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Enrico Michelutti



**An Institutional Approach to Urban Fragmentation:
Power and Sustainability in Un-recognized Settlements of Mumbai**

Enrico Michelutti

**An Institutional Approach to Urban Fragmentation:
Power and Sustainability in Un-recognized Settlements of Mumbai**



PhD Thesis

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ABBREVIATIONS

BHADB	Bombay Housing and Area Development Board
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party (Indian People's Party)
BMC	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation
CBO	Community Based Organization
CEHS	Centre for Environment and Human Settlements
GRECDH	Grup de Recerca en Cooperació i Desenvolupament Humà (Research Group on Cooperation and Human Development)
HWU	Heriot-Watt University
KKS	Kachara Kamgar Sangathana (Rag Pickers Association)
MCGM	Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai
MHADA	Mumbai Housing and Area Development Authority
MMRDA	Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PDO	Pavement Dwellers Organization
PMGP	Prime Minister Grant Project
SPARC	Society for the Promotion Area Resource Centre
SRA	Slum Rehabilitation Authority
SRS	Slum Rehabilitation Scheme
TISS	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
UDRI	Urban Design Research Institute
ULCRA	Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act
UN	United Nations
UPC	Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya (Technical University of Catalonia)
YUVA	Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action

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ABSTRACT

Urban fragmentation is a phenomenon which characterizes the so-called “global city”, both in the North and in the South of the world. Since the 1990s, several disciplines have approached fragmentation dynamics from different perspectives, mainly focusing on their consequences in the urban fabric. Urban fragmentation has risen to the attention of decision-makers as a “political issue” during the 2000s, particularly after the global crisis of 2008, with the increase of socio-economic inequalities in urban areas and the emerging of the question of rights as key issues for city development. In this period some authors started a debate on the causes and the roots of the phenomenon, influenced by their different ethical-political and ideological positions on society and on the city. Thus urban fragmentation has become one of the paradigmatic phenomena to rethink what sustainability actually is in its urban connotation and to question current policies addressing sustainable development at the city scale.

The research explores urban fragmentation processes through a new institutional approach. Following the French-Syrian linguist Emil Benveniste, within a neo-institutionalist perspective, institutions are thought of here in a “radical” way, as entities structuring society (state, law, religion, technology, processes of thought and word, etc.), thus including both organizations and mental models and coming back to their etymological meaning in the Indo-European culture. This focus allows the research to go beyond the superficial facets of the phenomenon and understand the relations in place between the socio-spatial aspects, the institutional roots, the power balances and the planning solutions which involve fragmented territories.

In this work the knowledge of the phenomenon is generated through an analysis grounded in the researcher’s fieldwork experience in Mumbai. In the literature, Mumbai is commonly identified as a “fragmented city”, and this statement is confirmed by a wide range of narratives on the theme. The research works at the community scale, focusing on three legally un-recognized settlements and using these case study areas for their richness in evidencing fragmentation dynamics characterizing the whole urban fabric. Key findings from the analysis of the fieldwork are that the “not notified” settlements are involved in power relations without any protection by the public authorities and, due to their condition of socio-economic and legal-political vulnerability

(even in relation to other recognized slums in Mumbai), develop underlying practices of negotiation with the Municipality and criminal institutions, which control the territory, bypassing conventional urban policies and developing specific planning rationalities.

At the empirical level, the research shows the importance of the recognition of “not notified” settlements, seeking basic rights to the city, promoting inclusive urban policies and mitigating fragmentation tendencies. On a methodological plane, the narrative of the research shows the key role played by institutions in shaping fragmentation processes and the relevance of the institutional dimension in understanding the complexities embedded in these urban dynamics. From a theoretical perspective, the research allows reconsidering the role of equity in planning practices: a more equal distribution of power, as emerged in some case study experiences, is a pre-condition in reducing urban fragmentation and in fostering a sustainable development of the city.

**AN INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO URBAN FRAGMENTATION:
POWER AND SUSTAINABILITY IN UN-RECOGNIZED SETTLEMENTS OF MUMBAI**

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and justification of the research

Exploring urban fragmentation allows re-thinking the “institutional sustainability” of the city. The discourse linking sustainability and city has frequently fallen off to a question of “fashion” in urban studies, escaping from a real reflection on what sustainability represents in the current urban dynamics in political terms and on the role played by institutions in the necessary transformation of city governance practices. Nevertheless, both socio-economic factors, such as increasing inequalities and social conflicts, and political factors, such as contradictory urban policies and exclusion of parts of the population from rights to the city, demand revisiting the meaning and the sense of urban policies and reshaping governance from a bottom-up perspective, including a reflection on power redistribution and equity. Urban fragmentation is deeply involved with this renewed discussion, underpinned by the actions (and rationality) of powers and their consequence for urban communities: reading the phenomenon implies a return to an “essential” vision of the institutional sustainability of the city.

Urban fragmentation, as a concept in urban studies, emerged during the '90s, being increasingly taken into consideration in the first years of the 2000s in academic and political agendas. Initially, the debate regarding fragmentation focused on dynamics in the physical city (in spatial/morphological terms, sometimes related to reflections on the “compact” city, urban spread, etc.), touching mainly on the environmental dimension of sustainability. The focus soon shifted to the economic and social domains: urban fragmentation has been seen in relation to the existence of distinct economic circuits and unequal distribution of resources, or embedded in diverse divisions of the social fabric. This has produced specific studies on social fragmentation and an increasing interest in phenomena which some authors consider as to some extent associated with fragmentation, such as segregation, polarization, segmentation, and ghettoisation. This evolution did not come to a shared definition of fragmentation or to an analytical foundation of these dynamics (Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007). Moreover, the characteristics of the phenomenon (nature of

“fragments”, how it develops, etc.) and its roots remain un-defined. This study explores possible ways to cast a light on these issues.

Urban fragmentation is multi-dimensional. Several disciplines refer to the phenomenon, from their specific perspectives, contextualizing it in different ways:

- Geographic studies have underlined the break-up and unbundling of spatial apparatuses (entailing different physical/morphological categories, such as territory, network, etc.) generating separations of the urban fabric into parts, which build diverse kinds of relation (characterized by contrasts, competitions, hierarchies, etc.), connected to other urban/territorial dynamics such as urban spread.
- Economic studies have shown that the financial economy and competitiveness processes, due to the dynamics of the global context, have provoked increasing polarizations of resources in the city. These processes seem to break up and redefine existing socio-economic relations and to empower the distinction between circuits that characterize the city (in particular in the global South), provoking increasing contrasts and separation between economic actors and between networks.
- Social studies have underlined the growing inequalities between social groups inside the city with consequent processes of social segmentation and segregation, which lead to the fragmentation of the urban fabric in spatial terms.
- Anthropological studies have stressed the links between the increase in social segregation processes and their consequences in shaping behaviours and cultural substrata of urban populations. Anthropologists study the associated increase of gated communities and new forms of formal/informal citizenship.
- Political studies have shown the connections between tendencies of socio-spatial fragmentation in the urban fabric and the lack of appropriate urban policies which leads to exclusion; or at another, administrative, level, connections between the proliferation of political and decision-making entities that create an institutional overlap and absence of homogenous/coordinated policies in the territory.

The definition of fragmentation as a concept in urban studies remains an open question. Several attempts at conceptualizing the phenomenon have been produced in the literature, but a shared definition of urban fragmentation is still lacking. Authors tend to associate fragmentation with other dynamics, conferring on it diverse meanings, which refer to their conceptual area of reference. This results in a proliferation of definitions of urban fragmentation and in the tendency to use the concept within other analytical frameworks¹. In the debate on the phenomenon, fragmentation is assumed with three conceptual purposes:

¹ The aims in researching urban fragmentation are various, however some main practical objectives recur in the literature: describing and analyzing “real” conditions in the urban fabric; supporting a theory on

- A first family of theories refers to fragmentation as a concept to identify a divided or conflictive fabric, without searching for the roots of the phenomenon. In this case fragmentation is used as an instrument for analysing other dynamics (usually in geography and cultural anthropology studies, see 2.3.1. and 2.3.4.);
- Some authors work on the “fragmented” and/or “divided” in studies focusing on socio-economic (and global financial) dynamics, which see the fragmentation of the urban fabric as a spatial consequence. In this case, the phenomenon is indirectly conceptualized (2.3.2.);
- A restricted part of the literature goes inside the phenomenon, working on urban fragmentation as a research hypothesis, or advancing theories on the character and the causes of the urban fragmentation dynamics. In this case, fragmentation becomes central to a theory on the city (see 2.3.1. and 2.3.5).

For most of these authors urban fragmentation generally has a negative connotation, meaning that fragmentation entails inequalities in using spaces in the city, different levels in access to basic needs and connection to networks, diverse rights of access to land, etc. Questioning the myth of a united, inclusive city, with shared rights and conditions for all citizens, fragmentation is seen as a status/process, which, negating equity (and a democratic/participatory vision of the city) and promoting conflicts, favours the creation of a divided society and urban fabric. These dynamics are actually shaping several cities in the global North and South, representing a condition, which is tolerated or even encouraged by the powers that be. Few authors have considered the sense and the appropriateness of the term “urban fragmentation”, opening up spaces to reflect on the theme: these authors mainly refer to the meaning of fragmentation as an urban expression in the discourse referring to post-modern kinds of “diversity” (Amin, 2002; Harrison et al., 2003). In this case, a positive or at least a neutral connotation can be attached to urban fragmentation. Harrison refers to a negative concept of fragmentation when the phenomenon entails a lack of coordination and consequent difficulties in planning.

This study explores urban fragmentation, looking at the phenomenon (and conceptually “using” it) in relation to the institutional dimension of sustainability, thus paying attention to power relations and actors’ rationalities. This focus is seen by the researcher as necessary: exploring the passage from what fragmentation implies in socio-spatial terms in the physical city to the structures of the society involved (as subjects/objects) in the processes is fundamental to understand the nature of the mechanisms that are leading the city to a hypothetically fragmented status. The roots of the phenomenon imply a discussion of the “spontaneity” of the dynamics (as a natural consequence of

human settlements within their disciplinary sector (without a specific focus on urban fragmentation as a question to be conceptualized); and suggesting policies to urban actors (in particular public decision-makers and third sector members).

certain socio-economic and political conditions), or the hypothesis that fragmentation is a process driven by urban powers: urban fragmentation becomes a political question rather than a purely urban phenomenon. Reading the phenomenon entails a rethinking of equity and rights at the urban scale.

Outside the academic debate, urban fragmentation increasingly matters in the definition of urban policies and governance, becoming a process that is embedded in different domains, and which summarises the dynamics requiring a change in policies on the city and a problem to be solved by political players in a perspective of “strategies and tactics”:

- Globalization tendencies and their consequences are re-writing the urban fabric, increasing inequalities and re-scaling hierarchies at global and local scale, obliging powers at local/community scale to redefine strategies and agreements with city interlocutors;
- Political and economic interest groups shape new forms of governance (dictated by competitiveness), leading to urban policies which tend to promote individualism and exclusion, as opposed to a collective idea of the city, and refusing inclusion and recognition of all citizens), going so far as to make “illegal” part of the social and spatial fabric;
- The socio-economic restructuring of society is reshaping the relationships between citizens and urban spaces and re-defining relational geographies between different urban territories, giving another character to local institutions and forcing individuals to assume diverse relations with their habitat.

These factors show the relations between urban fragmentation and political practices at the local level, putting at the centre of the discussion community institutions and individuals – though other motivations will appear during the narrative of the research.

1.2. Research aim

The aim of the research is to enrich the conceptualization of urban fragmentation through a focus on the institutional domain of the phenomenon, using this exploration as a tool to rethink the sustainability of institutions governing the city, at the scale of the community and the individual, and to reflect on equity and power redistribution as a rationale for action to mitigate fragmentation tendencies, aiming for a more inclusive city. This perspective, based on a “radical” application of the definition of institution (which harks back to its etymologic roots) and generated from grounded knowledge of three case studies of officially unrecognized fabric in Mumbai, aims to provide a qualitative exploration of the connection between the phenomenon and its socio-spatial, institutional, power and planning dimensions and communities’ and individuals’ practices of governance; to explore an institutional approach as a methodological instrument to be used in analysing the phenomenon, focusing on the domain of

organizational and mental models; to discuss the role of power relations and planning in shaping the phenomenon, questioning the sustainability of the socio-urban fabric within these dynamics.

1.3. Research objectives²

The research objectives evolved following the researcher's experiences in the field and the progressive construction of the analytical framework, which was grounded in case studies, in an iterative process, pushing the researcher, supervisors and research stakeholders to re-define and question continuously the contents coming from the field and shaping the real objectives of the research. This process was however driven from the beginning by a few specific "needs", which are also interests and objectives of the research: the interest in (re-)thinking governance, focusing on power relations and rationalities at community (and individual) level, following (and questioning) a critical approach to top-down (and public-centred) visions; the interest in seeing to what extent institutions matter in socio-spatial processes involving the informal city, considering that "institutions" in spatial/planning terms in the city of the Global South are still not sufficiently explored; the necessity to think about sustainability beyond stereotypes which emerge in certain urban studies literature and coming back to the institutional – and thus political – meaning of the concept from the perspective of vulnerable citizens.

Due to the nature of the phenomenon, the character of the work is multidimensional and the research objectives follow four main areas of interest³, which can be grouped in three general categories:

- From the theoretical perspective, to introduce urban fragmentation as an opportunity to reflect on governance and power relations at the community scale, exploring planning as a field of action for mitigating the phenomenon, in a vision that sees equity as value of reference and sustainability as horizon for community (and individual) empowerment;
- From the methodological perspective, to test an institutional approach as an analytical tool to go deeply inside the phenomenon, using it to detect strategies and tactics among organizations/actors and rationalities that determine the fragmentation of the urban fabric, and seeing planning as a tool to understand community-based possibilities of action in mitigating fragmentation and achieving sustainability;
- From the empirical perspective, to identify socio-spatial aspects (character of the fragments; relational geographies between fragments) and institutional aspects ("definition" of fragment; decision-making processes distinguishing

² Due to their direct relation with the analytical framework, the research questions are presented in the chapter on methodology (3.3.).

³ The four areas of interest (socio-spatial, institutional, power and planning) constitute also the core part of the research analytical framework.

fragments) which generate elements of urban fragmentation in vulnerable informal fabrics, and to explore power relations (and their nature) in case study areas, as well as the relations between “local” rationalities and planning practices dealing with urban fragmentation contexts.

1.4. Research methodology

The research methodology is structured following an institutional approach, which is based on a radical application of the etymological meaning of “institution” (following the linguist Benveniste [1976]) with an analytical framework linked to “new institutionalism”⁴. Qualitative research methods seemed the most suitable solution to apply this approach in social sciences⁵. This choice allowed the structuring of links with “grounded theory” research experiences, which have a conceptual affinity with the researcher’s interests. The methodology is structured in a fluid way⁶, avoiding strict application of certain “technical” approaches⁷ and being receptive to the issues arising from the field, thus shaping the research strategy and design in dialogue with the research stakeholders’ perception of spatial and planning questions.

The research strategy is mainly inductive (generating rather than testing theories), founded on ontological positions related to constructivism and on an interpretative epistemological basis. Working on urban fragmentation through the exploration of citizens’ relations with socio-spatial phenomena, analysing institutions (as organizations and mental models), and reflecting on power relations and their nature and on community planning practices, the researcher recognizes that knowledge on these research themes remains a “construction” between different possible visions (being interested in going in depth into the interpretation of the phenomena provided by research stakeholders involved in the process). Data collection is based mainly on primary methods (in-depth interviews and direct observations are the main sources) due to the scarce presence of secondary sources dedicated to case study areas. Qualitative data analysis uses mainly analytical induction tools⁸, which are related to the epistemological basis of the institutional approach.

⁴ The research focuses institutions and institutionalist theories using conceptual tools, which have affinity with new institutionalism (2.1.1.; to have instruments for the exploration of other approaches related to some extent with the debates on institutions such as regulation theories, social models of complexity theories, system theories, etc. see Box 6.1.).

⁵ The institutionalist literature includes attempts to develop mixed-approach research while the use of purely quantitative approaches remains very rare.

⁶ Anarchic theories of knowledge (developed during the ‘60s-70s) represent an anticipatory reference for this kind of approach (Box 3.1.).

⁷ The characteristics of the topic suggest being free from rigid research techniques in order to catch the different underlying shapes of the argument.

⁸ Due to the character of the data collected, the researcher worked mainly with thematic analysis and cross-case synthesis tools and, in a less frequent way, with narrative analysis and explanation building techniques.

The design of this research is characterized by the context-dependent nature of institutionalist approaches. To develop the work, the researcher chose a case study design. This decision responded to the need for a deep/direct contact with “grounded” contents and information to explore research questions and achieve the objectives of the work. The rationale of case study choice entailed two decisions. The first one led to choosing Mumbai as case study city. It offered the possibility of exploring urban fragmentation in a megalopolis that is influenced by globalizing tendencies, presenting contexts, which are characterized by deep socio-economic inequalities and by a great diversity in cultural-political backgrounds. The second decision entailed case study settlements: after the first fieldtrip (and exploratory work), the researcher opted for un-recognized settlements, which are defined by the Mumbai municipal administration as “not notified” slums, consisting in informal communities formed after 1995, with insecurity in habitat and access to land and services, and exclusion from rights (including from those conferred to “notified” communities). This choice offered the opportunity to work in a context of deep socio-economic vulnerability, where communities face “urban powers” without protection⁹, and “strategies and tactics” to cope and rationalities in decision-making processes take specific shape in managing spatial/planning questions.

1.5. Research structure

The research is structured in two main parts: the first one provides the basic instruments to read urban fragmentation (at the theoretical level, showing different paths in conceptualizing the phenomenon and exploring the links between socio-spatial dynamics, institutions, power and planning; at the methodological level, presenting an institutional vision of the dynamics from the bottom, in community and individual perspectives; at the empirical level, looking in depth, from the ground, at three case studies in the un-recognized fabric of Mumbai); the second one, starting from the experience in the field, analyses (through an inductive process) the connections between socio-spatial manifestations of the phenomenon, institutional roots that structure it in different societies and cultures, power relations which shape the dynamics addressing particular interests, and the planning decision-making processes where different actors translate their rationalities into spatial actions. The exploration of case studies, thus the experience coming from the field, treated as a source of the narrative process, becomes the (conceptual) connection between the two parts of the research.

⁹ “Urban powers” are mainly economic and political powers. The Municipality of Mumbai, which “protects” (or is expected to protect) “notified”, thus recognized, slums, represents in this case another external power in the arena of actors in competition to control “not notified” fabric.

The first part of the work shows the necessity of exploring urban fragmentation, connecting the phenomenon with power redistribution and equity (aim), seeking knowledge of the dynamics at the individual and community level from an institutional perspective (objectives), through a narrative “exercise” (Chapter 1. Introduction). These objectives require the research to be located within the conceptual route linking the city, institutions and power, and the literature on urban fragmentation, which involves several disciplines and has backgrounds in socio-economic, cultural-political and physical-morphological interpretative traditions (Chapter 2. Literature Review). The research is developed following an institutional approach, which focuses on the dimensions of organizations (political, “strategies and tactics” between actors) and mental models (cultural background, rationalities). The methodology, conceptually based on grounded theory, takes an inductive approach rooted in interpretative epistemological theories and related to constructivist ontology. The work is implemented through qualitative methods, with a case study research design (Chapter 3. Methodology). The fieldwork provides the link between the first and second part of the research, presenting the condition of Mumbai’s “illegal” fabric within the fragmentation dynamics characterizing the city, through the data collected from the ground in three un-recognized settlements (Chapter 4. Case Study Exploration).

The second part of the work consists in coming back from the specific experience lived in field to the general questions of the research, through its analysis, organized in four parts. The analysis of social and spatial fabrics in the case studies follows the definition of institution, which characterizes the research approach – therefore taking into consideration communities’ relations with the State, religion, law, etc. (Chapter 5. Socio-Spatial Analysis). The manifestations of the phenomenon in socio-spatial terms are addressed in the study through examining the social structures, which enable the dynamics to take place (focusing on decision-making processes in access to land, housing and services provision). The analysis of institutions, which could be ascribed to “new institutionalist” positions, focuses on case study organizational set-ups and mental models, exploring the conditions through which fragmentation processes develop and their influence on case study societal structures (Chapter 6. Institutional Analysis). The interplay between actors and rationalities (through which subjects act in a fragmented context) is studied considering power relations. The analysis focuses on the nature of power in the case study areas and on its role in shaping individual and community rationalities in spatial/planning issues (Chapter 7. Power Analysis). The relation between communities/citizens and fragmentation dynamics is analysed through the planning dimension, which allows looking into decision-making processes and considering possible answers to address power redistribution and sustainability for Mumbai’s “illegal” city (Chapter 8. Planning Analysis). The last part of the work summarizes the narrative of the research coming back to the specific and general questions, which have generated the study (Chapter 9. Conclusions).

The format in which the study is presented is marked by the connections between content and forms of writing-up in qualitative research. In the main text, the narrative focuses on key moments of the research process, where the researcher has taken decisions influencing fieldwork development or has collected information changing the direction of analysis and previous theoretical positions. Other instruments are used in the presentation of the research to provide specific information to the reader: among these, text boxes have a significant role offering tools to read specific parts of the analysis, to focus on particular themes, or to provide direct contact with the voices and the stories collected into the field, grouped to highlight the stakeholders' perspective/vision of the dynamics under analysis.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Research key concepts

Structuring the research through an institutional approach entails engaging with the discourse on urban fragmentation, going deep into the structures of the society involved in the process. The possible institutional approaches can be very different and researchers have been obliged to take into consideration diverse “institutionalist schools”, starting from approaches that consider arenas of actors (organizations) and the interrelations between them. These various possible ways of analysing the phenomenon (and structuring the work) did not appear to provide effective solutions to achieve the stated research objectives. In searching for an analytical framework, the researcher found it necessary to return to the etymological meaning of research key words: this operation allowed finding a way for a radical application of the concept of institution and structuring the work around the researcher’s needs/interests, which are conceptually closely related.

2.1.1. Institution

In analysing urban contents, actors and processes through an institutionalist approach the research faces three kinds of problem: (i) the first one consists in finding a working definition of “institution” that can enable going inside urban processes including those socio-cultural and political elements that are fundamental for the analysis of the phenomenon (theoretical domain); (ii) the second problem returns to the setting of an analytical framework that can fit with the resulting definition of institution, enabling the research to take shape based on the meanings found in institutionalist literature (methodological domain); (iii) the third problem consists in creating an easily read “classification” (and/or “global” vision) of institutions enabling the researcher to build the analytical framework in a context of (urban) complexity without being constrained by categorizations, seeing the framework as result of the experiences in the field (empirical domain). To answer these questions, it is necessary to explore the plurality of approaches to the meaning of “institution”.

The definition of “institution” remains a key node for social sciences, involving several fields of knowledge and constantly generating new debates and questions. During the last decades, some disciplines (such as economic studies) have elaborated an idea of “institution” and/or “institutional process” as a constitutive element of their theoretical structures and “institutionalization”¹. Limiting the area of interest to urban studies and looking in particular to the authors that have worked on city dynamics through an institutional approach, two main areas of analysis appear identifiable: the first one, characterizing in particular the study of the city in the global North², has mainly focused on the organizational frameworks regulating the territory (almost exclusively formal organizations and in particular, at least for a certain period in the past century, the public sector); the second one, characterizing the study of marginal areas in the Northern context and the discourse on the city of the South³, works on the traditional forms of planning (and land occupation), involving the domain of informality, including the discourse related to mental models and cultural background, which frequently have their origins in the rural world and have been modified in urban contexts.

To analyse the institutional structures of the city of the South (in a specific spatial/temporal context), this research works with a “global” definition of institution, due to the need to explore arrangements and solutions, which do not necessarily fit with the usual category of “organization” and “mental models”. The most suitable definition draws on the work on Benveniste. The French-Syrian linguist considers that institutions are not only the “classic” structures of Law, Government and Religion but entail also technologies, lifestyles, social relationships and “words and thoughts processes” (Benveniste, 1976). Benveniste’s discourse puts on the table the necessity of detecting the origin, the causes and the processes of institutional formation and to analyse how these devices become real structures of society (in a process of “institutionalization”), according to some basic attributes.

Institutions work to satisfy specific needs of society. To accomplish this task, they are characterized by diversity and plurality. In the evolution of the debate characterizing their main attributes, two positions emerge: in the first institutions are characterized by a plurality of functions (Godelier, 1978)⁴; in the second society is characterized by a plurality of institutions, each one in turn characterized by specific functions (the

¹ A classic reference is the work of Polanyi (Papagno, 1979) and the development of Old and New Institutional Economies (for an introduction regarding the relations between New Institutionalism Economy and urban studies see Jenkins, 1999).

² The works of Healey (1997) and Forester (1989) represent an entry point to inquiry in these institutional ambits.

³ The studies of Devas and Rakodi (1993) and Balbo (1992) offer elements for the discussion, which was widely explored also in Jenkins et al. (2007).

⁴ Godelier (1978) underlined the centrality of economic institutions, affirming that social relationships assume a key role in society only if they assume the character of “production relationships”. In this hypothesis, any arrangement, structure, tradition, etc. can be considered as an “institution” if it consists in an economic device (or if in each institution, the “economic facet” emerges as an independent element with a specific function).

structure of society appears as a result of their combination) (Polanyi, 1957; 1966; 1977). Finding a synthesis between these two “historical” positions on institutions is not an objective of this research, but one element appears as a shared one rooting institutions in society (and as a key concept for the definition of an institutional approach): institutions are seen as a response to a need, which can differ significantly, depending on the context⁵.

This “need”, which can consist of dissatisfaction at the local scale, can be material or not (in the first case it assumes the characteristic of “need of globality” (Papagno, 1979, p. 1112), including the individual in the whole society; in the second the achievement of basic needs/standards) but in any case institutions constitute the decomposition of the need complexity, the de-codification of the totality into its components. In this case, institutions depend on the forms of knowledge, their nature, the methods of knowledge transmission and their diffusion, embedded in the society. Following this hypothesis, institutional processes (and the history and evolution of institutions) can be defined as a continuum of specification of needs and returning to the original roots of the need (Papagno, 1979).

In the condition of complexity characterizing the city, two main natures characterize institutions: the capacity of responding to specific needs and the specialization in their own functioning (self-serving institutions). Specialization in modern and contemporary society has led to the separation between formal institutions produced by the law and the sphere of the *cives*, and more generally of civil society, in a situation where the original need and the institutional apparatus do not coincide any more (Papagno, 1979), producing a disconnection between society and the institutional world. In the context of the Global North, new social trends show how citizens opt or re-discover informal institutional arrangements in order to find alternatives to the lacks of formal systems (Sassen, 2008). In the Global South context, this process is accompanied by the permanency of “traditional” institutions, frequently having an informal nature (and which are revisited and transformed in the urban context in order to cope with new needs).

2.1.2. City

The urban revolution⁶ (Childe, 1942; 1950) is a key moment in which urban conditions enabled society to create several formal institutions and in which the initial steps in the

⁵ In the case of the city in the Global South, the response to a need (including institutional arrangements) can be very different in comparison to the city of the Global North, including a shift of the institutional domain of reference (usually from the formal to the informal).

⁶ In re-thinking the evolution of urban and regional studies, Soja works on the “urban revolution” concept. For the author, there were three “urban revolutions”: the first one (8,000-7,000 years B.C.) consists in the formation of the “village-state” characterized by a process of proto-urbanization, involving mainly hunters and gatherers, as in Jericho and Catal Huyuk (in contrast with the common theories, the author shows how

formation of the apparatus of the State were taken. In the city, for the first time the reproduction of society took place through institutional frameworks, conserving in the territory a political, economic and social continuity (Soja, 2007). Moreover, in the urban context, knowledge (and diversity), understood as “capacity of thinking and judging” (Beneviste, 1976), becomes the root for the formation of institutions⁷ (Papagno, 1979). After the urban revolution, knowledge is thought of as a result of philosophy, in contrast with the knowledge derived from magic and esoteric forms characterizing non-urban societies. This contrast is shown also by the distance between the institutions of the city, produced by law, and the institutions derived from tradition, characterizing the “village” and any non-urban society (Papagno, 1979).

The foundation of the city (or the passage from the village to the city⁸) and from the institutions of tradition to the institutions created through law is a recurrent object of analysis for authors working on the conceptualization of institutions and the exploration of social structures. The origin of the city and of its institutions remains an object of debate. The “classic” interpretations on the theme work through different approaches, based on socio-economic, cultural-symbolic, military and technological causes⁹. In this extended literature, for research purposes, it is useful to extract some key references that bear in a significant way on institutional processes and their evolution:

the urban agglomeration, the “city”, was the basis for the development of agriculture and not the contrary); the second revolution (5,000-4,000 years B.C.) refers to the form of the “city-state” (starting from the experiences in Mesopotamia, with Ur), a large and articulated urban agglomeration which was the product of the “hydraulic civilization”, where the development of the agricultural techniques allowed a food surplus and where society was characterized by a readjustment of power in the city through new institutional arrangements and social divisions of work; the third revolution is represented by the city of the industrial revolution (18th-19th centuries), the “world-city”, with the presence of manufacturing factories in the urban space (as in the classic examples of Manchester and, later, Chicago) and with the development of macro-technologies for socio-spatial control (Soja, 2007). Gordon Childe, as many other authors, used the term “urban revolution” for what Soja calls the second urban revolution.

⁷ At the same time, city institutions represent the main tool to achieve a global knowledge of cosmogony and an equilibrium-order, which replicates the equilibrium-order of the family, allowing the passage from the individual to the social sphere (Rykwert, 2002). Also Eliade in *The Holy and the Profane* (1967) insists on the relation between the origins of the city and the representation of the cosmogony of the society (Perulli, 2007; for an introduction on the Indian context see Anfossi, 1987). The city is “Our World” and is thought of as a “unitary entity”, where places seem to be representations of the Holy and where what is outside the city represents “chaos”, “disorder” and “darkness” (Eliade, 1967).

⁸ The analysis of the passage from village to city cannot elude, as a socio-philosophical reference, the definition of “city” in Weber’s lesson. For Weber, the city, rather than a physical/spatial device, is mainly a political organization characterized by the tendency to be autonomous (and/or auto-cephalic) (Rossi, 1987). For Weber, the city, in its real (and thus political) sense, is the Western city (in particular, the Greek ancient city and the medieval city). When the author starts to go inside classifications (or distinctions of typologies) of the city, the definition remains intentionally flexible and un-restrictive: the city appears as a big agglomeration where social relationships/networks are dense (relative to those in a village) and where the majority of the inhabitants do not depend directly on agricultural work. The city is marked by the presence of symbolic places (the Palace, the Market and the Fortress), which characterise the city in its socio-economic complexity, these being “attributes” also of places that are not considered cities (Weber, 2003). Three main criteria are used for the classification of cities: historic context (ancient Greek city, Medieval city in Southern Europe, etc.), social structure and typology of power (city of the Prince, city of dealers, etc.) (Rossi, 1987).

⁹ Some authors argue the complexity of the passage from Village to City and its influences on the definition of habitat and dwelling forms, where several factors intervene (in Rapoport 1969, socio-cultural factors are modified by physical factors), and none of them is solely determinant (Jenkins et al., 2007).

- Marxist authors (and other authors working on Marxist arguments¹⁰) assume that the origin of the city is due to the change in productive processes¹¹ (and in particular the passage between different/multiple “primitive forms of continuities” to diverse forms of States and societies, divided into classes¹²) where the country becomes the territory of the city (in contrast with the village, which was seen as an accessory of the countryside) (Godelier, 1970; 1978). Using a completely different approach, other authors (e.g. Childe or more recently Schoenauer¹³) focused on the socio-economic domain of the question¹⁴.
- For Carl Schmitt, in the *Nomos of the Earth*, the foundation of the city represents a key cultural/symbolic act for society. The foundation consists of a land occupation: this act is one of the key original meanings of the word νόμος (nomos, which usually is translated with the word and the meaning of “law”), derived from νέμεσθαι (nemestai) understood as “to divide” but also “to pasture”¹⁵ (Schmitt underlines the meaning of “appropriation” that is realised through the definition of a border¹⁶, a “division” of the territory at the moment of the foundation). But νόμος is also the social and political constitutive “arrangement” of a people (Schmitt, 1991).
- In Mumford’s vision, where the continuities between village and city are underlined¹⁷, besides the socio-economic evolution of the population¹⁸, the essential factor in the passage from rural to urban conditions was the emergence of a military class, which obliged villages to come together in the city (Mumford, 1953).

¹⁰ The classic Marxist interpretations work on the change between the “production relationships” and in particular on that from primitive communisms to slavery-based modes of production (Godelier, 1970).

¹¹ This focus on economic perspectives of the question finds several oppositions in the literature. In particular, Rykwert criticized the pure economic interpretation of city foundation (processes), and in general the incapacity of the current urban lexicon in conceptualizing the question. For this author, focusing on the symbolic dimension of the urban phenomenon, the city’s foundation is configured as a rite (Rykwert, 2002). In a similar direction, other authors have worked on the use of the territory by primitive societies: in Guidoni (1979) for example, the definition of the city from a socio-economic perspective remains fluid (city as a phenomenon of economic, demographic and power agglomeration), but the origin of the city remains located in the symbolic domain.

¹² A large part of the authors (not only belonging to Marxist positions) underline the presence of a social surplus concentrated in the hands of an elite, and the consequent creation of a “class” of specialists with no responsibilities in getting subsistence and thus the birth of political forms of organizations based on residence rather than on the family/clan relations (Tosi, 1987).

¹³ Schoenauer uses socio-economic structures to categorize different typologies of settling and forming dwellings, shaping the first “urban forms” (Schoenauer, 2000).

¹⁴ Other authors work on the passage between village and city as a place of institutional evolution in economic terms. For Karl Polanyi, reflecting on primitive and archaic economies, the central question does not lie in the passage from village to city but in the different elements that, in that passage, characterize the “principle of behaviour” in economic terms: reciprocity, redistribution and house-holding (Dalton, 1971).

¹⁵ Perulli refers to the idea of “enclosed pasture” citing Schmitt analyzing the concept of “crown-city” in planning (Perulli, 2007).

¹⁶ On the discourse related to the definition of borders and land occupation, see also Rosenzweig, 2007.

¹⁷ The city uses, with different levels of evolution, elements, technologies and places that were formed in the village: the barn, the bank, the arsenal, the library and the store. Through this perspective, the city seems to consist in a big village surrounded by walls (Mumford, 1963).

¹⁸ Also Mumford remains convinced that “cities are products of the land” (*The Culture of Cities*, New Introduction of the Author, 1953; 1999).

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- For other authors, the key point is represented by the evolution of irrigation techniques (Matthiae, 1976), which were necessarily developed in areas with specific environmental conditions (Mesopotamia), with the consequent replication of the “successful” model (the city with its spaces and its institutions) in other contexts¹⁹.

Within an institutional approach, it is necessary to look at the passage from the village to the city as a response to a specific need. From this perspective the cause of the city’s origin did not consist directly in the achievement of an efficient hydraulic technique or in the elaboration of more sophisticated cereal production (Matthiae, 1976; see also Diamond, 1998). The cause has to be sought in the need to invent material (and “soft”) techniques to cope with new conditions, which have provoked a redefinition of social-institutional structures: this “original” problem, the coinciding of global and local knowledge in the basic social cell, was solved in the city, the most adequate tool²⁰ in transferring knowledge to the entire society²¹ (Papagno, 1979).

The etymology of “city”²² refers to a community that shares a habitat, having the same political rights. The term “city” refers to a (unitary) collective notion (whoever is outside the city is an *hostes*, an enemy) where reciprocity is a fundamental value (Benveniste, 1976). The question is not just an academic problem referring to the analysis of the city’s origin but, on the contrary, it bears on crucial elements of current urban development: the globalization dynamics seem to redefine the concept of citizenships and consequently redesign the nature of authorities and citizens’ rights (Sassen, 2008). This entails radical changes in the city: urban fragmentation represents an exemplar of how this change is rewriting society’s structures, urban powers and community (and individual) approaches to the city.

¹⁹ For example this replication has not been of interest in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the environmental conditions (including the geological and hydrographic situation of rivers and basins) allow the survival and development of villages and social cells of families/clans organized in the dimension of small villages, having access to global-local knowledge, “controlling” nature (Papagno, 1979).

²⁰ The idea returns in several authors: for instance in Mumford, who in this case follows the mainstream of the Modern Movement, thinking of the city as a machine (Mumford, 1953).

²¹ This transferring of knowledge has several consequences also in the spatial organization of the city, which was walled, characterized by a symbolic centre of the knowledge and expression of power (the Palace and the Temple) (Papagno, 1979, see also Weber, 2003).

²² In this case, as Benveniste observes, the Latin term *civitas* differs completely from the Greek one, πόλις (polis): the Latin term refers to the institutional (and social) domain, the Greek one to the spatial dimension. Polis (from “acropolis”) reminds of the meaning of “fortress”. Only in the Greek tradition, this word generates the meaning of “city” (and then “state”) (Benveniste, 1976; 1985).

2.1.3. Fragmentation

The word “fragmentation” links back to an idea of break-up of an original “unity”, a deep division²³ with destructive effects. The Latin verb *frangere* can be translated as “to smash”, “to shatter”, but also as “to weaken”, “to tame”, “to knock down”, “to violate”. *Frangere foedus* means “to infringe the agreement”. The root of the word suggests a radical turnover of agreements, pacts and “orders” entailing the presence of new entities (fragments of the whole), characterized by a conflictive status, weakened in comparison with their previous, original condition. The word outlines a new context where fragments (pieces, scraps – as used by Lucano) cannot work as a whole (as in the condition before the break-up). In historical literature, when the break-up refers to a community (or a population or an army), the fragments of the whole, after the loss of unity, are frequently driven externally (by external powers). The loss of unity is to some extent associated with a loss of autonomy. The analysis of the word’s Latin etymology provides a reference for the institutional dimension of urban fragmentation.

The other key dimension of the research refers to the Greek root of the word “fragmentation”. In this case the spatial (and therefore relational) nature²⁴ of the question becomes evident: φράγμα, τοξ (fragma, tos) is the fence, the paling, the enclosure. A common meaning for the word is also “place enclosed by hedges”. The infinitive of the verb, φράγνυμι (fragnumi) but also φράζομαι (fraxomai) means “to enclose”, “to crowd ones against others”, “to put walls”, “to fortify”. In this sense the word is a reminder of a significant character of the phenomenon, the idea of separated, defined territories, portions of space regulated with an established order, with an apparatus of rules that distinguishes what is inside to what is outside the border (see the definition of “territory” in Schmitt [1991] and Rosenzweig [2007]).

The loss of “unity” that recurs in the etymologic meaning of the word fragmentation is seen in different ways: it can become a “myth” if we refer to the urban context (Smith et al., 2010) or it can also be thought of as the negation of the “city” in its deeper meaning and nature²⁵ (Cacciari, 1994; 1997). The unity of the city (as Rykwert, and, more recently, Perulli have shown) seems to refer to the idea of city of the ancients or to the “ideal city” in the philosophical dimension and utopia. Some traces in the evolution of the ancient Greek city can guide in exploring conceptual references for urban

²³ In Latin, the difference between “division” and “fragmentation” clearly appears: “to divide” (to separate in more “parts”, thus not in “fragments”) is *divido, dividere*. But *dividere* is always an action that entails an order, a “global” vision: in fact *dividere* means also “to distribute”, “to classify”.

²⁴ Eliade explained the radical “fractures” in both the holy and profane concept of space: in the “holy” perspective, the fractures are qualitative (caused by the experience of the space, which, for religious men, is not homogenous); in the “profane” perspective, space appears just as “fragments of a broken universe, amorphous mass of infinite places, more or less neutral” (Eliade, 1967, p. 21).

²⁵ Analyzing the work of Plato, Cacciari shows how the city is manifold and its variety is not merely due to the co-habitation of the citizens or to the presence of different interests and languages. The city is the place of the “struggle between logos and non-logos” (Cacciari, 1997).

fragmentation. The history of the ancient Greek city is divided into three phases (Papagno, 1979): the period between the reforms of Cleisthenes until Anaximander (6th century B.C.); the period coinciding with the 5th century B.C.; the last phase in the 4th century B.C..

The first phase (6th century B.C.) is the age of the city governed by the *isonomy*, “with a total unity of the intellectual atmosphere, with the perfect correspondence between physical and civic spaces, with the solidarity between philosophy and public life” (Papagno, 1979, p. 1096). The second phase (5th century B.C.) marks the separation between the world of the “land surveyors and astronomers” and the rest of the city with a fracture between the political (civil) sphere and the “philosophers” (the sphere of the “real knowledge”). In the last phase (6th century B.C.) a spatial hierarchical vision of space, the institution of the πόλις (polis), the “city”, reveals an “analogical” image of order, which has a cosmologic and divine nature (Papagno, 1979; Rykwert, 2002; Perulli, 2007). These traces show an ideal concept of unity of the city²⁶, which does not refer only to the formal, functional and physical dimensions of the urban fabric but deeply involves the political sphere of citizenship (including development, equity, participation/democracy questions) and the sense of the city as “institutions” and of urban policies/planning.

In the city, there is a “necessary contingency”, which refers mainly to the political sphere²⁷ (Sjoberg, 1960): “Policy seems to be present everywhere in the city” (Roncayolo, 1979, p. 59). The city is the place of coagulation for different institutions and of (formal) State administrative structures. This institutionalization of formal social structures (organized by the State) is re-affirmed also through a specific organization of the spaces of the city. The urban phenomenon as global (and “total”) fact astonishes for its enormity and complexity²⁸ (Lefebvre, 1973). To face the political complexity of

²⁶ This concept is present in different cultures, showing a sort of cultural continuity. This idea (which touches a cultural-political and socio-spatial unity) returns strongly in the Italian Renaissance (for instance with the project of “Sforzinda” made by Filarete, or with the idea of *The City of the Sun* of Tommaso Campanella, not to mention the philosophic, “magic” and esoteric substrata of these utopias, expressed in the work of Giordano Bruno). But this “unity” is constantly present also in the “socialist” authors of the pre-urbanism of the 19th century, including the “Phalanstery” of Fourier or the “Icaria” of Cabet (Choay, 1973).

²⁷ For Weber, the city actually exists only when it achieves an autonomous condition (and/or coincides with an autonomous group of people). This autonomy is the result of an *illegitimate* power: the city rebels against a *legitimate* (and thus universal) power. In Weber’s vision, the legitimate power can be divided in three typologies: traditional, charismatic and rational/legal (the State and its apparatus). In many cases this revolt is an action against the State (in its various forms), the rational/legal power, thus representing the illegitimate character of the city. The Western city becomes the base for the interpretative model of Weber. In the author’s analysis, only the Western city (and only in specific spatial/temporal conditions) can be considered actually a city. When there is a comparison with other cities (outside Europe), it is always a negative comparison, where it is shown how the other terms of the comparison lack certain attributes that characterize the European (ancient Greek or medieval) city (Rossi, 1987).

²⁸ Lefebvre criticises the analysis of the city’s phenomenology and in general all the descriptive methods (ecological, empirical, etc.) in urban studies, convinced that only through “progressive and regressive” operations of analysis is a real discourse on urban phenomena possible. This discourse has an interdisciplinary character avoiding mono-dimensional analysis, which represent in reality just ideological and partial practices (Lefebvre, 1973).

the urban phenomenon and its multitude of levels and signs (Barthes, 1984), an institutionalist approach provides tools in understanding the arena of actors constituting the (formal) organizational structure of the city (Healey, 2003) and in exploring the different political experiences under the space of informality (Amin and Thrift, 2002). The urban planning dimension represents the expression of urban powers in the city and a field of action for formal and informal subjects. The city becomes the place of institutionalized power (in its processes and decisions) (Weber, 2003).

The ideal concepts of unity and *isonomia* seem irrevocably lost in the modern city²⁹ (as Mumford already argued) or represent a utopia in the contemporary global city (Sassen, 2008). The visions that entail the city as an “organism” or as a socio-spatial system with its internal logics and dynamics (as in the classic analysis of 20th century³⁰) cannot explain the complexity of urban phenomena. For some authors the urban fabric is no longer characterized by integrity (and defined parts) or internal coherence, and consequently it is not possible to use a unitary point of view on the city (Amin and Thrift, 2002). According to these trends, there is a need to return to the root of the meaning of the city and its conflictive nature³¹, considering the possibility that the city can exist just in its process of division (Cacciari, 1994). The character of this process is the subject of discussion: for Soja (1996; 2007), the contemporary urban social order cannot be described with the image of the “dual city” (thinking of the dualism between proletariat and bourgeoisie), the “hierarchic city” (where the division is into classes), or the “divided city” (the author refers mainly to the city of the “two Americas”, characterized by the ethnic division of whites and blacks). Soja thinks that these polarities have not disappeared but, in the context of the post-metropolis, the city is characterized by a “re-organized social mosaic³²” where socio-economic inequalities are increasing through new urbanising processes.

The difficulties in understanding urban dynamics are associated with an inability to find instruments to act on the urban fabric in its global and local dimensions, showing the inadequacy of traditional urban planning tools and thus requiring a re-think of the

²⁹ Looking at philosophical thought on the city, this idea has been lost since the end of the Classic Age. Cacciari shows how, already in the vision of Saint Augustine, these concepts are referred to the *civitas Dei* (the city of God), where the “earthly nomos” will be real, while in the *civitas hominis* (the city of the man) the “nomos” cannot be the root of the society and the human laws are just agreements (Cacciari, 1994).

³⁰ Amin and Thrift (2002) underline how also authors who were key in the formation and development of the discipline of modern urbanism in the early 20th century such as Geddes (1968), Mumford (1963), Park (1967), Wirth (1938), despite their understanding of the great complexity and variety of the urban fabric (and their anticipation of some specific tendencies), remained tied to the idea that the city consists in a socio-spatial entity provided by internal “regulated” dynamics (Amin and Thrift, 2002).

³¹ Working on the Plato’s interpretation of the concepts of πόλις (polis, “city”), πολιτεία (politeia, “constitution”) and πόλεμος (polemos, “war”), Cacciari argues that “the city is not re-conductible to one” (Cacciari, 1997, p. 37), “the plurality of the city always implies a potential civil war” (Cacciari, 1994, p.41) and “the will of re-creating the unity [of the city], which is irreversibly lost, can condemn us to new divisions” (Cacciari 1997, p.41).

³² In Soja’s vision, society is configured in the form of the “fractal city” (Soja, 1996; 2007).

lexicon of urban studies. If philosophy and semiotics explain that the city is “language³³” (Lefebvre, 1973), “writing” (Cacciari, 1997) or “an ideogram³⁴, where the text continues” (Barthes, 1976), one of the main efforts in urban studies should be focused on the re-definition and re-conceptualization of the lexicon of current urban phenomena³⁵, that seems increasingly unable to describe and give meaning to what urban reality is. The debate on urban fragmentation (and the efforts to transform the “reading” of a phenomenon into an action on the urban fabric) starts from these needs.

2.2. The debate on urban fragmentation

Despite the attempts at conceptualization involving several disciplines, urban fragmentation still lacks a commonly recognized and shared definition (Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007), with a consequent uncertainty in the comprehension and evaluation of the phenomenon (in both the academic and political arenas). The lack of analytical foundations and absence of a shared definition of the phenomenon contribute to continuing misunderstanding and to the impossibility of an appropriate use of the concept in policy definition and governance. This lack of definition is detectable also in the understanding of the dynamics and processes, and thus in seeing the phenomenon in its evolution, as well as of the nature of the fragments that supposedly result from the break-up of the fabric. Two tendencies characterize the debate on the phenomenon in the literature: the attribution of other meanings to fragmentation (where the phenomenon is considered as synonymous with other dynamics “dividing” the fabric, such as segregation, segmentation, etc., which usually pertain to social studies); and the reference to urban fragmentation as a (spatial, physical-morphologic) consequence of “other” dynamics, which concern specific domains (economic, social, political, etc.).

Lack of definition at the conceptual level is associated with a lack of criteria for evaluation of the phenomenon. The judgement of urban fragmentation implies a rationale for the city (and an ethical framework), which can be very different according to the cultural background and ontological/epistemological position of the analyst/politician in relation to the phenomenon. The majority of theories consider fragmentation in a negative way: urban fragmentation is seen as a dynamic breaking up the fabric or the hypothetical “unity” of the city. The condition of fragmentation is associated with a negative vision of the city, implying the rupture of the fabric (with an irrational and inefficient occupation of the territory), a break-up in the morphological image of the city (losing a supposed “identity”), a condition of inequality (territories of the city being characterized by different status in terms of access to services and resources; socio-economic polarization leading to exclusion of vulnerable,

³³ Regarding this question see also Benveniste, 1985.

³⁴ For an introduction on the connection between semiotics and urbanism, see Barthes, 1970.

³⁵ But the problem is not new, as Rykwert underlined after the “urban crisis” of the '60s.

disadvantaged population; lack in equal conditions in terms of rights, with absence of legal recognition and protection for vulnerable population) or the impossibility of implementing “good governance” practices or planning policies, involving the different fragments (due to contrasting interests and pressures from urban powers).

Urban fragmentation is seen in its “states” (imagining different levels of fragmentation of the fabric, reaching down even to the level of the individual, as in the hypothesis of “social pulverization”) or in its dynamic nature (reflecting on the processes involving the fabric). Despite recognizing fragmentation as a process (or an ensemble of processes) involving the fabric, the majority of authors actually work on static visions of fragmentation, describing them according to their disciplinary background and interests. Besides the lack of analysis of the mechanisms and hypothetical phases³⁶ of fragmentation processes in the city, a certain associated reluctance to explore and conceptualize the phenomenon’s causes and roots (understood here as constitutive conditions) characterizes part of the literature. This gap in studies of urban fragmentation has negative implications for the understanding of the relations between fragmentation and other phenomena³⁷, and of the role played by the different urban actors in shaping (or being affected by) the process – and for thinking of possible actions to mitigate or promote the phenomenon.

The reflection on fragmentation processes and mechanisms is also relevant to the analytical interpretation of the results of city break-up. In the literature, “fragments” are understood in very different ways: as a portion of territories (under different physical/morphological, socio-economic or political/legal conditions), as layers or levels involving the same geographical area (regarding differences in certain conditions for people sharing a common space), or as splintered networks and “lines of connection” (where the break-up consists in the different modality of access and level of connection with flows of services and goods). In addition to this uncertainty in the definition of fragments, the relation between different fragments remains only partially explored³⁸. This fact can lead to a position where “states of fragmentation” imply the negation of any relation between fragments.

An additional underlying element of debate refers to the hypothetical differences in urban fragmentation nature and interpretation in the North and in the South (Navez-

³⁶ Certain theories (in physical/morphological but also in social disciplines) allude to different (in some cases progressive) “states” of fragmentation, assuming a trajectory from an initial state where the hypothetical unity (physical/morphological or social, etc.) is still readable, to successive states where fragmentation increases until it reaches complete break-up.

³⁷ One link that has been explored is that with urban sprawl, which is not an objective of this work. However, the spread of the fabric is seen as a pre-condition for the development of fragmentation tendencies in the city, usually in spatial, morphological/physical terms, which involve the social dimension (see Zaninetti and Maret, 2007 for an introduction).

³⁸ An exception is represented by theories that are founded on a relational vision of the phenomenon, such as the “splintering urbanism” theories (Box 2.1.).

Bouchanine, 2002; Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007). While some authors assume that the phenomenon invests city development with analogue mechanisms and causes in the two contexts (the phenomenon in this case is not context-dependent, see as introduction for examples belonging to splintering urbanism literature, Coutard [2008]), other researchers claim a specificity of fragmentation dynamics in the South (Balbo, 1992) or advance hypothesis where the North-South distinction is fundamental in understanding the phenomenon (the city of the South presents extreme conditions of fragmentation where the phenomenon is more readable, anticipating possible evolutions of the dynamic in the North³⁹). These elements of discussion involve in different measures all the approaches to urban fragmentation.

2.3. Approaches to urban fragmentation

Approaches to urban fragmentation are very diverse and can be classified in several ways. The literature offers examples of classification (used for interpretative analysis⁴⁰) of studies and theories involving fragmentation with diverse methodological positions and aims: the theoretical structuring of the passage from conceptualizing “social fragmentation” to reflections on the spatial breaking up of the city (considered as the generator of urban fragmentation dynamics) (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002); the collection of case studies in contexts which are characterized by fragmentation, to describe the different facets and consequences that fragmentation processes have in the urban fabric (Harrison, 2003); the reflection on “splintering urbanism”, structured on the basis of case studies, in order to rethink theory in the current scenario (Coutard, 2008). Despite these attempts, the multidimensionality of the phenomenon emerges in the literature, limiting authors in their possibility of a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Authors’ responses consist in using multidisciplinary⁴¹ approaches (e.g. working on two or three dimensions – for instance the social and the economic – while maintaining however mono-disciplinary tools in building theories).

For the researcher, the first action in working on the review of the literature consisted in linking the institutionalist approach (which appeared as a key methodological need from the beginning of the research) to the different disciplinary approaches to the phenomenon. Initially the researcher explored the possibility of using some research hypothesis, which had already appeared in the literature, bringing in institutional elements (see for instance Balbo, Navez-Bouchanine, 1995) to have initial feedback on

³⁹ Considering for instance spatial-morphologic elements, the city of the South seems to present a more evident heterogeneity in comparison with the city of the North (due to the very different nature of the fabric), increasing the distance-discontinuity between fragments in socio-economic contexts, which favour “an accelerated, paroxistic model of urban fragmentation” (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002, p. 61).

⁴⁰ The researcher was involved in a similar conceptual attempt, used to sustain an economic-focused approach to urban fragmentation (Cusinato, Michelutti, 2007).

⁴¹ The following sections, each organized around one mono-dimensional approach, present theories that embrace various dimensions, even if the tools used by the different authors belong to one single discipline.

possible institutional paths to read the literature. The result did not fit with the needs of the chosen institutionalist approach⁴², so the work in interpreting the literature was altered to see the different disciplinary approaches through institutional parameters (such as the formal/informal dichotomy): the exercise was restricted by various hypothetical frameworks to “forced” readings of theories⁴³. Thus the researcher preferred to adopt a more fluid approach to the urban fragmentation literature, using the radical meaning of institution (with its global, multi-dimensional character) to locate the different theories (working through spatial, economic, social, anthropological and political approaches) within institutional coordinates.

2.3.1. Spatial (physical/morphological) approaches

Urban fragmentation spatial theoretical components (or conceptual elements which refer to the spatial dimension) are present in several authors and constitute one of the main areas of interest for analysts of the phenomenon. For some authors the spatial (or physical/morphological) dimension is the main (and in some cases only) focus of research and urban fragmentation is seen just as a spatial phenomenon⁴⁴ (socio-economic and/or political aspects being regarded as consequences of spatial dynamics). Spatial theories attribute various meanings to fragmentation, associating it with different elements or processes: discontinuities in urban morphology (in an urban fabric hypothetically characterized by global or comprehensive designs), breaking the identity of the place; the physical division of the fabric, producing boundaries and discontinuities in city spaces and networks; the process separating the city through an extreme polarization of functions and the divergent (asymmetric) use of places (leading to situations of social conflict and questioning governance practices). Apart from some exceptions (such as Balbo and Navez-Bouchanine, 1995), these theories are developed in parallel to the institutional dimension: indirect reflections involve the role of organizations (mainly public institutions) in governing and responding to dynamics fragmenting city spaces. Spatial approaches seem to consider as secondary the discourse on mental models and cultural backgrounds of population involved in fragmentation processes, which represent a way forward for research.

Theories dealing with the morphology of the city are based on an understanding of urban fragmentation as a complex phenomenon, developed by diverse actors and

⁴² These attempts contained institutional elements but were not coherent with the definition of institution (and its global meaning) that the researcher adopted.

⁴³ Mapping institutional “categories” (such as the already mentioned “formal-informal” duality) onto the approaches in the literature turned out to be a complex task, due to the great diversity in authors’ backgrounds and conceptual domains of reference.

⁴⁴ These theories work at the same time on fragmentation and urban spread, reflecting on the discontinuities in the spatial occupation of the territory (associated to questions of density and consumption of land).

pushed by political-economic powers, producing incoherent multiple parts of fabric⁴⁵ in shape and function⁴⁶, which constitute fragments, with a consequent loss of identity of the city⁴⁷ (Barberis, 2008) and the fragmentation of urban form. Of course, unity and identity of the city can be questionable or represent a myth (Smith et al., 2010). These theories work on the loss of continuity in the image of the fabric, expression of specific socio-cultural (and economic) conditions, associating it with communities' cultural background. Here fragments (which are seen at different scales) consist of portions of territories or places with distinct morphological (even aesthetic) patterns, caused by a rupture of the urban fabric, separated by physical barriers and characterized by distances and disconnections.

Approaches working on the physical break-up of the fabric explore fragmentation processes dividing the hypothetical unity of the fabric (depending on the conceptualization of urban fabric or city developed by the author). In some cases, the break-up of the fabric refers to discontinuities between different areas, implying the loss of relations (or a decrease in the level of relation) between different fragments, making portions of territory increasingly isolated. Some authors, relating their work to the reflections on the fractal city and urban complexity, think of the fragmented structure of the city as consisting in clear-cut and unintentional discontinuities in built-up (and void) areas⁴⁸ of the fabric⁴⁹ (Sobreira and Gomes, 2001).

Other analysts work on urban fragmentation through spatial approaches, using them to correlate planning, political and socio-economic elements. The point of departure of these theories is located in their definition of fragment (which starts from spatial criteria). In the case of Balbo and Navez-Bouchanine⁵⁰ (1995), fragments consist of parts of the city (of consistent dimensions), which are characterized by a predominant function (residential, productive, etc.), and which exhibit specific morphological (and typological) characteristics from an architectural or urban design point of view. These parts of the city are inhabited by different social classes and groups following socio-economic polarization tendencies, which have specific uses of the city and establish with each other particular relational geographies (despite the breaking-up of networks, leading to fragmentation, which is documented through case studies). In this approach,

⁴⁵ For some authors the process is related to disordered development of the urban fabric (connected to urban spread) and, in the context of the South, to the un-planned, informal expansion of the city.

