Subaltern urbanism in India beyond the mega-city slum: The civic politics of occupancy and development in two peripheral cities in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region
van Dijk, T.K.

Citation for published version (APA):
van Dijk, T. K. (2014). Subaltern urbanism in India beyond the mega-city slum: The civic politics of occupancy and development in two peripheral cities in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region.
Tara van Dijk leverages concepts from subaltern urbanism, namely political society and occupancy urbanism, to look at how residence and locality development are constituted and governed in practice across three types of settlements in two 'satellite' cities of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region: Kalyan-Dombivli and Mira-Bhayandar. Academically, this work contributes to filling in some of the gaps present in research on political society in postcolonial cities and its diverse spatial manifestations. Practically, this text speaks to discussions regarding localised political and spatial bottlenecks to urban governance offsetting inequalities and uneven development. Additionally, network approaches to urban politics and splintering urbanisation of all sorts can benefit from a better understanding of the processes and power dynamics within political society that contribute to the making, maintaining, or unmaking of localities, and the networks adapting or forming to create and accumulate value(s) from these processes.
Subaltern Urbanism In India Beyond The Mega-City Slum

The Civic Politics of Occupancy and Development in Two Peripheral Cities in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region

Tara van Dijk
This research was supported by a PhD grant within the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research - Wotro Integrated Programme, “Using spatial data infrastructures in urban governance networks: reducing urban deprivations in Indian cities?”
Subaltern Urbanism In India Beyond The Mega-City Slum

The Civic Politics of Occupancy and Development in Two Peripheral Cities in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. D. C. van den Boom
ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties ingestelde
commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit
op donderdag 18 december 2014, te 13:00 uur

door

Tara Kaye van Dijk

geboren te Washington, Verenigde Staten
Promotiecommissie

Promotor: Prof. dr. Isa Baud
Co-promotoren: Prof. dr. N. Sridharan
               Dr. Karin Pfeffer
               Dr. Javier Martinez

Overige leden: Prof. dr. Jan Nijman
               Prof. dr. Mario Rutten
               Prof. dr. Dianne Scott
               Dr. Joop de Wit
               Dr. Rivke Jaffe

Faculteit der Maatschappij en Gedragswetenschappen
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................... 8
CHAPTER 1: Introduction .................................................................................................... 11
CHAPTER 2: Research Foundation and Design ................................................................. 35
CHAPTER 3: Kalyan-Dombivli & Mira-Bhayandar ............................................................ 49
CHAPTER 4: The Capacities and Functionings of Livelihood Capitals: A Socio-Spatial Conceptualisation ............................................................................................... 77
CHAPTER 5: Agents of Change and Obstruction: Municipal Councillors and Urban Development .................................................................................................................. 105
CHAPTER 6: Networks of Urbanisation ............................................................................... 127
CHAPTER 7: Capturing the Municipal Water Department: Organised Political Encroachment in Mira-Bhayandar ...................................................................................... 141
CHAPTER 8: Occupancy Urbanism Beyond the Mega-City Slum: Occupancy, Development, and Municipal Citizenship ...................................................................................... 159
CHAPTER 9: Synthesis, Contributions and Extension ......................................................... 187
EPILOGUE: Political Society as a Recalcitrant State Capability ........................................ 201
BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................................................................................. 205
About the Author ............................................................................................................. 221

