materials, mediate the pace of incremental construction. Through "sociomaterial engineering" residents created settlements and homes that are in a constant state of becoming. These are also processes through which residents created Imbued value. Planning, architecture, urban design and other such disciplines are conventionally focused on the formal order of the city based in formal protocols, plan, procedures and outcomes. However, the engagement with urban informality requires drastically different ways of thinking, knowing and acting. Even though the quality of construction, services, and public and private spaces might be low by formal criteria, for the residents of such settlements, their settlements are *valuable* as the engagement with Imbued value shows here. By focusing on the values that slumdwellers find in their spaces, this work makes a case for treating slumdwellers as "clients" rather victims or passive recipients of welfare in the form of resettlement/rehabilitation units. If policies and the production and circulation of plans is a continuous process then it is possible to shift the focus of these to incorporate the needs of all residents of the city. Such a shift however will only yield positive results if we reorientation in our understandings of the city to include values that are more-than-capitalist.

In the context of Delhi, such a shift would mean that DDA as Delhi's main planning authority shift away from the capitalist value regime which privileges exchange value, private property and commodification of land. A shift from a focus on private property would mean a reorientation in the discursive understandings of slumdwellers first and foremost. It is the residents inability to prove their property rights to settlements that largely deem them "illegal", with no right to the land. Syal (2019) examines in detail that it is this "illegal" status that leads to lack of, and inadequate service provision in JJCs. This results in poor, unhygienic and unsanitary environmental conditions. Ghertner (2015) in turn has analyzed how these environmental conditions are used by middle-class residents welfare associations (RWAs) to facilitate court ordered evictions of slums in Delhi. If the DDA as the land owning authority (LOA) of 80% of all JJCs were to recognize residents of JJCs as rightful inhabitants, then this could initiate a change in service and infrastructure provision. Instead of making a case for the provision of property rights to slumdwellers, a shift away from the capitalist value regime makes possible alternatives ways of recognizing claims to land as it necessitates that the DDA not privilege the potential generation of exchange value or money from the commodification of land that it owns. One of the ways that DDA might approach this is rather than giving property rights to slumdwellers, giving them assured tenure security. Assured tenure security recognizes the ability of slumdwellers to build their own spaces, while allowing for other agencies to provide necessary services and infrastructure. Further, treating slumdwellers as "clients" rather than passive recipients or victims would mean creating processes and practices that first and foremost enable slumdwellers to engage actively with the DDA in order for there to be more contextual interventions. As an example, while many residents at Kathputli Colony expressed the desire to stay in Kathputli Colony and to self-

build their dwellings again, most residents also expressed the need for some basic level of planning, where streets and lanes were laid out, services were provided and the settlement pattern predetermined. However, some residents preferred moving to already existing settlements where they would be with more people from their own community. This represents differing desires and needs within the same settlement that require understanding and negotiation for the planning intervention to respond to a majority or residents. Further, this also shows that while the residents of Kathputli Colony might prefer building their own homes, residents of another settlement might prefer more structured intervention.

There are a number of strands that are potential future paths for research that this dissertation points to. Through my analysis I point out that residents make claims on the land which are based in belonging and history and these have the potential of changing our understandings of property. Attention here needs to be focused on understanding how slumdwellers understand property in order to further a new understanding of property which is relational. Next, it is clear in this work and the work that others have done on the politics of participation during the initiation of the project at Kathputli Colony that while policy regime seem to prioritize "participation", it is unclear how it should effectively be undertaken. This presents the opportunity to investigate what participation means in the context of planning in India theoretically and in practice. There is very little data available on what happens to those slumdwellers who do not get resettlement or rehabilitation after eviction. As an ongoing project, where residents have been evicted but have not been rehabilitated, the Kathputli Colony In Situ Rehabilitation Project provides the potential to follow the residents through the process. A study that follows residents through the process will need a two-pronged approach, where on one hand it follows the residents who will get

rehabilitation to further add to our knowledge on the in situ project. The second prong will follow those residents who have been deemed ineligible for rehabilitation to trace where residents move to and what mediates their decisions to move to a particular place or location after eviction from a slum. Lastly, the biggest strand for future research involves further investigation on the intersection of Imbued and other more-than-capitalist values and the production of urban space. This research has focused on one informal settlement, and conceptualized imbued value as a more-than-capitalist value. Projects that focus on other informal settlements with their varied morphologies, people and locations, could add to this concept of imbued value and also conceptualize other more-than-capitalist values that come from the residents' informal production of urban space.

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APPENDIX A: PRELIMINARY FIELDWORK QUESTIONNAIRE

PRELIMINARY FIELDWORK: PHASE I & II

Interview Questionnaire— Individuals—Residents of the Colony

Group 1. About the resident

1. Where do you live? (whether a resident of the colony or not)
2. How long have you lived here?
3. Who's in your household?
4. What is your occupation?
5. Tell us about your life here in the colony?

Group 2. About the process

1. What do you know about the new development project proposed?
2. How did you find out about it?
3. Where there any meetings held, flyers given out etc.?
4. If there were meetings then who organized them?
5. What was the role of the residents in the meetings?
6. What were the issues and worries that the residents had?
7. Is there any consensus regarding the redevelopment amongst the residents? Why or why not? What is it?
8. Have you been evaluated for eligibility of resettlement?
9. If yes, then are you eligible? If no, then are you aware that there is an eligibility criterion?

10. How did you find out about the criteria?

Group 3. About the new Development/resettlement (if eligible for rehabilitation)

1. Are you aware about the kind of development you will have to live in once the development is complete?
2. What are you views about it? How do you feel about living in a multi-storey development?
3. How will this affect your craft or how you practice it? Or how do you see your livelihood being integrated into this new form?
4. What would you want it to be like?

Group 4. Transit Camps

1. Are you aware that you will have to live in a transit camp while the development takes place?
2. How did you find out about the transit camp?
3. What are your fears or feelings about moving to a transit camp before you are rehabilitated?

Group 5. If not eligible for Rehabilitation

1. Are you aware of what the authorities will provide for you once the development starts?
2. What are your feelings about these options?
3. Who made you aware of these options?
4. What would you have happen ideally?

APPENDIX B: MAIN FIELDWORK QUESTIONNAIRE

FIELDWORK 2014-15: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE- RESIDENTS

Group 1. Questions about the resident

1. How long have you lived here?
2. Who is in your household?
3. What is your occupation?
4. What was here, when you came here?
5. Have you always lived in this house?
6. Tell me about this house. Who built it?
7. Tell us about your life here in the colony/transit camp?

Group 2. Questions about the resettlement process

1. What do you now about the new redevelopment project?
2. How did you find out about it?
3. Were any meetings held to give you this information? Who led those meetings?
4. What was the role of the residents in those meetings?
5. What were issues and worries that residents had?
6. Is there any consensus amongst the residents regarding the redevelopment process?
7. Have you been evaluated for eligibility of resettlement?
    1) If yes, then are you eligible? If no, then are you aware that there is an eligibility criterion?

8. How did you find out about the criteria?

Group 3. About value and space

1. Have you seen plans or other material on what the spaces you are going to live in eventually look like?
2. What do you think about the apartments?
3. What are some of the issues that you anticipate you will have once you move there?
4. How are the apartments different from your homes here?
5. What are some of the good things about the apartments?
6. How is your life going to change once you are in the apartments?
7. If you were given a choice between living in the apartments or living here, what would you pick and why?
8. What are some of the good things about your spaces here?