⁴⁶ The end of the mixed urban fabric and the extreme use of zoning and specialized areas are used as key arguments in describing functional fragmentation (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002).

⁴⁷ Barberis takes into consideration a number of physical/spatial elements, consisting in urban single or complex infrastructures, analyzing them through the categories of "cluster" and "archetype" (number of infrastructures, relations and distances between them, shape, dimensions, proportion, etc.) in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires (Argentina).

⁴⁸ Here fragments have a micro-scale and are constituted by individual built-up areas or urban voids.

⁴⁹ In this case, Sobreira and Gomes analyzed the condition of nine informal settlements in Recife (Brazil), making a comparison with squatter settlements in Nairobi (Kenya).

⁵⁰ This work is centred on the case of Rabat (Morocco). Starting from the analysis of data collected in the field (based on a mixed approach), the reflection formulates hypotheses on urban fragmentation as a research direction and questions urban policies and governance in the fragmented city.

social and political elements become fundamental⁵¹, evidencing the multidimensionality of the phenomenon, and spatial factors provide an interpretative tool for a global comprehension of fragmentation (this approach was more fully developed in Navez-Bouchanine, 2002).

Box 2.1. Splintering urbanism

Seeing the city as a socio-technical process, Graham and Marvin (2001) developed a theory of “splintering urbanism”, relating the unbundling of infrastructural networks with the socio-spatial fragmentation characterizing the current urban world context. The theory is based on four analytical tools: large technical systems, actor network theory, theories of changing political economies in capitalist infrastructure, and relational theories of the contemporary city. According to these authors, cities and infrastructure are co-products of society (“much of the urban is infrastructure”, constituting the socio-technical fabric of the city): society and technology are not separated any more, as in a modernist dualism, but represent the nodal generator of the city (thus the authors understand technology in an institutional way, as the structure of the society).

Splintering urbanism theory holds that:

- The unbundling of networks is a process whereby infrastructural technologies and services (appearing as “black boxes”) are socially and technologically reconfigured;
- The reach of networked infrastructures unbundles into very fragmented “time-space” arrangements, showing the distance between spatial proximity and network access;
- Thinking of technologies and infrastructures, the changing political economies and urban-infrastructural development are connected to ideas and practices of development based on cities’ fragmentation, breaking down services monopolies and integrated valued users and space in “hub and spoke networks” with tunnel effects and global scalar fixes;
- Socio-spatial relations in cities (thought of as places) are not necessarily coherent and socio-technical disintegration processes are in place (Graham and Marvin, 2001).

Critics of urban splintering question the concept of “modern infrastructural ideal” (which Graham and Marvin define as bundled infrastructure, providing universally standardised services, in strict relations with the industrial organization of the infrastructural services), relating it to other socio-political factors (capacity of government and role of the State; small number of people living in extreme poverty, etc.) (Bocquet et al., 2008). Also the historical perspective towards the collapse of this model is put in discussion by authors seeing the absence (Kooy and Bakker, 2008) or failure (Fernandez-Maldonado, 2008; Jaglin, 2005) of the modern infrastructural ideal. Critics, based on case studies in different countries, entail also the “universality” of unbundling and by-pass in infrastructures and services provision (Coutard, 2008). For this work, splintering urbanism is fundamental for clarifying the institutional role of technologies in the fragmented city and in underlining the key importance of social (and technical) networks in structuring the urban fabric. At the same time, “splintering urbanism” cannot be used as synonymous of “urban fragmentation”, being reductive in considering the richness of fragmentation (including its institutional nature) and the role of other “structuring principles” (such as territory, place and scale) in constituting the phenomenon.

⁵¹ These studies are inserted in the tradition that links spatial division to social differences. For some authors working in this area fragmentation is understood as an exacerbation of segregation tendencies, where fragments with a strong internal coherence appear increasingly characterized by unequal conditions and a consequent “diffraction” of social relations. These theories show limitations, considering that fragments can present internal dis-homogeneity and that the spatial expression of social segregation can be questionable (in authors seeing places as spaces for developing social relations and integration).

2.3.2. Economic approaches

Economic theories on urban fragmentation (or approaches predominantly based on economic-centred interpretative tools) work mainly on inequalities, discontinuities in the distribution of resources between different parts of the city, and development of parallel economic circuits dividing the socio-spatial fabric – as generators of urban fragmentation. Economic approaches to urban fragmentation work at different levels of the question: describing the fragmented condition of the fabric; representing attributes which sustain an analysis focused on socio-spatial elements; identifying real roots and/or causes of the phenomenon. Economic approaches are closely linked to the institutional dimension, with institutionalist elements being fundamental in shaping economic categories and analytical tools (in particular in “new institutionalist economy”, in terms of organizations in economic systems and mental models in economic choices⁵²).

A strong thread running through economic approaches to urban fragmentation is the reflection on inequalities. In these studies inequalities are seen mainly as differences in income among the population (polarizing social classes and groups within the urban fabric⁵³), in access to resources (at different scales) or in investments directed to certain territories in the city. In studies belonging to this area, the economic approach still includes relational geographies between fragments (seen as territories with different levels of access to goods and services, according to the parameters used to measure inequalities). For some authors, inequality is associated with exclusion and/or marginalization of vulnerable population caused by several reasons (e.g. the demise of the Fordist model of production⁵⁴, see Mommaas 1996; Guidiccini, 2003). Here, the passage from economic dynamics to territorial aspects of urban fragmentation is conducted mainly at the conceptual level, in a top-down perspective.

Some authors associate economic inequalities with the geography of the city, understanding fragmentation as a process which is the result of uneven allocation of public/private resources, thus relating the economic approach to the political dimension of fragmentation⁵⁵ (Morgan and Marechal, 1999) independently from the endogenous

⁵² See Jenkins, 1999 or Healey, 1998 for an entry point to “new institutionalist economy” from the perspective of urban policy-making and planning.

⁵³ For some critics, this polarization is questionable. These critics look more generally at the “spatial transposition” of economic kinds of fragmentation in the city and the scarce consideration of the effects that spatial elements/dynamics generate in the socio-economic dimensions (or more generally in the “reproduction of society”) (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002).

⁵⁴ This process is linked to the passage from an industrial framework to the “society of services” (tertiary society) (Mingione, 1991). For an introduction on the urban consequences of these transformations, see Perulli, 2000.

⁵⁵ Morgan and Marechal (1999) analyze 97 metropolitan areas in the United States, questioning the distribution of resources between city centres and suburbs, thus addressing spatial fragmentation mainly through a dualistic vision. Dualistic spatial interpretations in economic approaches emerge also in

dynamics of the market. Fragments are considered as a spatial result of these processes: areas characterized by different economic conditions, are involved in isolation processes (generating ghettoization processes, including gated communities), which re-write social networks and provoke marginalization and/or dependency of disadvantaged “fragments” from (economic) power centres. Globalization has led to a layering of scales in fragmentation dynamics, with some areas or settlements being closely linked to global economic players and other areas being forced to remain within the domain of local players (Castells, 1997; Sassen, 1994). In these theories, studies of relational geographies are centred on the economic domain, while socio/spatial elements seem to be seen as secondary rather than constituting key aspects of the phenomenon.

Other economic approaches explore the roots of urban fragmentation taking into consideration institutions in economic terms, considering these mainly as organizations and arrangements/solutions within the organizational framework of the city, from a dualist perspective based on definitions of formal and informal (Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007). In this case, socio-spatial aspects of the phenomenon are seen as an expression of a deep fracture between economic circuits, where there is an increasing gap and separation, as well as inequality⁵⁶, between citizens that can access and be organized through formal markets and those who are obliged to opt for informal solutions to cope – with formal systems being seen as efficient and informal ones as inefficient. This economic and institutional fragmentation takes different shapes according to the context: while in the city of the South, the split is clearer and more visible in the extension and physical/morphological character of informal areas, in the city of the North the transition between the two systems in socio-spatial terms is more complex (with a micro-articulation that can overcome divisions between areas/quarters). Socio-spatial elements are associated with certain economic solutions alluding to the formation of “fragments” rather than constituting a spatial (geographical) definition of fragments⁵⁷.

2.3.3. Social approaches

For many authors with a sociological background urban fragmentation becomes social fragmentation⁵⁸. Social approaches to urban fragmentation work on two main axes of

considering the relation between the central formal city and informal suburbs in the city of the South (see Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007).

⁵⁶ The context of the global city seems to facilitate the creation of a growing gap between areas/classes/groups of powers connected at the global level and population excluded by these economic flows, with consequences in terms of rights and actual capacity to make decisions and participate in spatial/planning issues) (Sassen, 1994).

⁵⁷ Fragmentation is thought of here as a “territorial category”.

⁵⁸ Some authors (Bauman, 1995; Giddens, 1994) touch on “social fragmentation” without a deep focus (or immediate interest) on the “urban side” of the question. Other analysts underline the difference between social and urban fragmentation (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002), which appears embedded in a spatial

analysis looking at the phenomenon as: (a) a social result of the cultural transition from the modern to the post-modern age – in this case, fragmentation is seen as an effect of the post-modern change of the society, where new local social instances have broken the “global” fabric or the utopian ideas of integration/assimilation, which have emerged as a result of globalization (Bauman, 1995); or (b) a social product of economic transformations involving the entire society, driven by globalizing tendencies⁵⁹ – here fragmentation is based on a division in the labour market and in the increasing exclusion of a part of the population from formal circuits (van Kempen, 1994). Social theories have implications for the interpretation of the phenomenon in institutional terms, entailing both organizations and mental models.

In these theories, the urban element of the process is related to the context where the social phenomenon takes place. The environment of the city is the main theatre where socio-cultural and economic transformations have an impact on society, but the contingent geographies of fragmentation are not the focus of analysis in these approaches. Thus the definition of fragments is fluid and is associated in certain cases with a polarization of social groups to specific territories or to segments of society localized in different areas of the city (in this case the fragments lose a geographical connotation, remaining however linked to the figure of “network”⁶⁰) (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002).

Social approaches to urban fragmentation link cultural transformations and social fabric dynamics. The “weakening of social ties” (Vranken, 2001) and the rewriting of social fabric “rules”/agreements tend to dissolve networks, leaving social groups, families and individuals in the hands of socio-economic transformations, driven by economic and political powers. Extreme consequences of these dynamics lead to conditions of “social pulverization/atomization” (Guidicini, 2003; van Kempen, 1994). This individualization, implying different social goals (initially of the group and then of single individuals), is related to a process of privatization of interests, breaking-up of social networks (at the scale of the class and group), weakening collective ideas of society and the idea of community, and re-proposing private sphere logics on the collective social fabric (Lipovetsky, 1991).

The other axis of “social fragmentation” theories focuses on the consequences that economic transformations have had on the social fabric. Two main phenomena underpin these changes: the social polarization of labour and the growth of the population that is considered to be poor due to the impoverishment of the middle class

dimension, entailing a “division” that is not linked to any hierarchic organization (as for instance “social segregation”).

⁵⁹ Harvey (1973; 1985), Castells (1989) and, in part, Soja (1989), with post-marxist analytical tools, tried to work on theoretical links between the two reading them as part of the evolution of capitalism.

⁶⁰ In the literature the attention is focused on the mechanisms enabling networks to work rather than on the analysis of the relational geographies, which necessarily include physical elements.

(van Kempen, 1994). The concept of social fragmentation is used here by several authors due to the theoretical insufficiency of dualistic visions of these social transformations. Economic transformations or new hybrid socio-economic forms, with the intensification of social interaction in the sphere of production, have led to the appearance of new forms of socialization (e.g. the reappearance of reciprocity in socio-economic relations), characterized by the multi-directionality, diversity and heterogeneity in the response to the global transformation of economy and labour (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002). Urban fragmentation represents here the transposition of social changes in the geography of the city.

2.3.4. Cultural/anthropological approaches

Cultural/anthropological approaches to urban fragmentation consider cultural fractures, which make extreme the diversities characterizing social fabrics⁶¹, transforming and fragmenting the spaces of the city according to cultural (religious, ethnic, etc.) criteria, leading in some cases to apartheid practices (Harrison, 2003). These approaches work also on the cultural-spatial phenomenon of gated communities, isolating social classes or groups in specific off-limits parts of the city, representing a clear example of fragments within a cultural perspective of fragmentation (Low, 2006). These theories⁶² are deeply embedded in an institutional vision of the phenomenon, considering mainly mental models, and in a less explicit way “processes of thought and words” (Benveniste, 1976) of communities and individuals in fragmented contexts. The role of spatial elements in these studies is complex: some authors focus just on the cultural components of fragmentation dynamics, and the urban becomes a container of processes developed in other dimensions; other analysts work starting from case studies, thus being tied to specific contexts and experiences which help to include reflections on space, leaving however these aspects as attributes of processes working at cultural or ethnic levels (Low, 2006).

Cultural approaches to fragmentation frequently work with the same philosophical and ontological background explored in social approaches. Post-modern theories have produced the disintegration of ethical and aesthetic socio-cultural values of the modern age, with consequences for ways of understanding the city and urban life. This process has led to pluralizing “worlds” and behaviours (DiMaggio, 1997), making the individual perception of the city fragmented. In this kind of approach, authors tend to see

⁶¹ This theme can be seen as a distortion of the political positions linked to the “right to difference” (and consequent approaches to the city which are against assimilation/homologation to a “monolithic” society/city), based on Lefebvre’s (1973) and Foucault’s (1977) theories.

⁶² These research experiences usually do not aim to build theories of “urban fragmentation”. The concept is used by anthropologists to set the urban context where hypothetical cultural homogeneities are involved in a process of fragmentation, which produce cultural (sometimes conflictive) cultural entities or to define the appearance of areas in cultural contrast/opposition. Few authors develop a multidimensional interpretative framework of fragmentation, using social and political tools (see for example the framework proposed in Low, 2006).

fragmentation as a horizontal process (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002), where territories of the city are characterized by specific (and exclusive⁶³) identities (established through certain cultural patterns) with a reactive⁶⁴ behaviour to any attempt at integration (and/or multiculturalism) in a sort of balkanization⁶⁵ of the territory.

Ethnographic/anthropological approaches to urban fragmentation have a key focus on the analysis of gated communities, which touches on the private sphere and the individual scale of fragmentation. The creation of these settlements seeks re-proposing a sort of ideal urban community, excluded from common “degrading” urban dynamics⁶⁶. Exclusion and proliferation of isolated fragments are consequences of such urban (mainly private) policies. These theories see *de facto* the fabric as a fluid/empty container⁶⁷ of fragments, frequently coinciding with the gated community, rather than as a “continuum of fragments”. The generalized fear of crime⁶⁸ (Low, 2006) and the attempt to distribute goods and services to certain groups in an efficient way, through “limited public or club realms” (Webster, 2001) are seen as the main causes of the phenomenon. The spatial elements connecting the phenomenon of gated communities with urban fragmentation are studied mainly through analytical tools/categories⁶⁹ such as “territory” (here in particular the reflection on the “boundaries”) and “place” (and the specificities that gated community inhabitants have in using private and public places both in the protected areas and in the rest of the city).

2.3.5. Political approaches

Political approaches to urban fragmentation investigate the administrative dimension of the State (in its relations with the territory), the theme of rights (to the city), thus the recognition of “other” (i.e. private, informal) forms of governance of the territory, and the specific ambit of urban policies, intended as a global vision of the city (including its

⁶³ This exclusion is frequently fostered by “advantaged” social groups, which have an interest in empowering identities and distances between parts of the population.

⁶⁴ This “reaction” does not necessarily entail collective action or policies, being on the contrary associated to individual behaviours (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002). In this case, the hypothesis of “cultural resistance” is not fulfilled.

⁶⁵ Some critics of “balkanization” theories have questioned the real existence of a strict correspondence between space and identity (and the stability in the time of this hypothetical correspondence).

⁶⁶ In a certain literature, the security and the “policies of control” constitute a specific dimension of “urban fragmentation”, being connected with dynamics of “parcelization” (Remy and Voyé, 1974) and socio-spatial dis-junction (see Navez-Bouchanine, 2002).

⁶⁷ Here the dimension of the “distance” between fragments and the individual perception of a “critical” distance to feel secure and conserve privacy becomes fundamental in defining these visions of fragmentation, which has led some analysts to speak about urban “atomization” (Gauchet, 1991) and generally to work on the fragments’ “internal boundaries”.

⁶⁸ Low (2006) conducted an extended comparative study on gated communities in the United States, Latin America (“*barrios privados y cerrados*”) and China (“enclosed neighbourhoods”), exploring twelve analytical dimensions (which can be used either quantitatively or qualitatively, e.g. taxation, cultural pattern of social sanction). Urban fragmentation appears as a spatial consequence of dynamics involving the sense of fear, the process of city privatization, etc.

⁶⁹ “Networks” and the analytical tools/dimensions exploring more directly gated communities’ relational geographies with the rest of the fabric are not frequently used.

formal/physical design). These approaches, which usually fall short of constituting fully-formed theories on urban fragmentation, offer significant reflections on institutional elements in engaging with the phenomenon: for instance, the set-up of different organizations in (frequently overlapped and contrasting) frameworks taking decisions on the territory or the diverse rationalities (thus the mental models/“processes of thought”) shaping decision-making processes and action on the territory. In these approaches, spatial elements are mainly thought of in terms of territories (under diverse urban use and rights status), implicitly constituting the city’s fragments (Chevalier, 2002).

The discourse on political/administrative fragmentation represents a consolidated theme in the literature, referring either to geo-political (horizontal) kinds of fragmentation, due to a succession of administrative boundaries characterizing the urban fabric (thus a hypothetical loss of unity in territorial terms) or to territorial (vertical) disintegration, which consists in the overlapping of competences of different organizations within public administration, usually within decentralization practices⁷⁰. Horizontal fragmentation implies a definition of fragments as geopolitical territorial units, organized under certain rules/normative standards and controlled by defined authorities; vertical fragmentation sees fragments as the spatial result of a disintegration of the political coherence of decision-making processes, taking place at different scales. These questions emerge in particular in the forms of governance around metropolitan regions with different institutional solutions (e.g. special purpose authorities, voluntary associations of local collectives – such as the “councils of government” in the North American context –, multi-functional “institutions of agglomeration” – constituted for instance by an ensemble of municipalities), dealing with increasing annexation of sub-urban territories (Chevalier, 2002).

Political approaches work on the fragmentation of urban policies, conceptualizing these dynamics through the figures of “urban fractures”, “hyper-segregation” and (urban) “archipelago”. The area of interest includes the profound changes in public action on the city. Many authors focus on the services sector, where changes are clearly visible and the effects on communities/citizens are drastic and immediate (see e.g. Jaglin, 2005). This vision of fragmentation is based on the disengagement of public actors from planning and generally from the production of urban policies (leaving space to other, private, organizations) and from the ideas/objectives and models of development, which underpin these. Political-functional discontinuities in the city

⁷⁰ The decentralization of competencies and decisional processes, favouring local organizations and recognising the value of “diversity” in the city context, has opened a fervid debate on the role of central governments (and their position in re-establishing a control against “localism”). This question is not a specific objective of this work, however the theme has indirect consequences for urban fragmentation mitigation practices: the attempts to build connections between new forms of governance for the territory and “management” of fragmentation dynamics are frequent in the literature (see the attempts by Navez-Bouchanine, 2002; Balbo, 2002; Sassen, 2002 and 2008).

produce isolated (“autonomous”, “introverted”, etc. according to the different authors) socio-spatial areas⁷¹, which (sometimes implicitly) become fragments. Urban policies and public interventions⁷² can be seen also as instruments of fragmentation (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002), therefore objects of economic-political powers having advantages in fragmenting (or in keeping fragmented) the urban fabric.

2.4. Literature conceptual nodes for an institutional approach to fragmentation

The literature review has shown the multi-dimensionality of urban fragmentation both in its empirical consequences for the urban fabric and in the attempts to conceptualize the phenomenon and its components, mechanisms and roots. The theoretical questions, which entail more than one approach to the phenomenon, are frequent (and become obliged steps for several authors). The researcher started to work on these connections from the outset. The first attempt concerned the search of cause-and-effect links explaining fragmentation mechanisms, and in particular the relations between socio-economic dynamics and spatial consequences of the phenomenon and its roots, which seemed to lie in the institutional and/or political domains⁷³. This operation did not bring the expected results: the literature review revealed the lack of a single coherent view on these relations, leaving space for diverse solutions, which are not always supported by empirical data/experiences.

Following the research objectives, the response was to identify key conceptual areas in the literature from an institutional perspective. Four areas emerged:

- Area of exploration: the socio-spatial dimension represents the context in which the phenomenon takes place and shows attributes/components (the majority of authors working on fragmentation use socio-spatial elements to sustain their theories and/or advance research hypothesis);
- Area of understanding: the institutional dimension remains (implicitly) central for several approaches explored in the literature (with the exclusion of morphological/physical theories), representing the ambit within which the causes of the phenomenon lie (Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007), and offering interpretative tools or instruments for implementing responses (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002; Balbo, 2002);

⁷¹ Having identified the fragmented condition of the urban fabric, due to discontinuities in policies, some authors (e.g. Chevalier, 2002) have started reflections on the political “re-composition” of public authority action and on possible strategies in redefining the normative domain (mainly with new regulations for private actors) as elements for mitigating fragmentation trends.

⁷² Even renewal or regeneration projects are the subject of debate, despite the fact these usually include “social integration” components. Actually these projects can favour gentrification or exclusion processes (see for a comprehensive introduction, Mingione, 1991, 1998).

⁷³ Purely mono-dimensional explanations, which have been developed mainly in the economic and physical/morphological literature, fall well short of addressing the full complexity of the phenomenon.

- Area of interest: the question of power remains peripheral to the discussion but in fact economic (Sassen, 2002) and political (Chevalier, 2002) approaches allude to the role of (economic, political, “urban”) powers in driving the phenomenon⁷⁴;
- Area of response: planning represents a key field to engage with the phenomenon: urban planning/policies shape socio-spatial elements of fragmentation; institutions, as organizations and mental models, root fragmentation in planning; urban powers use planning, or can be controlled by planning/policies.

The socio-spatial dimension represents the field where the manifestations of the phenomenon are located, independently from its causes. In several research approaches, the elements constituting the fragmentation process have a socio-spatial character: the definition of fragment, the study of the boundaries between fragments and the relations (between parts, “weaves”, etc.) taking place in a fragmented fabric are described through socio-spatial categories. From an institutional perspective, the researcher is interested in questioning the “socio-spatial” literature regarding the real nature of socio-spatial fragmentation. To develop this part of the work, the concept of institution⁷⁵ offers new elements to read phenomenon manifestations (organizational framework, religion, law, etc.) enriching the exploration conducted in social and spatial (morphological/physical) approaches.

The institutional dimension provides conceptual tools to understand the phenomenon, working beyond social approaches, and going inside the nature of fragmentation processes (in institutional-economic approaches some analysts search there for fragmentation causes and mechanisms, see Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007). Institutional tools help in rethinking socio-spatial dynamics (e.g. fragments and relational geographies emerging between them). Institutional elements offer also information to understand to what extent, and in which role, actors are involved in the process (the literature offers some example of organizational analysis⁷⁶) and how mental models shape cultural background and behaviours (developed mainly, and only

⁷⁴ These approaches reappraise theories implying a sort of “natural” development of urban fragmentation tendencies, either due to the consequences of capitalist system reorganization or due to the appearance of new kinds of urban dynamics (such as the uncontrolled evolutions of the informal city, etc.).

⁷⁵ In this research, this concept is used looking at the etymological-philosophical roots of the word (following Benveniste and the institutionalist schools referring to the work of the French-Syrian linguist). This use of the concept implies a “radical”, deep approach to the diverse meanings of institution, overcoming utilitarian applications where definitions of institution are shaped by researchers’ objectives (a “classic” example is given by authors considering institutions only as those civic organizations formed in a context of “legality”) (Papagno, 1979).

⁷⁶ Few authors working on fragmentation in an institutional perspective have actually conducted (structured) organizational analysis (through case study approach accompanied with social actor analysis or other methodological tools designed for this aim). The reflection on organizations and their role in fragmentation processes is usually developed in a theoretical, top-down approach, while the literature presents few examples of bottom-up institutional readings.

to a limited extent in anthropological approaches to the theme) in fragmented urban fabrics.

The power dimension, which is explored in part in the economic and political approaches reviewed in literature, is necessarily linked to the institutional domain of the question offering a view on “strategies and tactics” (Flyvbjerg, 1998) related to organizations involved in fragmentation processes and actors’ rationalities in deciding interventions (producing or mitigating fragmentation). Several approaches touch on the theme of power or leave the interplay of power as an implicit condition of fragmentation mechanisms. The power dimension shifts the conceptualization of the phenomenon from an “urban” fact/dynamic to a “political” issue, where actors drive the phenomenon, gaining advantage over other players and establishing new (institutional) orders/authorities on the territory. In approaching fragmentation, several authors engage with the question of power seeing it as a theoretical precondition, going beyond their discipline in describing and analysing the phenomenon.

The planning dimension is explored in the literature mainly in political approaches to fragmentation (representing just a tool for spatial and physical/morphological theories). Planning is associated with the “fragmentation of urban policies” and with the discourse on the actions implemented by the State in the urban fabric: in this case planning is seen as an instrument of urban powers/actors. However, planning is also seen as an instrument of response to mitigate fragmentation processes, representing the junction where political/participatory instances emerging in society can express a reordering of space, addressing the recomposition of fractures in the territory and rewriting the relation between fragments. Even though planning contains a deep “bottom-up nature” (and planning as negotiation shows, see for an introduction focused on the Global South, Jenkins et al., 2007), in the literature on fragmentation it remains mainly seen from public actors’ (top-down) perspective. The researcher’s task consists in giving shape to community approaches to planning in the research analytical framework.

These four conceptual areas represent the core of the research analytical framework. Research strategy and design, being shaped from a grounded experience, have in any case to be situated in the panorama drawn up by the conceptual areas emerging from the literature, which offers also elements for reflecting on the typology of research methods. In fact the scenario that the literature review presents, where urban fragmentation is characterized by the overlapping of elements and multidimensionality of processes, seems to require fluid research methods in both data collection and analysis in order to reach the objectives of the work.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Exploring urban fragmentation through an institutional approach led the researcher to re-define his epistemological positions and methodological instruments, based on a review of the literature on urban fragmentation (focusing on the methods and the discourses on methodology), which forms the first part of this chapter. Questioning his own formation, to a large extent drawn on positivist clichés and past research experiences based on deductive principles¹, the researcher has sought coherence with the adopted concept of institution, to change his initial idea on the research methodology, shaping the study on ontological positions ascribable to constructivism and approaching the phenomenon through inductive criteria.

The chapter then goes on to present the research strategy, which has been marked by the researcher's experience in the field, this having consequences also for his position in relation to grounded theory. The chapter explains how the fieldwork has shown the importance of recognising the role of the concepts and questions "grounded in the communities" (first fieldtrip). This was a key step for the generation of the main research questions and the definition of the analytical framework and for refining the initial research objectives (second fieldtrip) looking at the phenomenon with a bottom-up perspective (thus deciding to work at the scale of the communities).

This process has characterized also the research design, shaping the rationale for the choice of the case study areas and pushing the researcher to engage with the discourse on urban fragmentation through a qualitative inquiry, which became a need in developing the theme. The context of the research has determined the choice of the appropriate (and feasible) methods to develop the research activities. Also data

¹ During 2007, the researcher was involved in a study researching the analytical basis for fragmentation phenomena, starting from different case studies: also in this case, experiences in the field have been used to sustain and contrast a theory conceptualized in deductive way (Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007). The paper which resulted from this work advanced the use of an institutional approach to research the analytical foundation of fragmentation processes (working on a North-South comparison). Some of the findings which appeared in the paper, encouraged the researcher to explore urban fragmentation adopting an institutional approach.

collection (interviewing process and direct and participant observations) and analysis were shaped by the conditions found in the field. The researcher sought to express the contents mediating between a radical narrative of the research process and a more conventional “academic product”. Finally, the chapter discusses the limitations of the research, which are centred mostly around the difficulties the researcher, as an ‘outsider’, found in immersing himself in the context of the study.

3.2. Review of epistemological frameworks in literature on urban fragmentation

The literature on urban fragmentation presents different epistemological positions and ontological bases in approaching the phenomenon. Literature review reveals two main families of works. The first one consists in approaches which include a “real” theory of the phenomenon, yet which in the majority of cases are no more than first attempts to engage with and define the dynamic or the process of fragmentation. These approaches opt for deductive positions in epistemological terms and implicitly reveal a positivist research set-up. The second family of works presents studies, each of which depends almost completely on a single case study (or a few more experiences in the field). The basis of these is purely empirical and the analysis does not lead as far as the formulation of theories: the richness of these studies is limited to the empirical domain and, in some cases, authors explicitly allude to their work as an experimental phase (Balbo and Navez-Bouchanine, 1995).

Looking back to the literature, the first family of works includes researches deducing hypothesis from a theoretical idea, which consequently has been to some extents tested:

- In the approach entailing a spatial (mainly physical) vision of the phenomenon, where the hypothesis consists of visible fragmentation dynamics resulting from a physical break-up of urban fabric, thought of, in particular when the analysis entails the city of the Global South, as an emergent (spontaneous) informal fabric (in the case of the study of Sobreira and Gomes [2001] the hypothesis is tested in informal settlements of Recife, Brazil);
- In conceptualizations of morphological aspects, where fragmentation processes are seen as complex break-up of the urban fabric, thought of in this case as the object of intentional design, losing “identity” and internal coherence (in the case of the research of Barberis [2008] the hypothesis is contrasted with feedback from Buenos Aires);
- In visions where urban fragmentation is interpreted as the spatial consequence of economic dynamics connected with or generated by the unequal distribution of (economic) resources through the territory (for instance Morgan and Mareschal [1999] tested this theoretical finding, which is embedded for them

with specific political choices increasing the gap between downtown and peripheral areas, in a extended group of North-American cities);

- In social studies, where urban fragmentation is conceptualized as spatial consequence of a fragmentation of the society (and in particular of the urban society) implying a solution of continuity between social networks, emerging of disparity in social goals and conditions of social groups (for example Vranken [2001] works on his hypothesis without testing the theory with case studies/fieldwork, working mainly through literature review and interpretation).

The theory regarding “splintering urbanism²” (Graham and Marvin, 2001) is an exception within this group. Experimental phases have been overcome and the authors, using a deductive approach, have gone through an exploration of a number of cases, contrasting the different hypotheses underpinned by the splintering urbanism dynamics. In this case, the authors move beyond the level of the hypothesis to reach the formulation of a theory³.

The second family of works approaches urban fragmentation starting from specific experiences developed in the field, which not necessarily conduct to the formulation of “real” theories (in some cases urban fragmentation appears more as conceptual horizon for case studies regarding other theoretical domains). These studies have in common the renunciation of deductive approaches. Thus urban fragmentation is used as conceptual reference:

- In geographical researches, where case studies entail physical, environmental and political aspects. An example is the study of Hardy [2003] on the case of Managua exploring different exposures to environmental risks in the urban fabric, where fragments consist of areas with different geographical characteristics and levels of risk. Outlining a geography of the city, the case study reveals the political choices of planning actors creating fragmentation, which however remains a concept of reference more than a theory structuring the reflection of the research;
- In political/urban planning approaches, where case studies outline socio-spatial policies and use of the city. An example of this is the study of Balbo and Navez-Bouchanine [2001] on Rabat-Salé working with fragments that are established according to morphologic/planning characters of the city. The case study offers elements to start a reflection on relational geographies between fragments and use of the city by people living in the different fragments; the result consists in a hypothesis of study, presenting key questions on urban

² The discussion regarding the connections between “splintering urbanism” and “urban fragmentation” remains open: the two spheres have common backgrounds in seeing urban fabric breaks-up and, in some cases, splintering and fragmentation dynamics are considered as synonymous.

³ The exception of Graham’s and Marvin’s work in relation to other studies based on deductive assumptions consists in shaping a “consistent” theory. Seven years later (in 2008), part of the academic debate found it useful to explore again splintering urbanism, questioning the accumulated knowledge on the argument (Coutard, 2008).

fragmentation but not properly a theory on how and why the phenomenon takes place in the city;

- In approaches pertaining to splintering urbanism debate (focusing mainly urban services), where fragments consist in parts of the fabric with disparities in service access and use (for instance Zérah [2008] reveals socio-political inequalities that lie beyond services provision in the case of Mumbai feeding into a sort of “working hypothesis”, which does not assume the formal connotation of a “theory” in the format of the article).

Other works (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002; Harrison et al., 2003; Zaninetti and Maret, 2007; Coutard, 2008), draw on several case studies developed independently⁴ by various researchers to offer an overview on the topic or explore aspects of the phenomenon in specific contexts. Such reviews use an inductive approach and come back to the general questions that have generated the project (or research) through a synthesis of the lessons learnt into the field (depending from case studies coherence).

Excluding cases where approaching urban fragmentation is connected to architecture and urban design theories⁵, the theme is mainly engaged starting from objectivist convictions. Only very partial attempts entail constructivist approaches. In the objectivist position, which ontologically aims to fix the phenomenon and its meaning as independent of social actors, arguing implicitly that the phenomenon exists beyond research stakeholders, as an external, in some cases “given”, fact. The phenomenon takes place without considering how social actors (including the researchers) perceive the dynamic. This ontological approach is developed epistemologically mainly through positivist schemes⁶: urban fragmentation is seen as a phenomenon where hypothesis can be tested (literature presents several solutions) through observations that allow the formulation of laws⁷ (very few authors arrive to this step, generally opting for further

⁴ In this sense, the research and the publication which resulted from the collections of the case study is characterized by a great flexibility, which limits to some extent the formation of the theory and, for the same reason, works mainly on an exploration of the phenomenon, thus providing a basis for further analysis and leaving open paths for theoretical speculations. Case studies can present opposite conditions (as in the case of Zaninetti and Maret, 2007), which preclude to some extent the formulation of definitions (even partial definition, for instance the nature of “fragments”) and, on the other hand, show the richness and the complexity of the phenomenon.

⁵ These disciplines refer to research methods that evidently differ from social science practices, thus requiring dedicated reflections, which are outside the methodological objectives of this work. This research includes these works in the literature review as a reference to enlarge the analytical scope, addressing a comprehensive reflection on the theme.

⁶ Actually phenomenism and “value free” principles, which characterize positivist epistemological positions, remain implicit in the larger part of the analytical frameworks in deductive researches on urban fragmentation.

⁷ Several authors who move within a positivist horizon, indirectly open to critical realism positions, at least argue that their conceptualization refers to one of the possible ways to understand the phenomenon and their reflection on the process is strictly dependent on the observations from the case studies. The epistemological and ontological basis of the research remains frequently undeclared.

testing). These conditions bring researchers (or analysts) to opt for quantitative research methods⁸.

Attempts to approach urban fragmentation inductively, or partial application of inductive procedures, do not represent orthodox application of interpretative epistemologies⁹. The distance between these experiences in urban fragmentation studies and “radical” forms of constructivism is at the same time evident from the ontological point of view. Authors share the conviction that the “interpretation” of case studies can achieve contributions to the theoretical debate on urban fragmentation (even if, also in this case, these contributions do not lead to the formulation of real theories). Inductive processes characterizing literature on fragmentation regard mainly methods that can be ascribed to qualitative research: collection and interpretation of data, conceptual and theoretical work, and writing-up oriented to narrative models. Usually the process does not entail work on defining general questions and subsequent tighter specifications of such questions, conducting to further data collection¹⁰. Several inductive processes are part of mixed methods researches where there is an iterative behaviour in developing the study.

Literature reveals an experimental phase in approaching urban fragmentation, which remains a theme in search of conceptualization:

- From an ontological point of view, the great majority of the works entail an objectivist position in engaging the theme (a small number of studies open, to

⁸ One example of the connection between objectivist ontological positions, positivist epistemological approaches, deductive processes and use of quantitative methods in urban fragmentation research can be seen looking to the work Morgan and Mareschal [1999]. Using an epistemological approach that can be ascribable to positivism, with the reservations that this kind of labelling implies, from an ontological point of view implicitly objectivist, Morgan and Mareschal test a hypothesis referred to political/administrative break-up (and socio-economic conditions of inequality) between central-city/suburbs in United States metropolitan areas. To test the hypothesis, the authors opt for quantitative methods, working on a consistent number of “U.S. metropolitan statistical areas”, analyzed through a certain set of indicators (2.3.2.). In the text, the importance given to the quantitative “measurement” in itself and the consequences that measurement reading has in refining the hypothesis and (deductively) generating theory, provides significant insight regarding the relations between the deductive approach and the use of quantitative methods, which “naturally” appear in the authors’ discourse. In the authors’ vision, there is no need to consider mixed approaches (not even qualitative methods): the authors find their coherence in connecting deductive theory generation with quantitative methods.

⁹ Despite the presence of iterative elements (in a context characterized by a mixed approach and methodologies connected with geographical studies), Hardy’s [2003] study shows some connections between inductive processes of research and application of qualitative methods. This author fixes certain general questions (discussing the hypothetical relations between environmental risks, socio-spatial fragmentation and territorial policies) and then, to a certain extent and not systematically for the whole set of themes (in fact the study includes also elaborations of quantitative data, mapping and quantitative methods applications), proceeds from the elements coming from the field to theory generation using historical analysis, review of documents and other qualitative tools. In this case, the author seems to be immersed in an interpretative ontological dimension (however avoiding constructivist epistemological explorations) but there is no strict application of a qualitative research framework; the author refers to mixed-approach methods when he needs certain kind of information.

¹⁰ The works of Navez-Bouchanine [2002] and, in part, Harrison et al. [2003], for their nature of general explorations on the theme, entail “large” theoretical positions, including literature reviews and interpretation of other theories. In these works, case studies, which have been developed following different analytical frameworks and research methods, are not necessarily thought to yield coherent/linear theories.

some extent, to critical realism and to other experiences, which include interpretative arguments);

- From an epistemological point of view, researches approach the dynamic mainly through “positivist” positions;
- If the orientation to the role of theory in relation to the research is taken into consideration, studies in urban fragmentation generally opt for deductive approaches (inductive activities are present just as minority parts of iterative researches).

Literature review outlines a panorama where researches in urban fragmentation have been built with quantitative research methods and mixed approaches (while qualitative studies have a very experimental character and appear sporadically).

3.3. Definition of the research strategy

Faced with this situation, where theories are not established and both methodological and empirical areas are in an experimental phase, this study opted for ontological and epistemological positions underlining the key role of information derived from fieldwork. This position is a response to the lessons learnt during literature review and first analytical approaches to urban fragmentation, which drew attention to the risks¹¹ of purely deductive orientations. Urban fragmentation appears as a process characterized by complexity and multi-dimensionality: this nature is amplified by characteristics that are very context-dependent¹². Thus the information coming “from the ground” is fundamental to explore the dynamic, to (re)shape researcher’s approach, to generate theory (Michelutti, 2010). These conditions, which immediately bring to mind grounded theory epistemological substrata, are even clearer if an institutional approach is applied, due to the articulation that institutions can take in different contexts: the relationships¹³ between data collection, analysis processes and theory generation

¹¹ Due to the theoretical approach taken by the researcher (using the concept of “institution” in all the steps of the work) the risks include: the connections between data collection and hypothesis testing, which “force” the testing process of research hypotheses; the tendency in an *ex post* “use” of case studies to sustain a certain hypothesis; rigid classifications “ordering” manifestations of a phenomenon such as urban fragmentation that, due to its nature, escapes strict categorization; the difficulty in considering the perception of research stakeholders in theory definition (embedded in stakeholders’ conversations and discourses, which cannot be easily controlled for the purposes of hypothesis testing), increasing if an institutional approach is used; the scarce capacity of including the richness of human reactions in the face of power through quantitative methods, which, in the literature on fragmentation (but this is valid also in other fields of social sciences), underpin deductive approaches in the great majority of cases.

¹² Elements constituting urban fragmentation dynamics entail socio-spatial, institutional and power dimensions: the nature of social fabric and groups (and the generation of specific economic solutions and circuits); the relation between social components and the space; space use and governance mechanisms (in terms of relations and organizations, at the collective level, in terms of culture-mental models, even at the individual level), etc. Urban fragmentation dynamics and context characteristics are indissolubly related.

¹³ The close relationship linking one another data collection, analysis and theory already appeared as the base root of grounded theory in its initial formulation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). From this starting point, the debate on grounded theory has explored different paths and various definitions have been proposed; the development of theory out of data and iterative (recursive) approaches in data collection and analysis

appear in all their vigour. On the other side, a blind belief in grounded theory “technical” applications and constructivist epistemological exercises can represent an obstacle more than an instrument in engaging the phenomenon: a strict application¹⁴ of grounded theory exercise can lead to losing the richness of the concept of institutions and its facets, taking the research away from its objectives. “Anarchic” theories of knowledge (Box 3.1.), already in the '60/'70s, have kept researchers on the alert regarding blind trust in methods (Feyerabend, 1975).

Box 3.1. Against the method? Lessons learnt from “anarchic” theories of knowledge

The nature of the urban fragmentation question, since the first approach to the literature, has revealed a “fluid”, multi-dimensional character, which it is difficult to ascribe specific areas of knowledge or to consider as a product of a “consolidated” vision of the contemporary city in urban studies. This impression is, with different accents, shared by several authors who have tried to outline a wide panorama on the theme (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002; Harrison et al., 2003; Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007). A strictly consequent problem regards the research methods to be used in engaging urban fragmentation, from the exploratory activities to analytical phases. Are the existing tools used in urban fragmentation research suitable to penetrate the question? Does an institutional approach entail an additional “element of disturbance” in adopting specific research techniques?

The feedback from the fieldwork confirmed the ideas that emerged during the literature review regarding the difficulties in adopting “rigid” methods or in making *aut-aut* choices in methodological terms. The epistemological links between a “coherent” application of the institutional approach and grounded theory principles pushed the researcher to evaluate the possibility of applying grounded theory methods to generate research questions and develop the analysis. From the first attempt, the operation of coding (and hypothesis of categorization) revealed its complexity in being applied responding to institutional approach needs, which entail the capacity of engaging un-homogeneous and dispersive characters. Of course this does not mean that, for instance, an application of grounded theory (or other consolidated methods) in urban fragmentation studies is impossible, but just that applying “strict” methods presents limitations in perceiving the fluid nature of the phenomenon, in particular if seen from an institutional point of view. Engaging urban fragmentation seems to need “elasticity” in the approach and, in this sense, “conventional” use of research methods (or the rigid applications of the technicalities embedded in methods) increases the difficulties in going deeply inside phenomenon facets. Urban fragmentation questions emerge in the “border” between areas of interest: using specific research tools seems to create rigidity in exploring questions rather than representing an instrument to facilitate the phenomenon understanding.

The need to liberate research practice from the ties of rigid methods (which seems to be necessary in urban fragmentation studies) appeared already in the critique of the “scientific method” tradition, involving various disciplines, in the '60s and '70s, with philosophers and theorists of knowledge coming from different backgrounds such as Mill, Lakatos, Feyerabend and many others. It is not an objective of this work to penetrate the articulated debate and the critiques associated with these authors, but lessons learnt from their experience could become significant “landmarks” in situating an epistemology for urban fragmentation studies in future researches (this box is just a provisional attempt in this process).

remain as key concepts in grounded theory formulation (Bryman, 2007; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Grounded theory applications do not appear in urban fragmentation studies: in this work, an implicit methodological objective consists in introducing key grounded theory concepts in the institutional approach to the phenomenon, being conscious of practical and context limitations.

¹⁴ Grounded theory applications can be structured in several different ways, but processes of coding and categorization recur in a large part of research experiences (Birks and Mills, 2011): the concept of institution, in particular if applied in its radical etymological meaning, may escape from the rigidity of these technicalities.

“Anarchic” theories of knowledge entail:

- Underlining the role of “minorities” (considered in opposition of cultural mainstreams) as generators of knowledge;
- Criticizing “rationalist”, “neo-empirist” approaches (including Popper’s [Popper, 1970] “rational criticism”, thought just as the more liberal positivist theory -with a negative consideration of positivism-; and Popper’s critics as Kuhn [1976]) considered rigid, not desirable (for Feyerabend even “schematic and unrealistic”) theories limiting researchers’ freedom;
- Questioning (in some cases distrusting) “ingénue and simplistic” theories and models which cannot explain the “maze of interactions” (Feyerabend, 1975) characterizing history and society.

According research interests, the main message of such literature here does not include either a general critique of the method (which culminated in criticising any form of theoretical tie to the research, including “rationality”) nor a defence of “hermetic” approaches to the research. Researching with “freedom”, as the main value in anarchic epistemology, pushes to outline a “methodology” that follows with coherence epistemological principles trying to escape from the rigidity of certain techniques, in an attempt to overcome the obstacles that these techniques put between the researcher and a deep comprehension of urban fragmentation dynamics.

Choices shaping the methodology (and determining the analytical framework) should respond to epistemological characters, which seem embedded in the phenomenon, and, on the other hand, should provide the basis to develop the approach used in engaging the dynamic:

- The results of literature review, in a methodological perspective, suggest avoiding “rigidity” in approaching urban fragmentation (in the literature appear spaces that contribute to define the theoretical “context” of the study and a first definition of the general questions of the research¹⁵);
- The feedback coming from the field assumes a key role in determining what the researcher can understand regarding fragmentation dynamics, which seems to be very context-dependent (initial phases of the fieldwork are fundamental for the final definition of general research questions and analytical framework);
- The concept of institution, which structures the approach to the phenomenon, with its multi-dimensional character, seems to require flexibility, overcoming the borders of sectoral studies¹⁶ and the use of mono-structuring principles¹⁷, and comparability, considering different institutional sets-up and power relations;
- An institutional approach induces the research to work on unexplored areas regarding urban fragmentation phenomenon (relational geographies, institutions, power relations and planning), where taking into consideration

¹⁵ Due to the lack in previous accumulated experiences and due to the experimental character of studies addressing fragmentation from an institutional perspective (Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007), the literature review in itself cannot provide all the elements required in building analytical framework, which has to be grounded in the field experience. The literature review remains fundamental in situating the research and providing the theoretical basis for the development of the research.

¹⁶ Here for sectoral studies, the researcher refers to the “traditional” sectors of research regarding urbanization in the South (including land tenure, housing, urban services, etc.).

¹⁷ In the sense of Jessop et al. [2008], where territory, place, network and scale are conceptualized as “structuring principles” for the analysis of socio-spatial phenomena.

perception of social actors involved in the dynamic results an unavoidable condition.

Research methodology is influenced by subjective and objective factors. The first ones entail researchers' values, interests and attitudes. Choices are clearly influenced by researcher's values (for instance in considering sustainability as strictly related to equity), interests (attention to powers dynamics and relations; role of policy and planning in finding governance forms in powers relations, etc.) and attitudes (previous experiences in mixed-approach and qualitative researches; sensitiveness for "bottom-up visions" of research questions, involving research stakeholders, key informants, etc.). The second ones entail what Jessop et al. [2008] call "practical" considerations and, in the case of the typology of research adopted here, "context" conditions. Choices are influenced by practical "needs" (very detailed information coming from research stakeholders, deep listening and understanding of "process of words and thoughts", etc.) and context conditions (collaboration of key community actors in facilitating the entrance of the researcher in the community, capacity of the translator in accompanying research activity such as interviewing process, storytelling, etc.). These elements had a key role in determining the research project, with relevant consequences in choosing areas of interest, underpinning methodological choices (including, in this case, case study design and choice of feasible research methods).

Fed by the researcher's values and attitudes, objectives and interests interact with accumulated knowledge on urban fragmentation, which has been explored in the literature review. Key theoretical elements shaping methodological choices are:

- The recognition that the phenomenon of socio-spatial manifestations cannot explain the nature of fragmentation processes;
- The need to apply an institutional analysis of the phenomenon seeking the roots of those processes;
- The belief that urban fragmentation dynamics are not only a "natural" evolution of social and urban fabrics but are generated and/or driven by powers taking advantages by break-up processes;
- The need to re-think or question planning practices in the face of power in the context of a Global South city, understanding rationality of social stakeholders to addressing planning to "real" sustainability.

These elements orient the research in:

- Exploring socio-spatial aspects including research stakeholders' perception of fragmentation processes;
- Experimenting a "radical" use of the concept of institution in approaching a urban dynamic that is supposed to represent a "factor of change" in the city of the South;

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- Reflecting on the role of powers in determining urban dynamics (shaping relations between organizations and vulnerable citizens' mental models);
- Thinking of urban planning as a technocratic tool used by powers to establish socio-spatially certain equilibria and as instrument of power redistribution, mitigating fragmentation tendencies (addressing equity, thus sustainability, in "illegal" areas).

Assuming these conditions, and aiming at coherence with the research objectives, the exploration of urban fragmentation through an institutional approach has been conducted following these principles:

- An ontological position ascribable to constructivism to the extent that it is recognized that knowledge regarding urban fragmentation (and in general urban studies) is indeterminate and the researcher's own account of the phenomenon remains a construction, being only one version (and vision) of the question¹⁸, and not the only possible one;
- An interpretative epistemological position, seeking to understand the behaviour of social actors involved in the research process, grasping the subjective meaning of their action, seeing urban fragmentation dynamics through their eyes¹⁹;
- An orientation to the role of theory in relation to the research, which is mainly inductive and, at the same time, conscious of an "obliged" iterative path, which includes deductive passages, considering the information coming from the context as fundamental to explore the phenomenon²⁰;
- A research strategy based on qualitative methods, using qualitative research tools according to the conditions (and constraints) that emerge during the fieldwork²¹.

¹⁸ The researcher does not apply extremist post-modern epistemological positions where any external social reality is up for discussion: a critique of these approaches is not within the objective of the research. However, in this work "observations" can be considered as "readings" and "findings" can be seen as "interpretations" (Bryman, 2007). In this context, "reflexivity" becomes a key element, as apparent in the paragraphs above where the researcher's view in itself represents a factor driving the research methodology to specific solutions.

¹⁹ In this case the research epistemologically follows constructivist, post-modernist and symbolic interactionism positions regarding the relations between researcher and participants, evidencing the difficulties (or even the impossibility) in separating researchers from participants in the generation of data (Birks and Mills, 2011). In several steps of the work, as moreover in the tradition of grounded theory, the interaction between researcher and participants will clearly appear. This includes elements of "reciprocity", which took place almost naturally during the interviewing processes and participant observations.

²⁰ This position implies interplay between interpretation, theorizing processes and data collection, inspired by grounded theory principles.

²¹ Also in this case the application of qualitative methods is not only a "formal" question but entails the substance of the research, as mentioned for the use of grounded theory.

3.4. Research questions

The definition of the final research questions is the result of a process that started at the beginning of the work and involved the researcher until the writing-up phase. A complete chronicle of all the deviations and tighter specifications of research questions is not appropriate at this stage, but the focus on the main steps of this process is necessary to understand how an inductive approach decides the shape of the study. The process entails three key moments:

- At the beginning of the research²², the attention was on the methodology, centred on an institutional approach, which could provide another perspective on socio-spatial aspects of fragmentation dynamics in the city of the South (socio-spatial, with a mono-sectoral focus, institutional and planning dimensions as areas of interest coming from literature characterized by the generation of questions; the hypothetical object of the study was still the whole city²³ in its formal-informal parts);
- Before the fieldwork, the work included further theoretical interpretations coming from literature contributing to shift the focus to power (and power analysis), which became the key node orienting the research and giving a final sense to the institutional approach of the phenomenon and to the “political” and governance-related main objectives of the work (the study included four analytical dimensions - socio-spatial, institutional, power and planning; objects of the analysis became formal-informal fabric portions of Mumbai);
- After the first field trip, specifications of research questions entailed the empirical dimension of the work; context conditions confirmed the key role of power dynamics in fragmentation processes; equity and sustainability became not merely an undefined horizon for the work but factors shaping the core argument of the research; case studies were selected to explore power relations and influence in the institutional set-ups of communities and rationalities of planning (the study maintained the four dimensions defined in previous steps; the object of the study became the “not notified”, “illegal” fabric of Mumbai).

The process of generating questions which resulted was as follows.

²² At the time of the research project proposal (*Proyecto de Tesis*), attention was centred on the response to fragmentation tendencies addressing sustainability, seeing the institutional approach as a tool for understanding the phenomenon and acting in planning terms (the focus on the community as main actor playing in these dynamics already characterized the work).

²³ The choice of Dar es Salaam as the case study city was suddenly put in question for logistical reasons. Eventually, due to several circumstances, the final choice was Mumbai (A.1.).

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General questions²⁴:

1GQ) To what extent is urban power distribution connected to urban fragmentation phenomena in the DC city?

2GQ) Is there a role to be played by urban planning in promoting a more sustainable and equitable city and what might be the impact on urban fragmentation processes in DC?

Specific questions²⁵:

Theoretical

1T) How has urban fragmentation in the DC city been conceptualised and what are the limitations of existing approaches?

2T) Can a radical application of the concept of institution offer tools to explore additional dimensions in socio-economic and spatial fragmentation? How can we conceptualize institutions addressing an urban fragmentation analysis? OR To what extent do institutions (in the radical meaning of the term) constitute fragmentation processes?

3T) To what extent can an institutional approach explain the role played by “urban powers” in increasing urban or socio-economic and spatial fragmentation? To what extent urban powers are playing a role in driving fragmentation processes?

4T) Which critical approaches on urban planning can be explored in relation to fragmentation dynamics through institutional tools? Can planning policies be oriented to a more sustainable and inclusive city, addressing reduction of fragmentation policies and governance of urban powers?

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1M) Which kind of methodological approach can be appropriate to explore connections between communities’ institutional set-ups, urban powers’ actions and fragmentation processes?

2M) Can an institutional approach show how urban fragmentation is actually taking shape in the city? OR Can a radical application of the concept of institution offer tools

²⁴ The evolution of the research (A.1.) and the transition from the Thesis Proposal (*Proyecto de Tesis*) to the final version of the work has also involved the format of the research questions. The roots of the studies and the main urgencies that have generated the two documents have remained unchanged but the evolution from the proposal to the final document presented some formal changes: in the proposal there were three general questions (theoretical, methodological and empirical), while in this version the two general questions work in the theoretical domain setting more precisely the core interest of the researcher. In the proposal, general questions were clearly influenced, from the contents point of view, by the intention to undertake a case study in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania); in the final version of the work, general questions work specifically to define the theoretical ambit of the research.

²⁵ Specific questions in the final version of the research maintain the division in three (theoretical, methodological and empirical) dimensions but in this document the shape of the four questions for each dimension responds to the four key areas of interest that structure the Analytical Framework (3.4.)

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to explore socio-economic and spatial fragmentation and its mitigation? OR How can fragments be defined from an institutional perspective?

3M) To what extent can an analysis of power mechanisms be used as a tool to understand institutional set-ups and generation of fragmentation dynamics? How can an institutional approach underpin such analysis of power? OR Which kind of power analysis can be used to detect fragmentation mechanisms?

4M) To what extent can understanding community urban planning practices offer tools to imagine more equitable and sustainable development scenarios in fragmented contexts? OR Can an institutional approach clarify the planning rationalities characterizing the different actors playing in fragmented contexts? To what extent can rationalities be used to understand fragmentation mechanism and mitigation actions?

Empirical

1E) To what extent is Mumbai seen as a fragmented city? Does this fragmentation include an institutional dimension? How does institutional fragmented context entail the most vulnerable part of the city?

2E) Which kind of institutional arrangements, mechanisms and set-ups are alighting fragmentation processes inside the case-study areas and between the case-study areas and the rest of the city? Which is the role played by mental models in shaping fragmentation processes in the case-study areas?

3E) Which kind of power relations are creating institutional arrangements oriented to fragmentation in case-study areas? OR Which powers are driving fragmentation processes in case-study areas?

4E) Which are the actors dealing with spatial/planning questions in case-study area? Which are the mechanisms shaping felt needs, setting agenda and decision making processes in case study areas? Which kind of urban planning practices (if any) are characterizing case-study areas? To what extent these practices are shaped by powers or are shaping specific power relation in the territory? Do community planning practices (if any) entail actions addressing (directly or indirectly) forms of urban fragmentation mitigation?

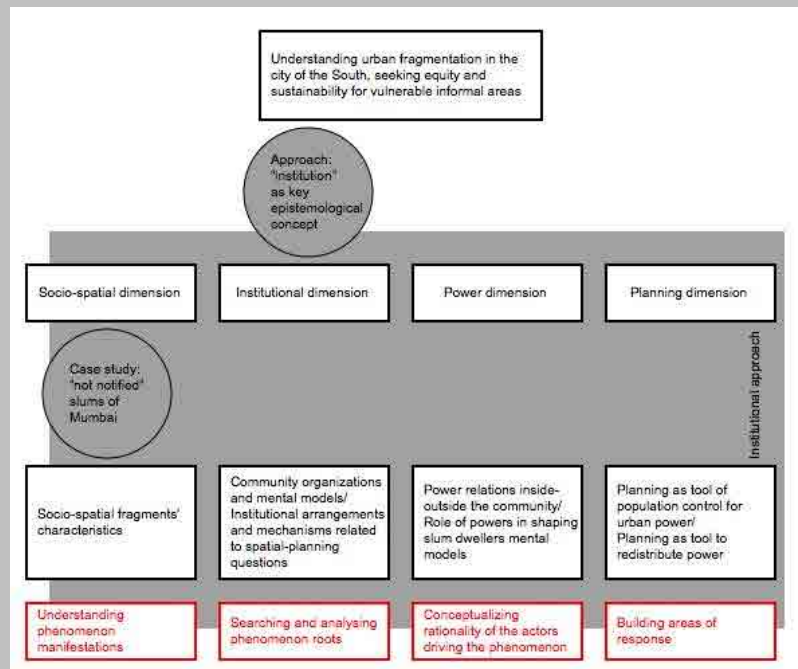
3.5. Analytical framework

Structuring the theoretical substrata of the work, the analytical framework represents a tool to engage with the general research questions, which have been pre-defined starting from the lacks of urban fragmentation literature and then generated through the experiences into the field, enabling the researcher to elaborate successively tighter specifications. The research analytical framework represents one of the possible frameworks to achieve the objectives of the study; in this sense the framework has been used as a “working hypothesis”, finding its final shape during the research process: the construction of knowledge coming from the fieldwork had a key role in the

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definition of the framework. In Box 3.2., a synthetic scheme is provided, focusing on just the conceptual elements that have survived as reference points of the research during the process.