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Powers and Susceptibilities of Municipal Corporations ....................................... 61
Table 2: Municipal Performance ......................................................................................... 64
Table 3: Social Structure and Institutions: Properties and Capacities ............................... 84
Table 4: Territoriality and Territorialisation ..................................................................... 98
Table 5: Counselling and Mediation Work ....................................................................... 124
Table 6: Actor - Capital Structure of the Field of Water Provision ................................... 152
Table 7: Forms of Occupancy Urbanism .......................................................................... 182
Table 8: Dimensions of Political Society Covered ............................................................ 196
Table 9: Explication of Political Society .......................................................................... 198
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: General Conceptual Frame ................................................................. 30
Figure 2: Mira-Bhayandar and Kalyan-Dombivli ........................................... 46
Figure 3: Forms of Urbanization ..................................................................... 53
Figure 4: Mismatch of Serviced & Serviceable Land ....................................... 55
Figure 5: Khadakpada, Kalyan (West) ............................................................. 57
Figure 6: Maxus Mall Area .............................................................................. 66
Figure 7: Gaothan Formation, Mira-Bhayandar ............................................ 70
Figure 8: Caste Demographics By Formation .................................................. 73
Figure 9: Length of Residence ........................................................................ 73
Figure 10: Regular Income - Type of Employment .......................................... 74
Figure 11: Private, Public or English School .................................................... 74
Figure 12: Highest Level of Education in Household ........................................ 75
Figure 13: Perception of Institutional Inequalities ........................................... 75
Figure 14: Reasons for discrimination ............................................................. 76
Figure 15: Opinions on the poor and slums ..................................................... 76
Figure 16: DFID’s Sustainable Livelihoods Framework .................................... 78
Figure 17: Heuristic Model for Field Effects ................................................... 100
Figure 18: Intermediation work: pushing sanctioned work through ............... 116
Figure 19: Slum Formation Political Society .................................................... 121
Figure 20: Acquiring Informal Housing in Slums ............................................ 123
Figure 21: Ward 97 and Ward 98, Kalyan-Dombivli ....................................... 131
Figure 22: Networks of Urbanisation ............................................................... 138
Figure 23: Occupancy Urbanism Operationalised .......................................... 163
Figure 24: Powers Vested in the Chief Municipal Commissioner ..................... 165
Figure 25: Pivotal Actor for Basis Service Issues ............................................ 169
Figure 26: Political Party Membership Slums ................................................ 172
Figure 27: Political Party Membership Gaothan Formations .......................... 174
Figure 28: Buyer Beware Notices .................................................................. 180
Figure 29: Structure of Relations Shaping Functionings .................................. 199
### List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>Bharatiya Janata Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPL</td>
<td>Below Poverty Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSP</td>
<td>Bahujan Samaj Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSUP</td>
<td>Basic Services for the Urban Poor (part of JNNURM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₁</td>
<td>Capital (potential functioning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₂</td>
<td>Capital (actual functioning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARs</td>
<td>Capitals, Assets, and Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMC</td>
<td>Chief Municipal Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSI</td>
<td>Floor Space Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoI</td>
<td>Government of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoM</td>
<td>Government of Maharashtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNNURM</td>
<td>Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD</td>
<td>Kalyan-Dombivli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDMC</td>
<td>Kalyan-Dombivli Municipal Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>Mira-Bhayandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBMC</td>
<td>Mira-Bhayandar Municipal Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Municipal Councillor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>Member of Legislative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRTP</td>
<td>Mumbai Regional Town Planning Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>National Congress Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOC</td>
<td>No Objection Certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIL</td>
<td>Public Interest Litigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPI</td>
<td>Republican Party of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJSRY</td>
<td>Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDD</td>
<td>GoM's Urban Development Department</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people's time, effort, patience and understanding enabled me to carry out this research and to put together this thesis. Of course, without everyone in Mira-Bhayandar, Kalyan-Dombivli, and Mumbai (the politicians, party workers, municipal officers and staff, numerous residents, fellow train travellers, many fixers and brokers, activists, and academics) this work would have never gotten off the ground. Looking back, I am amazed and grateful for the access and generosity I received. In particular, I want to thank Prof. Amita Bhide, Anil Lad, Vinay Shivtare and Dr. Navtej Nainan.

Next, I must thank my promoters Isa Baud and N. Sridharan (Sri). Prof. Baud was my master's thesis supervisor as well, and I have learned much from her, both directly and indirectly, in terms of research, teaching, diplomacy, and leadership. In particular, I am grateful for the balance she struck between allowing me to 'go my own way' and pushing me to justify both the roads taken and those not taken. I want to thank Prof. Sridharan for always letting me know his confidence in my ability as a researcher and for sharing with me his knowledge regarding the political economy of rent-seeking and urbanisation. Dr. Karin Pfeffer and Dr. Javier Martinez were my daily supervisors. I want to thank them for their commitment to my PhD even though, with every year that past, my work moved further away from their areas of interest. I really appreciate you hanging in there with me until the end. I was also fortunate to be part of the Governance for Inclusive Development (GID) group while at the University of Amsterdam. Being able to present my work in progress at meetings for feedback and the numerous informal discussions greatly enriched my experience.

This PhD was part of the first round of NWO - Wotro Integrated Programs. Thus, I also benefitted from formal and informal discussions with other team members. I want to thank Prof. Yola Georgiadou and Dr. Neeraj Mishra for their useful comments and support on various papers and presentations. In particular, I am very grateful to Dr. Christine Richter for her friendship, generosity and intellect. Christine, our friendship and many private jokes were forged through the crucible of this program, and for that I will always be grateful.

Through the course of this doctorate our family went from one child to three. Thank you, thank you, thank you Jaco for being patient and picking up the slack all those times I needed to spend the weekend writing or was in India for months at a time. This is very much our accomplishment. To my children, Oscar, Charlotte, and Eleanor thank you for (mostly) accepting when 'mama moet boven werken,' for always being so happy when I came downstairs for breaks, and for helping me let loose, play and laugh. My son Oscar actually went with me for the first six months of fieldwork and then had to make do without me for two later tours of three months each. Thanks Oscar for always being such a trooper!! I want to thank Julie and Paul Bain who let me live with them rent free so that I could afford to go to college. It
was there in Coos Bay, Oregon that I was first introduced to social theory, and I have been hooked ever since! I carry their unconditional love, unswerving kindness and faith in my capacity to achieve what I set out to with me always. We are so glad that our children have you as grandparents.

In closing, I want to acknowledge my good friend and research assistant Nutan Shivtare. She always, always managed to reach the person or access the information that was needed. Our conversations over lunch and while commuting greatly enriched this project. I hope we will work together again soon.