Box 3.2. Analytical framework scheme



Source: Enrico Michelutti

The researcher has decided to structure the framework maintaining socio-spatial, institutional, power and planning dimensions as the key areas of interest in developing research activities (grey rectangles in the scheme). These key words (and dimensions) have been kept as structuring elements of the study ever since the definition of objectives and remain as reference points for the interpretation of data and analysis of the information collected during the fieldwork (red rectangles). The framework (and thus the research) is characterized by two "choices" (grey circles), which however represent a result of the space of action in fragmentation theories (for what regards the use of an institutional approach, constructing around the deep etymological concept of "institution") and the interpretation of the context, which alimnts all the work (in the case studies' definition, practical factors have played an important role, but theoretical and methodological elements have led to choosing the most vulnerable fabric of Mumbai, constituted by "not notified" settlements). The definition of the context permits to make the passage between the research dimensions and expected results of the

work: the areas in which, from an institutional perspective, urban fragmentation takes shape (black rectangles) in the territory and in and between the communities²⁶.

3.6. Definition of the research design

Accomplishing research strategy principles can be done in more than one way: however the need to have very detailed “grounded” information clearly appears as a *conditio sine qua non* in all the four main sectors of the research (socio-spatial, institutional, power and planning). The response to this need can be found in designing a case study research. The attention here is on the epistemological character of this specific research design. The question concerns the justification of “why” a case study strategy is adopted and “how” case studies can be used to explore urban fragmentation. The answer to the first question comes from literature review: case study strategy works because the nature of urban fragmentation is deeply context-dependent and the borders between the phenomenon and the context are not evident (this is the classic context in which case study strategies are adopted, see Yin [2003] and Flyvbjerg [2006]). The answer to the second question lies in the core content of the research: in the intention of the researcher, the case study should show an extreme condition where powers act on citizens without protection, exploring how powers’ action can shape institutional set-ups feeding fragmentation processes, which are considered as rooted in the institutional dimension. A case study with these characteristics would allow the conceptualization of the phenomenon.

For several reasons, which will be explored in the following sections, the case study choice went to the “not notified” settlements of Mumbai. This case responded to theoretical requirements of the study and was a suitably extreme case when generating theories. But the first field trip revealed the richness of the urban fragmentation question in that specific part of the fabric: this diversity could not be engaged through a single case study, not even imagining a different “unit of analysis” in a complex context. Thus the research design implied a multiple-case design²⁷, built through a “holistic” approach²⁸ (here “holistic”, with the words of Yin, means a study on “the global nature” of the phenomenon). Implying two fieldtrips (consisting of almost six months in Mumbai), the adopted case-study approach entailed a limited longitudinal element²⁹,

²⁶ For reasons of readability, details regarding the processes and the layers which characterize these areas will be provided in the Analysis.

²⁷ This choice implies a comparative element in the study, but there is no specific comparative research design shaping the research activities.

²⁸ “Embedded case study design” seems to be in any case feasible in exploring urban fragmentation, but the complexity of the relation between phenomenon and case-study context seems to present more difficulties in using that approach, in particular in the identification of consistent subunits for the analysis.

²⁹ This longitudinal element emerged during the research (fieldwork took place in two trips, the first contact with the communities was in August 2010, the last research activities entailed direct fieldwork in February 2011) as an additional condition within a qualitative research design but there was no initial intent to develop specific longitudinal research exercises in fragmentation analysis.

which was fundamental in understanding fragmentation processes. In the macro choice entailing “not notified” settlements as the theatre of the research, the case is extreme; in the micro choices regarding the communities/“fragments”, the criteria aimed at the inclusion of representative cases, showing the diversity of the phenomenon in the “illegal” fabric³⁰.

3.6.1. Rationale of case study choice

Regarding the selection of the case study, the research is based on two choices: the first one seeks to find a place that was theoretically suitable to implement a study on urban fragmentation through an institutional approach; the second one, which is of course limited spatially and influenced theoretically by the first, entails the need to respond to the evolution of the analytical framework, oriented to the analysis of power. In both the choices, the process of choosing was influenced by logistic elements, by the specific values, interests and attitudes of the researcher and by the inputs coming from the context itself.

3.6.1.1. Definition of case study city

The choice of Mumbai was taken without particular restrictions. Theoretically every city in the South of the World could be a case study. At the moment of choice³¹, the only stipulated pre-conditions were:

- The presence in the literature of studies of fragmentation (or splintering) phenomena regarding that city, which would help in situating and contrasting the researcher’s own experience in the field;
- The presence of significant inequalities in the socio-economic dimension that, according to the literature, are supposed to imply spatial fragmentation tendencies in the urban fabric, which consequently would offer the conditions for an institutional analysis of the phenomenon;
- The presence of a very visible dualism between formality and informality in the city that in the moment of case study choice was considered as a factor for “territorialisation” of urban fragmentation with significant consequences in power relations and planning terms.

A secondary condition was the possibility of dedicating the study to a megalopolis where the fragmentation dynamics should be more visible. Of course, more than one city could respond to these conditions. Determining factors in choosing Mumbai were

³⁰ This choice pushed the research to use three different cases studies, selected because of socio-spatial, institutional and logistic reasons.

³¹ Due to the exploratory character of the research, a complete control of conditions cannot be argued before the choice and the impact of fieldwork is fundamental for the researcher taking consciousness of the problems. The first choice was determined by very general conditions, which received tighter specification during the fieldwork.

the will and interest of the researcher³² to conduct an experience in a city of Asia and the enthusiasm and availability of contacts in India to support the research proposal. In fact the support of a university (the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, TISS, Mumbai) was a *conditio sine qua non* to choose the Indian city as object of the research.

3.6.1.2. Definition of case study areas

The second choice was completed in the initial phase of the second field trip, concluding a reflection on the objectives of the work that was started during the researcher's second period of study at the Centre for the Environment and Human Settlements (CEHS), in Edinburgh. In Scotland, the researcher realised that the great complexity of Mumbai (with its metropolitan region of 20 million inhabitants, 15 agencies regulating urban development, etc.) and its variety of fragmentation tendencies, with the different meanings that the concept implies, was impossible to control in the study. The first action, prior to the second fieldtrip, was to reduce the universe of the research: the focus went immediately on the informal areas, considered to be an ideal territory for understanding the power dynamics of the city. But the efforts were not sufficient to determine the case study areas, because of the number of the so-called "slum pockets" of Mumbai (which, depending on the source, ranges between 2,000 and 3,000 units) and the significant diversity in informal conditions: in some "slum pockets" live people who are not poor at all, in socio-economic terms, inhabitants that simply cannot find affordable housing in the formal market.

In the first phase of the second trip, activities were focused on the search for a good context to respond to the questions on power, fragmentation, sustainability and equity, as elaborated in phase 3 of the research (A.1.), and on the reduction of the universe of socio-spatial entities to be explored. The basic pre-conditions for the choice were:

- The case study should present characteristics of socio-economic vulnerability;
- The case study should be an arena of urban powers actions, with the lowest possible degree of protection coming from public institutions (in order to explore as much as possible the different dynamics interesting informal and criminal institutions through urban planning analysis);
- Case study areas should illustrate the complexity of urban fragmentation processes, yet enable a "global" outline vision of the universe that is object of the research.

After the exploratory visits, the analysis of the information collected in the first field trip (and the integration of the materials during the second one) and the debates and reflection carried out with the "research support group" (3.7.2.), the choice made was to

³² The trajectory of the researcher includes previous experiences in Latin America (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Santiago de Chile, Chile), Africa (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) and Middle East (Hebron, Occupied Territories of Palestine).

focus on the “not notified” slums (or “undeclared”, as some theorists prefer). These settlements have been formed after 01/01/1995 (or at least there is no documentation proving the existence of the settlement before that date³³). According to the Indian legislation, this kind of settlement is not only “illegal” but also without any kind of protection and/or service provision by the authorities. These authorities, and specifically the municipality (Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, MCGM), through the support of the police, are supposed to clear these settlements without any responsibility for the welfare of the slum dwellers. Of course these slums are excluded from any kind of upgrading provided by public institutions and are not eligible for re-development projects. These settlements, which theoretically are supposed not to exist, actually exist either by themselves or as part of “notified” slums (settlements formed before 1995). In these areas the level of vulnerability is very high, not only due to the socio-economic conditions of the people but also because of the theoretical (and in some cases actual) absence of public authorities on the territory.

Within this group of slums, the researcher chose three examples that had to be coherent with the needs of the analytical framework of the research, and thus had to be related to the two axes of the research, the institutional-political one and the socio-spatial one. Thus the reasons for the choice do not depend on quantitative factors, but are related to qualitative elements: the aim of researcher was to find that kind of necessary coherence, not to argue for numeric indicators to provide an appearance of objectivity for the choice. What follows are some basic factors regarding the institutional domain that had to characterize the case study and that constitute the framework for the choice rationale, after review of the literature, exploration visits and first trip key informants’ in-depth interviews:

- Different institutions ruling the territory, with overlapping and/or splintering of the institutional systems;
- Network of socio-spatial relationships, inside and outside the community, thus with the rest of the city, in order to explore power relation within and between fragments.
- Visible and invisible urban powers playing a rule in the organization of the space and in the functioning of these settlements (or to some extent dealing with a kind of “planning” of these areas of the city);

On the other hand there were socio-spatial elements that influenced the choice:

- The need to explore the response of/to the urban powers in settlements with different complexity and dimensions (“not notified” slums can range from 20-30 to more than 3,000 families usually located inside “notified” informal contexts or even “formal” fabrics);

³³ In India, approximately 50% of slum areas are “not notified”; in Maharashtra (the State in which Mumbai is located) this figure is 45% (Government of India, 2010).

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- The interest in exploring possible differences in powers' actions and urban planning practices producing fragmented conditions in communities characterized by the prevalence of Hindu or Muslim people, in a city like Mumbai where religious belief has increasingly become a factor after the riots of 1992-1993;
- The interest in seeing to what extent specific community socio-spatial characteristics (demographic size, physical elements etc.) are related to (hypothetically different) institutional sets-up to be taken into consideration for fragmentation analysis.

This combination of characteristics led the researcher to look for some particular communities within the universe of “not notified” slums. As mentioned before, a key part in the final choice was decided by logistical-practical reasons:

- The possibility of having a reliable contact-reference inside or, at least, closely connected with the selected areas, to enter and work in the community (the contacts with Apnalaya and Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action [YUVA] NGOs were extremely important to enter in two communities selected as case study areas; and the support, or at least the tolerance, of the local section of the Samajwadi Party was fundamental to enter in the third one);
- A certain “institutional protection” coming from institutions (or even individuals), that have at least an informal but real authority in the area, to solve possible problems emerging due to the topic of the research and the researcher-context relations;
- Logistical accessibility to the community, in terms of time to reach the place, which in Mumbai represents a relevant factor to achieve efficiency in the research.

Various types of presentation (and classification) might be possible to describe the rationale of the choice of case studies: the areas could be organized by the physical dimension of the settlements and the meaning that this factor has in terms of socio-spatial “homogeneity” (presence of different socio-spatial units); by the institutional system or powers governing the territory; by the type of relation between the “not notified” slums and the other parts of the city; by the reference to ideological models or figure that can summarize metaphorically the political response of the population in urban planning decisions or their response to the urban powers. The following lines provide an outline of the communities' profiles, explaining the reasons for the case studies selection (with key information collected after the exploratory visits and some elements which emerged during the fieldwork helping to contextualise case studies):

1) Rafi Nagar 2³⁴ (called also Baba Nagar) is a medium-size community (600-650 households, great majority Muslim) for a “not notified” slum. Exploratory visits and secondary sources of information have outlined a very vulnerable scenario from a socio-economic point of view and a certain homogeneity in spatial (and physical) terms. From the first fieldwork activities, the settlement revealed a high level of internal fragmentation, in institutional and social terms. The community is in the hands of a slum lord/lords who have developed a dense web of legal-illegal connections, including political parties and police. The level of participation and the organizational capacity in the community is very low, which made it possible to see a slow “deconstruction” of the community into fragments and individualities that are in a relation of dependence on each other. This hierarchy has the criminal organizations in the high level, mediators (political parties, community leaders, NGOs) in the middle and the slum dwellers at the bottom;

2) Sai Leela pavement dweller community is a small settlement (25-28 households, Hindu or in some cases Buddhist), representing a micro-illegal reality in the formal city and showing, starting from the exploratory visits, an internal “homogeneity” both from a socio-spatial and from an institutional-political point of view. As emerged from the fieldwork and then in the analysis, Sai Leela provides an example of a micro “not notified” slum that is dealing with urban powers, trying to associate itself with other informal settlements to obtain certain kinds of protection and rights. The lessons learnt from this case (positive or negative) enable the researcher to explore views on the possible spaces of negotiation (with the municipality and other institutions) for the recognition (and right to the city) of these settlements and represent an opportunity to reflect on the possible alternatives in action to the dynamics of urban fragmentation;

3) Chikkalwadi is a huge “not notified” settlement (more than 3,000 households, with both Hindu and Muslim components) that is at the border of, and morphologically included in a “notified” slum (Annabhau Sathe Nagar) in the north-eastern limits of the Mumbai suburbs, in the area of Mankurd. From the first approach to the community during exploratory visits, due to its dimensions and an immediately perceptible complexity, the settlement presents more than one socio-spatial units and a plurality of institutions in search of equilibrium in the management of the territory. During fieldwork, dimension and political weight have shown their importance in the relationships with the rest of the city and with the public institutions, becoming determinant factors also in fragmentation dynamics analysis. The third case study offers an opportunity to research the fragmentation processes in “open” conditions characterized by high tensions where it is possible to outline different future scenarios for the community.

³⁴ The translation from Indian to English includes different ways of writing the name of the community. The researcher has seen the expressions: “Rafi Nagar”; “Rafik Nagar”; “Rafiq Nagar”; “Rafique Nagar”. In the research, the word “Rafi” is used due to the frequency with which this translation appears in the local documents written in English. The word “Nagar” means locality/place in Hindi.

The three selected case studies cover the principal categories of “not notified” slums in terms of dimensions (from a micro-settlement like Sai Leela, to the vast Chikkalwadi), of location in the urban fabric (Sai Leela in a central area, Rafi Nagar 2 in the borders of the city), of actors in the arena (all major categories of institutions and urban powers are playing in the areas), in terms of utility in showing different key steps in urban fragmentation processes (fragments that are disappearing, fragments that are proliferating, pulverization into micro-fragments, etc.). But the aim of the research is not the classification of “not notified” slums in relation to theoretical categories of fragmentation. The aim underlying the choice is the use of the case studies to articulate the discourse on urban power and planning in a fragmented context of the city of the South.

The characteristics of the selected case study areas provide an illustrative picture of four key areas for the research:

- Exploring relational geographies of the most vulnerable “fragments” in Mumbai’s urban fabric (isolation, dependency, trends of integration, etc.);
- Defining the institutional roots that generate fragmentation dynamics, applying the concept of “institution” in its radical meaning;
- Understanding the role of urban powers in the process (public authorities, political parties, private sectors, informal/community institutions, criminal organizations);
- Analysing scenarios to a more sustainable, equitable city and the right to the city of these slum dwellers (relations and role of the legal framework in urban policies, individualization tendencies in urban management, participation-involvement of the population in “planning” decisions) or to the last consequences of the fragmentation processes with the pulverization and/or the disappearing of these parts of the city.

3.6.2. Purpose of the fieldwork

In the first instance, the work in the field was designed to generate research questions, contrasting the theoretical assumptions made during the analysis of the literature and completing the preparation of the analytical framework, including the continuous revision process. But actually a great part of the research in its analytical possibilities, and the sense of the research in itself, as exploration of a dynamic and a conceptualization of a question in urban studies, is deeply related to the fieldwork. In fact the main contributions to the theoretical and methodological aspects of the thesis can be built mainly starting from a deep experience on the ground. Thus the experience in the field was oriented to know to what extent the case study city, Mumbai, can be seen as a “fragmented city”, to explore the connection between power and urban planning in shaping the fragmentation processes inside the city, to analyse socio-spatial relationships inside and between fragments and to understand the

mechanisms of interaction between institutions in setting up urban planning strategies in the socio-spatial fragmented dynamics of Mumbai.

The first field trip aimed to explore the urban fabric, collecting materials, documents and publications regarding the case study city and the fragmentation processes in action and to create a network of contacts, including academics, public officers, private operators and associations, dealing with the urban fragmentation dynamics in order to establish a basis to operate effectively in the second field trip. After the integration of the literature on the case study city and the creation of an operative network in support of data collection activities, the work was oriented to conducting field visits to analyse situations where formality and informality seemed to generate fragments and divisions in the urban fabric, with a view to identifying potential case study areas within the city. The work in the field was structured without excluding any possibility for the study, thus concentrating attention both on formal neighbourhoods and on informal settlements, in particular in areas where these different fragments were expected to enter in a dense relationship.

In the second field trip, the initial purpose was to make a final decision on the case study areas for the research. Secondary objectives were the integration of literature and the search for specific documents on the selected case studies areas. After the definition of the case studies, the objectives of the fieldwork consisted in the application of the research data collection activities, based almost exclusively on qualitative methods. The second trip was intended to provide data regarding the possibility of understanding socio-spatial fragmentation dynamics, of exploring institutional approach and urban powers relations as tools capable of detecting urban fragmentation shapes in the selected case studies, of receiving feedback about a “radical” application of the concept of institution, its connections with (and consequences for) urban planning logic oriented to equity and sustainability.

The second trip aimed to provide specific information on the case studies oriented to explore fragmentation dynamics inside and outside the community. The fieldwork was intended to get information at different levels: the composition of the unit to be studied, thought of as a “fragment” (in the household and community leaders perception); the access to land, house and services (in synchronic and diachronic³⁵ terms); the organizational framework of all the actors that are dealing with urban planning (or with the organization and “functioning” of the space in informal settlement); the relationships with other “fragments” (in both inside-outside directions); the participation in planning decisions as a reference point from which to reflect on the involvement of families and communities in urban planning and to outline scenarios of inclusion/exclusion. These

³⁵ Through the limited storytelling collections and longitudinal elements that have been possible during the fieldwork.

themes were expedients to arrive at the core aim of the research that lies in the analysis of power and the institutions of urban fabrics in a fragmented context.

While the first field trip was centred on the general exploration of urban fragmentation dynamics in the urban fabric (and so the interviews with key informants and the exploration visits were focused on this principal aim), the second field trip also aimed to receive feedback regarding the methodological approach used by the researcher. Thus a first test of the interview guidelines (for households and community leaders) was conducted in the first weeks of the second field trip. The feedback was discussed online with the main supervisor in Edinburgh in order to refine some aspects and improve interviewees' comprehension of the interviewing process³⁶.

3.7. Data collection methods

The literature on urban fragmentation contains studies that apply different data collection methods. Due to the large diffusion of objectivist ontological backgrounds and epistemological contents that can be ascribable to positivist positions in a context of deductive studies, authors opt for quantitative researches. Thus data collection methods entail a quantitative research design, using mainly questionnaires/quantitative surveys (for example, Sobreira and Gomez, 2001) and secondary data analysis and official statistics (for instance, Morgan and Mareschal, 1999)³⁷. Other works (such as Balbo and Navez-Bouchanine, 1995) use methods that can be seen as mixed-approached. To achieve its main objectives and respond to the main research questions, this work explores the potentialities of qualitative methods in urban fragmentation studies³⁸, subject to the limitations of the researcher's characteristics and of the case study context.

3.7.1. Primary methods in data collection

The data coming from primary sources were collected through qualitative methods, with the aim of exploring the possibility of using an institutional approach for the analysis of power and planning in the selected city of the South, characterized by a fragmented urban fabric: this activity has a key role in the research, answering to the questions emerged in the methodological part of the research proposal, collect empirical data, which aliment researcher's theoretical reflections. Due to the context

³⁶ Details of the interviewing methods are provided in 3.7.2.

³⁷ Due to the format in which these studies have been presented, it's complex to go deeply inside the questions related to data collection methods and even more so to try to have control and feedback on the different phases constituting these exercises. However, such kind of observations are not an objective of this work; here the focus lies on situating research data collection methods in relation to previous experience in urban fragmentation studies.

³⁸ Mixed approach practices have been used sporadically to contrast research outputs in some sectors but these elements do not allow to refer to this work as a mixed approach exercise.

(social-cultural context inevitably influences the use of data collection instruments) in the selected case study areas, the tools used by the researcher were in-depth interviews, direct and participant observations. Specific techniques of storytelling³⁹ and focus groups were avoided (3.9.) due to the difficulties in conducting these exercises with the necessary sensitiveness even with the work of the translator (people in the case study areas generally speak Hindi or Marathi, and a few people do not know either Hindi or Marathi -in this case, they usually speak the regional language of their state of origin-, very few people in the case study areas could speak English, even partially -this includes also people working for NGOs or public institutions at low levels⁴⁰).

In-depth interviews were the main instrument to get primary information on the social and institutional mechanisms of the communities selected as key study areas. In-depth interviews allow the researcher to go deep inside the relations between urban powers and the territory, to explore the involvement and the participation of the community members in the planning decisions, to detect forms of isolation or splintering of the social fabric, and to engage with overlapping in institutional systems. For the in-depth interviews with people that cannot speak English, thus in all those undertaken in the case study settlements, the exercise was conducted with the support of translators⁴¹ (Fa. and Ad. covered the translation work for 39 of the 43 interviews, An. for 4 of the 43, and Ra. participated as translator in two exploratory visits).

For all the aspects concerning the spatial and physical dimensions of the case study areas, including the organization of space, the connection between the actors and the actions conducted on the ground in the communities regarding access to the land, housing and services provision (and generally all the decisions in planning by urban powers that have visible consequences), the researcher adopted direct and participant observation. Direct observation was implemented continuously while the researcher conducted exploratory visits of Mumbai in the first field trip, and, after the selection of

³⁹ On some occasions, in in-depth interviews and in participant observation, the reaction of the interviewees and participants produced an effect that could to some extent be associated to storytelling. In this case the researcher has taken notes and the result of transcription consists in a sort of "short" storytelling (with partial information regarding life histories, in particular when the attention has focused on community formation, households' arrival in the community, etc.). There was no specific application of methods/techniques in this case and storytelling emerged as a "spontaneous" auto-exercise of the interviewee/participant: the researcher decided to collect this information (which in some cases turned out to be very useful), without proactively developing storytelling collection activities. These remained obstructed by language limitations and lack in sensitiveness in the storyteller-translator-researcher relation.

⁴⁰ These people represent an important source of information anyway and have been at the core of the interviewing process, because they are usually responsible for the activities of these institutions in the field and can provide important information and feedback for the topics that the research focuses on.

⁴¹ The group of translators was heterogeneous: Fa.'s family comes from Hyderabad (thus Fa.'s mother language is Hindi, with partial understanding of Marathi); Ad.'s family comes from South Maharashtra (thus Ad. speaks easily Hindi and Marathi); An. participated also in the participant observation activities (An. comes from Bihar, thus knows only Hindi); Ra. is from Mumbai but speaks prevalently Hindi. None of the translators had a specific background related to urban planning, and, apart from An., they were all doing graduate courses (details in the paragraph "Methodology on the field").

the case study areas, in all the stages of fieldwork during the second field trip. Direct observation was not always thought of as a separate activity for the researcher but it was usually an informal part of the daily activities of interviewing, collection of materials and documents in the field, visits for logistical agreements and all the other activity involving the researcher in the case study areas.

Participant observation was conducted by the researcher within a group⁴² of social work students of the TISS of Mumbai. This group of student included four persons (two women, An. and Bi. and two men, At. and Cr.)⁴³, directly implementing social activities (mainly addressed to community youth) or supporting other social projects proposed by undergraduate students coming from universities connected to TISS. The “core group” was not complete on every occasion, but participant observation days took place with the presence of at least two members of the group. The days were organized with a very flexible programme, built on one or two basic objectives per day: social workers group “preparatory” activities (which involved a large part of the community, and not only the target population) were “used” to visit some particular (problematic) place in the community or to explore of works (or dynamics in action) related to processes relevant to planning, fragmentation or direct action of powers on the territory in the case study areas. During the exercise persons of the community, of different gender, age and role, took part in the activities, even if only for a limited time. The involvement of the community ranged from individuals that could take part in the “works” to groups of up to 10 people, usually working in a specific place in the community. The position of the researcher during the observation (inside the “social” activities but focusing mainly on socio-spatial “content”) allowed him to get information and to reflect on aspects that appeared secondary, irrelevant or unexpressed during the interviewing process (in particular the community participants’ relations with places, reactions to material works’ processes in the settlement such as land occupation, etc.). For the other two communities, participant observations were significant but limited⁴⁴. Details on the participant observation experiences, where composition of group, opportunities in the field and context influence the information received, will be described in the case study presentation.

⁴² The group took part in the participant observation days between the 10/01/2011 to the 01/02/2011 every Monday and Tuesday in Rafi Nagar 2, one of the three selected areas of the study (A.9.).

⁴³ The group was composed by four “migrants”, young persons that had come from outside Mumbai to study in the metropolis: An. and At. had come from Bihar, Bi. from Assam and Cr. from Maharashtra (that has Mumbai as capital), from the area of Nagpur. Thus the four persons used Hindi as common language and just Cr. was able to use also Marathi, his mother language. In the selected community this was a strong point in favour of the group, because the community itself was composed mainly (around 90%) by migrants, mainly from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. So this linguistic limitation became a tool to be closer to the stakeholders in the community and around the community, facilitating the entrance and, to some extent, the trust of the people in the group.

⁴⁴ One participant observation day was conducted in one case, two in the other. On those occasions, the work was organized by the researcher with the support of the translator Ad. and the observation involved the researcher in the community discussions that took place with the rise of specific spatial/planning issues (A.9.).

3.7.2. Secondary methods in data collection

The secondary methods used in the data collection process regarded mainly the review of documents. The sources were mainly documents arriving from public sources, while private sources were almost irrelevant. Documents coming from civil society actors were not extended in terms of quantity but very significant in terms of relevance of the information for the work. Documents include publications available in libraries; documents and materials located in public offices (but also, in two selected areas, in NGOs office inside-outside case study communities); and various texts produced by mass media (mainly article from magazines and newspapers⁴⁵) or materials (including articles, books or pure data) available online, as virtual documents. Data coming from these sources were collected both in the first field trip and in the second one. In the first period in Mumbai, the focus was on general documentation on the city (and all the possible connexions that may be useful to describe fragmentation phenomena in action) and in the last period, on the informal settlements; in the second field trip, the general literature on Mumbai and on the informal city was completed, and, after the definition of the communities included in the study, the attention went to the case study areas, and in general, the collection of information related to the “not notified” slums.

The main libraries that have been consulted during the first and the second trips were:

- Sir Dorabji Tata Memorial Library (Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai);
- David Sassoon Library (Public library, Khala Ghoda, Mumbai);
- YUVA Centre Library (Khargar, Navi Mumbai).

Key documentation on the case study areas was provided by the municipality (MCGM⁴⁶), some key State (Maharashtra) agencies and by the NGOs working in those areas. In the following lines the offices and sites that were basic for the research:

- Development Plan Department, MCGM;
- M/East Ward Office (Planning and Urban Services departments), MCGM;
- F/South Ward Office, MCGM;
- Engineering department, Slum Rehabilitation Authority, SRA;
- Community Development Office, Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority, MMRDA;
- YUVA central office;
- Apnalaya central office.

⁴⁵ In specific parts of the analysis, the researcher will refer to materials coming from mass media, mainly newspapers published in English, such as *The Times of India*, which have played a significant role in finding fresh material on the power and planning areas of the research. However, the use of this kind of documents was not systematic during the fieldwork, in particular after the definition of case study communities, which shifted the attention onto targets not covered by this source.

⁴⁶ The public authority that is managing the city island and the suburbs of Mumbai (not the metropolitan region as a whole), the area called “the Greater Mumbai”, with the tasks of a municipality, is usually called by the people (and by the public officers) by the old name, “Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation”, BMC.

The information online is very wide, but a very short list of web-sites which constituted a useful resource of information to build a preliminary base to develop the research includes the following “virtual” sources:

- Census of India 2001 (<http://www.censusindia.net/>)
- SRA (<http://www.sra.gov.in/>)
- MMRDA (<http://www.mmrdamumbai.org/>)
- Karmayog (<http://www.karmayog.com/slums/mcbmssp1.htm>)

Life/oral histories (and biographical methods), narrative inquiry⁴⁷ were developed just in a limited extent⁴⁸, due to the limitations already mentioned regarding storytelling methods’ application. The materials coming from these sources are deeply related to the interviewing process and have been mainly derived from spoken accounts. These materials have emerged in the fieldwork following a “natural” tendency of the interviewees (in many cases households) in providing information regarding their life (and in particular the period of entrance in the community). Despite the limited “quantity” of information and the difficulties in conducting the translation, some details coming from these oral histories (accompanied by photographs and personal documents) were very useful to outline cultural profiles, socio-institutional elements, which have alimented the interviewing process. On a few occasions, specific questions or critical moments for the community (like demolition processes) have been taken into consideration (with the collaboration of community interviewees and key informants) and resulted as products ascribable to narrative inquiry: also in this case there wasn’t a pure application of those methods while the results (within the interviewing process) have to be related to the sensitiveness of the themes and a sort of spontaneous collaboration and “complicity” between researcher and informant (who seemed to need a “flexible instrument” to speak about certain arguments). Due to the already mentioned practical limitations⁴⁹, systematic exercises were not implemented in this area but the experience was very useful to identify key issues to be explored then with primary methods.

⁴⁷ Marshall and Rossman’s (1999) classification includes life histories, narrative inquiry, and proxemics in “secondary methods” category. Other authors (including Bryman, 2007) order these methods in different ways (and here the distance between classifications is more evident); other analysts and researchers opt for classifications focusing on the sources rather than on methods. It is not an objective of this work to enter with a critical approach regarding this question; the aim here is finding an equilibrium (as clear as possible) to clarify mechanisms and interaction between methods and context condition determining the sources, which represent the basis of the analysis.

⁴⁸ The use of photographs, which recurs in case study presentation, was not systematically applied as a research method in this work and represents just an additional tool to immerse the reader in the narrative process, with an illustrative character.

⁴⁹ A “naïf” application of the method (initially considered in order to explore further research opportunities in urban fragmentation study) was considered not useful by the researcher in obtaining elements for the theoretical saturation of the arguments/key concepts structuring the fieldwork. On the other hand, there wasn’t an interest for the researcher in forcing the interviewees with the objective of achieving an “orthodox” application of these methods, which requires a deep collaboration between the counterparts of the research process: language and translation limitations and the need of maintaining “equilibrium” in case study communities suggested avoiding an attempt in this sense.

Proxemics (Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Hall, 1966) exercises were implemented in a limited extent during direct observations and in the sporadic participant observations⁵⁰, made during fieldtrip 2. The objects of these exercises were mainly the interpretation of place use by inhabitants (and its interrelations with the different socio-cultural background of case study communities), households/leaders control of the territory (and reaction in case of invasion of fragment space), differences in slum dwellers' perception of habitat (in the private sphere) and of public places (in a collective dimensions). Despite the limitations recurred also in direct/participant observations (3.9.), the limited information/reflections coming from proxemics exercises significantly enriched the process of questioning the socio-spatial and institutional dimensions of case study areas.

3.8. Application of the research methods in the fieldwork

The exploration of fieldwork and methods application in the literature on urban fragmentation is a complex operation, due to the scarce information that can be found in studies, usually presented in the format of articles. In some cases, studies are a product of long periods of work in certain contexts from autochthon authors (as in the case of Navez-Bouchanine in Morocco and Sobreira and Gomez in North-Eastern Brazil), but there is no exhaustive report on the connections between the outputs of the studies and the work implemented in the field. In this research, presentation of field activities is organized in three parts: exploration visits (which offer elements enforcing rationale of case study choice), the interviewing process (consisting in in-depth interviews, in unstructured or semi-structured formed) and participant and direct observations (for statistics about activities implemented in the field see A.2.).

3.8.1. Exploratory visits

Exploratory field visits were conducted in fieldtrip 1 and in the first part of fieldtrip 2 (A.3.). The visits regarded initially areas where formal and informal settlements were in close contact from a socio-spatial point of view. In a second step, following the changes in the analytical framework of the research, the visits were oriented to explore only informal areas. Finally the focus was limited to the exploration of "not notified" slums. Exploration visits were conducted informally by the researcher (in particular in the first field trip) and formally with the support of institutions working in the field (mainly NGOs). In the first case, the aim was to become familiar with the city (and in particular with the informal areas of the city) through direct observation. In this case, the information received was recorded only if relevant, and the significant information was

⁵⁰ Forcing to some extent the "traditional" classifications of methods in qualitative research, in the following pages application (and limitations) of proxemics will be included in the direct observations parts due to the close links that those unobtrusive exercises have with researcher's direct observations.

later cross-checked with the “support research group” (see following paragraphs) or through a further visit with formal institutions. For this second case, the formal institutions that collaborated with the researcher were:

- Apnalaya, an NGOs working in a cross-sector way in services provision, education and social work;
- YUVA, supporting communities with awareness campaigns, training for civil rights, etc.;
- SRS (Slum Rehabilitation Society), working in slum rehabilitation with a specific focus on housing and services.

A few visits were conducted with the direct support of the TISS, the collaboration of SPARC (Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres) India, an NGO working in slum upgrading and institutional support of local NGOs, and with a private company, SDC, dealing with re-development projects in slum areas and construction work.

The researcher’s first contact with the communities was influenced by the different actors accompanying the researcher in the field: in the case of the NGOs, which have accompanied the researcher 9 times out of 14, the knowledge of the territory is deep and the relationships with the community are continuous and strong. Sometimes this relationship is so strict with some NGOs’ contacts inside the community that the relationship could be considered close to a form of patronage. This kind of mechanism could represent an obstacle to the exploration process, distorting the image of the community, and transforming problems and questions emerging in knowing process of the case study area into stereotypes. It was a task for the researcher to remedy this situation, through an in-depth exploration of the community places and cross-asking the different people met during the visit. With the personnel of the TISS and of SDC, the distance between the group exploring the site and the community was more evident. This fact didn’t cause particular problems after the first impact and thanks to previous informal agreements between community leaders and the researcher. The single exception was the exploratory visit to Maharashtra Nagar, where some community members, who may have been worried by the presence of an European and/or remembering previous problems due to an MCGM survey, were reluctant or refused to provide any type of information, despite the efforts made in explaining the purpose and the nature of the visit).

3.8.2. Interviewing process

The interviewing process involved different stakeholders and was built with the aim of obtaining information on urban powers, institutional mechanisms in control and management of the territory and fragmentation tendencies at different levels. This operation required a large scope of activities and relations. At the beginning of the fieldwork, interviewing process entailed mainly academics and politicians but a need of going deeply inside the communities emerged strongly as fundamental base in

developing the research. From that moment, researcher's efforts were focused in operating an "immersion" in communities' dynamics.

3.8.2.1. Set-up

To achieve interviewing process aims, the researcher elaborated a strategy that involved three main groups of people⁵¹:

- An informal "research support group", that was constantly engaged in the research implementation in all the phases during the first and the second field trips;
- A group of key informants, from all the sectors of society and with a deep knowledge of contents and areas that have been explored by the researcher in Mumbai;
- The people living in the three selected case study areas, a primary source of information for the research.

The informal "research support group"⁵² consisted of three academics of the TISS of Mumbai, Dr. R.N. Sharma, Professor in the Centre for Development Studies, School of Social Sciences; Ms. Ruchi Sinha, Associate Professor in the Centre of Criminology and Justice, School of Social Work; and Dr. Amita Bhide, Associate Professor in the Centre of Planning and Governance, School of Habitat Studies. The three professors, who have approached in different ways questions related to urban planning and management and informal areas analysis, have provided a constant reference for the researcher in the collection of the data coming from secondary sources, in the analysis and interpretation on the spot of the empirical data coming from the field, and in contributing to shape the approach used on the field by the researcher, elaborating strategies to enter into contact with some institutions or facilitating the first contact with sensitive actors in the research. This group of interviews touched on the theoretical, methodological and empirical domains of the research⁵³ and was conducted directly in English (one to one interviews, mainly in unstructured forms). All the "members" of this informal group were contacted several times during the first and the second field trips, in particular Professor R.N. Sharma⁵⁴ (A.4.). Connections between the evolution of the

⁵¹ Details on sampling for the third group will be provided in the following section, while short explanations on the first two groups will be taken into consideration during the text.

⁵² There was neither formal agreement between the professors in creating the group nor a university institutional set-up forming the group. The group just includes persons that have been very close to the researcher at different moments of the fieldwork.

⁵³ In terms of "internal" assessment mechanisms of the research, the "research support group" played an important role in terms of internal validity (adapted to qualitative research), discussing with the researcher the coherence between observations and data coming from the field and the theoretical implications that this information has in shaping the research. These reflections (and internal coherence) were discussed again online and in some cases re-thought with the main supervisor in Scotland, feeding again the critical approach to the grounded data.

⁵⁴ Professor R.N. Sharma had the formal role of "mentor" in the affiliation of the researcher to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences during the period August 2010-February 2011.

research (even in its methodological aspects) and the activities implemented in the field can be read by cross-checking A.1. with A.4..

The group of key informants⁵⁵, composed mainly of academics and of public officials in various positions and agencies, but also of private sector developers and of members of the third sector (activists, NGO officers and/or directors), was engaged in the research⁵⁶ to have feedback regarding the appropriateness of the analytical framework in Mumbai, to explore particular problems or interests which emerged during the work in the field, and to enter into contact with strategic persons in order to implement the interviews in the communities. The key informants were usually interviewed once⁵⁷ (apart from KI4/KI24, KI6/KI11 and KI13/KI19, who were interviewed twice due to specific needs which emerged in those particular moments of the research). The interviews were designed individually for each interviewed person by the researcher, through semi-structured interview guides, because of the very different expertise and backgrounds. Interviews were conducted in English with one to one discussions (using both unstructured and semi-structured forms), with the exception of the interview with KI20 that was conducted in Hindi with the translation of Ad. and the participation of an officer of YUVA (that supports the Pavement Dwellers Organization, PDO). Key informant interviews played a very significant role in determining the theoretical and empirical domains of the research, with fundamental information and data for the research contents, whereas the methodological part was not influenced by this group of interviews⁵⁸ (A.5.).

The interviews in the field took place during field trip 2 from 29-12-2010 to 09-02-2011, after selecting the case study areas. The researcher conducted 43 interviews (16 in Rafi Nagar 2, 7 in Sai Leela Pavement and 20 in Chikkalwadi) contacting mainly community leaders (leaders of committees or “mandal”, registered or not; religious and political leaders) and households (A.6.). During the implementation of the process, a very important role was played by women in the communities, who represented an important source of information and demonstrated availability and sensitiveness in the interviews. The interviews were conducted mainly in Hindi (in Rafi Nagar 2, only in

⁵⁵ The informal “research support group” and key informants hold all the characteristics to be classified as “elite” interviewing subjects (according to the lexicon of Marshall and Rossman, 1999). For readability reasons, the researcher maintains separately the two groups.

⁵⁶ Sampling procedures for key informants following purposive criteria, involving persons that can provide very significant information in certain specific sectors, which can be useful to have an higher vision on the themes touched by the research. Fundamental information to select key informants came from the “research support group”.

⁵⁷ The list of interviews does not take into consideration other brief kinds of contacts, by telephone or by e-mail that also played an essential part in expanding the network of contacts and in giving some key information to the researcher.

⁵⁸ Scottish and Catalan supervisors and tutors, with the “research support group” and some of the key informants have represented the group for the researcher’s internal reliability exercises (and to some extent “dependability” in qualitative research, with the words of Guba and Lincoln, 2004) on the main achievements during the fieldwork. The group was reduced in the analytical phase for practical reasons (in terms of the possibility of keeping “effective” contacts with the Indian group).

Hindi, whereas Marathi was used in some cases in Sai Leela Pavement and in Chikkalwadi). Interviews were proposed as one to one discussions but in some cases, due to the nature and the sensitiveness of some contents concerning the interviewee (in particular information regarding power relations and criminality) the interview was conducted in the presence (active/passive according to the cases) of another person that the interviewee felt appropriate (usually for a woman another woman who was trusted). Three interviews with community leaders became a sort of “community” interview (with focus group dynamics), due to the attitude and the will of the community leaders. The researcher preferred to allow these dynamics to take place rather than to generate fractures with the community leaders in question.

Interview guides were used for the in-depth interviews (which have semi-structured form) in the selected case study areas, one designed for the community leaders (A.7.) and one for households (A.8.). These were prepared in Edinburgh (November 2010) and piloted and refined (with few modifications) in the field during January 2011. The two guides cover the same topic areas:

- Characterization of the “fragment” (context, state of the community, basic characteristics of the socio-spatial fabric, community borders, etc.);
- Development of the fragment and process of fragmentation (formation of the community, possible processes of division, etc.);
- Institutional roots and internal mechanisms of the fragment (institutional organization of the community, formal-informal-criminal circuits, etc.);
- Relational geographies between fragments (sharing of socio-spatial resources, agreements/associations between communities; conflicts inside/outside the community, etc.);
- Powers relations (negotiations with stakeholders inside and outside the community; involvement of the community⁵⁹ and role of the different actors in urban planning and organization of the space).

Guides for households were oriented to exploring perceptions of fragmentation processes in urban planning and organization of the space and of power dynamics by individuals (and families); guides for community leaders covered the same aspects at the scale of the community (or at least for the part of the community and/or social and religious group that the leader was representing)⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ The interview guidelines for the household include a specific section on participation, considered by the researcher as a key point for understanding and analyzing power relations and urban planning dynamics in the selected case study areas.

⁶⁰ Both the guidelines contain several elements addressed to finding “indirectly” ethnographic contents, which can be used to reach research objectives. However, the interview guidelines were not structured responding to “classic” models of urban ethnography or anthropology and followed to a large extent the characteristics of in-depth interview in “urban studies tradition”.

3.8.2.2. Sampling

The character of the research sampling contains purposive and theoretical elements. The main aim in the selection of the interviewees consisted in exploring socio-economic and cultural diversities inside case study communities and finding “elite” interviewing elements, offering key information on community institutional set-up, formation, power relations, etc. This kind of sampling clearly depends on facilities in community access and on the “informal” social network (and community leaders’ trust) supporting the researcher. However the procedure was influenced by context-dependent factors and interviewees’ reactions: a structured auto-evaluation of the sampling process is not an objective of these lines, however during the second field trip the achievement of a theoretical saturation regarding the main “streams” of information, needed to develop the analysis⁶¹, was quite evident for the researcher (and in several cases, this perception was shared with the “research support group” members and European supervisors).

Selection of the interviewees depended of course on the availability of the inhabitants (including their acceptance in speaking about “sensitive themes”), thus revealing a “convenience” character (which was implicit, due to questions object of study) and on the contacts inside the communities (depending generally on the relations between community leaders and slum dwellers), using “snowballing” techniques. Starting with the support (or at least the acceptance) of community leaders, NGOs and political parties mediators, the researcher was introduced to the social fabric of community. The constant presence of the researcher in the field (and the “news” represented by a foreign researcher “somehow engaged” in the problems of the community, which was the households’ impression/word-of-mouth advertising before being introduced in the interviewing process knowing the aims of the research activities) facilitated the connections with interviewees that communicated with each other and generated opportunities for other interviews. Snowball techniques allowed the researcher to be to a certain extent “independent”, overcoming excessive “ties” with the facilitators/mediators in sampling procedures:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, Apnalaya made the effort to put in touch the researcher with the community leaders (snowball sampling was facilitated by the extended presence of the researcher in the area and by the participant observation activities);
- In Sai Leela pavement dwellers community, researcher’s introduction was accomplished by YUVA members (in a second phase the community leader facilitated the first contact with households, then accompanied by snowball techniques in sampling);

⁶¹ In some cases the repetition of information was evident, in particular for what regards the formation of the settlements and the general socio-economic and cultural profile of the communities. Life histories generally conserved more variety, but recurrent typologies emerged during in-depth interviews.

- In Chikkalwadi this process was more difficult, due to the absence in the territory of NGOs, but the researcher could find the support of the Shivaji Nagar Officers of the Samajwadi Party who facilitated to some extent the contacts with Chikkalwadi community leaders (also in this case, after a first contact with community leaders, snowball techniques helped to reach households, with the limitations regarding people of the “West Bengal ghetto”).

3.8.2.3. Reactions to the interviewing process

The first reaction from the interviewees was a generalised fear, appearing during the interview when questions were asked related to the internal organization of the community, the presence of criminal arrangements and internal (or external) conflicts. In some cases it was a difficult task for the researcher and the translator to create a relationship of trust with the interviewee, offering explanations and clarifying several times the aim of the work in order to address possible reluctance. Generally the interviews were completed in a good way, paying certain costs in terms of spontaneity from the interviewee. Indeed the interviews guides were designed as an open tool, leaving as much freedom as possible to the interviewee in answering the questions and in telling his/her story: the reluctance, the use of “half words”, “local” expressions⁶² or the tendency to close the answer as soon as possible forced the researcher (and the translator) to return to certain issues several times, asking for clarification and touching on the needed contents to complete the section. The response of the interviewees⁶³ and the interviewing process from the researcher’s perspective was slightly different in the three selected areas, due to cultural and religious reasons and due to the legal precariousness and vulnerability that characterizes those settlements.

In Rafi Nagar 2, a community that is almost completely Muslim, tensions are clearly perceptible: interviewees preferred to be interviewed in a private, enclosed place (or to have the interview outside the community, in Rafi Nagar 1). If the interviewee was a woman, the interview could usually take place only in presence of other persons, in common rooms or public spaces (with another woman and children, or rarely, with the husband). In a few cases these factors have deeply influenced the answers of the interviewee with the recourse to cliché or incoherent (or unreliable) affirmations.

⁶² For instance, in the Muslim communities, the expression “He’s a *Patel*”, referring to the slum lord, means that he/she is a Hindu (*Patel* is a common Hindu surname). Of course, this kind of expression required an explanation to the researcher with the consequent breaking-up of the flow of the interview.

⁶³ In this case, the researcher included the interviews conducted inside the community and in the other fragments around the selected case study area: this work was fundamental in understanding relations between fragments and different perceptions of the case study areas. This kind of exercise was done in Rafi Nagar 2 (considering also Rafi Nagar 1) and in Chikkalwadi (considering Anna Bhau Sathe Nagar part 1 and 2). Sai Leela Pavement dwellers community was an exception due to the socio-spatial characteristics of the community, which is on the border of an important road, in the middle of a formal part of the city that is not classifiable as a community. In this case, feedback from outside the community was taken informally.

Women have demonstrated a deep understanding of the topic of the research and have provided more coherent information in comparison with several men.

In Sai Leela Pavement dwellers community, which is mainly Hindu but with some Buddhists, interviewing was easier, due to its little size and the small number of families. After overcoming a superficial image of the settlement given by the members of community committee in the exploratory visit (maybe influenced by the presence of YUVA members), the researcher was able to go in depth thanks to a collaborative attitude from the people. Just a few problems appeared during the interviewing process (viz. embarrassment of some Buddhist people, probably due to low caste cultural attitude), which were easily overcome.

In Chikkalwadi, a huge community with the presence of both Muslim and Hindu people, interviewing was more difficult. In particular, access to a “sub-group” of the community, composed of migrants from West Bengal, spatially located near the *nalla* (a channel for black water), was very problematic. Only one person from that group consented to being interviewed. The reluctance was due mainly to the lack of trust in any person that comes from outside the group (even the community leaders of Chikkalwadi could not facilitate any contact), explained by the fact that these persons usually have no documents, with all the consequences that this represents in terms of protection. In this case study area, the community leaders who provided contacts with slum dwellers were more inclined to force the researcher to speak with particular inhabitants. Thus the researcher was obliged to find alternatives to avoid the sample of interviewees being skewed. This was addressed by finding available people with the help of a translator without the “permission” of the community leader.

3.8.3. Participant and direct observation

As mentioned above, participant and direct observation were the basic instruments for exploring spatial and physical dimensions of the selected case study areas. Direct observation was applied in the first trip in order to gain some knowledge of Mumbai, and then the informal areas of the city; in the second it was focused mainly on the three case study areas. Direct observation consisted mainly of walking through and photographing Mumbai's fragments. In the first field trip formal areas were also explored without presenting particular problems; the exploration of informal settlements in the second field trip entailed some problems in terms of the researcher's security. These problems were caused by the fact that very few people go inside “not notified” slums or use spaces that are used by slum dwellers from these areas. The “strangers” (and here the researcher includes every person that is not part of the restricted community that occupies a specific territory of the city) are immediately identifiable, thus for instance also a young middle class student at TISS, involved in a participant observation activity, is clearly recognizable by the local people, if not by clothes and

appearance, then by behaviour and language (even students speaking Bombayja, the local slang frequently used in the slum, a sort of mixture of Hindi, Marathi and other languages, easily make a “mistake” in terms of manners, ending up revealing his/her nature to the slum dwellers). In Sai Leela Pavement, due to the dimensions (all the people knew the researcher after a few visits) this issue caused no problem. On the contrary, in Chikkalwadi and in Rafi Nagar 2, on some occasions the researcher had to interrupt the direct observation, feeling he was in danger. In Sai Leela Pavement and in Chikkalwadi there was no relevant difficulty in the photographing process. Due to the presence of a “protected” dumping ground, some issues regarding the possibility of making pictures emerged in Rafi Nagar 2. However, photographic documentation was only partially limited even in that case.

Participant observation (A.9.) was mainly implemented in Rafi Nagar 2, thanks to the common interest of a group of social work students at TISS who were undertaking fieldwork for a course. Through Professor Ruchi Sinha, responsible for the course, it was possible to find an agreement with them and organize regular participant observation activities. In Sai Leela, due to the dimensions of the community (approximately one hundred linear metres of occupied pavement, around 300 square metres), just one participant observation exercise was done involving the translator Ad., the community leaders and randomly some households that were in the community at that moment. In Chikkalwadi there were two participant observation moments, but a general reluctance of slum dwellers to participate in such an activity suggested to the community leader and, in consequence, to the researcher, that it was advisable to desist, preventing possible tensions inside the community and following other means to obtain information on spatial and physical community characteristics.

3.9. Qualitative data analysis

The analysis of data from the different sources (and through different data collection methods) is contextualized in an analytical induction framework and is conceptually based on a grounded theory epistemological outline. The approach to data analysis consists of questioning the research hypothesis (derived from research questions, thus coming from the relations of the researcher with the experience in the field) developed during the research process. These activities of hypothesis reformulation and redefinition of the relationship between empiric experience and theory generation have entailed the entire research project. It is not an objective of the research to produce a “diary” of each change and hypothesis reconstruction (and deviant case/elements management) that took place during the iterative process of the study, in its theoretical⁶⁴, methodological⁶⁵ and empirical⁶⁶ components.

⁶⁴ In the theoretical domain, analytical induction processes are easy to read and constitute a character of the study, which remains an open “field of reflection”: for instance, the researcher initially thought of

The relation of the research to grounded theory tradition is developed in conceptual terms more than in respect of the application of “technicalities”. The conceptualization (and the answer to the main questions) of the research can be developed only from the field, where the knowledge of the phenomenon is generated by the researcher’s immersion in the context and in the theoretical discourse/s created during the process (i.e. through interaction with research stakeholders). However this relation did not imply, for the study, a structure based on strict activities of coding, categorization, theoretical abstraction and conceptualization, which represent the base for concept and theory generation in grounded theory. Despite sharing processes (and outcomes) coming from grounded theory⁶⁷, the research is based on two main families of analytical tools⁶⁸ (the first two ones related to qualitative analysis tradition, the last two ones belonging to the practices in use in case study analysis):

- Thematic analysis is used in the interpretation of the contents coming from the interviewing process⁶⁹ (exploring contents on urban fragmentation in slum

fragmentation processes as generators of fragments that were separating themselves from the fabric, in a sort of opposition and incommunicability between them. Actually the experience in the field showed a much more articulated (and complex) relation between vulnerable fragments and the city, and between the fragments, outlining a real geography in continuous mutation. This kind of iterative process entailed also theoretical questions on other levels, for example the “weight” of the “formal/informal” dualism: previous researcher’s experiences (Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007) have fed the “conviction” of thinking of fragmentation processes as an expression of the formal/informal dualism, but the fieldwork showed the complexity and the (contradictory) articulation of the phenomenon, which cannot be explained through simplistic formulas.

⁶⁵ In the methodological domain, the iterative path of analytical induction entailed mainly “practical” problems but also “epistemological” questions, such as the reflection on the supposed “auto-sufficiency” of certain (quantitative) methods in measuring and in being accountable for the phenomenon (which could increase research reliability and validity). This “myth” was immediately put into question in the first approach to the field, and urban fragmentation (in particular in its institutional roots) emerged as a complex, “rich” phenomenon, which, given the logistical conditions of the research, could be explored through qualitative methods and deep description/analysis (what Geertz calls “thick description”, see Geertz, 1987).

⁶⁷ In the empirical dimension, analytical induction allowed the researcher to define the case studies’ fabric “typology” at the city level. The idea entailing the exploration of fragmentation process in informal/illegal fabrics was taken into consideration, but the hypothesis (complex to implement for practical reasons) presented limitations in terms of understanding the effect of power relations on fragmentation in informal (“notified”) areas where State protection mechanisms were, although in a limited way, at work. The researcher decided to focus on the “illegal” (“not notified”) fabric of the city.

⁶⁷ Comparison, theoretical saturation, exploring relations between “categories” (thus in part theoretical sampling) and testing hypothesis are phases of the grounded theory process, which were constantly applied in the research.

⁶⁸ This was due to the character of the documentation collected during the fieldwork in Mumbai, which is indirectly influenced by the conditions of illegality characterizing the case study settlements and the scarce dedicated literature. In this context, the researcher has worked following mainly thematic analysis. The initial idea was to apply to the same text different qualitative content analysis tools (mainly basic exercise of ethnographic content analysis, semiotics and hermeneutics) but the nature of the texts on “not notified” settlements has contributed to outline “dry” results from this kind of attempt. In this sense, for the researcher, there is no reason to evaluate negatively the use of these tools in a research on urban fragmentation but the feedback clearly showed the risk of trivialization of these instruments in the specific case of the texts, produced mainly by the Municipality and third sector actors (limitations in language impeded the researcher to work on the documentation in Hindi and Marathi, which however is even more limited for the “illegal” case study areas).

⁶⁹ The contents are analyzed under the five sections composing the interview guidelines (state of the community; formation of the community; organizational set-up; relational geographies; power relations) in

dwellers' access to basic needs, service -or, in other words, "rights"- following examples in qualitative research⁷⁰ and supervisors' experiences⁷¹, in "handmade" way);

- Narrative analysis was applied in a limited way⁷² focusing interviewees' perception in detecting and understanding fragmentation processes (in the interviews guidelines, this tool is mainly used indirectly, in the parts related to community formation and family arrival in the settlement);
- Explanation building techniques, here in the sense used for exploratory case studies analysis and hypothesis/theory generating processes (as in the case of typologies of powers and analysis of power relations);
- Cross-case synthesis, applied to all areas of the work (with a specific interesting in confronting community relational geographies and institutional set-ups).

The researcher's approach to qualitative data analysis follows data collection experience. Avoiding strict manual applications of methods, the analysis is conducted in "fluid" way, following previous supervisors' and researcher's experiences, shaping analysis according to research context needs (in a process of research stakeholders' "listening") and studying (and exploring contacts with) the example of significant works on institutions and powers (i.e. Healey's studies in collaborative planning, Flyvbjerg's researches on power and rationality). In these cases, freedom and sensitiveness in using interviews, observations and other collected data (far away from naïve methods interpretation) allowed authors to go deeply inside the themes.

In qualitative data analysis, language deserves particular attention. Language in research on urban fragmentation represents a key tool/field of work, as in any qualitative analysis. In this study, language plays an ambivalent role, representing a limitation (3.9.) but, at the same time, an element enabling the researcher to reveal otherwise hidden aspects, going deeply inside interviews structure. In understanding community institutional set-ups and power relations, the attention on conversation and discourse structures has been fundamental to get information and reflect on interviewees' perception of the research themes. However, while certain contents of

the perspective of the four dimensions structuring the analytical framework (socio-spatial; institutional; power; planning).

⁷⁰ Despite the absence of a specific, and consolidated, set of techniques or procedures in the literature, Bryman (2007) and Ryan and Bernard (2003) offer examples (from other disciplines) of "general actions" in thematic analysis that have been used also in this work on fragmentation: analysis of repetitions, indigenous typologies and categories, metaphor and analogies, similarities and differences, etc. (Bryman, 2007). All these actions to be implemented on the materials coming from the interviewing process constitute a provisional changeable agenda (as a plot/outline) rather than a rigid procedure/method of analysis.

⁷¹ The possibility of interacting with the main supervisors offered a privileged perspective for using theses and other research works produced by the supervisor or by CEHS, which were very useful in understanding the relations between the problems emerging in the fieldwork and the methodological choices to overcome the *impasse*.

⁷² See limitations in the narrative inquiry data collection method (3.6.2.). This limitation regards in a similar way structural and performative analysis, which have been applied in single cases and interactional analysis, which characterized a limited number of key informant interviews.

Foucault's⁷³ thoughts have been determinant in shaping the study, the (sporadic) use of these analytical tools related to language has not implied a post-modernist framework (or philosophical position) for the research. Therefore conversation analysis and/or critical discourse analysis will not appear systematically⁷⁴ but will be used to clarify specific aspects of the phenomenon/process.

3.10. Limitations of the research

Limitations include to some extent the theoretical character of the research, due to the analytical framework and the nature of case studies. The research has a clear exploratory character, as a result of the literature review on fragmentation and the choices related to the approach ("radical" institutional approach), the methods (qualitative methods applied to urban fragmentation research) and case study choices ("not notified" settlements, "illegal" fabric of Mumbai), which involve areas that have not been studied in detail and, in many cases, have not been explored at all. The work aims to be a starting point for further studies and not to provide a final vision of the question, offering on the contrary "open" answers suggesting new paths to explore the phenomenon, understanding the process and building policy of response for sustainable urban governance. Thus the research has the (positive/negative) characteristics of exploratory works in extreme conditions (for instance demolition processes affected in some cases the nature of the settlements; the influences of powers imposed pressures on case study populations or community mediators, etc.), which limit the research and will be taken into consideration in details in the analysis phase.

From a methodological point of view and from the application of the methods to the case study areas, the research presents some limitations that have to be considered. A point of reference in the research is to apply an institutional approach. The definition of institution adopted is that proposed by Benveniste in the *Dictionary of Indo-European Institutions* (1976), where institutions are presented not only as the "classic" structures of the Law, Government and Religion but also entail technologies, lifestyles, social relationships and "processes of word and thought". Given that, this point of reference faced a key limitation, due to the language used in the field. In "not notified" slum communities of Mumbai Hindi, Marathi, languages based on Tamil or Urdu, etc., not to mention various types of slang (as the Bombayja), are commonly used. Since the researcher was not proficient in any of these languages, the "word processes" and their

⁷³ The relation between power, rationality and forms of discourse represents a landmark for all the reflection on urban powers (or reflections on power in its relation with the space and the city) (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Foucault, 1977; 2005).

⁷⁴ The researcher, agreeing with supervisors, several key informants and members of the "research support group", has chosen to avoid the application of software as a qualitative research tool: a certain distrust of this kind of tool was spread in the group, and the researcher doubted the added value of these instruments in the specific context.

relations with “thought processes” (and the impact that these processes have in determining mental models) were explored just in a partial way only through the work of the translator, and with all the limitations that the translations have for the sensitiveness required in the radical application of the concept of institution. This kind of limitation has influenced also the choice of specific research methods related to “language exploration”, avoiding the methods where a complete “immersion” of the researcher in the language used is required⁷⁵ and using all the research techniques, working on the “deep” comprehension of the words which can be efficiently applied with the help of translators. Language limitations have shaped certain activities⁷⁶, giving them a particular character: a clear example entails the (limited) participant observation exercises included in this work, which could be implemented only with English speaking (bilingual/multi-lingual) participants.

Other limitations, coming from the empirical domain, relate to the security of the people participating in the research process in any role, and limit the “empirical universe” of the research. Due to the themes of the research, some people preferred not to participate or to provide only partial information, and some social groups could not participate at all⁷⁷: this is the case of the people coming from Bangladesh⁷⁸. The question of security also affected the researcher, in some places constraining fieldwork activities in both space and time⁷⁹. Despite accepting these limitations (which seemed to be the only solution both practically and ethically), the researcher reduced as much as possible their effect on fieldwork, through negotiations with community leaders and key contacts for the case study areas.

⁷⁵ For instance focus groups were not feasible, due to the difficulties in moderating or facilitating the group with the translator and then, more practically, in the transcription of the materials.

⁷⁶ This limitation has influenced also activities not strictly related to the fieldwork. This is the case of the documents review including materials coming from the case study city, produced by Indian (Maharashtra) institutions, which can be in Hindi and Marathi. The consequences of this limitation were less relevant because the “key” documents are usually published in English and some specific documents (for instance the police notice of demolition in Rafi Nagar 2) have been translated *ad hoc* for this work (by the translators collaborating with the researcher or by some TISS officers).

⁷⁷ The sense of fear and the psychological consequences that this feeling implied in the interviewing process and participant observation activities was taken into consideration during the fieldwork (3.7.2.). The use of triangulation was fundamental to overcome limitations derived from the “psychological” environment characterizing case study areas.

⁷⁸ These persons live “illegally” in Rafi Nagar 2, which before the riots was characterized by a strong presence of that migrant group. Similar issues were encountered in Chikkalwadi, in the “West Bengal ghetto” (4.6.)

⁷⁹ Making observations, participant activities and interviewing in the new expansions of Rafi Nagar 2 and the “West Bengal ghetto” of Chikkalwadi was complex due to the conditions of security (involving the researcher, the translator/s and the TISS “social workers group”). In some cases, this implied a limited presence of the “research team” in those areas (usually the tensions were higher in the first hours of the morning and in the late afternoon).

4. CASE STUDY EXPLORATION

4.1. Fragmentation processes in Mumbai: (instruments for) an overview

Approaching urban fragmentation processes in Mumbai means entering the complexity of the city. The difficulty in “reading” Mumbai, regarding socio-spatial connections, is shared by the perspectives of urban studies, geography and sociology. Some authors have hypothesized that conceptualizing the city is impossible, due to the “complexity of systems, organizations and spaces” (UDRI, 2006) characterizing the urban fabric¹. These difficulties are due to the overlapping of several socio-economic, political and cultural factors, which constitute the background to spatial phenomena. Mumbai is both a core and a symbol of Indian economic development but, at the same time, the growth of the city has been intrinsically accompanied by deep inequalities². The vision of Mumbai as a world-class city and a certain idea of *grandeur* embedded in some political party leaders’ declarations and programmes³ contrast with the lack of basic rights to the city⁴ of large parts of Mumbai’s precarious and vulnerable population. The rich diversity of urban cultures, which have evolved distinct characters drawing on the cultural environment of the city, has recently become a discussion topic due to the events related to the increase of the Hindu-Muslim tension. This situation, dense with contradictory tendencies, and intensified by the physical-demographic growth of the city⁵ and by globalization, forms the substrate on which urban dynamics take place.

¹ Mumbai is seen as a paradigmatic case of the multiple and interrelated ways in which development underpins contemporary processes of urbanization. Also in these visions, coming from architectural (and planning) literatures, the city is thought of in an ambivalent way, at the same time developed and in development (Shannon and Gosseye [eds.], 2009).

² In 2003 Mumbai’s GDP comprised 2.4% of the whole Indian economy. At that time, approximately 92% of Mumbai workers were working in the informal sector, with low salaries and lack of rights (UDRI, 2006).

³ It is difficult to find a starting moment for this kind of vision of Mumbai. The background is somehow correlated to the growth of a “Maharastrian pride”, seeing Mumbai as the economic capital of the new India. The standard reference to this idea of the city has become the Bombay First and McKinsey Report, “Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai in a World-Class City” (Bombay First and McKinsey, 2003) proposing a new competitive vision of city, aiming to be the new Shanghai.

⁴ In this sense it is noticeable that almost 55% of the population still lives in the Mumbai slums (which host more than 7 million slum dwellers), 30% more than the average of the other Indian megacities (United Nations, 2009).

⁵ Mumbai is a megalopolis of more than 13 millions inhabitants, if the city island and suburbs (Greater Mumbai) are considered. Looking to the whole metropolitan region, the number of inhabitants reaches 20

In this context, urban development, space use and control of territory appear as a stage for (and symbolic metaphor of) conflictive changes in Mumbai. The need to re-think the city, and to rediscover an essence that is considered lost emerges in several publications, reclaiming the sense of the city from chaotic, deregulated urban development. In literature on Mumbai, urban fragmentation emerges as one of the key phenomena characterizing the fabric. Several authors, working in various fields, directly mention urban fragmentation in studies of the city as a whole, or refer to Mumbai as a “fragmented city”, in considering specific sectors (including case studies or stories of Mumbai), but the definition and character of the phenomenon remains a work in progress. In Mumbai context, urban fragmentation, splintering urbanism or similar expressions are related to:

- Ideas of territorial break-up, consisting of a proliferation of pieces of the physical urban fabric, dismembering the morphology of the city;
- Production of different layers of access to the city, mainly in housing and then, on a secondary plane, depending on the weight that authors lend to the problem, with regard to services and to land);
- Discontinuity in urban policy choices at the city and metropolitan levels, related mainly to overlapping of responsibilities in managing and transforming the territory.

In the face of this variety, interpretations of urban fragmentation dynamics (and of their consequences on the city) are heterogeneous. The character of the phenomenon remains in the same way unclear: what are its roots⁶? Is fragmentation a state of Mumbai’s fabric or is it a dynamic phenomenon changing the city? (And within this vision, is it possible to identify a process⁷?). The phenomenon is usually seen as a negative dynamic impeding urban governance. However, with a few exceptions related mainly to studies of splintering urbanism, authors avoid analysis of urban fragmentation as a whole, working on sectoral questions and finding the supposed causes of the phenomenon in their specific field (i.e. lack of capacity to respond to demand for public housing provision, speculation in land management, interest of economic powers in renewal of city key nodes). There is no correlation between these facts and an analysis of the socio-institutional substrate of the city⁸. The present study cannot offer a deep

millions, thus making it the third largest urban agglomeration in the World after Tokyo and Mexico City (United Nations, 2009).

⁶ Several authors in referring to fragmentation mention conditions of inequality rooted in the economic domain, which separate from each other parts of the social fabric, impeding the empowerment of social networks and tending to isolate economic circuits (see 2.3.2. and 2.3.3.).

⁷ Without mentioning the aim of conceptualizing fragmentation or to describe fragmentation dynamics, authors (both Indian and foreign) tend to associate “fragmentation” with the evolution of Mumbai’s urban fabric. This trend is usually related to a loss of “identity” (thought mainly in morphological terms) vis-à-vis the generation of the city in the colonial period.

⁸ Again significant exceptions come from the studies on splintering urbanisms where, for instance, Zérah advances the hypothesis of continuity between conditions of inequality in services provision and a society, historically (and “institutionally”, in the wider sense of this word) based on socio-economic inequalities (Zérah, 2008).

analysis of urban fragmentation at the city level; but, drawing on elements of the literature, it can reflect on some interpretative keys, which can orientate the reader in framing the scope of this research.

4.1.1. Urban development and morphological interpretations of fragmentation in Mumbai

In a certain literature, which not only covers the academic debates of urban planners and architects but also includes voices coming from politics and civil society, Mumbai's urban development is thought of as a complex dynamic changing the hypothetical equilibrium and homogeneity of its urban fabric. Despite the history of the city - which consists of a continuous process of aggregation of portions of land (including reclaimed land) - analysts, politicians and voices from civil society theorize a loss of the identity of the city that has provoked a break-up of its fabric. This complex perception, which in some degree draws on mythic⁹ visions of the city, becomes the cultural basis of the analysis of what urban development is now in Mumbai. Fragmentation becomes a reference point or a simple figure describing a context for authors dealing with Mumbai's urban dynamics, independently of a definition:

- “Fragmentation” of the fabric can be conceptualized as the result of the unstructured response to housing demand, leading to the formation of different fragments of territory with contrasting habitat conditions (formal/informal)¹⁰;
- Expressions referring to the fragmentation of the city refer to the lack of an overall design for the city (or the incoherence of any design), and which concern specific areas or morphological thematic sectors (for instance, the question of urban mills renewal or the themes inherent in slum area redevelopment);
- Fragmentation associated with phenomena of urban spread¹¹ (where fragmentation is seen as the consequence of dynamics tending to reduce density to the point at which the city's fabric breaks up and voids open within the city¹²).

⁹ This feeling feeds a nostalgia, which represents the substratum for certain fiction and mass media, shaping the population's imagination and mental models, becoming a key axis of several cultures in Mumbai.

¹⁰ The literature on housing responses is extensive and the tendency to define the fabric as fragmented in terms of housing characteristics (access, models, public interventions, etc.) is common among various authors. At the same time, there is no theorization about this kind of fragmentation, which is used in an evocative way without being part of any analytical framework: the distinction is usually drawn between areas of formal public (social) housing and spaces of informality (frequently just “slums”, without entering into informal settlement analysis).

¹¹ On the relations between urban fragmentation and spread, which recur also in the literature on Mumbai, see Box 2.1..

¹² This discourse entails the expansions in the North of the metropolitan areas (for instance, areas like Mira Road) or the debate regarding urban density control in central areas and the variations in the index of land use to promote land rehabilitation. These questions are emphasised in the context of Mumbai, where the scarcity of land has historically been a motor for urban development and spatial high scale decisions.

4.1.2. Visions of splintering urbanism in Mumbai referring to fragmentation

Splintering urbanism theories in Mumbai underpin different analyses¹³, focusing mainly on service provision (and socio-structural networks embedded in service provision). However some studies propose views in which splintering urbanism is applied beyond the borders of a single sector (see for instance Wissink, 2009) and entails different dimensions (access to land, housing and services, urban economy and renewal, etc.). In these cases the research focuses on the different connection levels of areas or territorial systems to the networks, which enable the city to function. Mumbai displays fractures where public institutions, economic polarities and powers (according to the nexus of cause-and-effect chosen by each analyst) facilitate or even drive the inclusion of formal, usually high income and politically protected, areas in the city, and promote the exclusion of informal, socio-economically vulnerable and politically unprotected, settlements.

Splintering phenomena have been seen as part of socio-spatial conditions based on inequalities and rooted in the deep nature of Mumbai's social fabric. Ideal models connected to modern infrastructures, which aim at universal coverage of the city, and thereby extend to the whole population rights to the city, have never been realised¹⁴, and elites have applied pressure to shape matters to their advantage, having no interest in vulnerable areas (Zérah, 2008; Gandy, 2008). In Mumbai, the conceptualization of splintering urbanism is closely related to the theme of socio-economic inequalities, based on institutional kinds of fragmentation (in terms of political fractures between the organizations that control networks and in terms of "social" fragmentation, embedded in social hierarchies; see 5.3.2, 5.3.3. and 6.6.).

4.1.3. "Administrative" fragmentation and overlapping of organizations in Mumbai's urban policies

Urban fragmentation in Mumbai is seen also as an expression of the complexity¹⁵ of the administration of the urban fabric (focusing on the organizational framework of the city

¹³ Mumbai represents a case in which splintering urbanism has been put in question: infrastructure projects have played an important role in connecting the city (Zérah, 2008) and this represents again a contradictory tendency in a context characterized by a clear duality between global networked areas and by-passed territories (Graham and Marvin, 2001).

¹⁴ The development of water supply and sanitation follows different dynamics from that of electricity networks. The water supply network seems to confirm splintering tendencies in the fabric (with a substantial part of the population disconnected, suffering the unbundling of the system) while the electricity network is more extended and reflects inequalities (in terms of quality of the service and tariffs).

¹⁵ In 2006 the city had 15 agencies (pertaining to the municipal, state and national government levels of administration) acting on urban development and territory management. This organizational set-up has presented clear difficulties in terms of efficiency and urban policy coherence (Pinto, 2008), leading to political and academic debates on the "institutional framework" of the city, including several proposals of "rationalization" (Bombay First and McKinsey Report, 2003; UDRI, 2006). Due to its case studies and theoretical perspective, the present study will focus in particular on the main public executive authority (which controls the greatest part of the spatial/planning decisions involving the city), the MCGM, and the other State agency controlling the territory at the Metropolitan Region scale, the MMRDA.

and the relations between actors managing the territory). This interpretation of urban fragmentation phenomena could be seen as an interpretation of certain discourses on institutional¹⁶ fragmentation (Chevalier, 2002). Multiple public institutions and agencies work in the same sectors, with the result that their competing competencies impede the actions of each. Additionally, it is difficult to establish coherence between policies that operate at different scales. These scales are principally the Municipality, the State and Central Government, but also smaller units such as the wards or larger scales such as the metropolitan region. These problems result in what authors have termed urban fragmentation in a political sense or administrative/institutional fragmentation¹⁷.

The lack of coherence in urban policies¹⁸, arising from the institutional and administrative complexity of Mumbai and connected with the transformations of city institutions (mainly in terms of organizations) embedded in globalizing flows¹⁹, affects planning dimensions and has been taken into consideration by authors touching on urban fragmentation in the exploration of different questions. In this case fragmentation processes are seen as a horizon in studies focusing on other subjects, rather than as the core of a reflection on city dynamics. Some of these dynamics are clearly seen in connection with fragmentation tendencies:

- Fragmentation in city renewal²⁰ policies. The relations between public and private sectors, which leave the initiative to private constructors, have led to the fragmentation of interventions, which are significant in areas that are of interest

¹⁶ In this case institutional fragmentation refers to a break-up in the administrative dimension (usually focusing on the public sector) where overlapping, contraposition and hierarchic relations between organizations are creating fragmentation, production of contradictory policies and inefficiencies in territorial management (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002; Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007).

¹⁷ This discourse is connected with the evolution of urban governance in India. International globalization and restructuring in India in the face of global dynamics have led to decentralization processes, with forms of governance that put the national government closer to citizens and start partnerships between national/local government, private actors and civil society in order to offer services to citizens (Baud and de Wit, 2008). In this sense, the 74th Constitution Amendment Act of 1992 (regulating urban governance) represents a landmark. In the research discourse, it is noticeable how, beside the approaches to urban fragmentation in this political/administrative sense, this decentralization process is suspected to be one of the main causes of overlapping and generation of break-up in Mumbai's urban policies.

¹⁸ This break-up entails not only urban policies but in general the political equilibrium between local (Mumbai Municipality and Maharashtra State) levels of power (that have been characterized by the presence of right wing Hindu parties such as the Bharatiya Janata Party, BJP, and Shiv Sena) and the National Government level of power (usually in the hands of National Congress Party, characterized by "moderate", central positions).

¹⁹ Globalization impacts in Mumbai are controversial: city urban powers (economic and political polarities) propose a vision (myth) of Mumbai as a "world-class city"; other authors think of Mumbai as a mega-city with global linkages rather than as a global city (Pinto, 2008). The debate is open and "alternative/antagonist" voices underline the presence of very "local" dynamics in Mumbai scenarios of globalization (Metha, 2004). This fact puts in discussion also the relation between fragmentation processes and globalization, which in the literature is frequently seen as a factor facilitating fragmentation tendencies in social and urban fabrics: in the context of Mumbai, it is clear that globalizing flows have offered opportunities to a limited part of the population and have increased the condition of socio-economic inequality in the social fabric (UN, 2009).

²⁰ This process is relevant to several key areas of the urban fabric (like the old mills, which are distributed in parts of the city that now are in a very central and strategic position). Key infrastructural nodes, such as the new airport and the dockyards, enter, in different measures, in the question of urban renewal.

to markets (residential, commercial and logistics) but are absent in areas outside them;

- Fragmentation related to slum redevelopment policies. In this case the initiative includes both private and public actors. Currently the State agency (SRA) has a regulatory role, where, due to their location, specific settlements have provoked great interest²¹. In contrast, to these are areas excluded from redevelopment, and communities in which redevelopment or resettlement projects have generated fractures in the socio-economic fabric [see, for instance Bhide et al., 2003]);
- Fragmentation of links between scales in planning decision-making processes (disconnections between the strategies of metropolitan region, city and ward levels resulting from a political unbundling between ward committees, the municipal corporation council and Maharashtra state agencies [see as an introduction to the argument Pinto, 2008]).

These elements are connected with the question of urban governance in Mumbai: the argument is central and has an extensive literature, which lies outside the scope of the research; however the present study, exploring fragmentation dynamics, does aim to propose bottom-up tools for sustainability and equity in the management of fragmentation tendencies that have evident consequences for several of the questions raised in the literature on Mumbai's urban governance.

4.2. Mumbai urban fragmentation processes: questioning the process at the city scale and locating “not notified” slums in the dynamic

Urban fragmentation processes affect the whole city in different ways: the question for the researcher was how to apply the institutional approach to the given geography of the city. The literature does not contain a mapping (and a classification) of the phenomenon²², analysing its different facets. This is not in any case an objective related to the key research questions of the present study. Nevertheless, in shaping the research design, the researcher has faced the problem of considering the different conditions in which the phenomenon can take place, using the indicative directions, which have emerged from the literature²³:

²¹ The “well known” case of the re-development plan for Dharavi, the biggest slum in Mumbai, is emblematic of how some slums are becoming the centre of attention (and inside the policies) of the urban actors and authorities (Arputham, 2008), showing the complexity of the relations between informal territorial management and struggles between urban powers playing at the city level (and being competitive at the global scale).

²² This does not mean that there are not “mapping exercises” related to Mumbai. One good example has been provided by Shannon in Shannon and Gosseye, eds. [2009] and other significant attempts have also been prepared outside the academic world. But the question of fragmentation in these works, which usually refer to the physical/morphological or socio-spatial domain, remains superficial (or is just a final consideration or is not even mentioned).

²³ Here the researcher organizes the visions of the phenomenon according to four categories used by Jessop et al. [2008], which will be taken into consideration also in the Socio-Spatial Analysis: network, territory, place and scale. For the definition of these categories, the researcher uses the definitions

- Network: considering fragmentation phenomena in relation to city networks (using splintering urbanism categories);
- Territory: working on the territorial character embedded in the nature of the phenomenon (thinking of the city as fragmented territories in relation to one another);
- Place: exploring use of place to detect fragmentation practices for socio-institutional exploration of the phenomenon;
- Scale: thinking of disconnections between the scales of community practices, municipal actions and metropolitan region strategies.

According to the researcher's methodological background, all these "geographical" contextualizations²⁴, considered here in order to explore the phenomenon through an institutional approach, can start only from knowledge gained first-hand in the field. The question of fragmentation requires deep immersion in the local context. This led to the conviction that a study at the scale of the city as a whole would be difficult to achieve and could drive the research far from its objectives; this in turn indicated that a case study approach would be appropriate.

There are gaps in the literature at the Mumbai scale on more clearly territorial questions²⁵ of urban fragmentation, as well as gaps on relational geographies of place, such as the relations between formal and informal fragments; relations between informal settlements and key nodes of the city; interrelations between informal areas, etc.. Moreover, there are gaps in the literature on "scalar" dimensions of the phenomenon (gaps between community²⁶ and ward level; and between these and the upper levels, comprised of the municipality, the metropolitan region and the state)²⁷. Specific works in geography and anthropology have addressed "places", seen as a reflection of the differences and conflicts between parts of the social fabric, and as a manifestation of urban or social fragmentation (see for instance Mehta, 2004). In the Mumbai literature the most substantial areas in which urban fragmentation has been explored at the city or metropolitan region level entail, using the lexicon of Jessop et al. (2008), the "structured field" of networks. Even in this case the analysis of the phenomenon (as in the already mentioned works of Zérah, 2008 and Gandy, 2008)

provided for network by Bingham [2009]; for territory by Agnew [2009]; for place by Henderson [2009]; for scale by Woodward et al. [2009] and Swyngedouw [1997]. These references are an entry point to an extended literature debating the definition of these categories.

²⁴ However, several other geographical applications of the institutional approach can be theorized, such as, for instance, the use of dichotomies such as formal/informal, city centre/suburbs, urban polarities/marginalities, implicit in some visions of the phenomenon in Mumbai.

²⁵ Mapping the extreme diversity embedded in this "structured field" in the Mumbai context would require an immense effort by a well resourced research team, and the literature does not present insights regarding this question apart from sporadic and very partial studies.

²⁶ Where the community (or the settlements) takes on, from the point of view of the research, the character of a "fragment" (see 5.4., 6.1. and 6.7.).

²⁷ Also in this case there are few attempts to engage with the problem and the question of scale has never been focused on through an analytical framework related to urban fragmentation. Reflections have been proposed following sectoral approaches (referring to housing policies, environmental decisions, etc) but fragmentation appears as a horizon of the studies rather than as the core question.

bypasses socio-spatial analysis with a specific geographical location, focusing directly on the dynamic at another scale. A detailed analysis of the relationship between scales (due to the format of the research or to the authors' interest) is not reported: the community scale is not often addressed, nor even that of the ward.

Due to this situation, in which a vision of urban fragmentation at the scale of Mumbai is not available (in some conceptual areas not even in a partial form), the present research has an exploratory character and has been designed in response to the necessity of going inside the dynamic, seeking the connections between the roots of fragmentation and its socio-spatial manifestations, working at first hand on the ground. A key question in case study definition and in approaching the phenomenon (3.5.1.) lay in relating the conceptualization derived from the literature to the information to be gathered in the field, in order to generate research questions (and thereafter the analytical framework). For several theoretical and practical reasons, it was decided to choose the most vulnerable part of the informal fabric of the city, the "not notified" (undeclared or illegal) slums.

These settlements were formed after 01/01/1995 and, due to the current regulations, have no protection or support from public institutions and are not eligible for any project of upgrading or redevelopment²⁸. These slums are inhabited by recent migrants²⁹ coming from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and South India, or from vulnerable groups that have shifted position in the city after the riots of 1992-3, occupying generally marginal parts of the city, or going to settle on the edges of "notified" slums in the most disadvantaged and unsafe areas. These settlements, since they are not recognized, theoretically should not exist and should be cleared by the authorities. This lack of legal recognition (but which is also a lack of political or civil recognition) is reflected in the scarcity of specific literature³⁰ on the formation, development, internal mechanisms and role played by these settlements in the city. Of course timing plays a key role in determining whether or not a settlement is notified: according to the various regulations and project strategies for slum areas, the deadline defining eligibility for

²⁸ Several policies have been drawn up and implemented in Mumbai starting from the '60s, in which the public authorities adopted different positions to face the "slum question". The first period was characterized by zero tolerance and consequent clearance of all the slum areas. After this period, starting from the late '70s policies oriented to the recognition and upgrading of part of the informal settlements were implemented (with the first definition of time limits within which settlements could be declared slum or could be "notified"). The current period followed the creation of the Slum Rehabilitation Authority in 1996 and the policies and limits, which are connected to that act (Box 4.1.).

²⁹ Migrants include also population from rural areas of Maharashtra who came to Mumbai to find a livelihood. Generally these migrants locate in the central part of the city, in particular as pavement dweller communities. Migration represents a very articulated dynamic in Mumbai and involves social classes and castes in different ways: the literature on the subject is extensive; a first concise and very readable entry point is Somaiya [2002]. The theme is not necessarily connected with fragmentation dynamics and its exploration does not represent an objective of this work, however when the two spheres are in touch, Socio-Spatial Analysis will be founded on these relations.

³⁰ Of course, the studies and the reports available on the general theme of slum areas in Mumbai include reflections on or, at least, references to this specific kind of informal fabric, beyond the "consolidated" slums. In some cases, data and information on informal settlements regard both those built before the 1995 and those built after that date.

notification was moved from 1976 to 1985 and then again, during the period of this research, to 1995. Slum areas, which were considered “not notified”-“illegal” during the Slum Redevelopment Project, were a few years later notified and thus became eligible for redevelopment by the SRA. The situation is constantly changing, and has been and continues to be subject to political pressures³¹: there is currently a political attempt to shift the date of eligibility again from 1995 to 2000³². This kind of action, in the short term, would radically transform the situation of specific informal areas of the city³³, but the wider issue of extending rights to the city universally is not likely to change.

Box 4.1. Evolution of the legislation on informal settlements and the question of “not notified” slums in Mumbai

The evolution of the legislation regarding slum areas (which sometimes are included in general acts regarding the management of the whole urban territory, or are linked to regulations for land acquisition) runs in parallel to the development of urban policies seeking slum upgrading, rehabilitation or redevelopment. The main steps of the legislation, including the establishment of authorities and compilations of regulations referring to slums, can be summarised by the following acts:

- “Bombay Municipal Corporation Act” (1888);
- “Bombay Town Planning Act” (1915);
- “Bombay Rents, Hotel Rates and Lodging House Rates Control Act” (1947, introduced in 1948 and known as “Rent Act”);
- “Bombay Building (Control on Erection, Re-erection and Conservation) Act (1948);
- “Bombay Town Planning Act”, known also as “BMC Act” (1954);
- “Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act” (1966), legal base for the formulation of the Development Plans (BUDP), defining Land Use Zoning, Floor Space Index (FSI) and Densities for residential development and Development Control (DC) Regulations and Building Bye-laws for controlling physical development (Phatak, 1996);
- “Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Re-development) Act” (1971) allowing the State Government to declare some areas as slums;
- “Maharashtra Slum Improvement (Eviction, Demolition and Resettlement) Act”; “Alternative Sites Act” (1973);
- “Maharashtra Vacant Land (prohibition of unauthorized occupation and summary eviction) Act” (1975);
- “Land Acquisition Act”, “Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act” (ULCRA), introduced in the “44th Constitution Amendment”, known also as “ULC Act” and “Mumbai Housing and Area Development Authority”, MHADA Act (1976);
- Regulations related to the “Prime Minister Grant Projects”, PMGP and Rent Control Reform (Model Rent Control Bill), section 20 and 21 of ULC Act; Development Control and Building Regulations (1986);
- Regulations for “Slum Redevelopment Scheme” and New DC Regulations (key part for the Development Plan for Bombay Metropolitan Region) (1991);
- Establishment of the “Slum Rehabilitation Authority” (1996, at work in 1997) and

³¹ For instance, at the Maharashtra State level, political interplay and propaganda between Shiv Sena and Congress Parties have been fundamental to the definition in 1991 of the New Development Control Regulations and Slum Redevelopment Scheme (Phatak, 1996; Sharma and Narender, 1996), but similar dynamics have entailed also local and national levels of action (Verma, 2002).

³² Within this context some projects of vital public importance have already used the deadline of 2000 (Subbaraman et al., 2012).

³³ This legal change would have consequences also for the three case study areas of this research: Rafi Nagar 2 would become completely “notified” apart from a few households; Chikkalwadi would be affected by a significant regularization (the main part of the community would be “notified”); and only Sai Leela would remain completely “not notified” (due to the lack of documentation for most of the pavement dwellers in the community).

regulations for scheme;

- “Maharashtra Slum (Clearance, improvement and Rehabilitation) Act” (2002).

The trajectory of the legislation implied an initial focus (in the '50s) on instruments for slum clearance (and resettlement), which were enforced during the '60s and in the first part of the '70s. With the ULCRA in the second part of the '70s and then during the '80s legal tools supported actions designed to respond to low-income people's housing demand. Regulations characterizing PMGP, Slum Redevelopment Schemes and SRA defined criteria of selection of beneficiaries, cut-off dates and rules in construction, density, cost recovery and management of redevelopment projects.

The evolution of urban policies in slum clearance (and resettlement), upgrading and rehabilitation/redevelopment tells a sort of parallel story of Mumbai urban development of the last 60 years. Key years which represent fundamental steps to understand the development of these policies include:

- 1958: after sporadic interventions by different actors (and policy set-up in 1956), including the Mumbai Housing Board (established in 1949), clearance and resettlement (in Mumbai suburbs) projects (including the “Slum Clearance Schemes”, funded by Central Government, see Phatak, 1996) had a real starting point, to some extent inked to the “2nd Five-Years Plan”;
- 1969: Bombay Building Repairs and Reconstruction Board;
- 1971: break with the previous experiences in slum urban policy bringing about the birth of State agencies (like MHADA, CIDCO, HUDCO) dedicated to social housing (where slum dwellers pertain to the “Economically Weaker Section”, EWS and “Low Income Group, LIG) in part through HUDCO-financed schemes and Mass Housing Programme (where EWS was substantially excluded) then, later in Advanced Contribution Schemes and Hire Purchase Schemes (supply by BHADB, Bombay Housing and Area Development Board and KHADB);
- 1972: first structured experiences in slum improvement, with environment and infrastructural upgrading, through various schemes such as “Environmental and Infrastructural Up-gradation Scheme” (EIUS), funded by the World Bank, or the “Slum Improvement Programme” (SIP) under BHADP (including transit camps and construction of apartment units);
- 1973: creation of the “Slum Improvement Fund”, “Slum Areas Improvement Committees” and “Slum Improvement Board” (then became part of MHADA);
- 1976: “Hut Renovation Scheme”;
- 1984: projects of the '80s like the Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) and Member of Legislative Council (MLC) Funds sought to overcome provisional solutions for slum dwellers;
- 1985: “World Bank Project/Bombay Urban Development Project” with main components, the “Slum Up-gradation Programme” and the “Land Infrastructure Servicing Programme”, a site and services scheme (Phatak, 1996; Sharma and Narender, 1996); “Rajiv Gandhi Zopadpatti Sudhar and Nivara Prakalp” also known as “Prime Minister Grant Project” (PMGP), started in 1985/1986, tried to provide continuity to slum redevelopment policies, following the experience of BHADP;
- 1989: “National Housing Bank”;
- 1991: “Slum Redevelopment Scheme (SRS)”;
- 1996: “Slum Redevelopment Authority (SRA) Scheme”;
- 1998: Establishment of “Shivshahi Punarvasan Prakalp Limited” (SPPL).

The efficacy and efficiency of the different upgrading and redevelopment programmes have provoked several debates within academic and political circles. The analysis and evaluation of these policies, which feed into an extensive literature, are not objectives of this research, but it is relevant here to note the continuing separation between slum dwellers with and without rights to the city, and the consequences of this fact for informal city governance. Several programmes and schemes addressing slum redevelopment put in place various conditions for the acceptance of projects. Here the research focuses only on the eligibility of slum dwellers (which in some cases means the possibility of rehabilitation of the entire settlement). The three main redevelopment schemes (PMGP, SRS, SRA) involved (and in

the last case still involves) a cut off date for slum dwellers' eligibility:

- For the PMGP, the 1976 slum census;
- For the SRS, being included in the 1985 Legislative Assembly registers of voters;
- For the SRA, being included in the 1995 Legislative Assembly registers of voters (01/01/1995).

Thus the adoption and implementation of PMGP, SRS and SRA programmes have led to the creation of a divide in the informal fabric between “recognized”/“declared”/“notified” slums and “not notified”/“undeclared”/“illegal” settlements, which have been excluded from redevelopment, with a consequent lack of recognition of rights that has significant consequences for the dynamics of urban fragmentation in Mumbai. This unprotected status has contributed to the formation of power relations and institutional solutions, which constitute the basis of the present research.

Three “not notified” settlements have been studied to explore fragmentation processes and power relations through an institutional approach, in pursuit of the conceptualization of sustainable urban planning³⁴ practices. The three case study areas are Rafi Nagar 2, Sai Leela Pavement and Chikkalwadi. These differ in size, in the way they formed, and in their geographic relation to adjacent settlements and to the rest of the city. During the analysis the research will offer tools to think about these settlements as fragments and will apply an institutional approach in order to detect power relations and rationalities in planning, drawing on the concepts of fragmentation and institution presented in the introduction. The next section (4.3.) presents information on how the case studies have been constructed, as a base from which follow the narratives for each of the case studies that form the rest of the chapter (sections 4.4.-4.6.), and which in turn provide the material for the analysis in subsequent chapters.

Box 4.2. “Notified” and “not notified” condition: rights as a discriminatory factor

A comparison between “notified” (formed before 01/01/1995) and “not notified” settlements (formed after 01/01/1995) in Mumbai is beyond the scope of the research, and would involve working on other aspects and literature which does not strictly refer to the urban fragmentation debate. However for the research purposes, rather than socio-spatial and cultural-economic differences (which, as will be shown, can be questionable), it is useful to underline some basic differences between the two fabrics in terms of rights, which have significant consequences for slum dwellers in institutional terms, and for the communities in political terms. Diversities/discriminations in rights between “notified” and “not notified” fabrics (which consist in lack of rights for “illegal” settlements) can be grouped in three points:

- Rights to services: the municipality has the responsibility to provide services to “notified” settlements (as, for instance, water provision), which can include slum improvement projects, while “not notified” settlements, considered “illegal”, cannot demand municipal services provision;
- Rights to land: “notified” slum dwellers do not have rights in terms of land property (and therefore access to formal land market) but have an actual land security which is completely absent in the “illegal” city (which “has to be demolished” by public authorities);
- Rights to “develop”: while the first two “categories” of right entail habitat conditions, the last category implies the possibility of development (or at least improvement) for

³⁴ Here the researcher looks at urban planning in a general sense, including the organization of space by the community and any forms of control over the territory in action in informal settlements.

the community, giving the right of proposing a “redevelopment” project only to “notified” communities.

4.3. Tools for reading the case studies

The case study exploration follows five main themes³⁵ (socio-spatial context; community formation; institutional set-up; relational geographies; power relations), which enable the outlining of basic elements in understanding fragmentation phenomena (consequences for socio-spatial fabric; internal mechanisms; rationality of powers driving the dynamic). During fieldwork, the exploration and description of the socio-spatial context comprised both direct and participant observation, while the interview process focused on aspects connecting social devices (groups, classes, castes) with a spatial/planning dimension, excluding all information not relevant to explore this link. Attention was given to detecting fragmentation processes in the socio-spatial fabrics of the case study areas, recording information, which might be evidence of fragmentation tendencies (without being in some cases direct proofs of fragmentation dynamics). Elements taken into consideration mainly pertain to the case study communities’ institutional foundation³⁶, which is the tool (and field of application) used in this research to understand urban fragmentation.

Within the research approach adopted, studying community formation means reflecting on communities or settlements as possible fragments, focusing on moments of social fabric generation in which the institutional mechanisms took shape (legacies of community formation still influence current institutional set-ups). Due to the absence of written documentation, information for this part of the argument comes mainly from the interviews (which included formal community leaders’ reconstructions from memory and single family stories). The focus is mainly on defining the organizational framework, the institutional mechanisms and spatial/planning arrangements, rather than on an historical analysis of social fabric formation.

The exploration of institutional set-ups collected and analysed data on two aspects: first, the organizations which socio-spatially structure the community, focusing on decision-making mechanisms in spatial/planning questions; second, the processes of “thought and word”, i.e. mental models through which slum dwellers individuate felt needs and approach spatial/planning questions and living community and city spaces. This work depended mainly on interviews. Literature on the subject in Mumbai is very scattered and does not appreciably cover not notified settlements. The work is structured as an exploration of power and rationality in actors’ understanding of

³⁵ These themes constitute also the five main points of interview guidelines (see A.7. and A.8.).

³⁶ This led sometimes to other exclusions.

policies, without aspiring to provide a complete inventory of institutions in the case study settlements.

Exploring the relational geographies of the case study areas consisted of seeing how the different fragments related to each other and to other territories of the city in socio-spatial terms (focusing on main city poles in order to reduce the possible universe). The exploration had to follow the methodological choices of the research, thus avoiding the approach taken in many relational geography studies, which usually include quantitative tools to classify phenomena, GIS etc. An additional difficulty was presented by the absence of substantial literature analysing the relation between slum areas in Mumbai; as a result, this aspect of the work relies on information from interviews and observations.

Approaching the issue of power was possible through interviews in depth and, to a very limited extent, through participant observations. In the literature on power in Mumbai, considering power at the micro-scale is unusual, and studies regarding relation between powers/authorities (and between them and community/individuals) in socio-spatial dimensions are almost absent (in particular when the geographic object of the analysis is the “illegal city”). The process of construction (and revision) of the contents here (mainly through triangulation) was very complex due the interviewees’ reluctance to provide certain kinds of information. The work aimed to explore power relations by focusing on spatial/planning decision-making processes and on actors’ rationality.

4.4. Case study 1: Rafi Nagar 2 (“Baba” Nagar)

4.4.1. Socio-spatial context

Rafi Nagar 2 (known as Baba Nagar to many stakeholders and slum dwellers) is located in the M/East ward of Mumbai (North Eastern part of the city), in the suburbs (A.10.). The settlement is physically located near a *nalla*, a kind of channel, which forms the western border of the community; the Deonar dumping ground forms the north and north-western side of the community; the eastern side of the community is physically limited by the wall of a planned graveyard; and on the south side the community is limited by Rafa Nagar 1, the notified settlement. The researcher’s first contact with Rafi Nagar 2 consisted of a walk from the auto-rickshaws stand located at the border between Rafi Nagar 1 and 2, along the road to the Shivaji Nagar bus depot, going around one side of the settlement and then along the wall of the graveyard to the “centre” of the settlement. This is a crossroads where two parts of the community could be seen: the vulnerable fabric on the *nalla* and the extensions that spread in the direction of the dumping ground; and, on the other side, the consolidated fabric, going to Rafi Nagar 1. The impossibility of seeing the end of the community (or the border

between the two settlements) on the Rafi Nagar 1 side impeded an estimation of the settlement's dimensions.

From the outset, three key spatial questions emerged as needing to be addressed in order to explore fragmentation processes:

- Dimensioning the community, to help understand power relations and the role of Rafi Nagar 2 in the area);
- Identifying the settlement borders, to understand relational geographies and community spatial identities);
- Exploring spatial diversities. Exploratory visits showed that the settlement displayed different kinds of fabric and a certain heterogeneity, which seemed relevant to understanding the character of fragmentation in the area).

Initially feasible fieldwork instruments comprised mainly in-depth interviews and direct observations. Participant observation was unrealistic. There was almost no possibility of using documents (produced mainly by NGOs and CBOs) or reliable materials coming from public institutions³⁷ (which did not usually refer to Rafi Nagar 2)³⁸. A key objective during the fieldwork was to forget preconceived categorization of the fragmentation phenomenon (which to some extent had helped to identify the case of Rafi Nagar 2) and to start at the same time to see questions from the slum dwellers' perspective.

Despite the lack of relevant existing surveys, the information collected during the interviews allowed an approximate "quantitative" dimensioning of the settlement: in Rafi Nagar 2 there are around 600-650 buildings (the community is, to some extent, expanding in the northern part, which is the only direction in which it can do so, as far as the limit set by the dumping ground³⁹). So what is considered to be Rafi Nagar 2? Public institutions seem to hold different positions on the question: for the municipality there is officially just one Rafi Nagar (part 1, which is a notified slum), while for the

³⁷ Few documents are produced by the NGOs working in the community. The main one, Apnalaya, does not produce specific documentation and/or analysis on the community and is more focused on offering some basic information on the vulnerable conditions of the people in health, education and food security than a comprehensive analytical overview of the communities. In a meeting between NGOs and civil society actors and activists, held in the Shivaji Nagar Apnalaya Office on 28-12-2010, one of the main points of discussion was the creation of a network in order to exchange and "rationalize" the scattered data and information on Rafi Nagar 2 and other communities of the area. This lack of solid information was found by the researcher also in the public administration, probably due not only to the cost of up-to-date data, but also to the "not notified" status of Rafi Nagar 2, with any official data on Rafi Nagar covering only the "notified" part of the settlement. Other sources, such as for instance the information coming from the health services, take into consideration both the parts of the community, avoiding any distinction and using the name of the whole area.

³⁸ With the exception of the "research support group" member, Ruchi Sinha's PhD thesis (Sinha, 2011) which, at the time of the fieldwork, was still in progress and covers mainly social aspects of the community (focusing on violence and health).

³⁹ Direct and participant observation verified, just within the limited period between the beginning of January and the first days of February 2011, the construction of a dozen new shelters in the northern part of the community, representing however 2% of all the buildings in the community.

police the distinction between Rafi Nagar 1 and “Baba” Nagar⁴⁰ is clear. The perception of slum dwellers is built on their recognition of the distinctiveness of the two communities: according to interviewees, this distinctiveness is not due to the ethnic or geographic origins of their populations, nor even to their different socio-economic status, but to the conditions in which the two communities were formed and to the internal rules that regulate each community.

The location of the border between the two communities/settlements is similarly unclear. Slum dwellers locate (and think of) the “border” in different ways, the most widespread view being that it lies along a key east-west street, which divides the community. Rafi Nagar 1 is located south of the street and Rafi Nagar 2 north of it. The division seems to follow the physical separation between the more consolidated part of Rafi Nagar (part 1) and the more recent and precarious part 2. Part 1 underwent several upgrading interventions both in terms of services (water and sanitation, paving and drainage of the streets, street lighting, etc.) and in terms of tolerance and recognition of the settlement, with the abandonment of demolition practices. Nevertheless, interviewees expressed constant uncertainty⁴¹ about where the border between them lies geographically, as shown by their tendency to consider as part of Rafi Nagar 1 the area near the main road that separates the settlement from the dumping ground (and, in the furthest part, from the graveyard).



Figure 4.1. Housing conditions in Rafi Nagar 2: “consolidated” part.



Figure 4.2. Housing conditions in Rafi Nagar 2: recent parts.

Source: Enrico Michelutti (28-09-2010).

⁴⁰ This distinction is not precisely defined geographically. The researcher obtained through the “research support group” a police map of the area on which “Baba” Nagar – a pejorative nickname for Rafi Nagar 2 – approximately matched the most vulnerable part of the community.

⁴¹ Some interviewees even divide Rafi Nagar in three parts, in particular the old inhabitants of the initial settlement of Rafi Nagar 2: Rafi Nagar part 1 (more consolidated and serviced part); Rafi Nagar part 2 (original settlement, near part 1, with similar socio-spatial characteristics to part 1); Baba Nagar (more precarious and vulnerable part of the community, near the *nala* and the dumping ground). This perception reveals their will to be considered in a different way compared to the recent migrants living in the northern part of the community and, according to some key informants, their aim to be included definitely in the part 1, which for them means to be included in the city and eventually to become citizens.

Through direct observation the researcher identified three “spatial” conditions of the urban fabric within Rafi Nagar 2, going from more consolidated (Figure 4.1.) to extremely precarious habitat solutions⁴² (Figure 4.2.). The original nucleus of part 2, which was occupied around 1995, is characterized by an urban fabric very similar to that of the adjacent Rafi Nagar 1, with consolidated housing⁴³ and service standards⁴⁴ similar to “common informal areas”. A few metres away from the consolidated part of the settlement, as you get away from the main road, the condition of the fabric changes rapidly, the housing becomes precarious and accessibility and services decrease⁴⁵. The habitat conditions in this area visibly deteriorate, but a sort of spatial continuum with the consolidated part is still present due to the use of shared spaces; a degree of informal and un-planned coherence in the ways these spaces are used by the people create continuity between the two sub-parts of the community. The third sub-part is the most extensive, the part generally recognized as “Baba Nagar”, which gives this deprecatory name to all three sub-parts. In this case the contrast with the urban fabric of Rafi Nagar 1 and the consolidated part of Rafi Nagar 2 is sharp. The habitat becomes very precarious⁴⁶ and community services arrive illegally or informally⁴⁷.

⁴² On the other hand, this condition and the richness in spatial diversities that characterizes informal settlements in Mumbai and in particular the “not notified” ones, is not immediately visible for an analysis of the urban fabric through satellite images or Google Earth, where the density of the urban fabric makes difficult the perception of such kind of differences. Analysing the question at another scale, the strong difference between the “ordered” and upgraded fabric of Shivaji Nagar area and the apparently chaotic fabric of all Rafi Nagar area (including the different part 1) immediately appears.

⁴³ Housing is characterized by buildings in bricks and *para*, which consist in metal sheet (usually in one level, with the sporadic presence of buildings in two levels) based on the structure generally in wood and more rarely in steel. The shelters consist usually in a room of 12-18 square meters, without any internal divisions⁴³, with a concrete floor, the door as the only point of internal-external space relations (usually there are few windows). The furniture generally consists in some means to cook, a fan and carpets (and frequently also a TV and a table). Due to the climatic conditions, with the exception of the monsoon season, during the day the house is mainly an empty space; on the contrary in the night, the family (in the case of the researcher’s interviews, the families have approximately a five-members size) organizes (and uses all) the space to sleep.

⁴⁴ The only service that is available inside the house is electricity; in this part of the fabric, water is available in public taps or in the closer areas of Rafi Nagar 1 (according to the general availability of water in the pipes of the area, a few hours per day). Streets (consisting in passages with a width between 1 and 3 meters) are paved and include some solutions for the drainage of the water, which anyway is not systematic and does not follow a comprehensive design for water control (with the consequent problems during the rainy season). This part of Rafi Nagar 2 is characterized by the presence of public illumination, basic facilities (like private ambulatories, religious spaces, the nutritional centre provided by the NGO Apnalaya) and a considerable number of shops.

⁴⁵ Shelters present reduced dimensions (generally not more than 15 square metres), a limited use of metal sheet and the appearance of plastic external walls. Lanes are not paved anymore and drainage solutions become scarce. The accessibility to the shelters (and to this area in general) is limited, with passages that allow only the movement of one person in the lane. The absence of public water taps and public illumination give immediately the perception of an area that has not been benefited from upgrading projects.

⁴⁶ Housing consists in small shelters (approximately around 12 square metres), built with a bamboo structure, plastic panels or in sackcloth walls with occasional inserts in metal sheets. Shelters usually have a floor constituted by filling material taken from the dumping ground, limited to within perimeter of the house with other building materials of bigger size inside sacks; on this base one or two carpets are placed, with (or without) an additional layer of small-size filling material.

⁴⁷ In this part of the settlement electricity is provided, without any meter, from illegal connections⁴⁷; water can be taken from 100 hectolitres plastic tanks (provided by political parties) but it is usually filled from water tankers⁴⁷. The source of this water (that goes to a “not notified” slum) is paradoxically the municipality itself, which provides water⁴⁷ to a settlement that it demolishes frequently. Sanitation facilities are based on a few public latrines on the side of the *nala*, but males use the dumping ground area. A

During direct observation, the initial reaction of the researcher was that physical and morphological divisions between fabrics were not sufficient to think of Rafi Nagar 2 as a fragment and that the social fabric of the community should be explored. The interview process seemed to confirm this need. The social profile of the settlement is quite homogeneous and cultural similarities exist between the people of Rafi Nagar 2 and the slum dwellers of Rafi Nagar 1 and the neighbourhoods of the Shivaji Nagar area. The great majority of the community is Muslim and the people are migrants, mainly from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal states. Two key elements define the socio-cultural and economic profile of the Rafi Nagar 2 population: the allegiance of the greater part of the population to the Muslim religion⁴⁸; and the dumping ground as the main source of livelihood⁴⁹. These factors, which are also common to other slum dwellers of communities in the Shivaji Nagar area, facilitate the creation of networks between Rafi Nagar 2 and other neighbouring settlements. But, at the same time, this affinity does not mean that Rafi Nagar 2 inhabitants feel that they are immersed in a bigger community or are a peripheral part of Rafi Nagar 1. During the interview process, the community's sense of identity seemed to be related to a complex whole of factors, which builds up to a palpable difference in belonging to one community as against another. One of the characteristics that contribute to this sense of belonging to the community relates to the moment of settlement formation, which for several interviewees was synonymous with the formation of the social fabric of the community.

public toilet reserved to women (funded by a political party) was in construction on the main road of Rafi Nagar 2 during the last period of the researcher's second trip in Mumbai. The system of accessibility to the houses, that is of course entirely unpaved (with *para* that are perpendicular to the main road passing through the community and the *nala*), has also the functions as a drainage system with the water flowing in the direction of the *nala* (and of the public toilets). In this part of the community there is no public illumination, few shops are available and there is an almost total absence of public spaces (for whatever activity) or facilities.

⁴⁸ Community leaders affirmed that more than the 90% of Rafi Nagar 2 inhabitants are Muslim. Triangulations with other interviews confirm this percentage in terms of scale, but anyway the research cannot rely on this, as in other sectors, due to the absence of comprehensive socio-demographic surveys. Also in this case, the focus is on the spatial (and planning) consequences that this fact represents. The use of the public spaces and the few community facilities, as also the use of the private house is regulated by habits that are largely diffused in the Muslim culture of Mumbai. The movement of the complete families in the communities, the relationships with the "extended" family living in the area, the separation between male and female "circuits", the particular congregations of young people on public spaces and roads: in all these aspects, Rafi Nagar 2 follows the tendencies of all the Muslim communities inside Mumbai, without particular deviations, though of course in the particular context of vulnerability of the settlement that influences these dynamics.

⁴⁹ The main labour activities are centred in the dumping ground, including all the recycling process. In Rafi Nagar 2, a substantial part of the slum dwellers go to the dumping ground as pickers. Some of them can sell the recycled materials themselves, but the majority rely on scrap merchants, frequently based in Rafi Nagar 1 or in other localities of Shivaji Nagar. Thus the dumping ground is also the principal source of income for the community's population. According to the information collected from the interviewees, the income of a family ranges between 100 and 150 R\$/day (2-3 €/day), thus around 4.000 R\$/month (80 €/month). The search for reliability of these kinds of information presented several difficulties because of the reluctance related to privacy in giving data and due to the daily wages-based work that slum dwellers usually have (as largely discussed in the interview with support research group member, 19-01-2011). According to the interviews conducted by the researcher in the community and with key informants, very few people of the community work outside the area of the Deonar dumping ground (consisting in Shivaji Nagar neighbourhoods).

4.4.2. Formation of the settlement

The birth of Rafi Nagar 2 is located by the interviewees in a not precisely defined moment during the years 1994 and 1995. The formation of the new community (or the extension of the existing Rafi Nagar community) was due to the construction of the road that currently leads to the Shivaji Nagar Bus Depot. In the same period the people living in Rafi Nagar 1 (and new migrants) were insisting on reclaiming land in the area near the *nalla*, on the northern side of the community, close to the Deonar dumping ground, in order to obtain land to settle. Two tendencies guided the formation (and the fragmentation process) of Rafi Nagar 2. The first was the occupation of the land near the dumping ground, which was of little interest to the public authorities or the private market, followed by land sales and informal acquisition in a process almost completely controlled by criminals. This attracted vulnerable Muslims from Mumbai or Muslim migrants from elsewhere in India, as in other informal not notified settlements. The second tendency was a process of continuous demolition⁵⁰ that has reshaped the socio-spatial condition of the community several times; according to interviewees, a key demolition that affected a large part of the community with a dramatic change in the social composition of the settlement took place in 2004.

Box 4.3. Arrivals in the community

"I was born in Bombay: yes, that time, Mumbai was called still Bombay...But I don't remember where." The old man, RN6, beside the kiosk is trying to remember, "Yes, I remember that I've lived in several parts of the city, changing home after short periods, then I arrived in the Lotus Compound in Shivaji Nagar. I stayed there for some years then I moved to Rafi Nagar. Ten years ago, I arrived eventually in Rafi Nagar 2. My house is there" he says indicating me a shelter on the main road of the most precarious part of the settlement. "I was moving and moving closer to the dumping ground but now I'm here and I have the *purava* [receipt of municipal survey]. I'll be here 'till I'll die."

RN2 comes from Kala Riksha, in Uttar Pradesh. She arrived in Mumbai 20 years ago approximately. "I was staying in Shivaji Nagar, but after the riots of 1992-93, the situation became difficult for Muslim people. I was afraid to stay there. So, in 1996, I came to Rafi Nagar 2. Here almost all the people are Muslim, I can walk on the street without problems and I can leave the boys (her children) going around."

RN12 also comes from Uttar Pradesh. "I had a lot of problems in Basti...familiar problems. It was impossible to live there. I decided to come to Mumbai. I didn't know where to go. My husband was in contact with a friend here in Rafi Nagar 2, so we decided to stay here. We didn't have any alternative. So we came here and we built the shelter with bamboo and plastic sheets."

⁵⁰ Demolitions have affected, at least in part, Rafi Nagar 2 in an imprecise numbers of cases, during the approximately 16 years of the existence of the settlement (according to community leaders and interviewees, demolitions affected the settlement around 30 times, the last important one in May 2010). The more significant demolitions in 2004, 2006 and 2009 have had consequences from both the spatial and the social points of view. If the demolition obliges the population to leave the settlement or to build new shelter with even more precarious solutions, from the social point of view, the demolitions have frequently entailed a re-definition of the social pattern of the community. The case of the 2004 demolition was emblematic with the eviction of a large part of the Bangladeshi group of the population, which dispersed almost completely one of the main groups of Rafi Nagar 2 (Sinha, 2011).

During the interviews and participant observations, the researcher was conscious that the formation of the community is not merely a spatial/planning solution to get housing, and at the same time cannot be considered as an historical moment when certain (large) migrant families belonging to different social groups settle in a specific territory. The formation of the settlement recurred in several interviews as a moment creating the basis of the slum dwellers' identity by which they recognize themselves as group distinct from the other people living in the area, as well as the appearance of internal rules and equilibriums of roles between community members. The formation of the settlement (and its reconstitution after demolition) is a key step in defining the institutions structuring Rafi Nagar 2 society.

4.4.3. Institutional set-up

In comparison with socio-spatial data collection, direct and to a lesser degree participant observations revealed their limitations in understanding the institutional set-up and mechanisms of Rafi Nagar 2. The researcher had to rely mainly on interviews in depth. The initial objective was identifying the different actors that make socio-spatial decisions in the territory and represent the "organizations", which interplay with community members and extended families in identifying felt needs, setting agendas and taking part in decision-making processes. In Rafi Nagar 2, fulfilling this objective required a considerable effort, due to the fluid role of the organizations, which frequently cover several functions inside the community. The second objective, which entailed wide data collection on societal structures in the community, was the exploration of the processes of thought and word, which constitute slum dwellers' mental models. In Rafi Nagar 2, this required exploring Muslim institutions in spatial use and perceptions. Institutional characteristics are not fixed, but develop over time; the researcher focused on three dynamics in obtaining basic urban elements to understand community institutional mechanisms.



Figure 4.3. Land portion prepared for construction.



Figure 4.4. First phase of construction of a shelter done by an "informal company".

Source: Enrico Michelutti (10/01/2011; 28/01/2011).

Access to land in the community is controlled by criminal organizations, with some analysts theorizing the presence of a land mafia system (Sinha, 2011). According to participant observation activities⁵¹ and interviews in depth, the presence of slum lord(s) in controlling access to land by new people coming in the community⁵² is shown by two procedures: the payment of an amount of money⁵³ before the arrival in the community (to “buy” the right to settle in a certain space and to build the shelter, see Figure 4.3.) or alternatively the payment of an *una tantum*, consisting in a certain amount of money that interviewees pay regularly⁵⁴ (to “buy” protection). In both cases, the newcomer normally enters the community through contacts (parents, friends, people coming from the same area in India). In the first option, the newcomer’s contact can put him in touch with a mediator who completes the agreement with the slum lord, taking a percentage of the affair for that work (according to the researcher’s contacts, usually 10%). In the second option, adopted by people that cannot afford this initial “cost”, the newcomer can also force the situation, arranging a portion of land by himself and settle in the community, taking the risks implied by this choice (the researcher has collected accounts of pressures, threats and violence that slum dwellers face in their relations with slum lords as an usual habit).

Box 4.4. Dialogue with a mediator

An., At., Bi., Hr. and I arrived at the northern border of the community in the late morning. The beginning of the dumping ground was at the top of the hill, an unpaved path turned right and inside. The last shelters of the community lay at the lower part of the hillside. We saw land prepared for the construction of new houses: there was a big space on the right side of the narrow track that we were walking; on the other side was a small portion of land, and a third part in front of us, facing an already built shelter.

Near the open space on the right, a group of four people was speaking animatedly. Our presence in the area at that moment was evidently unexpected: we approached the man that was in the middle of the group giving (or explaining) some orders to the other men. The people to whom he was talking seemed to know us already and didn’t show particular surprise. We started to ask about the land: “Who will stay on this land?” “People coming from outside Mumbai: from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh”. The man continued to speak freely: “I don’t know how much they will pay. At this moment, I don’t know. But this piece of land [the big one, about 20 square meters] will cost not less than 5.000 R\$ [approximately 100 €]. I will speak with the *dada* for them; however, the negotiation has already started. We will see...”. A woman standing in the doorway of the shelter sideways entered in the discussion with a shout: “I haven’t paid anyone, I haven’t paid...”.

The reaction of the mediator and his group was immediate. The discussion became very animated and people came from other shelters to participate. Discussion was interrupted continuously by shouts. From the main road of the community a man arrived and on seeing him the people started to be quiet. He ordered to the people to remain silent and asked us the

⁵¹ In one of the participant observation days (10/01/2011), the researcher had the opportunity to meet and have a short chat with a possible “mediator”; the discussion was interrupted violently by another member of the community maybe involved in the circuit, as assumed by other community members.

⁵² Of course, in this case the researcher excludes the people coming into the community and staying in rented accommodation: in this case, the process involves the tenant indirectly (and the “owner” directly).

⁵³ For the portion of land (approximately 12-14 sq metres) slum dwellers pay an amount of approximately 5.000 R\$ (100 €).

⁵⁴ The payment does not consist in the same amount of money (because many slum dwellers work on daily wages) and is not always paid monthly, however the payment has a certain regularity.

reason of the discussions. Actually there was no possibility of explaining the situation; the man only wanted us to leave. We found out later that the man was an affiliated of the *dada*. I was looking to the mediator but he was already far away. I found him in the community another time, a few weeks later.

Access to housing, consequent to the agreement regarding the land, seems to depend only on informal arrangements, without the inclusion of criminal institutions: several times slum dwellers in Rafi Nagar 2 opt for partial or complete auto-construction solutions, or less frequently (as in the case of some female households) they use experienced labour, who operate through informal companies (Figure 4.4.). The cost of the house consists mainly of the materials (usually recycled from the dumping ground), while the workers do not represent a significant expenditure for the families⁵⁵. Due to the flimsiness of the structures, they can be built in no more than 3 or 4 days of work. Of course, this operation takes place frequently after demolition, with the possible presence of “additional costs” to be addressed to the authorities⁵⁶. Few people in Rafi Nagar 2 have access to housing through renting⁵⁷.

Access to services of water and sanitation (in Rafi Nagar 2 it is mainly a question of water) shows overlaps between informal institutions in the community, formal institutions (here mainly the municipality) and intermediate institutions (political parties). While the questions related to sanitation are significantly left to individual responsibility (excluding the recent exception of the public toilets for women⁵⁸, see Figure 4.5. and 4.6.) that includes the possibility of using facilities outside Rafi Nagar 2 through payment⁵⁹, water provision represents a space where the needs of the slum dwellers, the interests of political parties and the lack of municipal policy are evident. The settlement does not have any connection to the water system (if a small part of the “buffer zone⁶⁰” near Rafi Nagar 1 is excluded)⁶¹: thus the community is forced to take water from water tankers⁶² that can either distribute water to people individually or fill

⁵⁵ According to the interviewees, the work does not cost more than 1.000 R\$ (20 €) for a very precarious bamboo and plastic sheet shelter.

⁵⁶ Some interviewees have admitted making a payment to the police in order to “secure” the new construction of the shelter.

⁵⁷ Rafi Nagar 2 community leader states that a very small percentage of the population lives in rented accommodation. One interviewee pays 400 R\$/month for his shelter.

⁵⁸ According to the information collected in the community, the location and the type of use of the toilet was the object of violent disputes inside the community, in particular between the two committees that are working in the community (see following paragraphs).

⁵⁹ According to the some of the in-depth interviews it is common to go to the toilet or to have a shower in the public facilities located in various parts of Shivaji Nagar. This tendency is even more common in Rafi Nagar 1. Other options, mainly for men, include going to the dumping ground or taking water to have partial baths in the shelter; of course, these choices are not available for women.

⁶⁰ The consolidated part of Rafi Nagar 2 (original settlement) is considered here as a buffer zone between Rafi Nagar 1 and the most precarious areas of Rafi Nagar 2.

⁶¹ Groups of families in “notified” slums can ask for a small connection, which the Municipality is obliged to provide.

⁶² This process is conducted by private vendors that take the water from the pipe lines with the permission of the Municipality or through people leaving in the community, organized by a community political leader (in the case of the interview collected by the researcher, the local political leader organizing the water tankering was officer of the Samajwadi Party but the process is not exclusively in the hands of one party).

plastic tanks located on the main road. The latter solution is not sufficient to cover the water demand of the community (the tanks are regularly empty after only a short time). Thus the only choice is to press the political parties active in the area to obtain the services (according to the interviewees, without a specific politic orientation of the slum dwellers from one side or another of the political scenarios in the city). During participant observation, slum dwellers attributed almost any action on the territory in this sector (for instance a plastic tank installation, water distribution through tankers or the realization of toilet facilities) to some specific party or political leader⁶³.



The collection of information regarding these three processes has permitted an outline to be drawn of the organizations that create the institutional mechanisms of Rafi Nagar 2. From the beginning of fieldwork, public institutions and private actors appeared as external forces in determining the community's socio-spatial choices in only a very fragmentary way (7.3.). Their absence forced the researcher to explore relations between criminal organizations, which represent a polarity in Rafi Nagar 2, emerging as the route of access to the "city" in its various meanings, and the actors who interplay with slum dwellers. In land and housing access, the organizations that enable the community to function belong to the community social fabric, in access to services they consist in "intermediate institutions", which work at higher scale and have a complex relations with the community (6.5.3.):

- CBOs (*mandal* or other community associations), which deal with socio-spatial issues, involving also other fields of action with a limited recognition of slum dwellers (more frequently favouring certain individuals in the CBOs rather than the organizations);
- Political parties (with varying alignments and ideologies), which work as facilitators, mainly supporting CBOs, families and individuals, in their relations

⁶³ According to the interviewees, The Samajwadi Party and BJP are present in the community with spot interventions but without continuous actions: the political person of reference seems to be A. H., involved also in the toilet facilities project with a found coming directly from the party.

and negotiations with the municipality, or directly providing services such as water supply;

- Local NGOs (in Rafi Nagar 2, the main actor in this sector is Apnalaya), which more directly support slum dwellers and community institutions in getting basic services (not always strictly related to spatial/planning issues).

Some of these actors engage in complex relations with criminal institutions. Initially these relations do not involve institutional set-ups (in its internal rules and roles/responsibilities) of institutions related to community (NGOs and political parties work also outside the community context) but include individuals, playing on both sides. The consolidation of criminals' dynamics at a personal level leads to a transformation of certain institutional mechanisms (6.5.2.). In Rafi Nagar 2, access to land, housing and services is deeply connected to criminal solutions, which are built on individual relations between criminal organizations (as providers) and slum dwellers (as customers). This dynamic contributes to shaping mental models, rationalities, "rites" and specific processes of word (see 6.5. and 7.4.).

4.4.4. Relational geographies

The complex overlapping of institutional systems governing Rafi Nagar 2 and in some degree isolating the settlement from the rest of the city (Box 6.4.), does not mean that the community is not interested in networks and relations with the other fragments of the area and/or that the borders of the settlement represent a separation in urban networks⁶⁴. In this sense the fieldwork contradicted the first reactions of the researcher after his exploratory visits, when the impression emerged strongly of "not notified" settlements being separated from the rest of the fabric. Relational geographies of Rafi Nagar 2 can be summarized through two main kinds of flows:

- Flows entailing relations of "dependence" of the community on other fragments (relations between the inside the community and the outside, linking mainly in socio-economic terms Rafi Nagar 2 with Rafi Nagar 1 and other informal settlements of the area⁶⁵);
- Flows concerning exclusion processes, which identify Rafi Nagar 2 as a sort of dangerous ghetto, in socio-economic but also in cultural terms, disrupting social

⁶⁴ Relations in the area seem to be mainly characterized by proximity, being developed with the nearest "fragments".

⁶⁵ The community depends on the outside in socio-economic terms: this outside consists mainly of the dumping ground (and the activities that there take place there). But the activities that concern the recycling are substantially located in Rafi Nagar 1, which becomes a place of reference for the dumping ground workers. Due to proximity, interviewees frequently use services in the nearest community (mainly searching for goods in shops or markets and basic services regarding mainly health -private ambulatory-, education -primary school for children-, and sanitation -toilet facilities-). The search for specific goods is usually limited to the Shivaji Nagar area, where the interviewees feel they are able to find whatever they need. The use of the rest of the city (in particular the area of Govandi Station and other markets and public offices located in Deonar or Chembur area) is very limited and concerns especially the young population. Only in some emergencies, like assistance to parents in hospital, do people go outside the area.

connections and generating a separation of the fabric from the outside⁶⁶ (which includes place use and movements within and between settlements).

A part the socio-spatial aspects, in Rafi Nagar 2, relational geographies deeply entail the organizational dimension (6.5.), taking shape according to the links between different institutions on the territory. Agreements/associations between communities or the arrangement of single organizations on different territories (presenting a visible lack of policies and formal-informal rules⁶⁷, as in the case of the Kachara Kamgar Sangathana, KKS⁶⁸, and the reinforcing idea of isolation⁶⁹ and individual links appearing in the area) shape another layer of fragmentation in a more institutional sense. In the interviews, one could perceive a general need among institutional actors to play in a defined territory (using specific networks), where areas of interest are very clear, though certainly not flaunted: this need entails also organizations dealing with humanitarian support (the researcher used Apnalaya as entry point to this kind of dynamic). A classification of these interests is not central to the research, but it is relevant to note that difficulties in building associative and political relations with the

⁶⁶ According to the cases explored in the interviews, migrants in Rafi Nagar 2 usually arrive there after an initial stage (that can last years) in another part of the city: these periods create a network between Rafi Nagar 2 inhabitants and parents or friends remaining in those areas. Also in this case the flows are going from Rafi Nagar 2 to the outside and the reverse movement is very rare. For instance almost nobody considers it feasible to have family meetings in a shelter of the settlement either because of the condition of the housing or because of the environment of the community itself, which is considered “dangerous” or “uncomfortable” for people coming from outside. These considerations of the interviewees, together with the experiences of participant activities, contribute to shaping a self-consciousness of a distinction between “us” (who live inside) and “them” (who come from outside), without an actual visible gap in socio-economic and cultural terms (“them” can be also a group of parents, coming from the same village, with a very similar income, living in a “notified” slum).

⁶⁷ A certain frailty of the representative mechanisms is another characteristic that emerges from the interviews with the community leaders: almost all the *mandal* analysed during the field work are formed around a group of a few people (or a single person) that have founded the association and that constitute a council or directive group. In several cases the decisional (and administrative) posts are taken only inside this directive group (this is the case of the *mandal* Roshni Mahila), in other cases the association calls quite regularly for elections but candidates and representatives remain almost the same (which is the case with KKS). If the participation in formal elections is limited because of the lack of documentation for a significant part of the slum dwellers in Rafi Nagar 2, there is associated with this a rooted distrust of possible forms of “democracy” and involvement of the population in politics at the level of the community. The consequences are visible in the interviews where a dramatic lack of interest in all forms of participation (participation mechanisms interest the population only when something personal is involved, as in the case of demolitions) is evident for the majority of the interviewees. They seem to trust exclusively one or another community leader for personal reasons, giving again the suspicion of the appearance of micro-fragmentation forms, social pulverization and individual logics in planning decisions and governance, or at least the presence of alternative forms of socio-spatial organization following rural traditional bases.

⁶⁸ KKS is a community based organization, created through the support and coordination of Apnalaya. The main purpose of the association is the distribution of ID cards to the garbage pickers in order to obtain regulation of access to the dumping ground through an agreement with the municipality. Apart from the municipality itself, only three local NGOs can distribute the ID cards. To have a contact in one or another NGO becomes a factor of distinction and division in Rafi Nagar 2 (interview with community leader, 18-01-2011).

⁶⁹ According to the interviews with community leaders, there is no agreement between community-based organizations to deal with common problems in the area. A consciousness of the problem (for instance the need of a relationship between Rafi Nagar 1 and 2) emerges in some interviewees but there is no tangible action in this direction on the ground.

other communities of the area, just like the emergence of conflicts⁷⁰ inside the settlement, are rooted in a non-homogeneous social fabric.

4.4.5. Power relations

The first impression from the interviews was that Rafi Nagar 2 interviewees tend to recognise forms of “direct” power relations in which they identify single actors (slum lord; community leader, etc.) as authorities (7.2.). As the researcher spent longer in the community, however, it became clear that dense and articulated power relations existed, including various indirect forms of relation between slum dwellers and authority. In this context, the space for individual participation in spatial/planning decision-making processes is generally very limited both at individual and family levels. Community institutional structures favour the establishment of client-patron relations, in which “democracy” and equity between internal (and external) stakeholders are limited by personal and power group interests.

In Rafi Nagar 2 the relations between slum dwellers and (urban) powers, usually passing through community institutions, have two polarities⁷¹ (which however do not exclude other more specific forms of power⁷²):

- The municipality (which is the only public authority in action in Rafi Nagar 2) for protection of housing during demolition and reconstruction processes and, to some extent, in services provision (water);
- The criminal system (relations with criminals, in this case slum lords) mainly for access to land and some services.

Power relations entail also direct contacts between criminal organizations and the municipality, which imply at least a tolerance between the two. Slum lords “sell” to slum dwellers a sort of right to stay on the land, but the land is (and remains) the property of the municipality. According to interviews with key informants, no specific policy from the municipality (even through the police, who are the main means of implementing actions taken against individuals) has been taken against the slum lords “system” (or land

⁷⁰ An example of the tensions of community is the conflict that has emerged over the location, construction and management of the public toilets for women: these conflicts are usually not organized (and the two community-based organizations are not always involved) and arise from personal or familial interests.

⁷¹ The private sector in Rafi Nagar 2, both formal and informal, internal or external with respect the community, acts very weakly. Due to the position of the community near the dumping ground, developer lobbies are not yet in action and this lack of interest, for the moment, involves also Rafi Nagar 1. The situation is slightly different in Shivaji Nagar. In any case, in the interviews the private sector does not appear as a key power in relations with the Municipality.

⁷² For instance, institutional expressions of the third sector, at the level of CBOs organized inside the community or local NGOs working in different areas of the city including Rafi Nagar 2, represent a key power in the territory. Relations between NGOs (in particular with Apnalaya) and Municipality are in action in Rafi Nagar 2: NGOs have shared some functions with the Municipality (e.g. the ID cards for the dumping ground) and can be contacted as intermediaries for the Municipality in actions like the surveys. Of course this relation entails two powers having different scales of action (even if the population recognizes the role of the NGO in the territory). The case of the CBOs is different: they are relevant to some extent at the decisional level for the territory but their actions seem to lie in another layer with respect to the actions of the Municipality. The non-recognition of the settlement (and of the slum dwellers as citizens) contributes to creating a gap between the two institutions.

mafia) in Rafi Nagar 2⁷³. In all these relations, a key role is played by intermediate institutions.

The municipality is seen as an authority distant from the slum dwellers of Rafi Nagar 2. Contact with this institution happens during municipal surveys⁷⁴, which are however very rare. In transactions between the community and the municipality, which here represents urban power, the main intermediate institutions are the political parties. The efficiency of the dialogue between the two organizations depends on the political position of the administration, with activities generally related to the water sector. According to community leaders, these activities do not derive from the political programmes of the local parties, but are mainly expressions of their desire to appear as active actors in the territory in return for votes.

Box 4.5. Relations with political parties: complexities and distances

RN1 says “Political parties come here only before elections. After the electoral days, they disappear”. RN1, who is one of the community leaders of Rafi Nagar 2, views relations with the political parties purely in terms of exchange: “They [the political parties] promise something to the people, the people vote”. “I go to the meetings [of the Congress Party] with my sister”, the voice of RN5, a woman of Rafi Nagar 2, sounds very low, as a whisper: “we are trying to find someone that can help us”.

Rafi Nagar 2 inhabitants’ perception of political parties’ activities on the territory seems to be far away from the implementation of a specific political programme and to show a contrast between public declarations and practices on the ground. Let us take as an example the case of A.H.. He is a local politician of the right wing, and thus pro-Hindu and, to some extent, “critical” of the Muslim part of Mumbai population. This emerges strongly in the discussion with the key informant Ruchi Sinha (24-12-2010) on the action of Shiv Sena Party: “They play well through favours and votes are guaranteed”. Yet A.H. is paradoxically the key player in Rafi Nagar 2, where Muslim inhabitants constitute the very large majority of the settlement. Slogans and provocations of Muslim communities in India frequently come from right wing parties (Mehta, 2004). This does not surprise RN6, an old man, who perceives the politics as a *do ut des* practice: “We give A.H. our vote and he gives us the new toilets [the interviewee is mentioning the project already cited]”. For RN6 the formation of the settlement itself is due to the same kind of operation: “When the municipality built the road to the Shivaji Nagar bus depot, they gave us the possibility to occupy the area near the creek, here in Rafi Nagar 2”.

RN14, a slum dweller of Rafi Nagar 2, is a craftsman, and also officer of the Samajwadi Party in Shivaji Nagar: “I’m organizing the water tankering for the families in my *para*, 800 R\$ per tanker”. He speaks proudly about the activities of the Samajwadi Party but these actions are taking place outside Rafi Nagar, in other localities of Shivaji Nagar. When I point out to him that the plastic water tanks installed by the Samajwadi Party in Rafi Nagar 2 are almost always empty, RN14 tries to avoid answering and eventually ends with another question: “What else can we do here?”.

Distance from institutions is a common feeling for the people of Rafi Nagar 2, not only in relation to political parties that continue to be intermediate institutions, to some extent negotiating with public institutions, but also in relation to the “state”, intended as republic, *res publica*: “We are poor and nobody wants to listen to us” says RN2.

⁷³ Certain activists (and part of the academic debate) would extend this position of the Municipality for the whole “illegal” city.

⁷⁴ In the case of demolitions, municipal officers and workers are frequently accompanied by the police and community members have difficulty distinguishing the responsibilities of these two actors. In daily life, in getting documents, in water provision or in the rationing office, the Municipality remains remote from the Rafi Nagar 2 inhabitants because of the obstacles of bureaucracy or because of the proliferation of the mediators.

The other power node in the community is represented by criminal organizations. The interest of the research here is focused at the local scale of the specific territory of Rafi Nagar 2 (where slum lords' activities concern mainly land control and the provision of electricity⁷⁵). The relation between slum lord and community is based mainly on personal or familial contacts; the role of the police has a specific/exceptional intermediate character⁷⁶). The interviewees' perception of the *dada*⁷⁷ rules has a double face: on the one hand, there is fear of the real power of slum lord(s) over the community, establishing a dependence of slum dweller on slum lords or their mediator; on the other hand, in Rafi Nagar 2, as in other slum pockets of the city (Somaiya, 2002), slum dwellers seem to have accepted the rules of the game and are somehow able to find a compromise, leaving the impression that it is possible for them to negotiate with criminals about illegal protection mechanisms and the timing of payments. CBOs seem to have sporadic official/formal contacts with criminals. Interviews with community leaders (usually directors or presidents of these CBOs, connected with local political parties) revealed how the action of CBOs (and NGOs) in Rafi Nagar 2 interfaces in a limited way with the universe controlled by criminal organizations⁷⁸. In the current situation, Rafi Nagar 2 slum dwellers have few opportunities to be involved in the decision-making process in spatial/planning questions and their influence is only partially at work through the mediation of large families.

4.5. Case study 2: Sai Leela Pavement Dweller Community

4.5.1. Socio-spatial context

Sai Leela is a pavement dweller community of 30 families⁷⁹ located in Parel Village, F South Ward, along the footpath of G.D. Ambekar Marg (see A.11. and Figure 4.7.). The

⁷⁵ In the latter case, Reliance, the company that is the main electricity provider in Mumbai suburbs, is not denouncing or taking particular actions against the criminal system. Electricity is sold to the slum dwellers through illegal connections, controlled by slum lords, but the company seems not suffer significant losses from that (there is no legal action in place in Rafi Nagar 2 to remove illegal connections).

⁷⁶ Formally the police have to maintain control of the area, ensuring respect for the law, but actually this actor plays in an intermediate position between community members' needs and their problems with criminal institutions. Some interviewees suspected connivance between police inter-mediators and criminality. In the perspective the research, it's relevant to underline the large "tolerance" applied by the police in situations of clearly illegality where criminal institutions are creating a sort of parallel state within the "not notified" slum.

⁷⁷ *Dada* or *bhai* are respectively the Marathi and Hindi expression for the word "boss" or commonly "chief" used by the people to define slum lords or anyways persons that have power inside the community.

⁷⁸ CBOs generally act at a lower level and have no part in defining access to land or electricity provision. On the other hand, the provision of water, which depends mainly on the Municipality, finds the CBOs as interlocutors with political parties in getting better conditions of service.

⁷⁹ According to the community leader, there are 28 families in Sai Leela. He suggested considering an average of 5 persons per family. Following this calculation, the population of the community should reach 140 units. Data coming from the MCGM, used by the NGO YUVA, refer to the presence of 25 families in the settlement.

community is situated in an area that can reasonably be considered central in the city, along the important transport link of G.D. Ambedkar Marg, not far from the key railway node of Dadar station. The community faces the road, now characterized by the presence of the new monorail project, under construction by the MMRDA. Pavement dweller communities characterize the entire area⁸⁰. Behind the settlement, beyond the wall that limits (and supports) the shelters, there is the Mint Colony, a residential formal area for low-middle social classes. Another planned residential neighbourhood, called Kalibari Chawl, is located on the other side of the road.



Figure 4.7. A vision of the road.

Source: Enrico Michelutti (26-01-2011).

The first approach to Sai Leela was facilitated by direct relations with the community leader and, due to the settlement's limited dimensions, from the easier collection of preliminary information on its socio-spatial and institutional characters. The impression that fieldwork here would be simple was however contradicted by the first interviews in depth: the core of the problem was identifying the complex relation between Sai Leela and the rest of the fabric. While the other case studies exhibit an, albeit questionable, impression of isolation, splintering and being outside the main networks of the city, Sai Leela immediately exhibits dense interrelations with its context. In the first stage, fieldwork was oriented to collecting the following socio-spatial elements:

- Understanding the relations between Sai Leela and the formal fabric in which the settlement is immersed;
- Exploring the use of the space by pavement dwellers (which is supposed to oblige Sai Leela inhabitants to share places with “formal” citizens);

⁸⁰ Following the street in the Southern direction, going to the city centre, there is Kala Chowki, another pavement dweller community. In the opposite direction, going to Parel village, there is the Siwari Naka pavement dweller community.

- Analysing how fragmentation phenomena entail “micro-fragments” and the “resilience” of these communities.

Spatial dynamics appeared to be deeply related to social and institutional questions. The objective was to explore “network” and “place” categories, obtaining a feedback in a settlement facing fragmentation dynamics at a micro-scale.

Sai Leela is composed of migrants from rural areas of Maharashtra State (of which Mumbai is the capital), mainly from villages near Nagpur. The members of the community are specialized in construction sector jobs (bricklayers, craftsmen, etc.), presenting an image of very precarious access to work and difficult socio-economic conditions⁸¹. However, in the discourse on socio-economic vulnerability and access to services and goods, and their consequences for income and quality of life, an important role is played by ‘positionality’⁸². In fact the position of the community in the city facilitates, for instance, access to services related to transport or health. But the position of the community is particularly relevant to the inhabitants because the sources of jobs (on daily wages), i.e. construction sites in the city centre, are located near to it. Considering positionality⁸³ allows the recognition of the deep interrelations between the Sai Leela pavement dweller community and the rest of the socio-spatial environment of the city. Sai Leela is completely immersed⁸⁴ in the neighbourhood socio-economic fabric and this is a key life condition of the pavement dwellers.

From a socio-demographic point of view, Sai Leela is characterized by a majority of Hindus⁸⁵, but Buddhist families are a significant presence in the community⁸⁶. However, according to SL1, the community succeeds in maintaining equilibrium between the two faiths⁸⁷. The limited number of families and the common socio-economic basis of the community facilitate cohesion, where all the people know each other very well and

⁸¹ This condition of widespread insecurity seems to be at least partially confirmed by the families’ income, which ranges between 5.000 and 8.000 R\$/per month (100-160 €/per month approximately). As usual in “not notified” slums, the income is very variable and in-depth interviews revealed a wide range. Generally households work on daily wages; periods of unemployment are frequent and entail (almost exclusively) the female part of the community. In Sai Leela, the insecurity of access to work seems to be not strictly correlated to a pure condition of economic poverty (pavement dwellers have access to certain goods which are not commonly accessible to other slum dwellers).

⁸² Referring here to the geographical concept, entailing the position of a geographical element in a territory and in particular the advantages connected to a position near “nodes” or key points in the territory. The factor assumes importance in a large urban fabric and could be used as a parameter for analysis in relational geographies (as hypothesized by Jessop et al., 2008).

⁸³ In the in-depth interviews, these elements are associated to the use of spaces or building of reference (for example, an Hindu temple or a place for praying), which play both a socio-cultural and an economic role for pavement dwellers (a religious site where meet people is also a place for economic exchanges or provision and sale of simple goods and services).

⁸⁴ In the analysis, a deep reflection will consider to what extent this “immersion” means “integration”.

⁸⁵ The presence of a Hindu majority indirectly implies the relation with the Maharashtra Naw Nilma Sena, an Hindu based political party, which seems to be the only party in real contact and (partial) activity with the community. The dimensions of the community, with its scarce political weight, worsened by the few voting cards conceded to community members, influence the inactivity of political parties.

⁸⁶ According to SL1, in Sai Leela there are 3 Muslim families on 28.

⁸⁷ A global participation of the community in the main Hindu festival is frequent (in particular the Ganpati festival, in which the community prepares a part of footpath dedicated to collective prayers and celebrations).

each person has complete control and knowledge of his/her position inside the community and the caste system (in Sai Leela few castes are present: thus the articulation and the hierarchies of the system inside the community are limited). The social dynamics characteristic of rural areas can be traced in the community, where, as in other parts of Mumbai, the “re-creation of the village in the city” (Mehta, 2004) is a visible dynamic.



Figure 4.8. Housing condition in Sai Leela Pavement Dweller Community.

Source: Enrico Michelutti (12-10-2010).

Regarding the physical and morphological shape of the urban fabric, Sai Leela presents a homogenous face. The shelters are located on one side of the road occupying all the available space⁸⁸ on the pavement⁸⁹. One's perception of the condition of the urban fabric depends on the moment at which the community is

⁸⁸ The shelters are located along the footpath without a break: the exceptions are represented by a space that the MMRDA workers use as a temporary deposit in the works for the monorail project and by a small open area used for the construction of temporary temples in Hindu religious festivals.

⁸⁹ The footpath has a width of 3 and, in some parts, 4 metres, with some exceptions where pavement dwellers decide to leave 50-60 cm of free footpath in front of their shelters.

analysed. After demolitions, the context can change a lot. The frequency and the character of demolition change the shape of the settlement: improvements in the habitat arise during periods without demolitions⁹⁰. Demolitions not only change the habitat and the technical standards of housing, but also affect the density of the community: after demolitions, the community usually occupies reduced areas of the pavement⁹¹. The shelters consist of bamboo, in some cases strengthened with salvaged wood or metal. Habitat condition is very precarious in morphological and physical terms⁹² (Figure 4.8.). The available space is with few exceptions one room of between 6 and 12 square meters. The limited dimensions do not permit internal partition (if we exclude some rare cotton hangings tied to the roof), with the consequences this implies for privacy⁹³.

Basic services in Sai Leela depend on connections with the formal neighbourhoods of the area. Water is bought from families⁹⁴ living in Kalibari Chawl. The process has a sort of legitimation among the pavement dwellers: women regularly get a “receipt” for the right to use the tap. This agreement enables the avoidance of conflicts between the two groups over water issues. Sanitation services are located outside the community: Sai Leela people use public toilets in Parel village. Electricity is provided through connections⁹⁵ with private formal customers in the Mint Colony. Due to the position of Sai Leela in the city, the community can easily use all those services of the formal city, which are located within range (including schools, health services and public transport networks).

⁹⁰ During this research the community was explored by the researcher from October 2010 to February 2011: with the exception of the monsoon period, which finished at the end of September and left the community in a very precarious state, housing conditions were influenced by hasty reconstruction processes after the demolitions (in particular after the demolition on the 13th January 2011).

⁹¹ During the first fieldtrip, the Sai Leela pavement dweller community extended from the junction between Sai Baba Road and G.D. Ambekar to the following junction on the same street in the northern direction (A.11.). In the second fieldtrip, after the demolition of the 13th of January 2011, the settlement extended in line with the building of the Mint Colony area, located on the back of the wall (thus the community lost approximately 50 metres of footpath).

⁹² The wall on the opposite side in relation to the street is the separation wall with the “Mint Colony”. It is a 2 metres high stonewall (with parts reaching only 1,5 metres). On the three other sides, the walls consist in plastic sheets, with a very limited use of metal sheets or wood panels. The shelters usually have common walls on the sides that are orthogonal to the street. On these sides the separation between shelters is very precarious (in some cases not more than a plastic sheet). People use to put the furniture to increase somehow the thickness of the partition walls. The roof consists of plastic sheets tied to the bamboo structure. Where the “back” wall does not have the sufficient height, the roof leans on wooden supports, leaving an open space between the top of the wall and the roof, with consequences in terms of noise and protection from the rain during the monsoon.

⁹³ The furniture is constituted by few a tools for the kitchen (included a sort of brazier for the fire, located near the door), a sideboard, trunk and TV. Pieces of furniture are very basic and, due to the demolitions, have to be easily removable.

⁹⁴ These families have access to a water tap and sell water to Sai Leela families: the purchase from this source is constant (the price is 100 R\$/month, approximately 2 €/month).

⁹⁵ Not all the shelters in the community are connected (the cost of electricity is 400 R\$/month, approximately 8 €/month). In this case, families opt for oil lamps. Interviewees have underlined the importance of this expenditure for the families.

4.5.2. Formation of the community

The formation of the community goes back to the first years of the '90s. In that period the pavement was occupied by a Tamil community from South India. During 1991 and 1992, Tamil families of *kamgai* (workers in the construction sector) left the community. SL1 made an agreement with the Tamil community leader for the right to stay in that part of G.D. Ambekar Marg pavement. After the departure of the Tamil community, in 1994 the first members of the future Sai Leela community arrived at the site. The majority of the families settled during 1995 and 1996, thus currently nobody in the community can prove his or her presence in the settlement before the notification deadline of 01-01-1995⁹⁶. This community differs from other pavement dweller communities of the area, of which at least a part of the population is eligible for re-settlement⁹⁷.

The settlement is continuously reshaped by demolitions. Its location along a significant road, in a key area of the city's suburbs, provokes a constant reaction from the Municipality. Demolitions recur frequently, at intervals of only a few months, and can be sudden and not always accompanied by the necessary notice⁹⁸. According to SL1, very few notices have been released, and usually only to individuals, not to the whole community, although even in these cases demolition affects all the shelters. This condition has led to an increase of vulnerability in housing: the "first" settlement was characterized by shelters in "hard" materials, with the use of bricks and metal sheets. After the first demolitions, pavement dwellers opted for temporary solutions, which imply a decrease in quality of life but represent an affordable expenditure⁹⁹ and a sustainable technology to re-build the shelter in a very short time; this incidentally includes an informal, in fact criminal, agreement with the police¹⁰⁰). The choice of

⁹⁶ In-depth interviews have shown that pavement dwellers can prove their permanence in the settlement since very few years ago: voting (electoral) cards have been released to the population not before 2008; rationing cards are rare; there is no owning of *purava* document or any equivalent document (provided by MCGM), which can be used as proof of a municipal survey, etc.

⁹⁷ Communities in the same legal condition as Sai Leela do not have great dimensions: big pavement dweller communities of the city have been the target of resettlement projects and/or include a significant number of "eligible" families. In Mumbai only small pavement dweller communities are characterized by a complete "ineligible state".

⁹⁸ After the survey of the MCGM, the decision of the municipal officers is published on the public board (in the Sai Leela case, of the F/South Ward) and the measure is applied quickly, with a 24 hours notice. This information should be published and communicated also in the settlement object of the demolition but, according to the interviewees, this procedure is not always strictly respected. Pavement dwellers have "informal agreements" with the municipal officer (and the police) in order to have time for collecting the personal belongings (that cannot be taken by the officers) and leaving the shelter.

⁹⁹ The cost of current shelters, precarious building with a bamboo structure and plastic sheet walls ranges between 500 and 1.000 R\$, approximately 10 to 20 €.

¹⁰⁰ According to the in-depth interviews, these negotiations do not necessarily involve all the community's families and represent an inconstant process. The interviews revealed a relationship between policy and community but not the frequency and the details of the mechanism (in terms of payments, diffusion of agreements, etc.).

lightweight building solutions leads also to a lower profile in the relationship with the municipality¹⁰¹ (and the police).

Box 4.6. Demolition process through the eyes of Sai Leela pavement dwellers

“A man of the Kala Chowki community was running down the road, shouting to SL1 that the police were arriving. It was very early in the morning. My sons were sleeping. We knew about the demolition (the news of a demolition order had come before, I don’t remember how many days before) (...) but we didn’t know the time of their arrival.” SL4 paused and then continued, staring at the pavement: “While they were demolishing the neighbouring community, we put our things in the bags and in the big trunk and then we went out, in front of the house; they arrived suddenly and started the demolition at the shelters near the junction with Sai Baba Road. Some people were passive, it was not the first time for us; two or three men tried to react and went towards the police but it was just for a moment (...) the demolition started and ended very quickly”. Then she suddenly jumped to the situation after the demolition, bypassing the detail of the shelters’ destruction: “Most of the people went to their parents, others to friends in the neighbourhood, waiting to come back to Sai Leela and re-build the houses”.

“The mechanism is consolidated”, says SL1, “the pavement dweller communities of Parel Village are coordinated. If we know that there is the possibility of a demolition, involving more than one community, we warn each other in order to have more time to collect our things and leave the ground empty before the arrival of the municipal officers and the police. If the demolition will happen first in Sai Leela, we warn the guys in Kala Chowki, and the same thing occurs in Parel Village. It’s important to collect all personal belongings, without leaving anything in the houses. It will very difficult to get your things back from the police. It will be possible but you’ll have to pay a lot.”

4.5.3. Institutional set-up

The socio-spatial profile of the community at first displayed an easily readable organizational framework but could not clarify the nature of mental models and processes of thought and word in the community. The apparent simplicity of the organizational framework might suggest an analogous simplicity in cultural terms or an assimilation into the mental models (and cultural background) of the neighbouring formal areas with respect to what concerns space, territory and “planning choices”. Interviews however contradicted this view, revealing the specific characterization of pavement dwellers in “opposition” to the surrounding context and a feeling of distinctiveness (conscious or in some cases unconsciously expressed during the interviews) with respect to the fabric in which the community is located.

The institutional set-up of Sai Leela is characterized by two elements:

- A very basic organizational structure, involving all the pavement dwellers in the “organization” (i.e. all are in direct contact with the community leader), based on family and village dynamics and relations;

¹⁰¹ On the one hand, MCGM officers know that demolition is an “easy” action, as a sort of routine (K123), which does not consume resources and time (at the same time the permanence of the settlement is “politically” sustainable, this kind of shelter is not far away from the mobile tents used by street vendors); on the other hand, pavement dwellers can find a place to protect themselves and their personal belongings.

- The limited dimensions of the community do not diminish the rich institutional characterization of pavement dwellers in terms of mental models, religions, traditions, and processes of thought¹⁰², which merge and reshape rural and urban dynamics.

Sai Leela is organized through a committee composed of three members including the community leader, who has a key role in taking decisions for the pavement dwellers, to some extent driving the debate in the committee. The committee works in a very informal way: contacts between community leaders and members of the committee are very frequent and there is no specific need to create a structure of regular meetings or votes to take decisions for the community. Choices are taken in a very fluid way and the community leader carries great weight in orienting the decision. Some families refer issues directly to the community leader, leaving to him those choices, which do not have direct consequences for the personal and familial spheres.

Formal institutional arrangements are not present in the community. In Sai Leela the disconnection from formal institutional solutions includes the planning dimension, as is evident in the gap between formal planning tools and what happens on the ground. Criminal institutions (and arrangements) seem to be insignificant in the community. In-depth interviews show that illegal activities characterize access to some services or goods, but there is no active criminal organization or slum lord in Sai Leela. The presence of informal-illegal arrangements characterizes access to land, basic services and housing.

Access to land¹⁰³ is rigidly controlled: due to the limited space available, the number of families is stable and new entries have to be accepted by existing community members (usually a member of a large family already settled on Sai Leela's pavement). Interviewees did not mention any payment for occupying the pavement. Land occupation (either for a temporary stay or even for commercial purposes of street vending) is determined by custom and by informal-illegal agreements with other pavement dwellers (including an informal tax, which involves the police). There is no form of access to land with formal documentation or of proof associated with land (including the *purava* documents or photo-pass used in "not notified" slums¹⁰⁴). Demolition orders are used by Sai Leela pavement dwellers as proof of their stay in the settlement.

¹⁰² Explored by the researcher within the research limitations, as in the other two case studies.

¹⁰³ The question of the land is perceived by pavement dwellers with categories, which are far removed from the legal concept of "entitlement". SL3 said: "This land was land of a friend of mine". Of course he was speaking about a piece of footpath, considering it just as a place for housing.

¹⁰⁴ In the official documentation of the municipality, pavement dweller communities are not considered under the classification "notified" or "not notified". However, settlements are treated using the same legislation for "not notified" slums (also for re-settlement eligibility criteria).

Box 4.7. Why are we living in Sai Leela?

The interviewee SL2 starts speaking about her husband and his job, lamenting the situation and the difficulties of living in Mumbai: “My husband works in the construction sector. The construction sites are usually near here, just five to ten minutes’ walking. There is no need to take the bus or the train. The job can last several weeks or just a few days. Sometimes the work stops and, for many weeks, there is no pay. But, if you stay here, you can find another construction site needing labour and so you can start a new job”. I ask why staying in Sai Leela is important. The answer is immediate: “Here we know the right people...here you can meet a friend and find a job...if you are living in another place, other people will take your job...you have to be here...ready”.

The choice to live in Sai Leela, related to the informal job dynamics, recurs in the words of several interviewees, but the reasons to remain in the community can entail other dimensions. SL4 insists on the social relations that enable the pavement dwellers to survive in Mumbai: “Here we know everybody. Sending children to school or taking care of old men, it’s easier for us here. How can we do it somewhere else in the city?”. SL7 offers almost the same vision: “If you need something, you can ask to the people of Kala Chowki. They help us, we help them. We know where to go, if we need something, the best place to buy food or clothes or any other issue...”.

Leaving the community is seen as a drama and the possibility of re-settlement appears as a sort of punishment. SL1: “Our friends [people of other pavement dweller communities] now have a good apartment but what about the other things? Do they find work easily? How much do you have to spend to live there? They are very far away from here, in Mankhurd or in Andheri. We want a decent house, but here in Sai Leela. Is there any place for us nearby? The Municipality never answer, they just demolish our houses and for us there is no choice”.

Housing is left to the initiatives of community members. Housing solutions are extremely simple and, since Sai Leela is composed mainly of persons working in construction, families can easily build or rebuild shelters, independently organizing networks to get access to housing. There is an internal agreement, under the community leader’s control, with respect to the position and the “order” of shelters in settlement re-construction. Self-construction and materials recovery are in the hands of community members, without external intervention¹⁰⁵. From an institutional point of view, access to housing is an individual solution in contrast to the collective dynamics, which characterize the community in the case of demolition.

Access to water is provided through informal agreements with families of Kalibari Chawl. The solution¹⁰⁶ consists in paying an amount of money to a provider in Kalibari Chawl (in this case, a group of persons) for the right to use a water tap. Sai Leela community members can discuss and renew the conditions of the agreement with the provider (in terms of price and quantity¹⁰⁷) but agreements do not entail any change in the organizational and institutional structure of water service provision. Regarding possible control and punishment by formal authorities, the agreement does not cover

¹⁰⁵ Only in one case, in 2005, the NGO YUVA supported Sai Leela pavement dwellers, providing materials (plastic sheets, structural elements) to the people for a re-construction. Political (and legal) implications have obliged the NGO to stop this kind of direct support to the community.

¹⁰⁶ Sai Leela pavement dwellers have no other internal choices (an old MCGM public water tap is not working) thus community members can only rely on a source outside the community.

¹⁰⁷ Currently 20-30 litres/day cost 100 R\$/month (approximately 2 €/month), a cheap price in comparison with other informal areas of the city.

the amount of water consumed (which is registered by a legal and regular water meter in Kalibari Chawl); therefore access to water has a sort of formal gloss on what is actually an illegal practice. Access to sanitation consists of using formal toilet facilities in Parel village. In this case, pavement dwellers are simply customers like other persons of the formal city. Access to electricity¹⁰⁸ is regulated in a way similar to water provision. The difference is in the provider: there is a connection to a regular meter situated in the Mint Colony. In this case, the agreement between user and provider is simply a question of price.

In Sai Leela, public organizations (mainly the municipality and the police) control and “punish” people rather than implementing pro-active urban policies. This general trend in the day-to-day management of illegal territories (and of the issue of pavement dwellers) does not exclude a space for informal solutions, which will be explored in Planning Analysis. Other public institutions working in the space occupied by the Sai Leela community¹⁰⁹ seem to avoid contact with the pavement dwellers, and are perceived by the latter as a source of problems. The formal private sector is almost nonexistent in the micro-context of Sai Leela. The informal private sector¹¹⁰ has a very small presence too: pavement dwellers are involved in the dynamics of the formal city, settling and constructing a habitat, which is typical of the “informal city”.

The only CBO in the settlement is the Sai Leela community committee. The committee is formally structured, as a registered association, but works informally. Due to the settlement’s dimensions, the committee is strongly influenced by the key families of the community. In decisions regarding the internal status of the community, the role played by the community leader is fundamental: the committee seems merely to confirm decisions taken by the leader, who is recognised as an authority by Sai Leela families. “Official” contrapositions between the community leader and other members of the committee (and of the community) are very rare. Differences of view are solved through informal dialogue and agreement, in which the community leader decides how and to what extent to leave space to the other community member.

The community leader is also the principal interface between the community and the Pavement Dwellers Organization (PDO). This organization was established in 1990, with the support of YUVA¹¹¹. At the time of the second field trip, the organization

¹⁰⁸ 400 R\$/month (approximately 8 €/month).

¹⁰⁹ This is the case of MMRDA, the Maharashtra state agency for infrastructural projects working in the street where the community is based with the monorail project.

¹¹⁰ Criminal institutions inside the community are absent: on the other hand, the criminal organizations playing in the area (Parel village and neighbourhoods) deal also with individual pavement dwellers of Sai Leela.

¹¹¹ YUVA is the only NGO working with this kind of pavement dweller community. Other NGOs in Mumbai, such as SPARC India, work with bigger pavement dweller communities.

counted 14 communities¹¹². It arranges meetings between community leaders to define strategies, identify problems and generate activities promoting the pavement dwellers' rights to the city. The PDO¹¹³ is one of the few organizations working at an "upper" level, at the municipal scale, which protects people living in undeclared settlements¹¹⁴ who mostly cannot gain access to formal channels of representation¹¹⁵. It is clear that, in the context of Sai Leela, YUVA represents the only organization that can work effectively with the municipality and other public institutions (at state and central government level). On the other hand, the community does not have proper institutional tools to act at the same level as the NGO: for certain issues, for example relations with other communities and the formulation of agreements, the community's dependence on the NGO is evident. Sai Leela's community leader can treat representatives of other pavement dweller communities inside the PDO as equals (but not the NGO's members).

4.5.4. Relational geographies

From the beginning of fieldwork, relational geographies were a key research interest in Sai Leela. Questioning the relations between the settlement and the urban environment implies overcoming certain positions of the political debate¹¹⁶ where the idea is embedded of contraposition (or even ghettoization) of pavement dwellers with respect to the social fabric of the city. Relational geographies between the Sai Leela pavement dweller community and the rest of the city are characterized by two tendencies:

- Intense (and sometimes conflictive) relations with the formal part of the city;
- Construction of mechanisms of exchange with other pavement dweller communities of the area.

These relations are built to respond to the community demand for goods and services but entail also power relations and practices of survival, both of individual inhabitants and of the community as a whole. In the first of these two kinds of relation, pavement dwellers are considered as formal customers (the settlement reveals its dependence on formal infrastructure networks). In the second kind, pavement dwellers do more than

¹¹² Dimensions and location of pavement dweller communities vary widely. In the organization, communities range from 22 to 365 families; the principal locations are centred around the Parel village area and in Worli, but there are several exceptions which lie in the Southern and central part of Mumbai.

¹¹³ From an institutional point of view, it is evident that the PDO is a "fluid" organization that depends significantly on the strategic lines of YUVA. The organization seems to be a vessel for the activities of YUVA (mainly advocacy and training) and the two institutions cannot easily be separated.

¹¹⁴ Experiences like the partnership between SPARC and the National Slum Dwellers Federation usually target "notified" slums.

¹¹⁵ As previously mentioned in the paragraph about access to land and security of land tenure, the absence of documents for pavement dwellers, in this case the voting or electoral card, results in exclusion from political parties' actions and from formal channels of participation or involvement in the political life of the city. But in addition a general, cultural, exclusion from conventional forms of democracy applies to pavement dwellers (as for many other people living in "not notified" slums).

¹¹⁶ This debate, which involves part of the academic world, is driven by preconceived political ideas: generally right wing parties develop critical policies (reaching intolerance) against pavement dweller communities; left wing parties opt for more inclusive positions.

merely use the city, to experience solidarity networks and contribute to creating contacts, to sharing problems, and to empowering the social and political fabrics.

Socio-economically, Sai Leela is deeply integrated with the rest of the city and there is no actual separation between the informal settlement and the formal city. People of Sai Leela use the same equipment as formal citizens¹¹⁷. Relations between informal and formal are present too, such as in the use of markets: due to the low prices and a deep web of acquaintances, Sai Leela pavement dwellers use the informal market and street vendors of the Kala Chowki Market, systematically avoiding formal markets and shops. The trend of integration (or the disappearance of the community into the formal fabric) is shown also by the movements of population. In Sai Leela, as in other pavement dweller communities, the fusion of people along the street is high and the street¹¹⁸ becomes *the* public place for sharing time, exchanging information, doing business, etc. In Sai Leela, integration is much more evident than divisions. The latter appear at the personal level¹¹⁹ and open spaces to reflect on social micro-segmentation and pulverization (see 6.6. and 7.4.).

The relationships between pavement dweller communities are articulated at two main levels: first, the affinity in the use of places and the relations generated by living and using the same equipment and networks; and second, the shared experience of facing common problems (in particular the process of demolition¹²⁰ and reconstruction) that generates solidarity. These factors have enabled the creation of participatory-political substrata that have led to the first attempts to associate (which could maybe result in political movements) and to the capacity to act together in order to obtain basic rights. Sai Leela inhabitants seem both ambitious to be part of the city and conscious of the diversity of pavement dweller conditions.

¹¹⁷ Private ambulatories and the infrastructures of the Parel Village, or, for instance, the school in Sai Baba Road.

¹¹⁸ The role of the street for this kind of community and the relations between the inhabitants of these pavement settlements and the street represent a vast horizon for further researches. In the discourse related to urban fragmentation and in particular on the approach focusing on the role of networks and infrastructures in the definition of the phenomenon, this relation could represent a key factor (not still explored in all its complexity). According to the objective and the analytical framework of this research, the use of an institutional approach does not entail an analysis of this area that however represents a one of the multiple facets of the phenomenon.

¹¹⁹ The very few documents and reports coming from the municipality and from YUVA, which touch on the condition in the pavement dweller communities (however without any specific analysis of the context of Sai Leela or dedicated studies on other “not notified” settlements), explore only partially this aspect: in-depth interviews (which however are not focused in this theme) reveal how interviewees feel the presence of exclusion dynamics in the labour context and the appearing of ghettoisation phenomena (according to them, access to schools, hospitals and generally public services is more difficult for people living in pavement dweller communities).

¹²⁰ Usually people in Sai Leela are in contact with people from Kala Chowki in a mutual advising system to alert the other community, anticipating the start of the demolition process (Box 4.6.). The communities are able to signal the arrival of municipal officers in the area facilitating the collection of personal belongings, which is fundamental for the survival of the families.

4.5.5. Power relations

Information on power relations was derived mainly from the community. Attempts to approach the question from the perspective of the public sector were disappointing, with Sai Leela being seen by actors within this sector as an incidental, non-influential issue¹²¹. The existence of pavement dweller communities depends on the relations between two “powers”: the municipality (in the case of Sai Leela, the F/South Ward¹²²), and the institutional “nexus” formed by the community CBO, the pavement dweller organization and YUVA. Other powers play only a secondary and indirect role in the existence and the development of the settlement and its population. The municipality acts according to its policy of control, with few external influences; the civil society front is divided and governed by internal interests. The aims of these two parties are opposed: the objective of the municipality is to clear what they consider an “illegal settlement”; for civil society, the purposes are the survival and consolidation of the community and the extension of eligibility for resettlement (extending the deadline for eligibility from 01-01-1995 to 01-01-2000, or shifting the basis of the eligibility from the permanence of the family in the settlement to the existence of a building¹²³). Despite their marginal role in this power struggle, the institutional set-up in Sai Leela allows a certain participation by pavement dwellers in spatial/planning decision-making processes. This condition remains in the majority of cases a merely theoretical possibility, and suffers from the need to negotiate with large families and to compromise with community powers (mainly the community leader); but the institutions seem to be ready for a real involvement of pavement dwellers in defining felt needs and priority agendas, creating a more participatory and egalitarian scenario.

The actions of the municipality open spaces for limited informal negotiations with the municipality. The demolition policy is systematically applied on the territory, but the results do not change the situation. A few days after a demolition, the Sai Leela pavement dweller community is re-built by its inhabitants. Demolitions achieve only an increase in the vulnerability of the habitat for the population and do not represent a solution¹²⁴. The relations between Sai Leela pavement dwellers and the municipality are complex. There is contact, or somehow a feeling of “vicinity”, with part of the bureaucratic structure: inhabitants have a ration card and can buy basic goods (mainly

¹²¹ This idea confirms a general problem of recognition of the “illegal” city by formal institutions and powers.

¹²² The ward has a significant independence in the treatment of the question: the political will of the municipality defines the policies on the territory but the ward carries weight in the implementation of these policies. In the case of the Sai Leela pavement dweller community, the small dimensions of the settlement put the question at the bottom of the agenda and the decision makers of the ward can act with a certain independence.

¹²³ Under the current legislation, a person buying a shelter from a person offering proof of presence in the community before 1995 is still not eligible for re-settlement. YUVA is trying to shift the criterion to the building.

¹²⁴ The footpath cannot be used by the pedestrian, the feeling of insecurity for the inhabitants of the formal neighbourhoods (connected to some extent to the presence of the pavement dwellers) remains unaltered.

rice and kerosene) at subsidized prices. This could be seen as a contradiction with the widespread view of the municipality as a distant authority playing the part of the oppressor. In-depth interviews revealed a wide range of reactions to the actions of the municipality: a few Sai Leela pavement dwellers think that the municipality acts fairly towards them, and they consider demolition and eviction as a part of the game in their life; other pavement dwellers in Sai Leela (usually those without documents or public support) see the municipality (and the police, who are sometimes confused with the municipality) as an enemy, without any possibility of dialogue¹²⁵.

The relations between the Sai Leela CBO and the municipality are different: the CBO has few possibilities of direct relations (and negotiations) with the municipality. Formal negotiations are hard to achieve. The situation is slightly better when Sai Leela CBO is working through the PDO. This is because the key problems are shared by the different pavement communities which the PDO represents, and its political weight is greater, since it represents the rights of more than 1,400 families). It is possible to detect¹²⁶ an active process between the two institutions and the presence of informal negotiations. At the moment, the results of this process are scarce, and the under-the-counter¹²⁷ negotiation enables only a degree of tolerance that, in the case of Sai Leela, reduces the number of demolitions and the frequency of police actions.

YUVA represents a second balance of power in these relations. YUVA has the capability to work at upper levels (surpassing the horizon of the MCGM), and its dialogue with state and central government politicians (including the Ministry of Housing) confirms a shift in the scale of the pavement dweller communities' question. Moreover YUVA has the possibility of engaging professional legal (and political) support, which the PDO cannot achieve. YUVA's policies are oriented towards the support and empowerment of community institutions, but actually it acts as a guide in the process and in the negotiations. In the relations between Sai Leela CBO, PDO and YUVA, YUVA plays an undisputed leading role. The community leader and the PDO president are conscious of this dependence. Here the opportunity for Sai Leela community empowerment runs up against limitations: the possibility of achieving an

¹²⁵ Pavement dweller communities have experimented, and in some cases are experimenting, with entering into a dialogue with the MCGM. This dialogue implies the recognition of the settlement and the process usually involves consolidated communities where pavement dwellers were living before 1995. Within these cases, some old pavement dweller communities (such as Krantijyoti Pavement-Bhoiwada, which the researcher has visited during the exploratory visits in field trip 1, and consisted of 30 families settled in the city centre since the '80s) have reached a sort of stabilization and now pavement dwellers have consolidated shelters in brick (without suffering any more demolitions, therefore standing in a condition that is very similar to a "notified" slum). The reasons for this kind of arrangement can be very different: the importance of the street where the pavement dweller community is located, the absence of available space for eligible pavement dwellers in the Ward, etc. In the case of Krantijyoti, the Municipality recognized it as a "notified" slum, considering it a sort of linear informal settlement.

¹²⁶ Triangulating the information collected in the in-depth interview SL1 with the contents of the K123.

¹²⁷ This negotiation represents a "black box" for the research. With the available contacts and sources of information, it is difficult to provide consistent and reliable information on the character, the rules and the frequency of the negotiation process. The few available traces of the negotiation do not come from the "principal actors" of the process but just from secondary sources.

innovative political panel for illegal settlements with objectives built through participatory practices remains feasible, but there is a risk of surrendering the active role to a single institution (YUVA), with the other stakeholders reduced to passive participation.

4.6. Case study 3: Chikkalwadi

4.6.1. Socio-spatial context

Chikkalwadi¹²⁸ is a “not notified” slum in the Mankhurd area, in the north-eastern part of Mumbai suburbs, near the Thane creek, in the direction of Navi Mumbai (A.12). Chikkalwadi¹²⁹ is a settlement of 2,000-3,000 shelters¹³⁰ included in Annabhau Sathe Nagar, which is composed of three communities¹³¹: Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 1, Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 2 and Chikkalwadi¹³². The researcher found here a case where the not notified community was of substantial demographic (and spatial) dimensions, which is exceptional for illegal settlements in Mumbai. Chikkalwadi enabled the researcher to work in a deeply “fragmented” context at the same time characterized by dense relations. This case study offered the opportunity to reflect on:

- Fragmentation processes in a complex socio-institutional environment (with the presence of different types of organization, mental models, and cultural backgrounds and religions);
- Relational geographies and power relations at a higher level than in the other case study areas.

¹²⁸ Chikkalwadi is the most used name of the community and local organizations use this name to identify the territory, but it is possible to hear other names (or nicknames) of the settlement used by slum dwellers. The most frequent name for the whole area is “Sathe Nagar”.

¹²⁹ Chikkalwadi represents a third typology of “not notified” slums taken into consideration in the research analysis. Usually this kind of “not notified” slums is included in settlements, which are in part “notified”. The “not notified” parts are frequently recent aggregations to consolidated (therefore “declared”) informal fabric.

¹³⁰ Some interviewees refer to about 6.000 shelters. This data is not completely confirmed by triangulations. However there is no official data on the real dimensions of the community.

¹³¹ The division of the fabric in three parts is generally shared by the main actors working in the area (political parties, Municipality and SRA). From the slum dwellers’ perspective, the criterion is the communities’ composition in religious/ethnic terms. For the people living in part 1 the distinction lies between the old (“declared”) slum, which they call part 1, and the “recent” settlement, called part 2. The border between the two is represented by the “old wall” that separated the shelters of the first Annabhau Sathe Nagar settlement from the industrial area on the northern side of the current Chikkalwadi. For the people living in part 2, the distinction between parts 1 and 2 is more evident, because of cultural and political reasons, and the recent (“not notified”) settlement is clearly known as Chikkalwadi (from the presence of the Muslim community). The researcher prefers to consider three territories: Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 1, Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 2 and Chikkalwadi. This facilitates work on institutional arrangements and power relations characterizing the area.

¹³² Annabhau Sathe Nagar is separated from the rest of the fabric by two *nalla*, a sort of channels for black waters: on the southern and eastern sides, the “Children Aid Nalla”, and on the north-western side, the “Deonar Nalla”. The settlement is surrounded by “formal” settlement, consisting mainly of re-settlement projects. In the southern direction from Annabhau Sathe Nagar, on the other side of the Children Aid Nalla, is the PMGP Colony, while on the eastern side there is a formal settlement called “New Mankhurd”. The re-settlement project of the Laloo Bhai compound occupies the western side of Annabhau Sathe Nagar, separated from the settlement only by a wall. The Mankhurd-Ghatkopar link road, a key infrastructure for the city, constitutes the northern border of the settlement.

Right from the first approach¹³³ to Chikkalwadi, the focus was to study the organizations governing in spatial/planning terms the complex social fabric of the community and, at the same time, to work on the rich variety of the institutions. In this case, the need to select key aspects from the universe of the community was fundamental, looking firstly to “scale” and “territory” fields and then to “network” and “place” principles.

From a morphological point of view, the continuity between Chikkalwadi and the rest of the fabric is evident (Figure 4.9. and 4.10.). Parts 1 and 2 of Annabhau Sathe Nagar are characterized by the presence of the community main road, which is the only available vehicular route in the settlement¹³⁴. The fabric along the road is very consolidated¹³⁵. This state of the fabric has contributed to establishing a complex relation between the fabric and open spaces. While houses seem to be configured as shelters for individual/family protection, external spaces are objects of an intense use (confirming the social importance of community public spaces, which coincide with the “street¹³⁶”). The urban fabric slowly changes along the main road in a southerly direction. In part 2, the level of consolidation of the fabric remains homogeneous along the street¹³⁷, becoming more precarious along the internal lanes (metal sheet shelters increase, even if most are still built of brick). Houses consist of one-room shelters and very few buildings have more than one storey. Generally the habitat (including visible aspects such as the interior fittings of shelters) maintains continuity with part 1. This continuity includes access to services¹³⁸. Morphologically, the border between part 1, part 2 and Chikkalwadi is not easily readable. During the formation of Annabhau Sathe

¹³³ The “usual” entry to the community through NGOs was not possible. The researcher opted to be introduced by a local agent of the Samajwadi Party and thereafter, through a snowball technique, using community leaders.

¹³⁴ The two parts are developed along the internal road, which goes in a North-South direction from the Ghatkopar-Mankhurd link road to the PMGP Colony, beyond the bridge on the Children Aid Nalla.

¹³⁵ In the northern part (part 1 of Annabhau Sathe Nagar) shelters are built in “hard” materials, made of bricks, with steel sheets roofing. In this area it is possible to see some shelters with two storeys and a minimum level of complexity in the distribution, but not homogeneously spread. Some shelters have more than one room. Almost all the shelters have a cement floor. The furniture is still very basic, with TV, fan, power points, some shelving, a few boxes to store personal belongings and some carpets (to organize the room for sleeping or to receive guests).

¹³⁶ The street is the public space par excellence in the community and, in the perception of the slum dwellers, is the real “place” in which relations are built, decisions are taken or information exchanged with the other members of the community. In the second field trip, during the hours of water availability (in the first part of the afternoon), almost all the women of the community (but also several men) were on the street at the same time to take and use water, and each lane became a dense space of interaction.

¹³⁷ The width of the street decreases immediately from 7-8 to 3-4 metres at the beginning of the part 2 of the community and the indirect influence of the Ghatkopar-Mankhurd link road, in terms of quantity of people and cars, becomes less significant as one goes towards the southern part of the area.

¹³⁸ In Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 1 water services, provided by the Municipality, have reached the current configuration in 2009: the service covers part of the community with public taps directly managed by families (in the part 2 conditions are similar). The two communities share also sanitation services, consisting of public toilet facilities, located at the “border” between the parts 1 and 2 of Annabhau Sathe Nagar. Electricity is provided through both legal and illegal connections: the panorama is scattered (several shelters in Annabhau Sathe Nagar are regularly connected to the electricity network; through these points illegal connections distribute power to the rest of the settlement).

Nagar, the border was constituted by a wall¹³⁹ separating the occupied land from the Collector's land (where currently an industrial building lies abandoned).



In Chikkalwadi, lying on the other side of the “old wall”, in the ex-industrial area, the high vulnerability in habitat condition is immediately obvious and the continuity with the rest of the fabric is evident¹⁴⁰. The limited territory of the settlement influences the nature and the use of spaces. Density can vary significantly: for example, near the Children Aid Nalla shelters occupy all the available land, leaving no space for roads or public spaces¹⁴¹. Passing the “old wall”, after the drop in ground level, housing conditions become drastically precarious¹⁴² in comparison with the notified part of Annabhau Sathe Nagar. The relations of internal to external spaces are more complex, due to the limited availability of space, to the condition of the pavement and to the reduced number of elements between the two spaces: the external areas seem to represent a problem, rather than an opportunity as they do in Annabhau Sathe Nagar¹⁴³. Due to density and the disorganized nature of land occupation (which does

¹³⁹ This wall is, in large part, destroyed or incorporated in the shelters of Chikkalwadi. Only in the northern part of Chikkalwadi, where the community is facing an extended empty space occupied by the industrial building and a lower zone (on the western side of the industrial building), the “old wall” is visible and it also delimiting a change of level in the ground (Chikkalwadi is 1-1,5 metres under the level of the ground of Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 1). Inside Chikkalwadi, the border is even less readable (actually consisting in shelters), hiding the edge of the community.

¹⁴⁰ This state appears because of morphological reasons: the urban fabric is clearly bounded by the *nalla*, on two sides (South and East), by the “old wall” (or its remains) on the western side and by the empty space related to the industrial building at the North.

¹⁴¹ In this particular case, a portion of the community, readily recognized on physical, morphological and positional grounds, is also characterized by the presence of a specific migrant population (coming from West Bengal), creating a sort of “fragment inside the fragment”.

¹⁴² Shelters comprise one small room (usually from 8 to 12 square metres) with structures of salvaged wood (or bamboo) and walls of metal sheets (although frequently plastic sheets and other salvaged materials are also used). The vulnerability in the socio-economic situation is readable also in the houses' interiors where furniture and equipments are minimal.

¹⁴³ This fact presents consequences related to the feeling of safety in being in public places or walking on the road. Direct and participant observations have shown a perceptible fear of being in Chikkalwadi

not follow the same logic characterizing parts 1 and 2 of Annabhau Sathe Nagar), complexities in accessibility¹⁴⁴ and movements affect almost the entire settlement¹⁴⁵.

This general increase of vulnerability in habitat includes access to services. The water distribution system covers the community in a scattered way. Some groups of families have obtained the right¹⁴⁶ to extend the pipes inside Chikkalwadi; in a few other cases, there are illegal extensions of the lines coming from parts 1 and 2. However the quality of the service is generally very low throughout the settlement. At the same time, sanitation services are a factor of vulnerability: slum dwellers have to use toilet facilities in the “notified” part of the settlement, or use the *nalla*. Electricity services work through extensions from Annabhau Sathe Nagar: illegal connections link Chikkalwadi with regular customers. Public equipments (or private equipments with public function) are almost totally absent from the settlement, and Chikkalwadi relies completely on the services located in Annabhau Sathe Nagar (or in formal neighbourhoods¹⁴⁷).

In the socio-economic dimension, the information from the in-depth interviews can do no more than illustrate a situation¹⁴⁸ which is rich in complexity and which exhibits a wide range of socio-economic conditions. Socially, Chikkalwadi is characterized by a strong Muslim community. Slum dwellers are migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, along with a few from West Bengal (the latter are located near the Children Aid Nalla). However, the Hindu population¹⁴⁹ is in the majority and is located mainly near the old

(involving both the observers and the people of Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2, where this feeling is almost inexistent).

¹⁴⁴ The accessibility of the settlement is limited. At present it is possible to gain access to Chikkalwadi through only three points. The main access is located at the border with part 1 of the community. Two narrow accesses are located near part 2, the most used of them affording passage across the bridge to the PMGP colony.

¹⁴⁵ The tracks between the shelters are partially paved in cement (in this case, water pipes extend over the ground) but usually the narrow ways are unpaved and, due to drainage problems, frequently full of water and garbage. Part of the community is comprised of low-lying open spaces covered by water, mud and garbage (resulting in empty areas because of the instability of the ground).

¹⁴⁶ The provision of the service offers a mirror for an overview of the complexities characterizing the institutional set-up (or the overlapping of different institutional set-ups) of Chikkalwadi. In the “not notified” community, there are slum dwellers that can demonstrate their presence on that land (or in the neighbourhood areas) before 1995 and thus can apply for connection to the network. Another possibility consists in a connection provided through payment in “black” to the municipal officers (renewing the payment in case of controls on the lines). The last solution is an “informal”, in practice tolerated, connection to the pipes in Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2: in this case, the illegality is formal but does not affect the quantity of water and the payments to the Municipality. In fact the availability of water remains the same (more customers are dividing the same amount of water) and those slum dwellers (of the “notified” parts) legally connected to the network, have thereby an economic resource, reselling water to Chikkalwadi inhabitants.

¹⁴⁷ The main school is located in the Laloo Bhai compound, while the principal market is located in the PMGP colony. Small shops (much used by the population to buy foodstuffs) are mainly located on the principal road running North-South through Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2. Clinics (both public and private) are located outside Chikkalwadi.

¹⁴⁸ The absence of socio-demographic surveys by the municipality (and NGOs) contributes to this situation.

¹⁴⁹ There are no precise data regarding the social fabric of Chikkalwadi. However, community leaders described a very equal distribution of the population in terms of religious belief. Triangulation with the information offered by local politicians leads to an estimate that the Hindu (and Buddhist) population represent 60% of the community and the Muslim one 40%. The co-existence of these two kinds of

wall separating the notified from the not notified areas. By contrast, in Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2, the Hindu population is dominant (due to internal migration from rural areas of Maharashtra). Access to work for Chikkalwadi's population is very precarious. Slum dwellers work mainly on daily wages. The income seems to be substantial in comparison with other informal areas included in this research. However, the most precarious part of the settlement (people living near the *nalla*) is extremely poor¹⁵⁰. Unemployment is widespread, in particular among women.

4.6.2. Formation of the community

The formation and development of informal settlements in the Mankhurd area took place through occupation. In the case of Annabhau Sathe Nagar, the process started in the '80s. In the case study areas, initial occupation took place in the current part 1 of Annabhau Sathe Nagar. A second wave involved part 2 at the beginning of the '90s. Later on, the occupation spread into Chikkalwadi, beyond the wall separating the informal area of Annabhau Sathe Nagar from the industrial area, called by the population "Ahmed Mill", where a small factory was producing steel containers. Ahmed Mill's owners, holding a lease on the land from Mumbai's collector¹⁵¹ (the authority managing public land properties of the Maharashtra State), were involved in negotiation¹⁵² with the community, which led to an informal concession of land. The process of land occupation was accompanied by the sale of land portions to other slum dwellers. The presence of different steps in the formation of the community indicates a varying level of vulnerability in land tenure. In part 1 some people hold photo-pass and *purava* documents. The situation is slightly different in part 2, where a small group arrived a few years ago. Absence of the land tenure also influenced the process of the redevelopment project¹⁵³ in this area. In Chikkalwadi, much of the population lacks

population in the same settlement is unusual in Mumbai (in particular after the riots of 1992-93 and the events of November 2008). This distribution is not mixed on the territory and specific ethnicities characterize the different *para* and areas of Chikkalwadi.

¹⁵⁰ In Chikkalwadi, the income ranges from 3,000 to 4,000 R\$/month (approximately 60 to 80 €/month). In Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 1 and 2, the income seems to be higher; some interviewees declare to have an income that reaches more than 10,000 R\$/month (around 200 €/month).

¹⁵¹ According to the Development Plan 1981-2001, Annabhau Sathe Nagar (part 1 and 2) and Chikkalwadi lie in residential and industrial areas.

¹⁵² There is scarce memory of the process involving the community at the beginning of the 2000s and community leaders reported little information regarding the development of the negotiation. The reconstruction of the negotiation's stages was not possible for the researcher with regard to either chronology (actors, steps, etc.) or politics/institutions (payments, involvement of public authorities and/or political parties, etc.).

¹⁵³ Part 2 of Annabhau Sathe Nagar was the object of a project proposal for redevelopment presented to the SRA in 2008 (SRA/ENG/2023/ME/STGL/L01). The SRA requested from the developer an integration of the documentation. After two years, the developer has not yet met the requests. A part of the population is not eligible for rehabilitation and this created a split between the community and the developer that has not been healed. The SRA decided to restart the process only at the beginning of 2011.

documentation related to land¹⁵⁴ (in particular, the migrants living near the *nalla* do not have any kind of document linking them to formal institutions).

Due to the land tenure conditions, demolitions involving part or all of the settlement are frequent and significant. Interviewees usually mentioned three main demolitions¹⁵⁵ in the history of Chikkalwadi, the last being in May 2010. In the community is particularly sensitive about demolitions. The May 2010 event remains vivid in the memory of interviewees, due both to its scale and to the use of fire as a method (people cited about 300 shelters burnt and 1,000 knocked down in the usual way¹⁵⁶). Demolition did not however achieve any lasting effect¹⁵⁷ and reconstruction was immediate.

4.6.3. Institutional set-up

Approaching Chikkalwadi from an institutional point of view involved the researcher in engaging for the first time both Muslim and Hindu communities, whose sharing of the same space oblige them to take together spatial/planning decisions for the settlement. The absence of the usual third sector organizations as research stakeholders represented an additional problem in approaching the fieldwork. The first impression was of a maze of organizations or associations of various types partly involved in socio-spatial decision-making. The strategy was to approach a few institutions (a local political party and, later, a religious association), which allowed the researcher to discover the balance in the community and the main institutional mechanisms in spatial/planning questions.

From an institutional point of view, Chikkalwadi is very complex, reflecting the complexities of its social and urban fabrics. Considering only the institutions related to the governance of territory, the variety of institutional set-ups involves both the purely organizational dimensions (generally organizations formally recognized, but working informally within the horizon of the community) and the institutions thought of as “structures of the society” (Chikkalwadi is characterized by the coexistence of different

¹⁵⁴ There is however space for several single cases (territorially scattered in the community but to some extent centred near the “old wall”) where families have some proof of municipal surveys (mainly *purava* documents).

¹⁵⁵ Some interviewees, like CH5, cited more than ten demolitions for her shelter but generally three demolitions were mentioned by the majority of the interviewees (including community leaders).

¹⁵⁶ There is no effective triangulation to verify this kind of action. Police reports are usually not accessible and can generate doubts about the reliability of the data, due to the nature of the source itself; the information coming from newspapers can differ a lot according to the political orientation of the editorial board and/or the publisher. The *querelle* on the number is however not so relevant to this research: rather than the dimension or the measurement of the demolition, the interest lies in understanding the significance of the demolition in generating new fractures in fragmentation processes, and its effects on the population by increasing the gap in vulnerability between those affected and the rest of the community.

¹⁵⁷ Demolition’s “achievements” consist in the change of the socio-demographic composition of the population (in particular between 2002 and 2005, with a lot of families leaving the community). Interviewees suffered the loss of personal belongings (and economic resources in the reconstruction) but what was most affected was, and is, their confidence in the possibility of settling in Chikkalwadi and their trust in political parties and in the Municipality, accused of ignoring rights or of oppressing people.

social groups and religions on the territory, each with its own arrangements, cultures, etc.). The classification of all these institutional solutions, or even outlining an inventory of institutional arrangements for Chikkalwadi, are beyond the objectives of this research: the aim here is to explore the institutional processes linked to fragmentation dynamics, without aspiring to provide a complete picture of Chikkalwadi's articulated institutional universe.

In Chikkalwadi, due to the dimensions and the complexity of the community, the institutional structures of access to land are not easy to read. Three solutions characterize access to land:

- “Land mafia” logics (established by several slum lords);
- “Restricted access” related to ethnic and regional affiliation (as in the “West Bengal ghetto”);
- “Family” access to land (facilitated by various contacts already living in the community).

According to the community leaders CH1 and CH2, and to key informants, the role of slum lords in land access has decreased in recent years, due to the difficulties in controlling all the territory of the community. This trend allowed informal solutions outside criminal arrangements. Within these solutions¹⁵⁸, there are options to access land without the approval of specific migrant social groups: the interviewees living near the “old wall” have obtained access to land (or directly to housing¹⁵⁹) through individual agreements, facilitated by acquaintances. In this case, people can enter the community without the “ritual” approval of big men, community leaders or other committees of the area, because the approval is in practice guaranteed by the contact man already living in the settlement.

The access to water and sanitation¹⁶⁰ services is less articulated and presents few options to get the service. Following the removal of illegal connections, which during the first years of the settlement were the common way to access the service, since 2008 water provision has been provided through a formal/informal network. The solution consists in distributing informally the formal available water quantity: slum dwellers connected to the network act as vendors and the rest of the community buy

¹⁵⁸ Informal and criminal arrangements are however overlapped in the “ghetto” near the *nalla*, where the affiliation to social and ethnic groups is accompanied by the submission to the “big man” of the area (including payments for protection and the respect of unwritten rules).

¹⁵⁹ Due to the condition of the settlement and the dense occupation of the available land, in the last years people coming to Chikkalwadi have access directly to the house. Some examples are provided by the in-depth interviews: CH3 paid 13,000 R\$ (approximately 260 €) to buy a shelter (12 square metres) in Chikkalwadi in 2006; CH4, in the same year (for a bigger shelter, around 16 square metres) paid 20,000 R\$ (approximately 400 €). The construction of the house through self-construction mechanisms after the land “purchase” is not frequent (considering the last 7 years). In this case the land where the shelter was built had a price between of 2,000 and 3,000 R\$ (40 to 60 €).

¹⁶⁰ The absence of specific facilities for sanitation inside the settlement has obliged to use public toilets located in formal areas or “notified” slums. The second frequent solution, in particular adopted by men and people living in the West Bengal ghetto, is the use of the *nalla* as latrine.

water from them¹⁶¹. These arrangements exclude strong involvement of the criminal organizations or their members as direct providers of the service. The logic is similar for the provision of electricity, which is usually organized through connections with legal lines in Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2: regular customers sell electricity to other families¹⁶². In this case, some interviewees admitted to paying a big man of the community, while others have links to families regularly connected.

In Chikkalwadi, formal public institutions dealing with planning, management and control of the territory are absent. The formal private sector (mainly the owner of “Ahmed Mills”), a key actor in the negotiation that decided the formation of the settlement, is now only an indirect and marginal actor in the community’s dynamics. The demographic and spatial dimensions of Chikkalwadi suggest the increasing participation and interest of private investors in the area: this trend is to some degree foreseen in the action of private actors in the neighbourhood areas of Annabhau Sathe Nagar, culminating in the project proposal for the redevelopment of part 2. The activity of the informal private sector, which is vital in the notified parts of Annabhau Sathe Nagar, is scarce in Chikkalwadi, due to the socio-economic precariousness and the insecurity regarding the legal state and land tenure. Considering only the activities directly related to planning, physical transformation of the territory or provision of urban services, the private sector is almost inexistent.

Against the backdrop of this condition of stasis in the public and private sectors, the third sector presents a very fluid situation, characterized by dynamics, which can appear contradictory and unusual with respect to the rest of the area. Slum dweller organizations’ representation in issues related to urban management or urban development is weak. The community is organized around some religious committees¹⁶³, which work only partly on issues of the spatial organization of the community. These organizations work mainly in social terms: religious committees (both Muslim and Hindu) have influence in deciding socio-spatial questions, if not in proposing actions, at least in controlling personal behaviour and solving conflicts between families. These kinds of association depend much on community leaders (presidents and usually founders of the committee). Elective or representative processes inside these “religious” committees are scarce or non-existent (but are completely legitimized by slum dwellers).

¹⁶¹ The price is 300 R\$ per 60 l/day, approximately 6 € per 60 l/day.

¹⁶² The cost is approximately 200-300 R\$/month, thus 4-6 €/month.

¹⁶³ During the fieldwork, the exploration of the settlement and the information coming from the key informants allowed the researcher to approach one of these religious entities, which influences community socio-spatial decisions, the Ahmed Raza Husaini Masjid, working for the Muslim community of Chikkalwadi (CH2).

Box 4.8. Legitimation of Chikkalwadi's organization from the slum dwellers' perspective

The imam went to check whether the persons that had been contacted were at home. The interviews took place on the path in front of the main entrance of the Ahmed Raza Husaini Masjid. Young guys and a few other persons passed on the other side of the drain to get around the two chairs located on the path for the interviews. The interviews started, as usual in the slum areas, with several explanations of the reasons of the research and assurances on the use of the information. Despite the explanations, the atmosphere remains tense.

"We don't know where to go, when we have a problem: even reading the letters (of the Municipality) is a problem", says C3, "The letters arrive in Marathi and we cannot read them. We can read in Hindi but not in Marathi. So we have to go to someone that can translate. The imam helps us, even in these things. He knows the people and can help us". C5 insists on the role played by the *Masjid* in the community: "We associate there to pray, but people find there also a place to speak about problems, to get help from others...there is no other place like that in Chikkalwadi, no other place like that in Sathe Nagar...".

C4 outlines the relations between community members and community leader: "We are Muslim; all the people coming to the *Masjid* are Muslim. The imam is our leader and tells us how to read the Koran in the best way and how to put its lessons into practice in everyday life. The imam shows us the right way in religious matters but also the best way to solve the problems that occur in the community. I'm speaking of the fights, how to deal with the demolitions...".

The imam speaks of his projects for the community in socio-religious terms, but the implications for socio-spatial questions are always present too: "I arrived here in Chikkalwadi just two years ago. I'm still "new" in the community but the people follow me, they trust me. I'm here, available. If there are problems or fights, I try to convince the families' chiefs of the best solution. It's hard, but it's possible. If there are issues with the authorities, demolition letters or other legal actions, I can speak with the Municipality or I can contact people from political parties. I can find the right person. The people of Chikkalwadi know it.

Political parties¹⁶⁴ actions indirectly influence socio-spatial arrangements. The role of these institutions is directly related to urban questions and retains the capability of proposing "visions" of development and "plans" involving the community. Chikkalwadi's political weight¹⁶⁵ is a factor in the Mankhurd area, therefore political parties, like other organizations from the outside¹⁶⁶, show interest in the community, even though they are not considered actually present by slum dwellers, and in consequence carry little legitimacy. Criminal organizations influence the area but there is a fluid relationship between these institutions and the territory. According to the in-depth interviews, criminals work in the area¹⁶⁷ but this is not reflected in clear control of the area by one or more slum lords, with the exception of the "West Bengal" ghetto, where criminals have a recognized role in controlling territory and population.

¹⁶⁴ Several parties are working in the area: one of the most active is the Samajiwadi Party, "used" by the researcher for approaching the area. National Congress Party maintains a "traditional" support in the Hindu part of the population. According to the interviewees, other parties seem to be secondary.

¹⁶⁵ The political weight of Chikkalwadi is substantial; according to the electoral polls it covers 7,120 inhabitants (which include also Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2).

¹⁶⁶ In Chikkalwadi formal organizations of the third sector (as local or international NGOs) are almost absent.

¹⁶⁷ Chikkalwadi is considered as a "traditional" place where criminals find refuge.

4.6.4. Relational geographies

The shape of the community and the built environment in which the settlement was developed, suggested that the case study settlement could be understood only in relation¹⁶⁸ to the other two (informal) parts of Annabhau Sathe Nagar. The initial perception was of a simple separation of Chikkalwadi from the rest of the fabric, following the spatial/morphological contrast between parts (Figure 4.11. and 4.12.). Interviews and observations however revealed more articulated relational geographies spatially between settlements and socially between communities (in a religious rather than political sense). Only one part of Chikkalwadi, the West Bengal ghetto, seemed to remain isolated and inaccessible (maybe in the process of budding off as a new fragment, see Box 6.4.) whereas the rest of the settlement presented different dynamics, including a tendency to integration.



Figure 4.11. The border of the settlement on the Children Aid Nalla side.



Figure 4.12. The border of the settlement on the dismantled industrial building side.

Source: Enrico Michelutti (15-09-2010; 27-01-2011).

Chikkalwadi's socio-spatial relations with the rest of the fabric show contradictory trends, mixing inclusion and exclusion¹⁶⁹ tendencies, integration and disintegration dynamics. Dependence can be seen in equipments and availability of goods, and in part of services provision. This condition however seems to contradict a hypothesis entailing break-up¹⁷⁰ of networks. Socio-economic, political and cultural relations with

¹⁶⁸ The structure of the presentation of this case study shows the role given to Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2.

¹⁶⁹ This condition is expressed also by population movements, with mono-directional flows going from the community to the external areas. The contemporary absence of movements from the outside to the Chikkalwadi seems to increase the feeling of isolation and the sense of insecurity of the people living in the neighbourhood areas.

¹⁷⁰ Flows related to the provision of services or goods, the movements inside/outside the settlements but also the communications and cultural/social interchanges between the Chikkalwadi's slum dwellers and the rest of the city are at work. People of Chikkalwadi used to go into Deonar, searching for particular services and goods. There is also a "historical" link with the Deonar area because several slum dwellers have lived in Deonar before going to the slum areas of Mankhurd. Therefore more articulated social relations are present between the two areas. Movements to other key points of the city (city centre, main hospitals, big central markets) are possible only for special reasons (but not frequent at all).

the other fragments are in place: in Chikkalwadi, the tendency consists in taking goods and services from the outside¹⁷¹, without generating internal dynamics of development and creation of opportunities in the community fabric. The city, with its opportunities, practices and values, remains outside the settlement.

Despite isolation tendencies, relations with neighbouring areas remain important to living conditions in Chikkalwadi, and the intensity of these relationships is high. Isolation (or imposed exclusion) separating the settlement from the rest of the city, represents a paradox, in particular with regard to the perception of the community from the outside. People living in Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2 and, more evidently, formal inhabitants of the Mankhurd area, avoid entering Chikkalwadi. According to all the interviewees of “Sathe Nagar”, there is no apparent reason to use Chikkalwadi spaces, due to the absence of services and to its insecurity.

Box 4.9. Perceptions of Chikkalwadi in the surrounding areas

Chikkalwadi is clearly seen as “another” community that seems to be a distant place, far away from the centres of the daily life of the people living in Annabhau Sathe Nagar parts 1 and 2, somehow voluntary “forgotten” or excluded from the thoughts of the people. The very presence itself of Chikkalwadi seems to represent a sort of blame to C17 (paradoxically a person living in the “notified” slum of Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 1). She speaks about Chikkalwadi with annoyance: “Usually I don’t go in Chikkalwadi. I’m not afraid of going there but there is no reason to go. There is nothing to do there. If I need something, I can go to Mankhurd or the PMGP Colony...people in Chikkalwadi are Muslim, there is no common activity with them, but in our association (for the protection of women) everybody is welcome”. C19 does not pay any particular attention to Chikkalwadi as a specific place: “I used to go to Chikkalwadi just to take a short cut when I had to reach the market in the P.M.G.P. Colony. I used to take the short cut during the day. I’ve never gone there during the night”. The feeling of insecurity in going into the community is confirmed by C18: “I don’t go to Chikkalwadi, I don’t want my sons to go there. In Chikkalwadi there are gangsters, it’s a dangerous place. There is no boss in Chikkalwadi, but there are criminals”.

In the words of Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 2 inhabitants, attention is focused on the cultural (religious) distances between the two communities: “In this community, the people are Hindu. Some are Buddhist; there are very few Muslims. Muslim people stay on the other side of the wall. After the terrorist attacks of 2006 and 2008, the situation was worse, worse for them: the police came frequently in that period. Just a small thing could generate a fight. Now the situation is OK...”, says C10, “we are Hindu and they are Muslim but there is respect and they can go into all Sathe Nagar without any problem. Also the people of our community can go there but it’s not so frequent”.

Exclusion affects also private and public investors’ positions. The case of the Laloo Bhai re-settlement project is an example of how investments can increase socio-spatial divisions already characterizing the territory. Political exclusion of Chikkalwadi inhabitants from any right (with attendant institutional and socio-economic consequences) drives other forms of exclusion, such as from access to services

¹⁷¹ As, for instance, the commercial spaces in the PMG. Colony (the alternative is the Deonar station, very far away); the primary school, used by the majority of families, is located in the Laloo Bhai compound, near Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1. Private and public ambulatories are more spread in the territory (including Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2).

(water, public equipments, transport, etc.), quality of housing, in land tenure, environmental (and health) conditions. The “old wall” and the other physical separations seem to be only symbols of the other separations, which however do not preclude relations.

4.6.5. Power relations

The researcher was initially tempted to consider Chikkalwadi as a closed system, with its own internal equilibriums and power relations, definitive decision-making mechanisms and spatial/planning “political” choices. Fieldwork however revealed an additional component in the form of external powers, which modified this view: the West Bengal ghetto confirmed its difference from the rest of the community. In this context, in all the phases of power conflict, slum dwellers remain in a weak position, with an absence of participatory processes and limited access to and weight in decision-making processes.

Power relations in Chikkalwadi follow the complexities already shown by the institutional set-up. In Chikkalwadi, organizations dealing with spatial/planning questions are connected to religious and socio-political powers influencing community decisions. The relationship between community members can be very “light”. Most of the interviewees did not recognize a strong social, civil, structure in the community: for them, the only element of connection between individuals and social forms outside the extended family context is religion (which can be thought as “community”). These organizations are only partly involved in thinking about territory in spatial terms (their objective is to support community members in a socio-economic way).

In this context, the political authority of the community leaders is continuously questioned, for example their control of the territory and their ability to plan actions for the community. This condition leads to an institutional desegregation, which can be ascribed to the scenarios of social pulverization characterizing certain literature on urban fragmentation (2.3.3.): the presence of several overlapping institutional set-ups continuously competing for power and control of the territory leaves slum dwellers facing problems of an individual (or single family) dimension rather than a community one. Therefore, in Chikkalwadi power relations play around two poles:

- The community/religious organizations, without specific mandates to act as political entities (with objectives focusing on socio-religious-cultural dimensions of the affiliates and their role in politics, reducing territorial questions to a consequence of their activities);

- Organizations (formal, informal and criminal¹⁷²) acting outside the settlement, indirectly influencing the community (with discrete and discontinuous interventions in spatial/planning questions, as in the case of the municipality).

Contacts between public institutions (here mainly the municipality) and community institutions are very limited. The municipality recognizes religious associations and their role in representing the community but there is neither common activity nor negotiation between the two. The “scale¹⁷³” of the two kinds of institution is very different. Community institutions, despite their authority over affiliates, are not capable of any dialogue with the municipality on behalf of the slum dwellers. These institutions cannot prevent actions and “punishments” by the state.

Political parties gravitate around the community (in fact their presence is more directly visible in Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2). Despite the significant position of Chikkalwadi on the agenda of political parties, actions on the territory are weak both in terms of policies (including activities of propaganda and recruitment among the population) and in physical projects (which are not present at all). The strategy of political parties is to target the individual, and there is no formal and declared strategy to involve the community associations in a participatory understanding and action in the settlement. On the community side, the nature of the community associations prevents a real will to hold dialogue with and bargain with political parties, due to the cultural distances between them and to their differing objectives. The space for negotiation can be opened only through informal processes, currently consisting of a mechanism of payment (offer of favours, etc.) in return for votes¹⁷⁴, again mainly at the level of the individual.

According to the interviewees, the NGOs, local or international, have been absent from Chikkalwadi since 2005¹⁷⁵. The scarce presence of these institutions, despite the consistency of the settlement and its evident humanitarian problems, can be attributed to several factors: the mobility and the changes in the social fabric, which have not allowed the formation of a consolidated group as a point of reference working for the community; or the ethnic dynamics, which have contributed to isolating parts of the community (most visibly the West-Bengal group). The absence of NGOs in Chikkalwadi is illustrative of “estrangement” dynamics from the dimension of participation (intended

¹⁷² Here attention will be on the municipality (the main formal actor), political parties (formal actors, but working informally in the area) and criminal organizations (operating mainly outside the settlement).

¹⁷³ When the two institutions are in direct conflict, as over demolition orders, the distance between the two appears clearly.

¹⁷⁴ Through in-depth interviews, the researcher collected only hints of informal platforms for negotiation but there is no specific information to describe in detail the nature of the process, its frequency and how widespread it is in Chikkalwadi.

¹⁷⁵ This fact is confirmed by secondary sources and direct observation. The interviewees mentioned a local NGO with a Marathi name that can be translated as “National Popular Committees”. Of course this absence does not mean an exclusion of indirect action of NGOs or slum dwellers participation in NGOs’ activities located in other parts of the city. The central interest in the research discourse here is the absence of an NGO as institutional point of reference inside the community.

here simply in a “primitive” meaning of thinking publicly about the questions related to the territory and its management).

In these substrata, displaying a sort of dissolution of the socio-urban fabric, criminal solutions represent an alternative to formal (and informal) community organization. However observations and in-depth interviews reveal a very fluid relationship between the criminality and the territory in Chikkalwadi. The control on the settlement is not in the hand of rigid criminal structures, but criminal arrangements do involve individuals and families. The control of the territory seems to be strict in the most vulnerable part, the area near the *nalla*, occupied by migrants from West Bengal. In this case, criminality seems to be an unavoidable urban power and slum lord rule is the key institutional set-up in the community.

This exploration of the case studies has offered an overview of fragmentation processes in three different conditions, providing the researcher with materials and instruments to go through these elements in search of an understanding of the phenomena registered on the ground. The next phase of the work centres on analysis of the data collected¹⁷⁶, which will be structured according to the main areas of the research, focusing on: the socio-spatial manifestations of fragmentation dynamics (seeking an in-depth knowledge of how the phenomenon affects the case study urban fabric); the institutional roots of the phenomenon (questioning the role of social structures in the dynamic); power relations (addressing power as analytical tool); and the planning dimension (for understanding spatial/planning rationalities and possible actions oriented to sustainability and equity).

¹⁷⁶ The iterative moments between data collection and analysis have actually characterized the entire research process (see 3.6. and 3.8.).

5. SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

Socio-spatial analysis is thought to offer an overview of the fragmentation dynamics, involving case study areas, “as they appear”. The presence of these fragmentation tendencies¹ is usually associated with dichotomies characterizing parts/portions of the urban fabric (“fragments”), such as formal-informal, planned-unplanned, legal-illegal², in a dual vision of the city³. Inside the fabric, fragmentation dynamics, which may result in a “divided city” or even in a pulverization of the urban fabric in micro-fragments, are supposed to imply the generation of specific social and spatial arrangements⁴. In the initial stage of the fieldwork, the researcher used a working definition, where fragments were thought of as parts of territory with specific social characteristics, endogenously homogeneous and exogenously contrasting with the rest of the fabric, in terms of groups and types of relation, and spatial devices⁵, with their own specificities (not only from a morphological-physical point of view but also from the perspective of use and inhabitants’ perceptions).

For the researcher the first action in socio-spatial analysis was confronting the theoretical approach, established in the analytical framework, with the literature on urban fragmentation⁶ (Box 5.1.). The gap between existing knowledge and the specific

¹ In Mumbai, a hypothesis of the “geography” of fragmentation phenomena, built from the existing literature, implies the presence of different kinds of “fractures” between parts of the city.

² This kind of dichotomies can be extended and other classifications can be applied in the researches on the phenomenon. Classifications may entail directly the social (or socio-cultural) dimension: in Mumbai for instance, the contraposition of Muslim and Hindu parts of the city is universally used as key to interpret city dynamics. Literature on the “divided city” can help in enriching the exploration of the possible natures of these urban fractures (Box 5.6.).

³ Theories seeing Mumbai as “dual city” have tradition in literature (a classic reference as entry point focusing connections between urban development and socio-economic condition, with a morphological-physical approach, is the work of Correa [1989]).

⁴ According to the institutional approach of the research, the socio-spatial dimension analysis was supposed to reveal aspects of the phenomenon, overcoming purely descriptive classifications or quantitative attempts to measure fragmentation dynamics. Within the socio-spatial dimension, the research will consider aspects related to the connections between socio-spatial elements and institutions in the case study areas.

⁵ Some theories on the phenomenon, according to the reflections coming from geography (for a first approach see Navez-Bouchanine, 2002 and Zaninetti and Maret, 2007), propose the hypothetical “unity” of the different fragments before the fragmentation process. Other authors see this original unity as a myth.

⁶ In the literature, works based on case studies are generally centred on socio-spatial aspects.

needs of the research was evident. In responding to the need, the research had to focus on socio-spatial aspects embedded within the institutions⁷ structuring the territory⁸: the attempt involved key aspects in understanding these connections such as access to land, housing and basic services. Therefore the need of a comprehensive vision (overcoming statistical aspects and questioning the phenomenon beyond quantitative socio-economic indicators or morphological-physical characteristics) is developed through qualitative analysis of the socio-spatial elements. Socio-spatial analysis cannot rely only on comparison between the three case studies' conditions. The work consists mainly in using the explanatory power (from an urban fragmentation perspective) of the explorations conducted during the fieldwork.

Box 5.1. Tools for socio-spatial analysis (and elements for a socio-spatial literature review from an urban fragmentation perspective)

According to the research approach, socio-spatial analysis departs from two instances: (i) the need to consider urban fragmentation as a "global" socio-spatial phenomenon involving different socio-spatial "structured fields" and "structuring principles"; (ii) the need to see socio-spatial categories from an institutional perspective. These necessities have obliged the researcher to work in two directions:

- To shape the institutional approach enlarging the "conventional scope" of socio-spatial analysis, passing from mono-dimensional (or bi-dimensional) frameworks approaching socio-spatial research in urban fragmentation to an attempt at applying a multidimensional framework;
- To select from the definition of institution, used as the main tool in the analytical framework, spatial elements (viz. access to land, housing and services), which shed light on institutional aspects and social forms (to be analysed from a spatial perspective), leading the researcher to focus on religions, social categories (class and caste) and social control of the population by authorities from the perspective of urban fragmentation.

In the literature, socio-spatial analysis of urban phenomena is generally characterized by the use of key elements, which represent both a tool (to read a given socio-spatial context), "structuring principle" and a field of research (containing objects of analysis), "structured field" (Jessop et al., 2008). These key elements can be identified according to different criteria: Jessop, Brenner and Jones, shaping a new comprehensive model, include "territory", "place", "network" and "scale" but leave open the list to other elements, such as "environment". Urban fragmentation discourse (in particular researches based on a case study approach) is characterized by the use of one socio-spatial principle and/or field, with few cases where two or more of them are used. The literature working on the concept of splintering urbanism, which is in part associable with urban fragmentation, presents studies depending on "network" as the main tool (infrastructural as social) to approach the question (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Other works adopt "territory" as the main instrument to explore the "divided" city (which is for many authors a synonym of "fragmented" city, e.g. for the South, Gonzales [2005]): this approach is frequently applied in gated community analysis and in economic approaches to the theme (e.g. Low, 2006). To have elements for an inquiry on societal structures, institutional analysis needs to consider socio-spatial reality in its multidimensional nature. In this study on urban fragmentation, case studies permit building the analysis in

⁷ An institutional vision, including "processes of thoughts" and mental models (which reveals the researcher's interest in the connections between city and power), obliges inclusion of a reflection on space use and perception.

⁸ It is not necessarily the case that the passage from socio-spatial to institutional dimensions implies a hierarchy between the two typologies of factors, even if, according to the definition used in this research, "institutions" are thought of as deep societal structures.

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“territory”, “place” and “network” dimensions directly on the information coming from the context; while, for the “scale” question, indirect work of the researcher locates the information from the field in a more abstract framework. Here the analysis is oriented to understand connections between spatial solutions and social entities (exploring socio-spatial manifestations of fragmentation, such as the nature of fragments and the relations between them).

The other aim of the analysis consists in understanding community social fabrics to find their institutional structures (focusing mainly on the spatial/planning dimension in which institutions work, thus enabling understanding of the relation between socio-spatial manifestations and institutional roots of the phenomenon). To follow this path of analysis, the researcher decided to take into consideration slum dwellers’ access to land, housing and basic services. These processes clarify social organizations’ role, networks and power relations at work in case study areas. In determining the different conditions characterizing the three case study areas, the analysis focuses on the role played by social structures in shaping slum dwellers’ relations with the space. In this case community key “institutions” are considered specifically in their socio-spatial aspects, exploring urban fragmentation processes (answering mainly to the question what? and how?):

- Religion is taken into consideration because of its power to explain network (links between believers and religious associations/groups), territory (areas of influence of religious communities and relations between them) and place (use of public places and spaces of habitat, imposed by religious customs) (literature on Mumbai offers few geographic and journalistic inquiries [Mehta, 2004], which mainly work on the Muslim-Hindu dichotomy, avoiding specific work on the “illegal” slum settlements);
- Class and caste are used to explore socio-economic and political-cultural dimensions, in particular working on network (relations between slum dwellers belonging to the same class or castes) and territory (hypothetical rules in land occupation by certain castes following the “traditional city”) (literature provides references belonging to social and anthropological studies, with inconsistent focus on the spatial aspects of the question, excluding fragmentation even as a horizon of reference);
- Social control is a mechanism in the hands of power, which is considered here to explore the categories network (with other actors and kinds of relation) and territory (where the action and the vision of powers determine fractures in the territory; literature provides some interesting works on criminal organizations [Shaban, 2010] and police [Mehta, 2004], which however do not include specific attention to “not notified” slums).

According to the analytical framework, the researcher worked on questions 1E and 2E (3.3.), exploring two key socio-spatial themes:

- Socio-spatial influences/dynamics connected to (or producing) the formation of fragments;
- Socio-spatial character of relational geographies in a fragmented urban fabric.

Since the beginning of the fieldwork and the phase of question generation, these entry points did not seem to exhaust the richness of the socio-spatial dimension, but the researcher searched for essential elements enabling him to understand fragmentation dynamics (through a multi-dimensional approach, based on territory, scale, place and networks, as “structuring principles”) and to question possible institutional elements (both in the form of organizations and mental models), linking the structures of the process with its visible manifestations in the urban fabric. Using the definition of institution, this section will explore some basic spatial elements (land, housing and

services) and social structures (religion, security, caste and social class) to answer to the questions.

5.2. Spatial forms of fragmentation in case study areas

The researcher moved from an initial hypothesis concerning case study areas inside a fragmented fabric (4.1.) using a definition of “fragment”, as a “work in progress” idea, thought of here as portions of territory ruled by specific institutional arrangements, with certain organizations and mental models structuring social groups forming the community and their relations with the space. For the researcher, the weight of hypothetical spatial factors of fragmentation (do spatial factors of fragmentation exist?) or spatial characters of case study areas represented a key interest in exploratory visits. During the initial phases of the interviewing process, slum dwellers’ perception of the argument, only indirectly conceptualized, brought the researcher to reconsider the importance of spatial elements of fragmentation, working on the connections between these elements and the different social fabrics. Are case study areas characterized by specific spatial conditions connected to social characters, becoming a factor of separation from the rest of the fabric (for physical/morphological characteristics or even for a particular perception among the slum dwellers, or formal city citizens, of a socio-spatial solution of continuity with the rest of the fabric)? The answer to these questions started from taking into consideration access to basic socio-spatial goods and services in case study areas⁹.

5.2.1. Land¹⁰

Access to land for case study areas’ slum dwellers presents processes that are forcing the usual informal dynamics¹¹ (characterizing also “notified” settlements in Mumbai) and are clearly in contrast with the typical formal procedures in land access¹². Avoiding

⁹ The explanatory power of these processes was confirmed in “progress”, during the fieldwork: initially Rafi Nagar 2 (which was object of research activities at the beginning of fieldtrip 2) gave a first positive feedback, which was confirmed in Sai Leela and Chikkalwadi.

¹⁰ Reflections on land seem to entail mainly the “territory” as “structured field” and “structuring principle” of the research. During the analysis, land could be seen also as a question of scale, while categories such as network and place seem to be less relevant to a fragmentation perspective, despite “social” networks in access to land remain very significant.

¹¹ Usually informal access to land in Mumbai consists in a process of occupation, led by community “big men” or slum lords, and consequent land selling (mainly to recent migrants). In a consolidated fabric, like Chikkalwadi, but also in Rafi Nagar 2, land access coincides with housing access.

¹² Here the researcher refers to procedures established during the colonial domination. Of course, the Indian tradition works independently of that system. Dumont argued that the caste system in land access is the opposite of the land/property system (Dumont, 1991). The forms of land access explored in the research, which belong to the “urban cultural environment”, are however far away from the “tradition”: this last one refers to the territorial condition of the village where the exploitation of territory implies “circular” uses of the land by different castes, without an actual property.

considering, at this stage, formal-informal relations¹³, “not notified” slums take to the extreme consequences the common informal methods of accessing land: occupation and/or “informal” selling of land portions. In particular, Rafi Nagar 2 and in the “West Bengal ghetto” of Chikkalwadi¹⁴ are characterized by restricted and controlled access¹⁵ to land (or to land-housing, like in Chikkalwadi, where the density does not permit any new land occupation). These mechanisms generate fragments inhabited by “selected” population (in both the mentioned cases, highly vulnerable Muslim groups¹⁶), clearly recognizable (but also isolated, if not gated) by the authorities and by the neighbourhoods (in the case study areas, populations living in “notified” slums like Rafi Nagar 1 or Annabhau Sathe Nagar have a clear perception of the differences between territories, which are contiguous¹⁷).

Where case study “not notified” slums have been developed, the land is owned by the Municipality (Rafi Nagar 2 and Sai Leela) or by the State of Maharashtra (Chikkalwadi). The typology of property does not seem to be a factor of fragmentation in itself, but the time of land occupation¹⁸ and the position of the slum dwellers with respect to the deadline of 1995 represent key elements in determining different levels of security in land tenure and generally the vulnerability in the case study areas, due to the absence of specific “planning” instruments for securing land in “illegal” (not even informal) areas. Due to certain equilibria in power relations and political agreements, Chikkalwadi slum dwellers have achieved a slightly better condition in comparison to Rafi Nagar 2 and Sai Leela.

Legal fractures between the “not notified” and the “notified” informal fabrics appear clearly in community land tenure status. Document analysis, in-depth interviews and direct and participant observations did not reveal a deep influence of land tenure state or typology in shaping relations between fragments in the case study areas, with the partial exception of Sai Leela. In that case the nature of the pavement dweller community (an interstitial fragment within a territory that is completely formal and

¹³ However this relation interests partially the Sai Leela pavement dweller community, where the “not notified” fabric is immersed in a formal context.

¹⁴ The ghetto is a sort of fragment in process of separation from the rest of community: this sub-unit will return several times in the analysis.

¹⁵ Where criminal institutions (or directly criminal powers-slum lords) “allow” families (which have certain characteristics, in terms of provenance and social status) to occupy a given space in exchange for money.

¹⁶ Speaking about “social classes” in the Western sense fits only roughly with the Hindu and the Muslim culture in Mumbai. However the social composition of the case study settlements can be portrayed as a sort sub-proletariat, vulnerable working class with workers contracted on daily wages in the construction, grab pickers and informal vendors sectors.

¹⁷ Both Rafi Nagar 2 and the “West Bengal ghetto” occupy spaces that can be considered marginal (with respect to Rafi Nagar 1 in the first case, where part 2 is nearest to the dumping ground and to the low land near the *nalla*; with respect to Chikkalwadi, where the ghetto is a high density part, compressed on the *nalla*).

¹⁸ The neighbourhood communities, respectively Rafi Nagar 1 and Annabhau Sathe Nagar, have been developed on the same land typology. The formation of those communities that occurred before 1995 were able to obtain “notified” status, and therefore to have unofficial but effective security of land tenure. These community have received advantages in social and, consequently, in spatial terms, with a certain improvement in the living condition of the population.

planned) enforces the perception of illegality in land occupation and “obliges” the authorities to take consequent actions¹⁹. The land status becomes a political question: the legal condition of Sai Leela does not differ from other “not notified” settlements²⁰ but the small dimension of the community, thus its limited political weight, and the location at the border of one of the city centres (the Dadar area) have increased the strictness of the authorities’ actions.

5.2.2. Housing²¹

The first impression of the researcher in exploring the housing sector was the strict link between access to housing and access to land. The analysis appeared to support this impression. The picture coming from the housing presents different levels of vulnerability in the three case studies. Housing level is related to the condition of land tenure of each slum dweller or family. There are different document typologies providing a sort of security for slum dwellers, which condition the level of shelters consolidation:

- The “photo-pass”, which associates the owner of the document to a certain shelter located in a specific settlement²² (shelters where the owner has a “photo-pass” usually are consolidated, with a structure in metal or wood elements, walls in bricks or metal sheets and a pavement in concrete), allowing a certain security in land tenure;
- The “*purava* document”, a receipt of a municipal survey that attests the presence of the document owner in the settlement at a certain date (slum dwellers with a *purava* document live in a shelter with a structure of bamboo and walls of metal sheets), with only a hypothetical “security” of land tenure;
- Other kinds of document²³ having no relation to housing but providing a contact with the State (such as electoral or voting card, rationing card) and representing only a sort of recognition that a slum dweller has been living in Mumbai from the date of issue of the document (shelter with a bamboo structure or salvage wood and walls of plastic sheets, usually without a made floor or with a floor consisting of carpets laid on the ground).

¹⁹ Demolitions continuously give new shape to the settlements (in particular Sai Leela), changing the spatial conditions (generally to more vulnerable solutions) and social components (obliging slum dwellers to change locations and to re-structure social networks).

²⁰ Several “old” pavement dweller communities in Mumbai (formed before 1995) have been characterized by “processes of legalisation” similar to other “notified” slums.

²¹ Housing works on the principles-fields “territory” and “place”, while “scale” seems to represent a secondary factor in fragmentation perspective. “Network” remains very significant when access to housing is conceptualized as product of social networks action.

²² In this case, a sort of regularization process is in action: the “photo-pass” does not imply the property of the land or the registration at the cadastre, but consists in a formal relationship with the Municipality, which requires a payment of 1.200 rupees per year (24€/year, C7).

²³ The owners of “photo pass” and “*purava* documents” usually have also this basic documentation. Owners of photo-pass do not need any “*purava* document” thus frequently do not conserve any “receipt” of municipal surveys, feeling already “protected” by the “photo-pass”.

Do the presence of similar land tenure and housing conditions in specific locations help in defining morphologically “fragments” in the urban fabric? Case studies seem to answer negatively. The “borders” between fragments, reflecting morphological changes in the fabric, can be gradual (as in Rafi Nagar 2) or very drastic (as in Sai Leela, where the community itself constitutes the border). Fragments can be also internally not homogeneous (considering for instance the land tenure condition of individual households) or presenting evidence of new fragments’ formation (as with the most precarious part of Rafi Nagar 2, near the *nalla* and the graveyard wall). These factors indirectly question the efficiency of classifying fragments through morphological (and/or land tenure) criteria. In slum dwellers’ perception, fragments, which mainly coincide with communities or parts of communities, are thought of as homogenous places, a sort of “unities” of the territory characterized by certain socio-spatial characteristics²⁴. Morphological and physical elements, connected with land tenure condition, are not sufficient to achieve to this status.

Experiences in participant observations (mainly in Rafi Nagar 2) have revealed the great sensitivity of slum dwellers to the housing question. In particular, the will to improve shelters, the attention to furniture details and the respect for the spaces of the house characterize slum dwellers’ behaviour: getting an apartment²⁵ in a redeveloped slum (like the Laloo Bhai Compound) and living in a context where housing has shape, a real quarter (a *chawl*), represent a social goal. This character not only has consequences at the cultural (values-ethic) dimension but also influences case study slum dwellers’ use of spaces and equipments in re-developed slums: several goods and services can be found here, making redevelopment slums the “real city for people living in “not notified” areas (Sai Leela represents an exception due to its relation with the city centre).

Box 5.2. Use of spaces as evidence of socio-spatial fragmentation

Is space only an aseptic container of social fragmentation dynamics? Or does space make the difference in shaping fragmentation tendencies? To what extent can questioning slum dwellers’ use of space can help in exploring the relation social fabric/spatial fabric? The use of public places, of the equipments and of basic services in the areas (the research here refers to Shivaji Nagar for Rafi Nagar 2, Mankhurd for Chikkalwadi, the Parel village for Sai Leela) reveals the presence of a plurality of behaviours and different perceptions of the role of specific spaces for different social groups. This variety in spaces’ use is embedded into the cultural richness of Mumbai but the different approaches of the population to the space, in a fragmented context, can evolve (and, in the case study areas, some traces of the process are visible) in a separated use of the space, alimending social isolation and control-repression tendencies. Different levels of progress in the dynamics of fragmentation in the use of spaces

²⁴ These characteristics frequently include a preconceived reputation of the fragment-community, entailing the socio-spatial dimension (for example the scarce environmental security of the shelters in Rafi Nagar 2; the presence of several criminals living in Chikkalwadi). These preconceptions, which can differ from the reality, however “identify” communities at the neighbourhood and city scale.

²⁵ These apartments are provided for free for “eligible” slum dwellers that were living in a slum before 1995, according to the regulations of the SRA. In the case of the Laloo Bhai compound (4.6.1.), the project is used for the re-settlement of slum dwellers coming from different parts of the city.

are visible in the case study areas.

The “West Bengal ghetto” (of Chikkalwadi) catches the research interest in questioning links between spatial and social spheres in a fragmented context. In that area slum dwellers have a double tendency: the use of the house as a refuge and the escape in public places outside the “ghetto” to find spaces of interaction and social relations. The absence of public spaces inside the ghetto, due to the density of the settlement, and the perceptible insecurity in being in the narrow passages between the shelters, push the inhabitants to find alternative solutions to the public place for excellence in “not notified” settlement, which is the street. In the participant observation of 27/01/2011, all the participants refused to enter into the ghetto, saying: “It’s dangerous”; “We cannot enter”; even the imam of Chikkalwadi invited the research group to remain outside the area of the ghetto: “I cannot guarantee your safety in that place” (a similar tendency is detectable in the information coming from Rafi Nagar 1 interviewees and their relation with Rafi Nagar 2). The feeling of insecurity is confirmed by the in-depth interview with a slum dweller of the ghetto, C7, who said: “It’s not safe to stay on the path. Outside the house people walk quickly to reach the shops near the main street or the bridge as soon as possible. I can have a rest just in my home. (...) If you want to meet a friend, you go in his house or in Annabhau Sathe Nagar”.

The use of a place can vary significantly according to the social groups. An easy readable example comes from the use of the street for Sai Leela pavement dwellers and the inhabitants of the formal neighbourhood areas (Mint Colony). For the pavement dwellers the street is place of living (not just an infrastructure for transportation) and the different “places” of the street become space to stay, developing an activity, interchanging experiences, meeting parents and friends (the movement becomes just a secondary question). SL1 said: “We stay on the street all the day. We cook, we wash ourselves, we live on the street. The street makes the difference between us and the other people”. SL5: “In my house there is no electricity, we use the light of the street to do our houseworks. (...) We can stay outside, inside the house it’s very hot. On the street, there is some wind, the guys have their space”. The impression is that the street is almost a refuge, a place “inside” the settlement, a space of the community. The perception of the street from outside the “fragment” is completely different. During the participant observation of 08/02/2011, the comments of Mint colony people (but also of the shops’ owners along the Dr. Ambedkar Nagar insist to consider living on the street as a fault: “How can they be worthy, living on the street in that way?”.

5.2.3. Services²⁶

The researcher had the objective of focusing on the influence of basic services provision²⁷ (mainly water and electricity, and secondarily sanitation) in fragments’ formation and, through the networks, both social²⁸ and infrastructural, in fragments’ relations. Case study areas outlined a condition in which services, like land and housing, are characterized by formal and informal dynamics interweaving continuously.

²⁶ Services seem to work on the primary fields of “network” and “scale”, while territory and place appear as secondary tools in interpreting this part of case study dynamics.

²⁷ Other basic equipments (like clinics, markets, etc.) have to be considered in understanding service sector connections with urban fragmentation dynamics.

²⁸ In this section, attention is centred on a brief overview of the infrastructural (and physical) aspects of the services. The social nature of the network constitutes a key part of the Institutional Analysis: according to the definition of institution used in this research, the network, in its social dimension, is an institution in itself.

Electricity²⁹ is the only service that is available in case study areas, with very few exceptions (some shelters in Sai Leela). Water distribution is absent with the exception of Chikkalwadi where the dimensions and the political weight of the community allow having a network, which covers the community in part, by distributing water through some public taps (water that is sold to the un-served part of the settlement). Sanitation depends on public toilet facilities, generally located outside the community, therefore this service in case study areas follows a trend that is characteristic in all the “not notified” settlements where missing facilities (schools, medical centres, markets, etc.) are supplied by those in neighbouring areas. Services distribution questions the common idea of “not notified” slums as “unplanned and un-served areas”, which is the usual definition to label these settlements: actually case study communities get services and constitute just “another” market for the providers.

From the perspective of urban fragmentation analysis, services organization seems to confirm the emergence of separate “units” of the territory, where networks do not reach at all or do so only at a low intensity. However this “splintering” tendency does not emerge as a key factor in fragmentation processes, but as just one of the elements constituting a more complex mechanism. The fieldwork revealed the importance of the services sector in the identification of the communities by the inhabitants (thus in fragments’ definition process): the disparity in services distribution between territories is evident. But at the micro-scale (as for instance in the case of the border between Rafi Nagar 1 and 2), the presence of different levels of connection with the networks or with the source of the service³⁰, characterizing differences in each service, conveys the gap between covered and un-covered territories, which becomes not clearly readable³¹. In relational terms, services show how fragments are necessarily connected with each other, and in many cases, the character of these relations is based on dependency³² (of “not notified” slums to the rest of the city), and exclusion dynamics (Box 5.5.). Dependency includes water and electricity provision and use of public/private facilities, including transportation.

²⁹ The service consists of an “illegal” extension of the regular network, starting from registered meters, located in the neighbouring areas (both redeveloped and “notified” slums; in the case of Sai Leela, formal neighbourhoods).

³⁰ For instance, in Rafi Nagar 2, part of the water provision comes from water tankers (the water coming from municipal sources, while the transport is usually private) transporting water to public plastic tanks or that directly sell the water to slum dwellers.

³¹ Also without considering the problems in providing services in “notified” slums and formal areas, where services are frequently not continuous and with low quality. Feedbacks in this sense are coming from the neighbouring zones near the case studies areas (in particular Rafi Nagar 1).

³² This characteristic does not entail only “not notified” slum but it characterizes several areas of the city, informal and formal. The specificity of “not notified” slums is that the dependency in services provision, embedded in a general lack in rights, seems to be driven by powers that have interest in preserving a condition of disparity and exclusion from the networks (7.5.).

Box 5.3. Towards the concept of “border” in the slum dwellers’ perception

What happens on the border between two fragments? Is the passage between the two entities clearly perceptible or is the transition smoother? To what extent can the perception of the fragments’ inhabitants help in defining the territorial question of the border? Are socio-economic indicators sufficient to define the borders? The analysis of the information coming from in-depth interviews and participant observation contributes to clarify that socio-spatial elements cannot constitute by themselves the roots of the separation between two fragments. For this part of analysis, Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi can provide more information than Sai Leela, where the linear nature of the settlement makes the community both a fragment and a border at the same time. On the border between Rafi Nagar 2 and Rafi Nagar 1 and between Chikkalwadi and Annabhau Sathé Nagar part 1 and 2, socio-economic conditions are very similar (in terms of income, but also for religious and cultural proximities) as the spatial elements characterizing the two territories (habitat condition are usually comparable, services and accessibility have similar limits). The socio-spatial definition of the border seems to escape. Can qualitative research tools help in orienting the researcher in approaching the question?

In the in-depth interviews recur two opposite tendencies: the first one consists in a interviewees’ feeling of “distinction” between the social entities (communities) and structures (institutions, usually intended as organization and “rules”) living in the fragments and a separated belonging to one or the opposite condition; the second tendency consists in an attempt at inclusion by the “not notified” slum dwellers in order to be considered “similar”, “equal” to the “notified” slum dwellers. In the community leaders’ interviews, the words “we” and “they” appear continuously in the section 2 of the interview guideline, referring to the community formation. “We (Rafi Nagar 1 slum dwellers) arrived here in the 1994, they (Rafi Nagar 2 slum dwellers) arrived in the 1996”. “We have the Mosque, they do not” are just some examples (coming from RN15) of the continuous contraposition and sense of belonging to a specific group that characterize fragments. If conversation analysis can offer several examples of these tendencies, storylines coming from households’ interviews analysis tells the need of recognition, the will to be “like the others” that appear regularly in section 4 of the interview guideline, referred to the relational geographies. Chikkalwadi slum dwellers insist on explaining their use of public spaces and services located in the neighbouring areas “as the people living in the Laloo Bhai compound or in the PMGP Colony do” (C5; very similar stories, and even similar words, have been told by C3, C6 and C7). The will to be considered as part of the “city” and to achieve certain rights, overcoming even the religious fractures, is a constant in the interviewees’ discourses.

The need to think to spatial points of reference reappears also at other moments. The perception coming from direct and participant observations shows a need of “reconstruction” of the space by slum dwellers around a socio-institutional element that represents fragments core. This definition of spatial elements, that can be in progress and can differ in the perception of the interviewees (as happens in Rafi Nagar 2), reinvents the borders of the community. The sedimentation of the landmarks in the perception of the slum dwellers during the time has defined, spatially, the borders between fragments (in Rafi Nagar 2 the process is still not completed). The definition of the border implies, in a second moment, a stabilization of the social groups inside the settlement and a consolidation of the fragment. New processes of fragments formation and borders’ definition are visible in the “West Bengal ghetto” of Chikkalwadi.

5.3. Social forms of fragmentation in case study areas

Spatial dynamics of fragmentation in the case study areas can be understood in depth only by considering social elements of fragmentation. The influence of social factors in

understanding urban fragmentation phenomena in spatial/planning terms was evident to the researcher since the beginning of the fieldwork. Social fabric represents also the natural arena in developing institutional approaches. The role of social elements assumed increasing importance as the research progressed, representing a real discriminator also for “pure” spatial/planning questions. The focus on the social aspects, which would deserve an infinite care in the context of Mumbai’s informal areas, has been considered only in their relations with spatial factors. For the researcher, the question of social fragmentation regards various arguments³³ focusing on the possible presence in case study areas of tendencies to the break-up of social fabric, which involve social groups, classes and castes. Can we really speak about social fragmentation regarding “illegal” areas of Mumbai? To what extent is this hypothetical social fragmentation in the city connected to urban fragmentation dynamics? Socio-religious contrasts in the city, disparities in socio-economic conditions, the rethinking of social categories like “class” and “caste” are facets of current urban dynamics and, to a limited extent, an object of inquiry³⁴, without achieving a synthesis of the complexities of Mumbai. In fact these elements have to be thought about within an institutional approach, thus in their consequences for the definition of institutional arrangements inside the case study areas. This approach inevitably focuses on only specific aspects (for instance, the role of religion in “compacting” parts of the social fabric in fragments) without aiming to be comprehensive.

Box 5.4. Characters of social fragmentation in the slum dwellers’ perception

Is social fragmentation related to the complexities of the Indian society in face of the great changes implied in globalizing processes? Is this hypothetical fragmentation of Indian society related to the evolution of the class and caste categories? Or are social fragmentation and conflicts in Mumbai reducible to the religious dualism-contrast Hindu-Muslim? Recent essays referring to social tensions and conflicts in the city have explored the relationships between Hindu and Muslim community (or between Hindu majority and Muslim minority), due to terrorist attacks, riots and conflicts (and contradictions) at the political level, with the growth of Hindu extremist parties. Frequently the tendency to reduce conflictive dynamics to the religious dualism characterizing the city is used to shift the level of the discussion to the politics, avoiding the questions related to the deep nature of the social changes in the structure of the city. Which is the feedback on social fragmentation tendencies in slum dwellers’ perception?

The perception of contrast with other religious groups is felt in particular in the Muslim minority. In Rafi Nagar 2 the question is referred to the political sphere, in Chikkalwadi, the feeling of “encirclement” is more evident. Storylines show how Muslim slum dwellers feel a lack of rights, exclusion for certain State/public dynamics, in terms of goods provision or job access. These perceptions reveal their comprehension of the State as “an Hindu affair”, “a Patah thing”) (Participant Observation 11/01/2011). It is evident that a similar dynamic of

³³ Between the different arguments some dynamics emerged immediately during the first phases of the fieldwork: for instance, the role played by spatial devices in determining social consequences, the re-creation of “village” dynamics in urban context, the influence of socio-cultural dynamics in shaping different uses of public and private spaces.

³⁴ A deep study on social fragmentation dynamics in Mumbai is not present in the literature. Aspects, indirectly related to the argument, have been treated in several publications while the connections with the spatial dimensions have been explored in few studies.

exclusion involves also Hindu “not notified” slum dwellers: in Sai Leela the exclusion and the contrast with the State is evident in the demolition process. In this case, the refusal of the law (thought of as inadequate and/or unequal tool to regulate the reality) seems to be part of a global refuse of the “system”: for instance in phrases like “We cannot get anything from the Municipality, they just send the police to demolish our house” (SL3). In Chikkalwadi the inconsistency of any possibility of inclusion in the State, or in any “lay”, *super partes*, political platform of social dialogue is accompanied by a feeling of contraposition between the Muslim community and the Hindu neighbourhoods. “We have more difficulties in getting the rationing card. We have to apply several times to get the electoral card and we don’t know if eventually we get it” (C9).

But the impact of the Mumbai social fabric with the dynamics of globalization is causing a twisting of the assets that is just started. The effects of this social earthquake are not predictable. At the micro-scale of the case study areas, some aspects of these flows appear clearly: the passage from the village social dynamics to the urban ones remains a key moment in the transformation of the social fabric. In case study areas, the significant presence of migrant population (frequently coming from rural areas) in relatively recent settlements has implied the replication of village dynamics (evident in Sai Leela). These social forms are in a process of transformation in Chikkalwadi (“re-fragmentation”) and Rafi Nagar 2 (individualization) where demographic dimensions and the institutional solutions imposed by powers have disaggregated the nature of village dynamics.

5.3.1. Religion³⁵

The distribution of religious communities in the territory, which is increasingly becoming a key factor in defining areas and social devices in Mumbai, presents three different forms in case study areas. The three settlements have respectively a prevalent Muslim component in Rafi Nagar 2, a prevalent Hindu component in Sai Leela pavement dweller community and a mixed component Hindu-Muslim in Chikkalwadi. The religious context changes in each case study area:

- Rafi Nagar 2 is located in Shivaji Nagar, a huge area of the city where the presence of Muslim communities is consistent (Rafi Nagar 1 is in a perfect continuity from this point of view with Rafi Nagar 2);
- Sai Leela is located in the Parel village area, which is almost completely Hindu and the integration of Hindu and Buddhist families is assured;
- In Chikkalwadi where only a part of the population is Muslim and the rest of the social fabric of the area (including Annabhau Sathe Nagar) is Hindu (this isolation is even more relevant in the “West Bengal ghetto” which contains a population from eastern India characterized by rigid Muslim belief and social practices).

In the literature the idea of Muslim communities’ isolation (or “special treatment” by public authorities) in comparison with the rest of the city is commonly recognized, in terms of the lack of implementation of public development policies, police control and

³⁵ At this stage, religion is just analysed as a socio-spatial field-principle in fragmentation dynamics, without pretending any in-depth analysis the religious universes characterizing the city, which however are not included in the specific interests of this work.

repression, inequalities in social services provision, etc. (Mehta, 2004). This context favours the development of systems of tight relations, which however characterizes also Hindu population (Dumont, 1991): the consolidation of this web of relations is a key element of coping strategies in the more vulnerable and “illegal” parts of the city. These networks are very evident in Chikkalwadi³⁶, where religious relations involve the huge community of Muslim believers under the guide of the imam, who thereby becomes *de facto* a community leader: relations³⁷ include small loans or services, help in getting information and documents and access to employment. An analogous trend is present also in Sai Leela³⁸. Religion (and Muslim religion in particular) remains a factor in determining the social form of urban fragments.

Religion is an element increasing existing fluxes and relations between fragments characterized by prevalent faiths: as happens between Rafi Nagar 1 and 2, religion represents a common platform where slum dwellers can exchange experiences³⁹, political reflections and the generation of actions⁴⁰. This kind of relations is mainly linked to the social unit of the “extended family”, which gives its consensus to the development of any kind of negotiation (including economic affairs). Considering the relations within the Hindu context, the scale of the interchange changes drastically and case studies are less helpful in reading the complexity of the existing networks. Despite this gap in scale, the Hindu part of Chikkalwadi and the Sai Leela pavement dweller community⁴¹ show a larger scope of relations, which involves the fabric deeply⁴².

5.3.2. Social control

Dynamics of isolation involving social groups and community are also connected with the action of control (and punishment/repression) on the social fabric in the territory. The feeling of “insecurity” is due to the presence of gangs and or more organized criminal organizations (or slum lords). To this condition of insecurity corresponds to an action of control implemented by the police. Adopting the lexicon of Foucault (2005), the State is trying to wield its sovereignty over these territories where there is

³⁶ In the “West Bengal ghetto” of Chikkalwadi and in Rafi Nagar 2, the presence and the intense spread of criminal organizations limit the action of social networks and create an overlap with relations within extended families where slum dwellers rely on informal community solidarity and criminal solutions (based on the exploitation of individuals).

³⁷ This kind of relations consists in a sort of extension of the relations, which commonly characterize extended families (both Muslim and Hindu), working at a higher level.

³⁸ In this case, the dimension of the community facilitates the spread of “village” dynamics where specific persons inside the community are in charge of particular services, offering their specificities to other community members in exchange for favours (and/or loans).

³⁹ This interchange can involve also socio-economic elements (beyond the scale of the community).

⁴⁰ In particular in public places like the Rafi Nagar 1 mosque and madrassah (about the contents and the limits of the political action in these places, see 6.4.).

⁴¹ The special feature of Sai Leela is the intensity of relations that involve all the pavement dweller communities of the area, even outside Parel Village. From this relation, political experience has developed, driven by local NGOs (see Box 6.5. and section 7.3.).

⁴² These relations entail the socio-cultural dimension of the religious fact (organization of religious festival; devotional manifestations in common holy places, etc.).

disengagement in terms of recognition of rights. At the same time, criminal institutions, representing a sort of negative version of the State in several “not notified” areas and offering the same service to slum dwellers, impose another kind of control, sometime very restricted, on the territory⁴³.

Case study area inhabitants are under particular control⁴⁴ by the police and this factor contributes to identifying specific territories (here conceptualized as fragments) under “special” rules in comparison with the neighbourhoods. Considering the three case study areas, Chikkalwadi presents the most fluid context and the difference between parts of the urban fabric (mainly other parts of Annabhau Sathe Nagar), for what regards slum policing, seems less relevant. As the police mechanisms of control and security (“passive” or reactive action) provide another tool to define “fragments”, the action of the police facilitates the creation of new relations between fragments⁴⁵ oriented to respond to repressive actions⁴⁶ (for instance in Sai Leela pavement dweller community, in case of evictions and demolitions of shelters).

Box 5.5. Fragments and socio-spatial forms of fragmentation

Do fragments take a specific socio-spatial shape? Does a socio-spatial classification of the fragments make sense? Is fragments’ formation a break-up of territories from a homogenous “unity”? Or is this supposed unity just a myth? Are informal, “illegal”, vulnerable fragments characterized by radically different dynamics in comparison with formal, high-class fragments? The interest in answering to these questions lies in exploring the links between socio-spatial elements and the institutional characters: an attempt in a classification of fragments typology from a socio-spatial point of view is outside the objectives of the research but socio-spatial “forms” of fragmentation represent a relentless condition, at the initial stage, to start approaching the phenomenon and, eventually, to reflect on the consequences of fragmentation on the urban fabric.

Case study settlements present three different physical shapes and distinct socio-cultural characteristics. A fragments classification is not possible just examining these cases (and does not constitute an interest within the scope of this research). Exploratory visits gave a picture of the variety and the socio-spatial discontinuity of the Mumbai “illegal” urban fabric: this lack of homogeneity applies to the entire urban fabric. The formation of new fragments seem to be a step in a process of the socio-spatial fabric micro-fragmentation that can be a prelude of pulverization tendency (if the dynamic is left to its own development without any control or management policy), as seems to happen in Rafi Nagar 2 (Box 6.5.). In a context characterized by the absence of efficient planning tools and, more generally, a lack of rules-

⁴³ The control mechanisms implemented by criminal institutions in case study areas entail Rafi Nagar 2 and the “West Bengal ghetto” of Chikkalwadi (portions of urban fabric that present recurrent similarities): in these areas, access is almost forbidden to people of other settlements (completely so in the ghetto); during participatory observation even for Chikkalwadi slum dwellers the access to certain parts of the community was not allowed, due to the presence of the research team (Participant Observation 27/01/2011).

⁴⁴ Rafi Nagar 2 and Sai Leela are characterized by actions against criminals and strict execution of municipal orders. In Shivaji Nagar and in Parel Village, respectively Rafi Nagar 2 and Sai Leela are recognized by the neighbourhoods as areas under repressive control, operated by the police.

⁴⁵ The presence of “not notified” settlements inside informal areas implies the application of the same strategies of slum policing and a sort of “negative” inclusion in the city dynamics for “not notified” slum dwellers.

⁴⁶ Again Foucault theorized the police as an institution considered to protect the existence of “different circuits” inside the city, therefore to allow the existence of networks (nearly to coincide for Foucault with the essence of the “city”) (Foucault, 2005).

policies, fragments start to take a socio-spatial shape (in the form of gated communities, excluded territories, etc.). In several areas the Mumbai Development Plan 1981-2001 is the only territorial planning instrument, and is anyway disregarded; according to some authors it is irrelevant (e.g. D'Souza, 1991), because the Regional Plan for Mumbai Metropolitan Region works at a higher level (see Narander, 1999).

The fragmentation process in Mumbai does not involve, even in its socio-spatial dimension, only the marginal, peri-urban areas. Case studies show some evolution of these processes in the suburbs (Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi) and in city nodes, such as Dadar (Sai Leela). Actually pavement dweller communities of small dimension can be settled also in the South of the city (city centre, colonial city) and "not notified" slum areas occur also in the suburbs, including key nodes or high class areas (such as Bandra or Kurla), though not in the city centre. Formation of new socio-spatial fragments entails both areas of rapid development in the urban periphery and consolidated areas of the urban fabric where the redevelopment of informal slum areas and the formal renewal of residential and ex-industrial areas are reshaping the city spatially and socially.

5.3.3. Class and caste⁴⁷

Do main social categories, like class⁴⁸ and caste⁴⁹, play a role in determining social fragmentation? Can a division by social classes or castes help in defining fragments in informal/illegal fabric of the city? What can the research case studies tell us about hierarchies and divisions and/or segmentations inside the social fabric and possible phenomena of social fragmentation? Case studies areas' level of vulnerability can be compared to the "old" category of the sub-proletariat (if this category makes sense in a post-industrial economy). This characteristic does not function as a criterion to distinguish "not notified" slums from other informal settlements, or to define "social fragments". Case study areas are characterized by specificities in jobs⁵⁰ (grab picking in Rafi Nagar 2; construction sector workers in Sai Leela), but this element is not sufficient to define "fragments", thought of at this stage as part of territory that tends to be occupied by certain social groups, with similar socio-economic conditions⁵¹. On the contrary, the job can become a tool to establish relations between fragments⁵².

⁴⁷ Also in this case, class and caste are seen as socio-spatial elements of fragmentation dynamics, without a deep analysis of these categories in themselves, which is outside the objectives of the research.

⁴⁸ Here the research refers to a Western social category, thought of as a sociological tool, without ideological implication in the interpretation of Indian society.

⁴⁹ Here social categories are thought of as tools: of course, the research is brutally simplifying the concept, without entering into caste "ideologies", in the distinction between *jati* and *varna*, in the hierarchies of the immense morphology of Indian social structures.

⁵⁰ This category passed from the traditional division in *varna* to the formation of new social structures (thus institutions) provoked by colonialism and the contact-fusion-assimilation with western social categories, and their developments up to the latest changes connected with the globalization. Some slums are named according to the job of the inhabitants. The research will return briefly to this evolution in the institutional analysis.

⁵¹ Grab picking activities involve several communities in the Deonar dumping ground area in other "not notified" and "notified" slums (the researcher has been in contact, for instance, with Shanti Nagar grab pickers); workers of the construction sector in the Parel Village area live also in re-developed slums and other formal areas.

⁵² Workers belonging to the same class and living in different "fragments" have the possibility of establishing informal and formal relations in the work place, which can result in political actions or stable forms of association (as in Shivaji Nagar for the dumping ground activities, with relations involving also Rafi Nagar 2).

The castes continue to play a key role in Indian society but certainly the global dynamics of the city have changed the equilibrium derived from the tradition, which still characterizes village dynamics (and their ideologies and “myths”). In the case studies, the caste system applies mainly to the Hindu communities⁵³, Sai Leela and Chikkalwadi. The influence of western society dynamics has also changed the division of work and the hierarchies of traditional society in slum areas⁵⁴. It is possible for a high caste person to be living in a slum under the leadership of a community leader belonging to a lower caste (Mehta, 2004). Migration flows present an additional complication in understanding the relations between the caste system and the social fabric of “not notified” settlements. The flows tend to bring together people of the same place of origin (sometimes independently of caste) in specific parts of the settlements (as occurs in the three case study areas).

In this sense Sai Leela has great explanatory power. The link between pavement dwellers established through the place of provenance is very tight. The migration from the same rural village, organized through the extended families⁵⁵ (belonging to the same caste), characterizes the internal cohesion of the community, which appears as a unity in the territory. But, despite helping in understanding key social dynamics, caste cannot be by itself a criterion for defining fragments. Castes and the hierarchic system in place imply the formation of particular relations of “isolation” and “submission” inside the social fabric, foreshadowing fragmentation dynamics: a vivid presence of these social mechanisms (building specific institutional models⁵⁶) is still present in the city and in Hindu case study areas.

Box 5.6. Tools for analyzing relational geographies in “illegal” areas of Mumbai

The relations between fragments in a city of the dimensions and the complexity of Mumbai are so various that an attempt to classify or categorize should be the object of several specific researches (and is out of keeping with the focus on urban fragmentation of this work). However, the case studies have shown some key aspects of the relations that characterize extensive parts of the city:

- Rafi Nagar 2 illustrates “illegal”-informal relations with other neighbouring slums;
- Sai Leela and Chikkalwadi work mainly with “illegal”-formal relations.

The following key dichotomies, taken as examples, aim to provide a first exploration of relational geographies, which show a possible way forward for further analysis, starting from the case studies.

Solidarity/Conflict. In the case study areas, deep networks of social relations, culminating in

⁵³ In the case of Chikkalwadi the research refers to the Hindu part of the population (in the settlement a large part of the population is Muslim and there is a residual Buddhist community). In Sai Leela, several slum dwellers profess Buddhism but the main part of the community is Hindu.

⁵⁴ On this theme there are different studies: for an easy but deep approach to the question, through qualitative inquiry, see Mehta (2004).

⁵⁵ Pressure by the public authorities (e.g. through demolitions) has pushed the community to experiment with survival mechanisms, facilitated by common places of origin, strengthening the relationship between families.

⁵⁶ Consequences of these models are explored in 7.4.

solidarity and survival actions (or even strategies for development), are in place. These networks are very rarely organized at the scale of the community (in the case study areas, the research found only two networks that involve the whole settlements: the grab pickers' social network in Rafi Nagar 2, organized by the KKS association, and the Organization of Pavement Dweller Communities, but in this case the phenomenon is more than a mere network, becoming a "movement", see Box 6.4. and section 7.3.). As an opposite tendency, relations between fragments can be seen as oriented to conflict. The tension between Hindu and Muslim groups is still consistent in the social fabric (increasingly in the "lower" classes). In Chikkalwadi the possibility of an imminent loss of equilibrium is recognized by the community leaders. The majority of the "Sathe Nagar" area (which includes Chikkalwadi) is Hindu, enforcing the closure in itself of the Muslim community, in particular in the West Bengal ghetto, which is practically inaccessible, even to Muslim people. The absence of dialogue between religious organizations (the imam of Chikkalwadi has shown a tepid opening regarding this question) and of any political panel for slum dwellers constitutes the substratum of tension. Extremist Hindu political parties (such as Shiv Sena) are taking advantage, fomenting, if they can, a sort of "strategy of tension" through the area.

Macro/Micro scales. "Not notified" areas in Mumbai are rarely characterized by involvement in networks of high intensity or dimension (and the three case study areas in this sense confirm the hypothesis regarding the splintering of the fabric). Despite the relations directly entailing formal areas (in some cases in deep contact from a socio-spatial point of view with "not notified" slums, as occurs in the case of Sai Leela, which is immersed in the formal context of Parel Village), the formal "flows" exclude or pass through the informal areas leaving no trace. On the contrary, networks inside "not notified" slums play with intensity and variety at a lower (micro) scale. The character of these networks is very localised. These networks work mainly at the scale of extended families and individuals: extended family networks (static networks that change very slowly over time and involve the respect of "extended families rules", avoiding banishing or exclusion from solidarity mechanisms) involve households in choices that can include, in the socio-spatial dimension, change in the households' location to the establishment of new family structures with the fixing-up of the "marriage systems"; individual networks (that are very volatile and usually involve a direct submission to the powers governing the territory and being either informal, like the community leader in Sai Leela, or criminal, like the slum lords in Rafi Nagar 2) frequently involve economic questions related to jobs, loans and access to services.

Inclusion/Exclusion. Inclusion/exclusion dynamics are deeply tied to power equilibria. On the one hand, "not notified" settlements tend to be naturally involved in city networks (as in the case of electricity or transport networks, where the case study settlements are linked to existing formal circuits, which however do not consider them in any aspect of the design). On the other hand, "not notified" slums cannot enter into the other formal networks, like the land/housing market, and are actually excluded from upgrading or re-development strategies, both in spatial and social dimensions (excluding sporadic NGO interventions, as the case of Apnalaya and YUVA actions). The "illegal" city is to a large extent excluded from networks, which can be accessible to informal "notified" areas (as happens in Chikkalwadi).

Autonomy/Dependency. Specific political equilibria of the city involve fragments in a condition of autonomy or of dependence on the powers controlling the area. The interest here is necessarily on the socio-spatial consequences of these dynamics for the relational geographies in place. The three case study areas have shown different conditions of dependency on the rest of the city:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, the forced acceptance of slum lords' rules have prevented the development of participatory mechanisms in the community and a condition of isolation/exclusion from the neighbourhood areas;
- In Chikkalwadi isolation (auto-exclusion) mechanisms involve the "West Bengal ghetto", while in the Hindu part of the community the possibility of connection with the city is easier;
- In Sai Leela, the social context favours deep relations with the neighbourhood areas.

This possibility of developing autonomous policies seems to be real only where inhabitants

are involved in the community decision-making process: a first attempt in this direction is visible in Sai Leela (see 6.5. and 7.3.).

5.4. Socio-spatial approaches in an institutional perspective

Looking to a few key socio-spatial elements, drawn from basic “structured fields” and “structuring principles” for case study areas, the research’s institutional approach has investigated the socio-spatial dimension with consequences for the methodological and theoretical development of the study. To what extent do the selected socio-spatial elements help in understanding the phenomenon? Are socio-spatial elements parts of more complex mechanisms of fragmentation? What are the interrelations between the socio-spatial and the institutional analyses? Are reminders of other dimensions of analysis implicit in the socio-spatial analysis? Lessons learnt in the field permit these questions to be answered according to the research approach. The interest for the methodological questions here is as a stratagem to come back to the theoretical questions, hidden in case studies findings.

Spatial elements are fundamental to get a first understanding of what urban fragmentation is. A great part of what the observer can “see” about urban fragmentation lies in the morphological and physical aspects of the phenomenon: the sensitiveness of this domain has become evident in the definition fragments and borders. The absence (in the case of Rafi Nagar 2) or the presence (in Chikkalwadi) of a clear spatial and physical division of the fabric helps in defining fragments also in the slum dwellers’ perception. But analysis of social structures allows attainment of a deeper comprehension of the dynamic, giving sense to the spatial elements. Communities frequently perceive the settlements as social unities and social criteria become discriminative factors in considering places as “communities”, separated from the rest of the built environment. The “community” can be thought of as a specific religious group; but usually, being associated with a territory, with its specific location in the city, it is interpreted as a complex “organism”, which includes inhabitants, sharing the space of the settlement and contracting a “social pact⁵⁷” (as in Chikkalwadi, where two main religious “communities” share a common portion of territory): just in that moment a first outline of the fragment, in institutional terms, appears.

Considering the socio-spatial characteristics of the “fragments” does not explain the entire process of fragments’ formation and the actual roots of the dynamics fragmenting the city. Case studies have shown the presence of formal-informal “contracts” between the inhabitants to be part of the community. On the other hand, socio-spatial diversity in itself does not generate fragmentation phenomena. Portions of

⁵⁷ The pact is informal (see 6.3. and Box 6.2.), implying institutional solutions imposed by the organizations structuring the community (or by the powers controlling the area).

territory with very different socio-spatial characteristics can work together with common rules⁵⁸. At the same time parts of the urban fabric with similar socio-economic conditions (as for example the neighbouring areas of Rafi Nagar 1 and 2⁵⁹) are identified by slum dwellers living there, as by other urban actors, as two separate fragments. The answer seems to lie at another layer and level, the institutional one.

Answers to structural questions provoked by socio-spatial analysis seem to lie in the institutional dimension. The opposition between formal (thus planned) parts and informal (therefore spontaneous) areas of the urban fabric does not offer answers to the formation of new “units”, “weaves”, “fragments” inside the informal fabric. There is neither a strict relation of cause and effect between the socio-spatial and the institutional domains nor a supposed dependence of the socio-spatial dimension on the institutional one: the two ambits fuel each other in the process of fragmentation, with institutional devices that shape the socio-spatial conditions (as happens in the occupation of the land near the dumping ground in Rafi Nagar 2) and socio-spatial elements which favour the birth of particular institutional solutions (as occurs in the “West Bengal ghetto” of Chikkalwadi where the absence of spaces for new land occupation has led to the formation of a sort of gated community).

5.5. Back to the analytical framework: summary of socio-spatial analysis

The literature review presenting Mumbai as a “fragmented” city is confirmed by the research fieldwork. The socio-spatial analysis of the information coming from three different case studies has shown the variety of the fragmentation phenomena. Socio-spatial factors hold a key importance in explaining the dynamic: socio-spatial elements (place of origin, religious affiliation, etc.) constitute the expressions of fragmentation processes⁶⁰, contributing to shaping territories with specific characteristics. However, socio-spatial factors cannot exhaust all the questions related to the phenomenon: the roots of the phenomenon and the mechanisms of formation and development of the fragmented fabric seem to lie in the specific institutions, and in the institutional mechanisms, of the territory (Question 1E).

The presence of fragmentation processes breaking up the urban fabric does not necessarily mean that communication cannot take place between fragments. Rafi Nagar 2, Sai Leela pavement dweller community and Chikkalwadi are characterized by deep relations within each fragment and with the rest of the city. Relational

⁵⁸ As already explored in the literature, see for instance *The Myth of Marginality* (Perlman, 1976).

⁵⁹ The two areas are very similar in habitat condition, socio-cultural basis, livelihood and religion; frequently families originate from the same State, or even the same village, but the two settlements are divided and this division is caused mainly by different rules in organizing people’s “behaviour” and by the different “powers” that the two different slum dweller groups are obliged to respect.

⁶⁰ The spatial questions of the border between fragments and the shades of class and cast roles in the fragmentation process show the complexity of the phenomenon in Mumbai.

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geographies depend on the social composition of the fragments (for instance religion is a key element in case study areas), spatial factors (fragment' location within the urban fabric), urban policies and planning strategies (imposing particular kinds of relations to the fragments). Within the socio-spatial dimension, the relations characterizing the case study areas can be summarized through basic dichotomies (solidarity/conflict; macro/micro scales; inclusion/exclusion; autonomy/dependency). The analysis of the relational geographies offers the possibility of focusing on particular socio-spatial aspects (e.g. isolation phenomena and hierarchies between territories), which are necessary to understand the institutional roots of the phenomenon. The "forces" shaping the relational geographies between fragments seems to lie in the institutional dimension, governed by power relations (Question 2E, part1).

6. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

The institutional approach offers tools to work on the areas where the explanatory power of socio-spatial analysis of urban fragmentation dynamics is limited. Socio-spatial elements contribute to shape the “fragments”, consolidating specific social fabrics and spatial solutions in the portions of territory, apparently with defined borders and links between the population and the use of “their” places¹. The socio-spatial approach allows identification of key characteristics of the fragments and to outline the relations between the fragments of which the urban fabric is composed. However the socio-spatial dimension, despite offering a sequence of snapshots of the processes and a descriptive geography of the phenomenon, seems unable to explain the roots and the mechanisms of urban fragmentation.

The institutional approach used here refers back to the original etymological meaning² of the word “institution” in order to include in the analysis the basic structures of society (Box 6.1.). Hence institution is considered here in its deep urban sense and in its relations with power, which is an institution itself that drives other institutions (understood as organizations) and influences the dynamic of the institutional (cultural) roots of the society. The institutional approach characterizes every step of this research study. Some aspects are explored in the literature review, where the institutional approach is introduced as a research approach to the analysis of the phenomenon of urban fragmentation (question 1T, see 3.3.). Other questions related to the institutional context are explored in the analytical chapters relevant to each of the other key concepts of the study (i.e. socio-spatial devices and relational geographies; power analysis; and policies and planning).

¹ For what concerns fragmentation theories on the structuring principle/structured field “network”, socio-spatial analysis remains substantially tied to “splintering urbanisms” concepts. A critical evaluation of the theory is not an objective of this work, however, at the community scale, other socio-spatial “principles” seem to have a similar (or major) role in comparison to “networks”.

² Referring to what institutions represent in the Indo-European culture (see 1.4. and 2.1.1. and the work of Emil Benveniste, 1976).

Box 6.1. Tools for institutional analysis (and elements for a literature review on institutions from an urban fragmentation perspective)

Working on urban fragmentation through an institutional approach, the definition of institutions becomes fundamental to the research. The researcher has considered definitions of institutions over time. After pioneering (but still vividly contemporary) works on institutions in anthropology (e.g. Mauss, 1950), a “generative” moment seems to lie in the '60s-'70s, when the production of studies on cultures (elaborated in anthropology, in sociology and in economic-political studies) included a deep focus on institutions. The definition of institution enriches and does not refer only to the organizational structures of society (going beyond strict comparison with the concept of organization; see Uphoff [1986] for an introduction), but includes also aspects related to culture and psychology at both collective and individual levels. The researcher found in Benveniste (1976) a radical (and global) definition of institution (working on the etymologic meaning that key institutions have in Indo-European culture), which includes such institutions as State, Law, Religion, Technologies, Processes of “thought and word”, becoming the structure of the society, in collective and individual terms. This reference significantly influenced subsequent reflections on institution, being part of the substratum for other reflections (in Italy an example is Papagno, 1979). Traces of this radical definition remain also in new institutionalism theory, where institutions are conceptualized as organizations and mental models (2.1.1.).

New institutionalism in urban studies (generally related to sociology, but indebted to new institutionalist economy) puts in evidence the relational dimension of individuals in living in (Mingione, 1995; Healey et al., 1995), using and conceptualizing the city (and their relations with space). The approach uses “network” category in understanding urban phenomena (Jessop et al., 2008), where individuals' congregations in key nodes at different scales (household, firms, governance agencies, etc.) constitute the “city”, and the “urban” becomes a spatial container of webs, which can have a global extent (Jenkins, 1999). The debate in geography underlines the role of place as a space of cohabitation of networks, where cultural and political elements define specific territorial organizations (Jessop et al., 2008). In addition to its role in setting up an institutional approach to research, new institutionalism represents a key reference for the reflection on power and a critique of the neo-liberal understanding of urban dynamics, evidencing the importance of relational dynamics as a reinforcement for institutional sustainability in urban governance, to which we shall return in Power and Planning Analysis.

In the literature regarding to urbanization of the South, the institutional dimension presents a key distinction between formality and informality (which has been developed mainly in economics and sociology, characterizing different economic circuits and social relations). Despite the lack of structured studies on institutions in the City of the South, formality has been associated with institutional arrangements (governing the city) and urban fabric legally recognized (and planned) by the State (which finds in the city a key element of its institutionalization), while informality has summarized institutional solutions (connected to traditional, thus rural culture, mainly working at the community level) and urban fabric (vulnerable and unplanned) in spontaneous formation in the city. Informal fabric, which is actually illegal according to the law, is usually tolerated by formal authorities: in the research, informal case studies settlements, considered *tout court* illegal, are analysed.

In the institutional approach used here in analysing spatial/planning questions, some expressions recur, forming a sort of glossary of the institutional dimension:

- Institutional “framework” or “set-up” refers to an established structure of the relations in place between different organizations, deciding rules (and the respect of roles) within a certain social environment (usually here at the community level, but the expression can entail also formal domain “frameworks”);
- Institutional “mechanisms” or “processes” in literature are usually conceptualized as consolidated (and “institutionalized”) dynamics, entailing organization or individual, in getting services and goods or in setting up certain arrangements (or negotiations);
- Institutional “arrangements” or “solutions” are thought of as specific products of

negotiations or agreements between actors (stakeholders of a given process), addressing specific questions.

In this part of the analysis, the attention focuses on the radical application of the meaning of institution in exploring fragmentation, considering key institutional arrangements and solutions, and integrating approaches that work mainly on the organizational domain of society. As in the findings and in the socio-spatial analysis, the interpretation of the institutional dimensions is constructed around a few key institutions, which structure the social fabric in the case study areas. This approach allows the study of the processes leading to a fragmentation of the socio-spatial conditions and the consolidation of specific institutional arrangements for each part of the territory, shaping fragments. Questions 2T and 2M (3.3.) apply the meaning of institution (as a research tool) to the theoretical and methodological domains respectively. On the other hand, in order to feed into the empirical part of the analytical framework, the institutional set-ups found during the fieldwork are addressed through question 3E (3.3.), examining the geographies of the institutions starting from the case study areas. At different levels, the institutional questions examine two aspects: how institutions structure the urban fabric (access to basic socio-spatial goods and services is used to explore how individuals and organizations control the processes); and how institutions influence the behaviour of the different actors dealing with spatial-planning decisions (analysing processes of thoughts and words, exploring how mental models shape the choices of the different social groups in space management and planning).

The analysis will turn firstly to the institutional processes in action to gain access to land, housing and basic services, as tools to understand the institutional set-ups of case studies beyond socio-spatial aspects of the phenomenon. Secondly, the analysis will consider institutions in the form of organizations and social structures (i.e. state, law, religion) and mental models/processes of thoughts and words, explored as factors structuring the phenomenon and fostering socio-spatial fragmentation. In the first part, the analysis will focus on the role of organizations in spatial management and on the institutional mechanisms at work; in the second one, the research will explore the behaviour of case study inhabitants (in relation to space), connected to socio-cultural and institutional roots characterizing the illegal city.

6.2. Institutional processes

For the researcher, approaching the institutional dimension in case study areas initially meant exploring processes involving institutions, understanding the mechanisms and relations between them. The exercise consisted in going beyond the socio-spatial dimension of some processes (in relation to space) key to the functioning of communities. In socio-spatial analysis the attention was on the physical facts and

social networks embedded in access to (spatial) services and goods. In the institutional analysis, the focus entailed governance and decision-making processes linked to urban fragmentation. The institutional complexity of case studies was clear from the first fieldtrip (where however organizational structures appeared, attracting the researcher's attention), while exploring mental models and processes of thought and word connected with land, housing and urban services³ required a deeper engagement with case-study communities in the second part of the fieldwork. A key moment in the process of understanding mental models was the first deep approach to the Sai Leela pavement dweller community, which showed the richness of relations between inhabitants and space (Sai Leela Hindu culture offered a lot of new elements to the researcher, analysing until that moment Rafi Nagar 2 Muslim culture) and the importance of focusing mental models structuring these relations.

6.2.1. Land

Access to land in the case study "not notified" areas is characterized by informal or criminal institutional arrangements. This condition is due to the mechanisms of land access implemented by the first occupiers⁴ of the settlements, which mainly consisted in land occupation (or in land occupation accompanied by consequent processes of selling land portions). The memory of the community formation period is still present in the communities (with the exception of Chikkalwadi, where the information available allows one to trace only the main stages of the process). There is almost no documentary proof of the formation of the communities, with the consequent legal implications, impeding possibilities of regularization in the short term⁵.

The organizations dealing with land access can be grouped in two types:

- Community institutions (various forms of community council⁶ or directly the community leaders), representing the point of reference for land access⁷;
- Criminal institutions (slum lord/lords, mediators and lower levels of the organizations) controlling access to the land in Rafi Nagar 2 and in Chikkalwadi.

³ Choosing these processes was an "necessary" choice due to the importance that they have in spatial/planning terms but it was also an opportunity, because of the deep involvement of collective and individual institutions in these processes.

⁴ In Sai Leela, the first inhabitants are in large part still in the community, in a continuous process of loss and re-conquest of the footpath, with few changes in relation to the original group which settled in the Parel Village area during 1995-1996. In Rafi Nagar 2 and in Chikkalwadi the movements of the population arriving and leaving the settlements are more frequent and the demographic profile of the communities changes significantly in relation to the period of formation.

⁵ In Sai Leela, community leader and council members keep police notices and demolition orders (dated 1998), which, in their opinion, are proof of the existence of the settlement at that time. Actually there were legal doubts expressed in the in-depth interview with key informants regarding the validity of these documents, which usually refer to single persons and not to the settlement as a whole.

⁶ Including here *mandal* associations, extended families/clans, representative "boards" and other associative forms which characterize the informal fabric.

⁷ In all three case study areas, these institutions work in land access (in Sai Leela, community institutions are the only organisation involved).

Other institutional solutions to land access⁸ are almost completely absent or imply a previous acceptance by the community or criminal organizations controlling the area. All these forms of land access are illegal⁹.

Case studies offer three examples of land access mechanisms with high coherence of internal rules, enabling conceptualization of communities as fragments in institutional terms:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, this coherence involves almost all the settlement (Rafi Nagar 2 land access mechanisms are deeply characterized by slum lords' control¹⁰ and rules);
- In Sai Leela, internal rules are valid for the whole community (Sai Leela socio-cultural conditions have given to the community leader great power¹¹ in deciding who can be admitted to the community or not and in establishing rules and requirements to enter the community);
- In Chikkalwadi, there are two main solutions, one for the West Bengal ghetto and the other for the rest of the settlement¹² (access to land in the West Bengal ghetto is decided by slum lords while, in the rest of the settlement community, big men and extended families take a leading role).

Mechanisms of land access are typically informal (regulated but, at the same time, fluid). Newcomers have to accept the rules imposed by the institutions controlling the area¹³ to obtain land¹⁴. Land access mechanisms imply an actor, playing the role of mediator, usually already living in the community, who facilitates contacts between the newcomer and members of the slum lord organization. After this first stage, the

⁸ The selling of land (private to private) is still possible, in particular among members of the same extended family (through an informal agreement). This practice is quite frequent in Chikkalwadi: it is tolerated by the community institutions but is strictly controlled by big men or slum lords, according to their area of influence. Here the research refers to an informal/illegal arrangement (according to the point of view of the slum dwellers), which does not have any formal-legal validity (there is no possibility of selling hypothetical "rights" on the land as, for instance, the photo-pass document, which implies the residence of the owner on a certain plot of land and cannot be transferred to the buyer).

⁹ For the inhabitants this condition implies the constant possibility of losing land and the start of a new land occupation (the case of Sai Leela pavement dweller community shows how the process can be regular and drastic; however this tendency has characterized in a significant way also the other two case study communities).

¹⁰ A complete control of access to land by slum lords is not a "given result": slum lords are obliged to "negotiate" institutional arrangements of certain complexity (arrangements frequently involve local political parties and informal approval by the police, as filtered out from some Rafi Nagar 2 in-depth interviews and participant observations).

¹¹ Actually the community council usually confirms community leader's decisions (rarely are these questioned).

¹² Muslim and Hindu parts of the community in Chikkalwadi have different authorities (and institutional setups) but the mechanisms (and the "tariffs") for entering in the community are very similar.

¹³ Sporadic cases of people settling "despite the rules" have been registered during the participant observation activities in Rafi Nagar 2. A woman was under threat because she refused to pay the slum lord: the pressure on her during that period was so strong that she declared she was "thinking of settling the accounts" (PO 27/01/2011).

¹⁴ Actually access to land frequently coincides with access to housing: slum dwellers buy land including the shelter (in Chikkalwadi, this is the most frequent practice). In Rafi Nagar 2, it is possible to find slum dwellers that have bought a portion of land (or a portion of land already "prepared" for construction) with freedom for what regards the construction of the shelter.

newcomer can deal directly with the informal/criminal mediator working for the slum lord. In Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi (with the exception of the West Bengal ghetto), the solution of the negotiation with the authority consists in concluding the economic agreement¹⁵ and in accepting the power and the rules imposed by this power (7.2.1.); where there already exists a community mediator, acceptance into the community is a sort of formality. Indeed in Sai Leela, where there is no slum lords' authority, the acceptance of the community¹⁶ is a key condition to settle: in this case the link between the newcomer and the community member used as contact has to be very strict to guarantee acceptance.

Slum dwellers' access to land depends directly on the institutional set-up ruling the territory. Territorial division can be either evident or hidden:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, the root of the distinction from the recognized areas of Rafi Nagar 1 does not lie in the amount of money to be paid or in the type of agreement to access land/shelter or protection but in the powers (in the illegal fabric, slum lords¹⁷) that control the process and decide the rules required to stay in the community;
- In Sai Leela, the contraposition between formal and informal fabrics is clear (Parel area formal fabric has access to the formal market, which is evidently precluded for Sai Leela pavement dwellers);
- In Chikkalwadi, the solution of continuity with respect to Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2 is less readable (small differences in terms of money, size of the "lot",

¹⁵ A common condition for land access consists in paying a certain amount of money (in one instalment) to get the land (and the shelter or the right to build the shelter) or smaller amounts (in several instalments) to get protection, having the "right" to stay in the community. Of course this economic transaction does not have any countercheck in the formal land system but, in the slum dwellers' perception, this operation means having real rights on the land that "has been paid for".

¹⁶ Due to the fieldwork conditions and methodological limitations (3.9.), the analysis does not have the possibility to focus, as it would deserve, on the "rites" connected to the newcomer entering the community. It is however significant to observe how this moment (which includes the acceptance of certain rules by the newcomer) implies a complex "acceptance of roles" (including submission-respect-reliance) by the newcomer either to the slum lord or to the community leader/big man. This kind of relationship between newcomer and authorities includes also a whole set of "formal behaviours" between newcomer and community leader: in Sai Leela, for instance, women and young households, recently arrived in the community, usually don't speak in presence of the community leader and are (must be) available for certain commands (regarding favours or small commissions). This kind of formal relationship is "dressed" with a specific linguistic register as wording like the honorary suffix -ji at the end of the name, used even if the community leader does not have the age or the caste that would merit this deference. These elements related to joining the community social fabric constitute part of power relations in informal/illegal fabrics.

¹⁷ In Rafi Nagar 1, for example, the control of slum lords (in land access) is less relevant and their control diminishes even more going in the Shivaji Nagar direction, to the formal city: these spheres of control, tracing the actual "borders" ("institutional" borders) of the community, define the dimension and the shape of the "fragments".

typology and conditions of agreement with “big men”-slum lords¹⁸, length and type of the “protection” period¹⁹).

Slum dwellers immediately perceive changes of rule, recognizing invisible borders in the fabric. Institutional set-ups seem to overlap and surpass socio-spatial aspects.

6.2.2. Housing

In case study “not notified” areas, access to housing is strictly related to land access:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, there is still space for limited expansions (consuming territory near the dumping ground) and in some cases slum dwellers prefer to “buy” land (or the protection to settle) and build the shelter independently (the slum lord however can provide the lot with the shelter);
- In Sai Leela, due to the temporary character of footpath occupation and habitat precariousness caused by continuous demolitions, the house is thought of as a temporary shelter, creating an expectation of demolition (perceived as a fatality), which precludes investing resources in housing;
- In Chikkalwadi, due to the density of the fabric and the impossibility of expansion, land and housing access constitutes a unified process in which access to the shelter implies access to land).

As for the land sector, access to housing is controlled by the community and criminal institutions, but the nature of the control of these institutions over slum dwellers’ actions is more elastic: with the exception of the most vulnerable areas of Rafi Nagar 2²⁰, slum dwellers can organize the construction of shelter (and the choices in the construction process) without depending on slum lords or community leaders. Community organizations’ area of influence is extended with respect to the land sector: in Sai Leela and with less frequency in Rafi Nagar 2, slum dwellers can be supported by community institutions²¹.

In the housing sector, a first indication is identifiable of the individualization processes that characterize case study settlements: in regulating access to housing, the relation between slum dwellers and power is direct and the role of community associations or

¹⁸ In Sai Leela, due to the absence of criminal institutions inside the settlement, the agreements present community institutions (mainly the community leader) as counterpart. The small dimension of the settlement and the importance conferred to the place of origin of the newcomer contributes to facilitate the process of acceptance and first impact with community institutions, which become “institutionalised”.

¹⁹ Due to the confidential character of this kind of information and the general fear of the interviewees in speaking about their agreements with slum lords, outlining reliable classifications of the different “contracts” in territories under different slum lords’ control is complex (and also outside the objectives of this work).

²⁰ In those areas changes in distributive and morphological aspects of the fabric are controlled. The control is very strict in the “West Bengal” ghetto of Chikkalwadi where there are no new constructions, due to the physical condition and the state of land occupation: changes in shelters are defined by the slum lord rules (as other activities in the area). The similarities between Rafi Nagar 2 and the Chikkalwadi “West Bengal” ghetto dynamics recur and bring back to similar institutional set-ups and power relations.

²¹ However there is neither a community self-build association nor banks of materials in those areas.

committees is marginal. This tendency, which leaves slum dwellers alone in facing the housing question²², enforces ideas of social pulverization²³ (7.2.2.). Housing and land access conditions produce agglomerations of recent, and thus vulnerable, newcomers in the areas of “expansion” located in environmentally precarious conditions (e.g. the zones near the dumping ground and the *nalla* in Rafi Nagar 2). Direct observations have shown that just a few years of consolidation (as in the areas near the border between Rafi Nagar 2 and 1 and the areas between Chikkalwadi and Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2) can make the difference in improving housing conditions. The absence of community mechanisms²⁴ of support in housing facilitates the formation of “sub-areas” with different housing quality levels inside the settlements.

An institutional approach to housing implies a broad range of questions (including for instance habitat, relations between house and the built environment, and shelter use), which are pertinent to this analysis. Socio-spatial analysis explored some morphological/physical aspects as factors in the definition of fragment shape and the relations between fragments. The question here take this shape: to what extent do institutional processes play a role in driving fragmentation dynamics related to housing? Do institutions (here actors/organizations) influence shelter use and relations with the built environment? Or are just distinctions in mental models (creating different behaviours in slum dwellers) deciding fragmentation processes in housing? Are the relations between fragments in the housing sector driven by socio-spatial factors, or do institutional roots define the character of these relations?

The role of institutions in housing is visible in particular in extreme conditions, such as Rafi Nagar 2 and the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi, where organizations (actors and “system”) impose certain uses of the shelters (and built environment) on slum dwellers²⁵: the connections²⁶ between the adopted socio-spatial solution and the institutional background is decided by the authority governing the territory. In this

²² Slum dwellers can opt either for self-build practices or for commissioning the construction to small local informal building companies. This dynamic exposes households (according to his/her vulnerability), resulting in a construction process which depends from familiar socio-economic level.

²³ In the literature on social fragmentation, social pulverization is generally seen as negative result of the process. Here the interest in community mechanisms mitigating urban fragmentation (8.5.) induces the researcher to share the preoccupation regarding the growth of tendencies which breaks-up the social fabric. Of course this position is not shared by certain analysts (for instance, in a neo-liberal perspective, extreme forms of individualization can represent a positive condition).

²⁴ This condition is usually shared in the entire community/fragment (with the exception of the “West Bengal” ghetto in Chikkalwadi where the presence of an independent institutional set-up, involving housing sector, can be thought as a first step to the formation of a micro-fragment).

²⁵ Examples come from direct and participant observation: relations between shelters and the external areas are characterized by the need of protection, obtained through the negation of any contact with the street (shelters usually have one door and a breach between the vertical partition and the roof for ventilation, while windows are rare). Slum dwellers use shelters as refuges (during the night the possibility to walk or stay on the street safely is scarce).

²⁶ This connection can be a direct “order” coming from the power governing the territory, which becomes a consolidated custom in slum dwellers’ life style (as for instance the timing to go out of the shelter or, for women, to use the toilet facilities in night hours). In other cases behaviours are regulated by indirect impositions (as for instance the feeling of insecurity, fostered by slum lords, in certain parts of the settlements, recognized as “ghettos”, as in the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi).

context, slum dwellers try to find a compromise with imposed dynamics, searching to build “their environment” (see 7.4. and 8.3.). The process is fostered by endogenous (community) cultural, historical and religious elements, which however are used by powers to obtain certain results.

Differently from land access, institutional arrangements in housing do not represent by themselves criteria to distinguish fragments in urban fabric²⁷: in many cases, there is continuity in institutional arrangements between different fragments. Access to housing seems to be a component of more articulated institutional fractures. Socio-spatial (architectural-typological) elements²⁸ do not help significantly in settling the question: a morphologic-physical diversity in housing solutions can correspond to an homogeneity in housing institutional arrangements while continuities in mechanisms of access to housing fabric can conceal the presence of two separate communities (as in the border between Rafi Nagar 1 and 2). Housing access and habitat status conformation seem to be fluid rather than being strictly connected with consolidated institutional set-ups: organizations play a certain role in establishing access to housing (and slum dwellers’ relation with habitat and space), but the management of the process in housing construction and habitat improvement offers room to manoeuvre to individual slum dwellers’ actions.

6.2.3. Services

In access to basic services, dynamics in action drive the same tendency to individualization which is apparent in housing access. In fact land access mechanisms and control are still felt as a question, which involves the community (and its status with respect to the Law, thus the State - and the other powers governing the territory - involves all community members²⁹) and housing processes allow, in part, contacts between individuals and (community) organizations. On the contrary access to service is mainly developed through informal/criminal “contracts” slum dwellers-providers, overcoming community organizations. Only in a few cases, when services provision has to interrelate with formal networks or formal providers-services mediators, communities (and collective institutions) become again central stakeholders in accessing the services.

Two levels in access to services appeared in the fieldwork:

²⁷ There is a polarization of vulnerable inhabitants in marginal, disadvantage areas but in the fragments borders the situation can vary significantly.

²⁸ The “standards” of housing (dimension, typology of materials, choices in internal distribution, furniture, etc.) are depending from the socio-economic slum dwellers’ condition.

²⁹ The distinction between individuals owning different documents related to land tenure (in particular the *purava* document or the photo-pass) comes in a second moment. Working as a unity, grouping interests, in the land sector is still possible even for un-homogeneous “not notified” communities (demolitions of a part of the settlement may represent a huge problem for the existence of the entire community).

Institutional Analysis

- The first level entails single households and their possibility of being connected³⁰, including electricity and, in the case of Sai Leela and in part of Rafi Nagar 2, water provision³¹. Providers are slum lords organizations³² in Rafi Nagar 2 and part of Chikkalwadi, including the “West Bengal ghetto”, and community institutions in the rest of Chikkalwadi and Sai Leela³³; informal/illegal individual agreements/“contracts” between “providers” and “customers” characterize access to service with the exclusion of public/private sector³⁴.
- The second level entails new projects/infrastructures, where community institutions remain the only possible platform in finding agreements with other institutions, organizing the work and the management to provide the service. Small infrastructural projects³⁵ and localised interventions³⁶ are managed by community institutions acting as mediators³⁷, organizing and appeasing conflicts between the families involved in the project, or playing a support role³⁸ *vis-à-vis* the mediator, which is usually a political party that facilitates contacts with donors, such as the Municipality or State agencies).

Access to services, analysed using network as the structuring principle, focuses on the relations between fragments (informal-informal and informal-formal) and the links between single fragments and the whole socio-spatial infrastructural system of the city. The perspective of connection (and inclusion) in the city’s webs involves also not notified settlements: despite the negation of these areas in legal and political terms, the illegal city represents an unavoidable market to be exploited³⁹. The common habit of identifying not notified areas as forgotten parts of Mumbai’s urban fabric is contradicted

³⁰ This category, including communication services, which however contributes significantly in improving slum dwellers’ networking and connection (with other informal and formal areas of the city), does not enter in the focus of the research.

³¹ Public transport, which is available outside the case study areas, is not considered in this typology (however no specific strategy of MMRDA is designed to involve directly “illegal” areas in transportation network).

³² Of course criminal organizations can include members of community organizations. In some cases there is identification between the role of slum lord, community leader, community “big man”, local politicians or leader of specific CBO.

³³ With a very limited influence also in parts of Rafi Nagar 2 located near the borders with Rafi Nagar 1.

³⁴ However private companies remain the indirect source of the service (as in the case of electricity provision), receiving benefit from informal/illegal network extensions: these extensions have no cost for the company (are implemented by the “providers” and paid by the customers/slum dwellers) and generate an increase in the consumption of “regular” costumers.

³⁵ As, for instance, the extension of water networks from the formal line in Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2 to serve groups of families in Chikkalwadi.

³⁶ As, for example, the toilet facilities for women implemented in Rafi Nagar 2.

³⁷ For instance, community institutions negotiate the agreement between groups of 12-15 families, which have the right to apply for the service, and the Municipality, which is the public provider of water distribution.

³⁸ The alternative is represented by a directly dialogue between Municipality and political parties (when this last one is the donor). Political parties play the role of mediators and providers for the communities (with the exception of Sai Leela). However, in both cases, political parties work at another level in relation to the community/settlement/fragment: strategies of action are thought at the ward and city scale, even if the link between a single local politician and a community can be very strong, as in the case of Rafi Nagar 2.

³⁹ Considering for instance the strategies of the formal private electricity company, which tolerates illegal connections to safeguard interests in entering in illegal slum areas, confirms the idea that formal city actors and powers are very interested in establishing certain (sometimes undefined) conditions in the “illegal” city.

by the dynamics of access to services. Authorities controlling service provision and mediators⁴⁰ gain economic advantages from the illegal status of the territory⁴¹. Scales of powers' influence become for the first time visible in services provision.

Despite the absence of organic inclusion strategies in the formal networks of the city, localised infrastructural projects tend to include “not notified” slums in formal service webs. This tendency represents a contradiction with public policies on illegal settlements: despite denying recognition to not notified settlements (including legal acts against slum dwellers and demolitions), the Municipality, through negotiation⁴², driven by pressure from political parties, does provide services (mainly water distribution) - though in a minor and discontinuous way in comparison with “notified” slums - and allows other actors to operate in illegal areas⁴³.

The character of service access seems to be ambivalent, formally excluding but informally connecting, in part, “not notified” case study areas into the rest of the city. In case study areas, despite presenting exceptions, served and un-served areas generally coincide with the borders of socio-spatial fragments. In services provision, the main factors separating fragments from each other consist, at the macro scale, in the inclusion-exclusion public policies expanding and upgrading of the infrastructural networks and, at the micro scale, in the institutional support to services provision activities at the community level. At both scales, these policies or institutional assets are theoretically allowed only in “notified” slums⁴⁴. Due to the lack of public participation⁴⁵ (imposed by the legal status of the areas) and the contemporary absence of intermediate institutions (in communities outside political parties interests), the access to services is controlled by criminal institutions, which have an interest in

⁴⁰ The tariff (with the real consumption of the customer) is “taxed” by the providers, taking responsibility in network functioning.

⁴¹ “Illegal” actions in services provision are not just controlled by criminal organizations: formal citizens providing electricity and water to the “illegal” pavement dwellers in Sai Leela operate similarly to slum lords, providing illegal connections for electricity in Rafi Nagar 2.

⁴² According to the Chikkalwadi's interviewees, this negotiation includes (or consists in) pressures or corruption of municipal officers. There is no available inquiry (coming from media or justice organisms) regarding corruption in case study areas (thus no concrete proofs against actors involved in punctual infrastructural projects) but it is significant registering the perception of the links political administration-projects implementation, as appeared in in-depth interviews: in the eyes of the community leaders, slum dwellers beneficiaries, NGOs personnel and also (paradoxically) local politicians, the use of payments “in black”, exaction and other illegal pressures to obtain favours or permissions is an “obliged” custom. This perception adulterates the trust in administrative structures (thus in the MCGM as institution) and the responses on an active participation in politics or in participatory processes inside “not notified” slums (and generally in the city).

⁴³ As in the case of the Samajwadi party in Rafi Nagar 2, which has directly provided plastic water tanks and toilet facilities.

⁴⁴ This political and legal distinction becomes the factor separating Rafi Nagar 2 from Rafi Nagar 1, Sai Leela from the formal areas of the Parel Village and Chikkalwadi from Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2. This does not mean that the quality of the services in the mentioned case study “notified” areas is sufficient (or decent): “notified” slums receive 45 l/c/d in comparison with the 90 l/c/d that the formal areas are receiving but the institutional background, in which they have to play, however allows them to be involved in city networks with possible virtuous circuits.

⁴⁵ In services provision for informal/illegal city the State (mainly the MCGM and, in a second plan, the MMRDA) is the usual promoter of partnerships with communities.

keeping the settlements disconnected from formal networks in order to conserve their mediating role. They have no interest in improving the service in terms of quality and quantity, while keeping slum dwellers at low consumption levels guarantees strong and constant demand).

In the typologies of service use, cultural differences are very evident. The break-up in service use emerges considering differences between case study slum dwellers and formal neighbourhoods. The differences in services use are visible in the case study areas where formal fabrics consist in resettled slums (such as the Laloo Bhai Compound near Chikkalwadi) or in consolidated residential areas (as in the Parel Village around Sai Leela). Despite the limited availability of water in “not notified” areas, slum dwellers tolerate the situation, which is not considered extreme⁴⁶. Slum dwellers of not notified areas have accepted the level and form of supply and are mainly suffering in the timing of water availability⁴⁷. The gap between “notified” and “not notified” areas is very fluid and inconstant in the case study areas⁴⁸, being independent of a division according to community membership⁴⁹.

Slum dwellers’ “homogeneity” in water services use, due to contingencies rather than to community choices and policies, is readable also in other services. In sanitation, differences in gender issues are relevant. Cultural backgrounds tend to protect women in the use of toilet facilities where these services are absent: Hindu and Muslim cultures, because of different cultural and/or religious reasons, pay special attention to these aspects⁵⁰. A similar trend is detectable in the use of public equipments for health reasons, spaces for education or, at the scale of the household, the use of furniture in the shelter (and thus, indirectly, electricity): despite belonging to different religious

⁴⁶ However this reaction can be explained by the very careful consumption: water is used to drink and cook and, in a less significant quantity, for personal cleaning and washing.

⁴⁷ The time of service availability is very limited also in the areas like Chikkalwadi, where there is a limited extension of the network. This fact influences significantly the organization of the day (in particular for women) and represents a “factor”, un-distinctly, both for Muslim and for Hindu communities.

⁴⁸ Newspapers and some political parties frequently use service provision as argument to describe inequalities between Hindu and Muslim communities or to foster the political *querelle* on resources distribution. In the literature, the prevalent idea refers on the inequalities that the Muslim communities have to endure in access to services. In the case study areas the only possible arena for this conflict is Chikkalwadi (in Rafi Nagar 2 there is a relationship Muslim-Muslim, in Sai Leela Hindu-Hindu), but the real gap is with the neighbouring “notified” slums. In the border, as in land and housing sectors, the situation does not present always a readable gap.

⁴⁹ In Chikkalwadi, the discontinuity of the service provision puts in similar conditions the two religious communities (hours of water available, use and organization of water taps during the day, timing in using water inside the shelters and on the street, etc.), fostering the idea that services networks tend to force an amalgam inside the social fabrics, even if starting cultural conditions are very different (and their implications in the use of water and sanitation facilities are significant in characterizing the two communities).

⁵⁰ Chikkalwadi offers an example in the search of common solutions in sanitation for communities’ women, starting from very different cultural backgrounds, in terms of respect of the body, visibility and “decency”, even in front of other women. In Chikkalwadi, Muslim and Hindu women have similar ways and timing of access to sanitation services (during the night the access is preferable in the hours near dawn) in public latrines (or near the *nalla*), sharing spaces (or being in neighbourhood spaces) and “risks”. Inconveniences and forms of precaution (e.g. going to the latrine accompanied by other women) foster the idea of adjustment between customs and urban environment conditions.

groups or castes, the use (and the expectation of use⁵¹) of these equipments tends to be homogenous for people living in the same settlement/fragment.

6.3. Law

“Law”, understood here as an institution in itself, and the relations between the formal legal framework of the city and the system of rules, informal/not written laws in action in “not notified” areas, represent a key field of analysis for the research (beyond the legal-normative responses⁵² to the slum question, shaped by the different powers, see Box 4.1.). The law is itself a factor generating urban fragmentation (legal condition of settlements in case study areas contributes in a relevant way to define “fragments” and to detect the formation of different institutional solutions to accessing land, housing and urban services). Yet, at the same time, a tool for inclusion and action on the legal level is *conditio sine qua non* to work towards a vision of the city driven by equity principles.

How can law be analysed in its institutional nature in “not notified” settlements? Have the different laws on slum areas changed recent informal areas conditions? A legal-judicial analysis of the slum question is not an objective of this work, but the research is however interested in:

- Analysing how the law plays as institution (agent of fragmentation) in the city;
- Seeing how other institutions work in such a legal context;
- Exploring the influences on, and the relations with, the parallel set of informal rules, constituting the “legal” framework of “not notified” settlements.

Due to the distance between public legislative institutions⁵³ and the institutional set-ups of recent informal areas, the administration’s legal tools do not fit with the reality of the informal/illegal city and are inefficient instruments for tackling the complex urban dynamics of slum areas (including fragmentation tendencies). The legislation on Mumbai slums is characterized by a continuous evolution of legal tools, which follow urbanization processes and city development (Box 4.1.). Long term strategies or wide visions of the informal/illegal city question are absent from Mumbai legal framework, because of its political (and ethical) basis, which are far from recognizing recent

⁵¹ Reaching the conditions of a supposed higher social status (thus imitating the costumes and behaviours of the recognized citizens) represents a common objective for households belonging to the different social classes or castes inside informal areas (the discourse appears clearly in in-depth interviews with women that seems to be more sensible to the habitat conditions).

⁵² The legal framework provides the rules for all the informal areas and the actors playing in the “illegal” city, creating the distinction “notified”-“not notified” (fixing the deadline for the two conditions). This means the imposition of a key landmark in the design of the institutional geographies of Mumbai’s informal areas (this “political” decision being a tool in the hand of powers).

⁵³ Administrative powers are more distant from the “illegal” city in relation to political powers. Political parties (elected in the city council or moving outside assemblies) usually are related to specific territories and maintain strict relationships with their electoral base (as happens also in the research case study areas).

informal urban areas, even as a problem to be solved. At the same time no structured connections are in place between “not notified” slums’ legal framework⁵⁴ and pro-poor housing policy, such as might enable public institutions to respond to the housing demand of low income migrants. Faced with this situation, which is denounced by academics (KI16), members of the MCGM (KI23) and even politicians, local administrators of the Municipality, at ward level⁵⁵, who are the principal actors in slum management⁵⁶, are obliged to work in an inefficient normative context.

The legal status of not notified areas is more complex than what it seems to be from a first glance at legislation: families eligible for redevelopment-resettlement can be spread through “not notified” areas (i.e. which are to be demolished), as happens in Chikkalwadi and in Rafi Nagar 2. From the interviews with key informants, reforming the laws⁵⁷ on slums management appears as a necessity. An agreement overcoming the different political shades and value perspectives about the slum legal question converges on two nodal points:

- There is a need for flexible legal tools to respond to *ad hoc* situations, which vary radically between the different areas of the city;
- The resources to apply laws and codes have to be actually available⁵⁸, in order to put into practice actions which public institutions need to implement.

The Municipality is the main actor in producing laws and implementing codes on informal areas but other public institutions directly (like MMRDA) or indirectly (as all the state agencies that define the environmental legislation) set the legal status of informal areas.

Law establishes margins of movement for actors playing in the illegal fabric (yet without defining its socio-spatial conditions, not even in terms of requirement⁵⁹) and influences development policies⁶⁰ and economic strategies. In this way law contributes to

⁵⁴ For several key informants, this discourse could be extended to the “notified” ones, which share analogous gaps between legal framework and urban policy implementation.

⁵⁵ This is the level of administration where the Municipality directly touches problems connected to slum development, distinguishing slum dwellers that are citizens and can have access to services and goods and slum dwellers that are not recognized. However they “use” the city, including public equipments, spaces and services, as the formal citizens.

⁵⁶ The management is understood here as governance of the “slum” question. The planning dimension of “not notified” areas seems to remain outside MCGM strategies.

⁵⁷ Including implicitly a re-thinking of ethical and political values, which provide the basis for the definition of a legal framework.

⁵⁸ In the case of pavement dweller communities included in the same ward of Sai Leela, F/South, public administration cannot operate resettlement projects due to lack of available flats and funds to produce “social housing” addressed to “notified” pavement dwellers’ needs. This context obliges to postpone any kind of intervention leaving the law unapplied and the pavement dwellers (who have the right to be “regularized”, independently from the appropriateness of the resettlement) in a un-complete recognition.

⁵⁹ This lack in terms of rules is not oriented to the empowerment of community institutional system; on the contrary, it seems to represent an advantage for powers controlling the settlement, despite the law.

⁶⁰ Legal definition of redevelopment entails questions related to density and soil occupation, which represent key planning issues in Mumbai (due to the clear scarcity of land). The normative aspects in the redevelopment question are not just tools to limit private actors’ activities but represent a real instrument for urban policies of renewal. This argument goes outside the scope of this work (an easy-readable entry point to the extended literature on the topic is Sharma and Narender, 1996).

additional fragmentation dynamics (even in geographical terms⁶¹), shaping the divisions already embedded in settlement notification, which separates areas and people having rights from un-recognized areas (in fact the law recognizes them in a negative way⁶²). Legal tools, linking the necessary regulation of economic powers' actions to the need for political visions/actions re-thinking not notified settlements, seem to be very weak.

The legal framework avoids considering structured possibilities of implementing strategies and actions for civil society ("formal" NGOs or associations) in "not notified" areas⁶³. At the same time, slum areas are characterized by the lack of recognition of informal/un-registered CBOs and associations⁶⁴. In this context, formal NGOs end up operating in illegal settlements under conditions in which they face legal consequences, lack of basic rights for the beneficiaries, security for the NGO and efficiency. Due to their illegal status, community forms of association cannot engage with formal organizations, including public ones, without passing through agreements, facilitated by intermediate actors/institutions, which limit their freedom and force on them continuous processes of negotiation with the risks and limitations that this implies. Community recognition greatly helps local organizations, independently of their level of complexity and formality, to work with other institutions from equal basis, and consequently to create real opportunities of interrelation and community-driven policy implementation (as happens in "notified" communities).

NGOs and political parties are the main intermediate institutions between community-based organizations and formal institutions⁶⁵. The absence of specific legislative tools for interrelating informal community based organizations with public authorities favours the position of intermediate institutions, which become key actors (and powers) taking main strategic decisions in community management. In this legislative *vacuum*, in terms of rules (not only in terms of policies), intermediate actors operate on the territory

⁶¹ Private actors cannot "formally" operate in "not notified" areas. This fact has consequences (putting "geographical" limits) in several ambits of the market, including land and housing affairs.

⁶² The existence of significant recent extensions of the "informal" city is well known to the legislators. However, at the time of the fieldwork (February 2011), the deadline separating "notified" and "not notified" conditions was still fixed at 01/01/1995 (despite the political projects of moving the deadline to the year 2000), sixteen years before, putting in "illegal" condition a significant part of the fabric. Political powers seem to have interest in maintaining the deadline mechanisms with a huge "illegal", un-served and excluded urban fabric (7.3.).

⁶³ NGOs and associations work mainly at the level of "individuals", reaching the entire community and its institutions just in a partial way. Only the registered associations are recognized from public institutions (excluding *de facto* several community organizations) but this fact does not imply an actual support.

⁶⁴ On the contrary in "notified" areas, the "formalization" of community associations is frequent. Also in the activities related to community redevelopment, urban policies and legal instruments "oblige" the community to create "cooperatives", facilitating the consolidation of community institutional structures.

⁶⁵ In Rafi Nagar 2 and Sai Leela, NGOs are the main mediators between communities and public institutions for what regards questions related to the space and rights. NGOs strategies are thought to implement activities in very different sectors including education, health and advocacy. In Chikkalwadi political parties are the main reference to mediate with the Municipality in urban affairs (represent also an indirect source for Chikkalwadi slum dwellers in getting basic goods and services, "controlling" bureaucratic procedures for the obtainment of rationing cards).

according to their interests (projects that return more visibility, enlargement of the electoral base, etc.), overcoming constraints⁶⁶ they face in the formal city.

The socio-institutional non-recognition of the illegal city opens spaces for informal institutional arrangements substituting for the State, and generating alternative laws⁶⁷ from the formal legal framework. This results in two main types of structure:

- Informal community regulations (as in Sai Leela and in part of Chikkalwadi), in a context where the community is homogeneous and structured and there are socio-cultural pre-conditions for the establishment of community institutions;
- *Dada* rules (as in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi West Bengal ghetto), where the community does not have capabilities and opportunities to develop forms of self-government, leaving space for criminal institutions, which implement alternative systems of rules⁶⁸ (Box 6.2.).

Box 6.2. An alternative to the State: *dada* rules

In case study not notified areas, in particular in Rafi Nagar 2 and in the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi, parallel systems of rules are in place, overlapping and contrasting with the established law of the formal structures of the State. Due to the scarce possibilities of control by the State of “not notified” areas, the *dada* (in Marathi, *bhai* in Hindi; a fair translation could be “chief”, “big man”) rules become slum dwellers’ reference for the organization of the community (from the decision-making processes in spatial/planning issues to every day life). Of course, slum dwellers are subject also to formal law, but the system of rights and protection embedded in the formal legal system is in practice inaccessible to them. In illegal settlements (where rights to the city are formally and practically denied), rights are concessions guaranteed by slum lords (and protection is a service to be paid for). Institutional overlapping distances slum dwellers from the law as an institution (placing them in a position of submission) and from political forms of involvement in defining the rules of their society. This distance, in a context of deep vulnerability (with a development of parallel socio-cultural references regarding what are their real rights), puts slum dwellers in a position where law mechanisms seem incomprehensible.

Dada rules involve every sphere of slum dwellers’ lives: personal behaviour in relations with other community members and authority (slum lord), “taxes” on economic activities, access to and use of goods and services (including spatial devices). Regulations are so articulated that they can be thought of as a system, based on slum lords’ objectives. A certain fluidity in the application of the rules (and in the sanctions) characterizes the system: the slum lord can change the rules at will, according to his/her interests and needs and to political necessities. This fluidity is matched by attention to applying punishment mechanisms in order to give the system credibility and to maintain authority in the territory. *Dada* rules are designed to find a sort of legitimation in the community, a yearning for justice that contributes an indirect consensus, searching for an ethical substratum as a basis of the system. Inside criminal institutions, in the relations slum between slum lords and their dependants, honour codes and

⁶⁶ This condition limits democratic (and participatory) processes for slum dwellers: intermediate institutions can decide the ways of contact between formal-legal (usually public) actors and the “illegal” stakeholders.

⁶⁷ As shown by an extended literature, Mumbai confirms that “illegal” areas are not at all “without law”, showing on the contrary that control and respect of “alternative” rules is strict and the application of control and punishment mechanisms is rigid.

⁶⁸ The richness of the different rules systems depends on the plurality of criminal organizations and on the presence of different slum lords’ “types” in “not notified” areas. These actors control the territory just inside limited borders and within these areas they have the possibility to articulate rules without any obstacles. *Dada* rules can be seen in this sense as “factors” fostering fragmentation.

mafia behaviours characterize the system, while, in the relations with the community, *dada* rules usually dialogue with the community ethics (recalling rural village culture and religious backgrounds). In the case study settlements controlled by slum lords, these sources of the Law refer to Muslim culture; the literature (Mehta, 2004) shows how, in the Hindu context, *dada* rule dynamics are similar even though the cultural world and ethical background are completely different. This search for contact with religious beliefs does not mean an attempt to apply religious ethical laws: for instance *dada* rules are distant from Sharia in ideology and practice. Nevertheless, the need for an affinity with kinds of ethic identifiable among slum dwellers is evident.

Dada rules entail also land access regulation: territories under slum lords' control are characterized by systems of protection, which is provided to slum dwellers in exchange for money. Protection consists mainly in avoiding the action of the criminal organizations (and local gangs). The respect for the *dada* rules plays on the edge between oppression and a paradoxical need for inclusion, even into a criminal system, which slum dwellers need to survive (due to their need of the networks that are embedded in that system). Slum dwellers have to deal with the rules, due to the impossibility of negotiation (or participation) in defining those rules. The dimension of the *dada* rules is individual and the space for collective relations between slum lord and slum dwellers is minimal, which empowers criminal systems). Slum lords have every interest in limiting any political form appearing in the community. *Dada* rules contribute to creating a context of social disintegration.

For the researcher the first “direct” contact with *dada* rules in Rafi Nagar 2, which was unavoidably connected with an event during participant observations (Box 4.4.), illuminated inter-dimensional links between institutions, power and planning. From the beginning, literature and interviewing process had confirmed the relations between these dimensions but the dialogue with a slum lord's mediator and the further implications, revealed by the event that was witnessed by the researcher, highlighted the need to consider alternative systems for reflecting on institutions in case study areas. In addition to providing a new image of the whole life in case study settlements, *dada* rules put power at the centre of the reflection on the institutional sustainability of case study areas (see 7.2.1. and 7.4.) and implicitly affirmed that illegal city governance and public planning decisions have to enforce community institutional systems of rules for imagining effective development perspectives (8.5.).

6.4. Religion

Religion represents a key institution in India, despite the “modernization” and the “secularization” of the society. Mumbai offers a picture of the contrasts between opposite tendencies emerging between the traditional world where religion is *the* institution of the society and the modern globalizing social fabric where other kinds of values have risen (substituting for or, in some cases, negating the traditional reference points). In “not notified” case study areas, these aspects appear in all their intensity, in terms of influences on slum dwellers' day life and on the nature of politics and participation in the communities' dynamics. Here religion is analysed as an institution⁶⁹

⁶⁹ In this work, aspects of political theology of the case study areas' main religions will be not analysed. Of course, these aspects have indirect consequences on the focus of the analysis, which lies on the links

(in its organization on the territory and in the culture embedded in its practices) organizing the space, questioning its role in the interplay of institutional subjects fragmenting the territory. The context of the research impedes analysis of the theme following all the richness that it has in Mumbai's socio-cultural context: the research seeks a compromise with the religion question for the importance that it has within the adopted institutional approach, despite the forced need to simplify its complexity.

Approaching directly spatial "aspects" connected to religion was complex during data collection (and interviewing process), due to interviewees' difficulties in seeing links between religion and space (which remain implicit for them) and in separating cultural and religious backgrounds in space use (the response was found in using indirectly questions to get information, involving the interviewees at another level). This context influenced also the analysis: several times, the researcher felt the necessity of working on these arguments from the inside, in particular for all the spheres related to religious perception of places and consciousness of community belonging to the interpretation of territory and networks, but research limitations did not allow this kind of approach, the researcher being an outsider in the case study environment. The choice for the analysis consisted in working on religious organizational structures in relation with space, starting from their influence on slum dwellers/believers, to enter then into mental models and processes of thought.

Sai Leela and the Hindu Chikkalwadi show some highlights of the dynamics in action in the relationships between religion⁷⁰ and management, use and imagining of space by Hindu believers⁷¹ and their organizational structures. Both Sai Leela and Chikkalwadi Hindu religious structures are very connected with the neighbourhood Hindu communities: relational geographies suggest the perception of being included in a religious organization working at a global scale; the relation between religious institutions (considered here as organization) and territory is intense but "light". This condition does not exclude opportunities where the community can work as a "unity". In the case of Sai Leela, the access to the temples is outside the settlement, with the exception of religious festivals (like Gampati), when the community uses empty parts of the footpath to prepare the site for religious rites. The use of holy places is continuous and free in terms of the timing of access: the centrality of these places in the daily life of Sai Leela pavement dwellers is evident for any member of the community, independently of age, status or caste. In Chikkalwadi this trend is amplified and enriched by the diversity of the community's social composition. The use of holy places

between institutions of the religious beliefs (of the area) and space (in its use, management and imagining, thus relating institutions to planning).

⁷⁰ Paying the need of simplifying, here the research does not distinguish streams and diversities within Hinduism; the same will happen for the Muslim communities.

⁷¹ Sai Leela is characterized by the presence of several Buddhist families conserving an original approach, much more centred on the individual and the house (as place of personal prayer). Despite the specific culture of Buddhist families, there is no break-up between the two different groups of believers (Hindu and Buddhist families coexist, sharing spaces and events, as happens with the great Hindu festivals).

at the level of the community⁷² (characterizing Sai Leela) is substituted by a tendency to a use of religious spaces that involves extended families, or enables believers to use individually holy places according to his/her necessities.

In Muslim case study areas, relations between religious structures and territory (and thus between religious communities and settlements) are accentuated. The connection between individual believers and the relevant imam, who is responsible for a certain territory (and for the community thought of as a group sharing a belief in Islam), is deep, and belonging to a specific community makes a difference to their relations with others (this is true of both the Muslim case study areas). In Rafi Nagar 2 and in the Muslim Chikkalwadi, Muslim believers intensively use the Mosque⁷³ in prayers hours and these collective rites still represent moments where the community confronts itself, examining problems, presenting questions to the community leader (but also to older family members, big men or the imam) and taking decisions. Of course, religious institutional structures are not purely political platforms: they work mainly on ethical or family-clan matters (deciding on these questions⁷⁴), which follow Muslim ethic rules (and not necessarily the models of Indian laic democracy⁷⁵), having generally indirect consequences for spatial/planning issues⁷⁶.

In case study social fabric, religious institutional background conserves a key role in shaping slum dwellers' relation with space⁷⁷. An example comes from the use of community public/private places in relation to religious practices. In Sai Leela and in the Hindu part of Chikkalwadi, a small part of each shelter (usually a part of the entrance wall) is dedicated to the cult. This part can be constituted by holy images hung on the wall or a piece of furniture or a collection of pieces (and/or architectural

⁷² Also in this case "village" dynamics characterizing Sai Leela re-appear as structures/institutions influencing the social fabric and giving particular character to religious aspects.

⁷³ At the moment of the fieldwork, Rafi Nagar 2 Muslim community was still using the Mosque of Rafi Nagar 1. The absence of a structure dedicated to the cult is felt as a great question for the community and its identity ("is a community without Mosque a real Muslim community?", RN7). Actually the presence of a common holy place for the two parts of Rafi Nagar has brought positive consequences in the relations between the two communities: religious institutions, driven by the Rafi Nagar 1 imam, play as mediator. This mediation is important to start a re-approach between two parts that present frequently conflictive situations. However, even for what regards Rafi Nagar 1, it lacks a step to become a factual political panel: the questions, which religious institutions are dealing with, mainly regard ethical and "familiar" issues.

⁷⁴ For instance warnings (and/or banishments), which prevent to have contacts with some families or to use certain places (shelters, shops, *para*) where the "damaged" family lives, are more consolidated and efficient in Rafi Nagar 2 and the "West Bengal ghetto" of Chikkalwadi; in the other areas of Chikkalwadi, due to community dimension and socio-cultural reasons, the control of religious leaders is weaker and this kind of commands loses efficacy.

⁷⁵ These processes show another time how institutional solutions can be "formalized" in different ways and the "western categories" do not feat with the conditions of Mumbai's informal areas. At European eyes, these religious processes, imposing specific behaviours to religious community members seem contradictory (and even not homogenous during the time) but are actually "institutionalized" (with a certain frequency and repetition of the command from the religious leader to the community member), reaching a sort of formalization and receiving legitimation from the community.

⁷⁶ In case study areas, religious institutions "efficiency" (for instance in conflicts solution) is influenced by the overlapping with powers governing the territory.

⁷⁷ In this particular relation between culture and space, the importance of religion does not mean that several different socio-cultural aspects do not play any role.

elements) creating a sort of shrine inside the shelter. This results in a place for prayer or simple veneration rites that are very frequent for case study slum dwellers (entering or leaving the shelter, also for the visitors). In the Muslim part of Chikkalwadi and in Rafi Nagar 2, the moment of the prayer, which is very defined in terms of timing, is more variable with regard to location. Interviewees prefer to use the Mosque for praying if possible, and this shifts their feeling of the true religious moment to collective places, where they are in contact with other people.

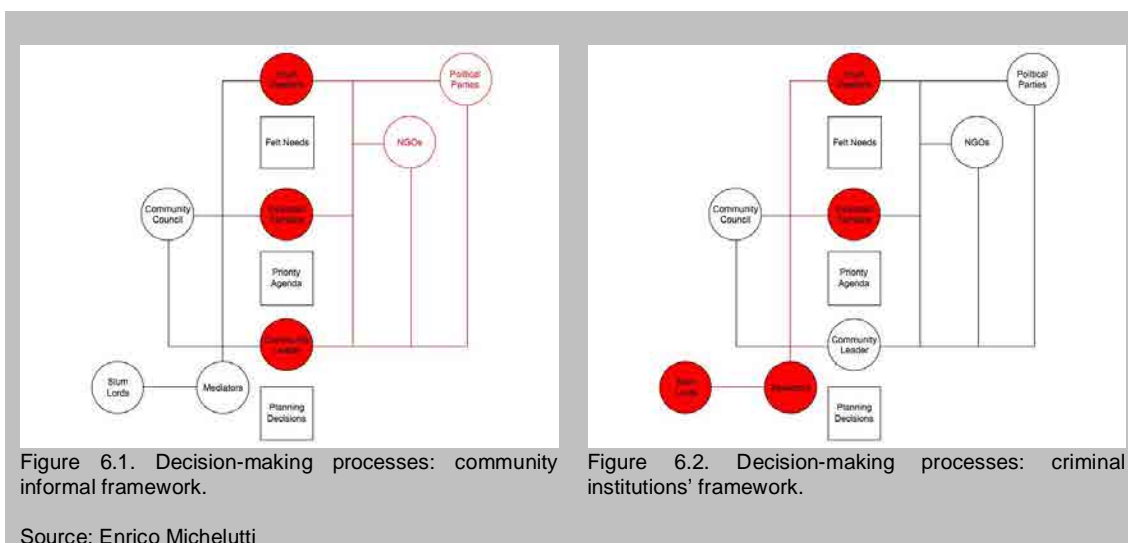
In Muslim case study areas, the need to be part of the community is deeply felt by slum dwellers: the practice of sharing religious spaces of the Mosque finds a lay equivalent in the door of the shelters (particularly used by women during the day), the few square metres in front of the informal tea vendors, the narrow *para* between the shelters. Muslim interviewees declare that they feel “free”, “without pressures”, “with no fear” only in the spaces of the (religious) community or in neighbouring Muslim areas⁷⁸. Hindu case study slum dwellers remain linked to their community but use the city in a much more intense (and complete) way⁷⁹. Inhabitants of case study communities “feel at home” in several places of the city, even spaces usually associated with high classes (in the city and Bandra-Kurla centres, in Andheri, etc.) but raise the question of security in going into neighbouring Muslim areas. In the interviewing process, as also among all the key informants, the religious factor was almost always associated with political-religious conflicts: the memory of the riots of 1992-93 is still vivid, and the recent issues related to terrorist attacks are used to sustain extremist policies, exclusion practices and propaganda. In this context, slum dwellers living in “not notified” settlements are vulnerable⁸⁰ and, in the case study areas, the consequences of these policies are visible in tension (or, as in Rafi Nagar 2, actual violence) and absence of any dialogue between different religious communities (in the case of Chikkalwadi).

⁷⁸ Again this trend depends from several elements and religious institutional structures are one of the aspects (entailing other cultural, socio-economic and political elements) in determining the use of space. Therefore reducing the theme related to the use of space to a pure contraposition between Hindu-Muslim beliefs is reductive: however, for the researcher, religion still represents the main “tool” to understand the different spaces’ use in “not notified” areas (for instance, during the fieldwork, place of origin of migrant inhabitants appeared as alternative, but much more open to contrasting behaviours).

⁷⁹ The feedback coming from the case study areas on the extended literature concerning “Mumbai as Hindu city” (seeing a sort of apartheid of Muslim population, which suffers exclusion and ghettoisation process) seems to find a confirmation, but the question reveals a great complexity. Of course this feeling does not involve only the religious sphere but responds to the deep cultural and socio-economic “difference” embedded in the two religious statuses, which however is not object of this work.

⁸⁰ Regarding the contrasts between religious groups, Chikkalwadi big men have direct perception of the local dynamics: Chikkalwadi includes in the same territory Hindu and Muslim groups and, after the riots of 1992-93, the question consists mainly in maintaining an “equilibrium” between the two groups (renouncing frequently to dialogue or collective construction of shared political community agendas). Considering the “global” dimension of the question, community leaders’ political vision follows rigidly political parties guidelines: a lack in the political dimension (and in critical, autonomous approach) is detectable in all the three case study settlements with the consequences in imagining bottom-up inclusion policies.

6.5. Complexity of institutional (organizational) structures



In case study areas, the arena of actors shapes two kinds of internal “organizational” frameworks⁸¹:

- Institutional frameworks based on community institutions (community leaders/big men; extended families “representatives”, organized or not into committees/councils; extended families understood as basic social groups for households and individual slum dwellers): in this case (Figure 6.1.), key steps in decision-making process (white boxes) are controlled through the relations between the “base” (slum dwellers and extended families) and leaders, where intermediate institutions play a key role;
- Institutional frameworks based on criminal institutions (where the community institutional framework is under slum lords’ and mediators’ control): in this case (Figure 6.2.), criminal institutions are in direct contact with the base, while community and intermediate institutions are excluded.

Community organizational frameworks are influenced by external actors, which shape institutional equilibriums and decision-making processes in spatial/planning questions. These actors can be classified as “intermediate” institutions offering to “illegal” actors various types of contacts with formal organizations: these intermediate actors are mainly political parties and NGOs.

Box 6.3. In search of a “discourse” on the State for the “illegal” city

In in-depth interviews, the reflections on the relations between Community and State (generally public institutions, Maharashtra State Agencies, Central Government and more frequently the municipality, MCGM) are characterized by disconnections, within the public institutions’ perspective, due to the current legal framework and, within the informal communities’ world, due to a “political” exclusion embedded in socio-cultural distances (in the

⁸¹ Community institutional frameworks include two sub-typologies, respectively based on community leaders and big men.

perspective of community members) and contrasting objectives (in the perspective of community leaders, CBOs and NGOs) between the two institutional worlds. This disconnection remains as a landmark in Mumbai institutional fragmentation processes (illuminating also the contrasting relations between the formal and the “informal” city).

Filling this gap is a key objective for institutions aiming at the improvement and inclusion of slums; despite slum dwellers’ negative perception, the main intermediate institutions engaging in dialogue with the State are political parties, which have actors on the two sides and can develop informally a sort of negotiation in spatial/planning issues. During the interviewing process “distance” and “contrast” continuously recur: these feelings are pervasive and involve both “key informants” outside the community and community actors (leaders and residents). Which is the “discourse on the State” for these three categories of stakeholders? Is there a place for an “order of the discourse” on the State, elaborated by slum dwellers living in “not notified” areas? Are these discourses compatible with the construction of a political platform where Municipality and the “illegal” actors’ city can interact, enabling stakeholders to develop sustainable planning strategies oriented to equity and power redistribution (extending the right to the city and participation in decision-making)?

“The Municipality knows how the things have been developed in those communities, but “institutional fragmentation”, within public actors, generates a plurality of institutions with different competences in acting on informal territories, increasing the distance between slum dwellers and public institutions (at the end of the ‘70s, all the competences were in the hands of the Municipality)” (KI16); “Negotiating with the public institutions is difficult, because they are speaking “another language”, starting from different points” (KI20). Key informants underline that:

- The distance between slum communities and public institutions (independently with respect to the question of the slums “notification”) seems to be great in terms of policies (there are no legal tools to relate to each other the different actors in the arena);
- Some actors (identifiable with “political/urban powers”) prefer to develop informal relationships with slums to hold the reins on the relations with respect to opting for an “institutionalized” dialogue, which would give to slum dwellers security in approaching the administrative structure of public institutions);
- Lack of capabilities in being ready to hear slum dwellers’ necessities characterizes public actors (there is no deep analysis of problems and their evolution over time);
- Diversity in objectives and implementing mechanisms (scale of intervention and structure/logic in transforming the territory) characterizes different institutional set-ups creating contrasts.

The discourse is centred on the lack of communication between public institutions and the informal world, involving all the aspects of the dialogue (even the “register” of the language) that pertain to institutions that work at different levels. The Slum Rehabilitation Authority (which should be the main actor in developing the relations slums-State) is seen by key informants as an organization that cannot promote a real dialogue, remaining “just” focused on the control of slum redevelopment projects.

The discourse coming from the community organizations (and leaders) focuses on the political dimension and denial of rights: distances and contrasts (Box 4.6.) result from political strategies of public authorities, which do not recognize parts of the urban fabric. “Distance” between communities and public institutions is located at the level of rights: for community leaders (“We have stayed here from 15 years; this is our land, we have the right to stay here” (RN1)), the distance lies in Municipality policies. Contrasts (and resistance) take place as reaction, considering public institutions as oppressive entities, which are protecting themselves, making laws according to the interests of power groups, excluding slum dwellers from the city. The question of respecting the Law is not taken into consideration. For community leaders, the conflict with the Law/State (which consists in the daily-life relation with the bureaucracy of the public institutions but which can, during demolition processes, also become strikes, manifestations and street occupations) is a “natural” dynamic where social tensions result in the expression of the un-sustainable condition of inequity

characterizing the system.

At the individual level (for slum dwellers), distance from the State makes coping strategies difficult, obliging people to find informal alternatives to get services and goods. The level of reflection/analysis in slum dwellers' discourse on State shifts from the political/legal/rights dimensions to a more "materialistic", essential level (struggle for living in the city). "Basic needs" are thought of not in terms of "right" but in their "material" essence: the legal dimension is, in a first stage, outside the interests of slum dwellers, focused on getting resources. "We ask for the rationing card because, at the rationing office, the rice is cheaper" (RN3): during the interviewing process and participant observations, there were several women and households telling about the options for getting food, the "process" to obtain a rationing card, approaching politicians or officers of an NGO to obtain favours or recommendations. Following slum dwellers' needs, also the logic of contrast with the Municipality (and the police) is often void of conscious "political" objectives: the fight assumes the connotation of claiming, with an approach that has no contact with political parties' strategy. "We go on the street to protect our houses, we go against the police for that!" (SL4). The step to a political dimension of the question is reached only in a few cases, as in Sai Leela (4.5.3.) but deep consciousness of the needed discourse on the relation with State is still distant from case study slum dwellers' actions.

The complexity in approaching case study institutional frameworks consisted mainly in interpreting the institutional overlap, which is present in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi. In both cases, understanding decision-making processes involved a continuous iterative path between data collection, analysis and further activities in the field. Initially in Rafi Nagar 2 the role of community institutions seemed significant, but during the analysis, while some spatial/planning questions emerged and the interviewing processes offered new elements, their importance in community mechanisms revealed a very marginal weight in comparison with criminal institutions. In Chikkalwadi⁸², complexities and overlap were clear from the beginning, due to the dimensions and the different social components of the community. Defining the role of "big men", who "merge" categories ascribable to both community and criminal institutions (entailing in some cases external actors such as political parties), was fundamental to identifying processes of making decisions on spatial/planning issues.

6.5.1. Informal community institutions

Outlining "containers" of institutional dynamics and situating "typologies" of actors on the chessboard provides tools for understanding the complexities characterizing "not notified" settlements in Mumbai. In the three case study areas community institutions have an informal character⁸³: these organizations are legitimated by community members and present a certain complexity in the functioning procedures. However,

⁸² The "West Bengal" ghetto of Chikkalwadi appeared since the beginning as an area completely controlled by criminal organizations with decision-making processes, which could be comparable with Rafi Nagar 2.

⁸³ "Formal" registration in the Municipality does not imply the presence of formal mechanisms (in terms of procedures and functioning) for "not notified" settlements organizations.

decision-making mechanisms⁸⁴ in community institutions are very variable, and actors holding power inside the organization have much discretion⁸⁵ in managing internal rules and relations with external organizations. The nature of the case study areas' institutional informality is ambivalent: community institutions are recognised as political entities by slum dwellers (*mandal* or "community councils" are invested with a socio-institutional role) but, beyond this *façade* of legitimation (which is the result of the organizations' institutionalization), case study community (and generally "collective") institutions seem to be "empty", removed from their prerogatives and devoid of actual possibility of action.

Case study community organizations present different characteristics:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, there are two *mandal* trying to be legislative and governmental platforms for the community, although both with limited capacities to act;
- In Sai Leela, the community committee, deciding on socio-spatial and political issues, is a more real presence for the pavement dwellers;
- In Chikkalwadi, there is a plurality of committees⁸⁶, only partially involved in spatial/planning questions, with a marginal role in decision-making processes.

With the evident exception of Sai Leela, where the "committee" takes part, to a certain extent, in decisional processes, community councils, with a marginal position in power relations, allow contacts (and weak participation) only to the families represented inside the organization⁸⁷. Generally councils consist of a variable number of councillors (4 to 10) according to the extended families/clans in the community; there is no electoral process for getting on to the council⁸⁸, and the composition of the assembly can remain unchanged for several years. Organizations meet irregularly (the assembly is usually convoked *ad hoc* by the community leader when questions arise) and decisions making processes do not necessarily imply real voting procedures⁸⁹. The committees offer few opportunities for proposing activities and projects, and frequently have only a "consultative" function, by which community leaders can claim "support" for their actions.

⁸⁴ The researcher thinks to these "mechanisms" in a "large" sense, including processes connected to felt needs definition and setting (priority) agenda procedures, which in some literature can be analysed in separated way (see Box 8.1. and section 8.2.).

⁸⁵ This happens without losing credibility in front of community members, public institutions (if involved) and criminal powers.

⁸⁶ Excluding the "West Bengal ghetto", a territory where there is no form of representation for community members.

⁸⁷ The absence of organizations representing the whole community has severe consequences when the community has to take decisions on issues regarding the territory (for example in the project for toilet facilities project in Rafi Nagar 2, the absence of a "legitimized" panel for discussion resulted in contrasts inside the community).

⁸⁸ For instance in the case of KKS, a registered association in Rafi Nagar 2, *mandal* councillors are bound to pay a share of the administrative expenses to remain in the council, thus, the council is composed by the representatives of the families that can pay.

⁸⁹ In the solution of key questions (for instance a demolition order, as happens regularly in Sai Leela), the council is frequently step over by the community leader, who goes directly to the families. In this case the council can have just a role in the organization of the response, when the "decision" is already taken.

In case study settlements, an institution in itself is represented by the community leader. The figure of the big man that leads the community, being member or mediator of local political parties or even part of the criminal institutions governing the area, is recurrent in the case study areas. In Rafi Nagar 2 and in Sai Leela, the community leaders have been the guides of the communities since their foundation: this relation between big men and community formation has helped to institutionalize their leadership⁹⁰. Usually the identification of these leaders within the community is defined in an informal way: there is no form of electoral procedure and community leaders' authority comes from personal relationships, which the leader is able to create and conserve with the extended families, which are key actors in the community⁹¹. Of course, newcomers to the community have to accept the status of community leaders as they exist, without aiming at any political involvement or re-definition of roles.

In "not notified" areas, institutional framework/set-ups⁹² aim for a sort of consolidation and maintenance of interests. Considering only the case study areas, a correspondence is detectable between internal community tensions and the permanence of certain institutional set-ups: a plurality of authorities and an overlap between informal and criminal institutional set-ups is associated with a conflictive social fabric (as in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi); in communities where different organizations succeed in shaping a unitary panel⁹³ (or where there is only one institution governing the area) and this entity is an institution recognized by the community (free of the influence of criminal organizations), the community social fabric is surprisingly homogeneous, ready to develop collective activities and open to democratic-participatory process in spatial/planning management (as in Sai Leela).

⁹⁰ In in-depth interviews, the reference to the period of community formation is frequent: the memory of the first settling moment is vivid both in Sai Leela (despite all the following demolitions that have obliged the pavement dwellers to "re-form" the settlement several times) and in Rafi Nagar 2. This "collective" memory with its stories and slum dwellers' feelings empowers community leaders' position and legitimates the role of the person that has guided the community in the first stages of the settling process. In Chikkalwadi this memory is almost completely lost and this is one of the factors influencing community institutional set-up.

⁹¹ The increasing independence of the case study settlements social fabric from "clans" or "extended families" and the individualization (or, according to some authors, "pulverization") of the society forces community leaders to catch the trust of community members: the control of the settlement becomes much more difficult and, in the case of consistent communities, as Chikkalwadi, there is no real chance to be the "only reference" for the community. The plurality of community leaders conduces to complex consequences in terms of policies definition for the territory (see 8.2. and 8.3.).

⁹² This framework is based on power relations between community informal institutions and criminal organizations. For what concerns case study areas, in Rafi Nagar 2 a new committee has been come up by the side with a proliferation of other *mandal* that have emerged (starting from 2004, when the community faces a deep social change, see 4.4.2.), touching just in part socio-spatial questions (overcoming the committee and community leader that have led the community since its formation); in Sai Leela the institutional set-up have not changed during the 15 years of development of the community, with the same community leaders and very few changes in the composition of the "council"; in Chikkalwadi, the institutional situation is very articulated and there is a large number of committees and community leaders/"big men" that have partial voice in addressing socio-spatial decisions.

⁹³ Within case studies areas, "community leader" based institutional system (defining community leader as guide and political point of reference for the community, which somehow overcomes other institutional arrangements), is verifiable just in Sai Leela, while the other two communities are characterized by the presence of several "big men" that "govern" limited parts of the settlement and, in some cases, represent specific parts of population (only for certain claims).

Case study areas show a range of this dynamic:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, the nature of community leaders is shifting towards a big men character (with different levels of legitimation from slum dwellers), strongly influenced by criminal organizations;
- In Sai Leela, a traditional community leader governs with all the authority of his role without overlapping with other institutional actors, and the community council exercises only limited responsibility;
- In Chikkalwadi⁹⁴, the presence of several big men (who self-proclaim themselves as community leader with only partial recognition by the Chikkalwadi population) raises questions⁹⁵ about the model of a framework of informal community institutions based on a duality between community leaders and community council or committee.

6.5.2. Criminal institutions

In the case study areas, the absence of State or public institutional structures is frequently accompanied by precariousness, inefficiency and impoverishment of informal community institutions: this apparent correspondence creates the political conditions and the institutional environment for the establishment of criminal institutions in case study territories. The factors embedded in the formation of criminal institutions (or conquest of spaces by criminal organizations) depend on several conditions (socio-economic, cultural, political) that can vary significantly and do not exactly represent the centre of the analysis in this work⁹⁶. The research focus is on the connections between criminal institutions and territory and the role of criminal institutions in fragmentation processes, in terms of both the control of urban dynamics (starting from land and housing access) and the influences on slum dwellers' mental models and cultural approach in issues related to space.

The identification of criminal institutions (considered at this stage as organizations related to socio-spatial questions) shows the complexity of the institutional context in "not notified" areas: these institutions frequently coincide in part or in whole with informal community institutions. The big man could be involved directly in criminal institutions (or could even be the slum lord), being at the same time member of a local political party, working for a public institution or a private sector company active in the

⁹⁴ In the "West Bengal" ghetto of Chikkalwadi, an extreme version of the dynamics characterizing Rafi Nagar 2 is in place.

⁹⁵ The presence of "big men" and institutional solutions diminishing the role of community leaders and committees open the space to the formation of criminal set-ups inside the settlements.

⁹⁶ Also in this case an attempt of classification of these factors can be arguable. Exemplificative identification of factors facilitating the establishment of criminal institutions is carried out for Rafi Nagar 2 (4.4.3.) and Chikkalwadi (4.6.3.).

area⁹⁷. Criminal institutions are not superstructures lying on top of formal or informal communities' social fabrics: in a few cases, as for instance in the circuits related to land access in Rafi Nagar 2, independent large scale institutions⁹⁸ seem to control the territory (through mediators).

The overlap (which easily becomes fusion) between criminal institutions and social fabric decides a lot in power relations and in how spatial/planning decisions are taken (7.2.). The identification of criminal institutions is also complex according to slum dwellers' perception: subjects engaged in the slum lord system (acting as mediators in the community) are in many cases the same as community representatives, leaders of extended families/clans or big men. These actors are recognized by slum dwellers, and in some cases mediators are legitimated by inhabitants that seem proactively to follow, or even support, *dada* rules with a certain complicity⁹⁹). A pervasive illegality, which include the arrangements for getting basic goods and services, creates a sort of cultural substratum, where criminal institutions are seen as a natural part of community dynamics, despite the use of physical and psychological¹⁰⁰ violence (slum lords take advantage of the permanence of this state of fear).

Criminal institutions find their condition of living (and *raison d'être*) in the control of the territory. The relation with territory¹⁰¹ is vital for the organization¹⁰². Marking a territory,

⁹⁷ This is the case of Chikkalwadi "West Bengal" ghetto where "big men" coincide with slum lords; in Rafi Nagar 2 there are evident (and forced) connections between community informal institutions and slum lords; Sai Leela is an exception and is not characterized by the presence of criminal institutions in the community (this case study offers only indirect elements for reflecting on criminal institutions).

⁹⁸ This connection between "land mafia" and a structure operating at an upper level in relation to the settlement is associable with the presence of the rag picking affaires circuits (Sinha, 2011). As Participant Observation (18-01-2011) shows, this relation is facilitated by mediators, members of local political parties.

⁹⁹ Within this "social base", which is present both in Rafi Nagar 2 and in Chikkalwadi (composed mainly by young people and daily wages workers), the slum lords find new recruits or supporters. This behaviour is just in part surprising, due to economic (or jobs opportunity) rewards that slum lords can provide. These mechanisms of recruitment are similar (and in some case in connection) to extremist political parties practices in slum areas. The literature (Mehta, 2004) refers about the action of recruitment in slum areas implemented by extremist Hindu parties (like Shiv Sena), using practices of "reciprocity", where the engagement with the group is frequently rewarded with a job or charge in private-public sector. This practice of exchange is a dynamic embedded in a spread extremist cultural base (that in the western society references could belong to cultural expressions of extreme "Right"), connected to ethnic elements (in case study areas, racism against Muslim believers and provenience from outside Maharashtra State) and culture of "force".

¹⁰⁰ Forcing slum dwellers' behaviours becomes an "institutional act" in community under the control of criminal institutions.

¹⁰¹ Criminality works mainly as a "network", connecting different levels (branches) of criminal organizations. Following the Foucault's lesson (Foucault, 2005), the police has paradoxically the role to guarantee the presence of the circuits that allow the city to work: in Mumbai, criminal circuits, in absence of turnings at the political level, remain somehow fundamental and in "not notified" areas, tolerance and connivance (in some cases identity) between police and criminal organizations appear evident.

¹⁰² An example comes from Rafi Nagar 2 where connections between the criminal institutions controlling the community and the criminal flows, operating in an upper level and managing the recycling process, are in place: at the border with the dumping ground, the interest is focused on the control of the rag picking activities. Each zone is assigned to a community and criminal organizations entrust each municipal truck to specific groups of persons (to limit the influence of criminal organizations in the management of the dumping ground, the Municipality in cooperation with some local NGOs have organized the distribution of dumping ground pass-identity cards in order to have a register of presences in the dumping ground and

and imposing *dada* rules for settling and living in a given area become objectives (and conditions) for criminal institutions. This re-definition of the territory (crossing and reshaping community borders) forms a basis for discussing urban fragmentation in an institutional sense. Lessons learnt from the fieldwork (see 4.4.3., 4.5.3. and 4.6.3.) show how the real passage between fragments is not based on a difference in goods or service conditions or in a difference in socio-spatial characteristics. The force that seems to generate fragmentation within the fabric is the break-up of the institutional basis enabling a specific organization to control decision-making processes of the society. The reasons for this institutional break-up may be ascribed to several factors, but a necessary precondition seems to be the set-up of power relations between authorities in the territory.

6.5.3. Intermediate institutions

The exploration of relational geographies has shown dense and multi-faceted interchanges between case study areas and the rest of the city. Due to the particular legal-political conditions of “not notified” settlements, socio-spatial relations with the formal urban fabric are in place mainly through the work of “intermediate” institutions, which guarantee the conditions and temporarily re-include slum areas in legal contexts (or give a formal appearance to the institutional solutions involving not notified/illegal settlements). The institutional set-up linking “not notified” settlements with the State and the formal city¹⁰³ has political parties and NGOs as main actors. With different objectives and approaches, these two types of institution act as mediators, linking informal community institutions with the Municipality, State Agencies and Central Government. This institutional structure is shaped by the legal context: communities cannot have a direct dialogue or negotiation with formal public counterparts. Political parties and NGOs facilitate the contacts, which thereby become in effect formalized (though public actors maintain a dialogue only with intermediate institutions), conserving however an informal character. Communities negotiate with actors having an interest in becoming counterparts, reaching the State indirectly.

Political parties and NGOs penetrate deeply into the community social fabric. Initially, their actions are oriented to the household level¹⁰⁴, thereafter involving groups or entire

avoid informal/criminal “taxes” to pay for entering and “using” the dumping ground. Of course large margins for criminal activities are present in the process. However after the collection and the selection of the materials, mediators (informal and criminal) provide to sell the product of the rag picking to factories located outside the area, which complete the recycling process.

¹⁰³ Also the relations between “illegal” and informal fabrics are built to some extent on the action of specific intermediate institutions, whether informal or criminal. In some specific situations informal/criminal institutions, with the *placet* of other mediators, can operate also outside the informal context, linking “not notified” settlements with the “formal” city: this is the case of the links between case study settlements and formal infrastructural networks providing electricity. But the main intermediate institutions between “illegal” and formal fabric remain political parties and NGOs.

¹⁰⁴ The activities are oriented to provide goods (i.e. water tankers in Rafi Nagar 2, obtained through political parties) or services (i.e. assistance and food security for children in Rafi Nagar 2, provided by the NGO Apnalaya; extension of water network in Chikkalwadi, due to political “pressures”).

parts of communities. Political parties and NGOs have “their” men in the communities: the insertion at the bottom level is gradual and includes the enrolment of community members inside the organizations - in NGOs as fieldworkers or in political parties as local representatives - and engagement with key extended families, community council members and leaders (usually through favours¹⁰⁵). At this stage, when intermediate institutions have acquired a position of influence within the community, the nature of the relationship changes, as the political parties or NGOs become not only mediators (or support organizations) but also key actors (and/or interlocutors) in the definition of community policy and strategies (as happens in Sai Leela and to some extent in Rafi Nagar 2). Here the formal dimension (which remains an invariable element in the nature of intermediate institutions) overlaps with informal practices in the development of field activities: due to the necessity of operating in undefined legal frameworks, formal institutions opt for informal practices.

Even in the absence of political/legal ties, relations between illegal and informal entities are facilitated (or driven) by intermediate institutions. In this case informal/criminal institutions, usually involved in the internal management of community institutions, act as mediators between different territories: these institutions work on the fractures between fragments, informally linking to each other slum dwellers belonging to different communities/fragments¹⁰⁶. The control of the relational process allows mediators to gain economic advantages and power over slum dwellers asking for services. On the contrary, those slum dwellers who are “forced” to get services, do not have rights in formalizing the process: they have no choice in the informal arrangement, and face additional economic and political costs for the process.

Box 6.4. Case study institutional “states of fragmentation”

It is not simple to categorize the different case study areas’ states of fragmentation, defined according to institutional set-ups (relations between organizations; contrapositions between mental models and cultural institutional backgrounds deciding slum dwellers’ socio-spatial felt needs/behaviours, use of space and planning attitudes). An attempt to classify different fragmentation levels in the urban fabric could be self-referential (and outside the objective of the study), due to the scope and the essence of the adopted concept of institution: measuring the impact of organizations in fragmenting territories or the influence of distinct mental models in producing the process is debatable. Within an institutional perspective, urban fragmentation seems to be a very heterogeneous phenomenon affecting the city with varying intensity. Case studies offer elements to explore the different levels at which the phenomenon can entail community internal structures and relations with the rest of the urban fabric.

From an institutional point of view, Rafi Nagar 2 presents an extreme state of fragmentation: the socio-spatial break-up between the not notified fabric and the informal area of Rafi Nagar 1 corresponds to an institutional solution of continuity. In Rafi Nagar 2, the arrangements of

¹⁰⁵ For NGOs this kind of actions includes the selection of certain slum dwellers as beneficiaries of projects (as interviewees have reported in Rafi Nagar 2) or, for political parties, in facilitating the obtainment of some documents, like rationing or voting cards (as happens in Chikkalwadi).

¹⁰⁶ Case studies areas offer several examples of this kind of relations (i.e. networks for electricity linking Rafi Nagar 2 and Rafi Nagar 1 slum dwellers), having, as mediators, members of the local slum lords’ organization.

criminal institutions structure decision-making processes in the community (in Rafi Nagar 1, informal community solutions remain fundamental to slum dwellers' organization). In Rafi Nagar 2, despite the facilitation of the interrelation between community members by their common religious affinity to Islam, the contraposition between organizations (with different community leaders), overlapping with the influence of criminal institutions, does not allow the community to work in unity. The lack of collective interfaces and the absence of legitimised political structures involving slum dwellers impedes efficient decision making processes and does not provide institutional tools to solve internal questions and negotiate with other organizations. This context leaves slum dwellers isolated, with the extended family as their only social structure of reference. Social pulverization is becoming a reality: institutional structures, relying on individuals, facilitate heterogeneity in spatial/planning decisions; as a result, the argument over questions on particular common goods (e.g. the location of a small infrastructural project) can generate conflicts in the community.

In Sai Leela pavement dweller community, urban fragmentation has a double character. The contraposition between the community and the rest of the urban fabric is evident: Sai Leela is a micro informal island in a completely formal fabric, yet relations with the neighbouring zones are intense. The illegal status of the settlement is accompanied by the refusal of public authorities and formal city inhabitants to recognize the political/cultural entity of pavement dweller as a state of being. Internally, the institutional set-up of the community follows the form of an urban village, with a high level of internal homogeneity, where informal community institutions are legitimised and represent pavement dwellers in political networks at city scale (e.g. the PDO), achieving limited contact with the Municipality. Individuals arrive in the community in a "selected" way (from common areas of Maharashtra) and "naturally" respect community internal rules. The small number of families composing the community and the common Hindu culture facilitate homogeneous behaviours, the prioritization of felt needs, and the approach to spatial/planning decision-making processes.

In Chikkalwadi, urban fragmentation dynamics are complex due to the dimension and the plurality of contexts in relation with the settlement: the community is currently undergoing fragmentation, generating a new fragment (the West Bengal ghetto), under a criminal institutional system. Chikkalwadi is interacting with informal notified settlements (Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2) and with the formal fabric constituted by redeveloped and resettled slums (PMGP colony and Laloo Bhai compound). Also in this case, the perception of a solution of continuity within the fabric of the area (called Sathe Nagar) is clear: socio-spatial distinctions between communities (which are embedded in different socio-economic conditions) are based on different institutional set-ups structuring the urban fabric of Sathe Nagar. Without consolidated institutional arrangements, in Chikkalwadi a plurality of committees, community leaders and big men overlaps with criminal institutions that control the most vulnerable part of the community (the Muslim one) and in particular the West Bengal ghetto. The internal complexity of organizations dealing with spatial/planning questions in Chikkalwadi corresponds to a plurality of institutional/cultural backgrounds: the community is composed of two main religious communities (the Muslim and the Hindu) and several minority ones, creating different approaches to using and thinking about the habitat.

6.6. Institutions in slum dwellers' perception

The process of institutionalization of organizational set-ups in the territory corresponds to a consolidation of slum dwellers' feelings and convictions regarding their relations with the organizations controlling the territory. A classification of these perceptions can be questionable if observed from a psychological standpoint, but the objective here consists in following the main lines that emerged during the interviewing process and

participant observation exercises in order to get a vision of the institutions “from the bottom up”. The homogeneity of slum dwellers’ conceptualization of organizations deserves the researcher’s attention because of the consequences of these perceptions for understanding power relations, community political equilibrium and possible margins for participation in planning decisions.

Public institutions¹⁰⁷, understood as the State (Central Government and State Agencies), are perceived as remote organizations. The high levels of Maharashtra State and Mumbai administration are considered as entities working for the “other” city (the formal, the “rich” one in the words of the interviewees) despite the role of these institutions in defining interventions that radically affect the lives of the inhabitants of “not notified” slums. A similar consideration characterizes the Law (and its organisms). Public institutions that form part of slum dwellers’ daily life consist of low levels¹⁰⁸ of the Municipality. Slum dwellers’ perception of these bureaucratic appendices of the State is generally negative because of the inefficiency, lack of respect, corruption, and frequency of racist episodes (in demolition processes the State “becomes” an oppressor, unable to hear and understand slum dwellers’ needs and reasons). At this level, as widely explored in the literature, formal public institutions have informal behaviours: despite the formal nature of these bodies, decisions, choices and internal procedures work “through” the rules, using client-patron and, irregular/illegal mechanisms. In slum dwellers’ perception, having contact with these organizations means continuously making claims that go unheeded: several interviewees expressed total distrust of public institutions. The conviction of the uselessness of any dialogue with public institutions corresponds to the search for alternative institutional (informal or criminal) solutions.

Relations between slum dwellers and community institutions are more complex, generating contradictory reactions in the population. The community leader is usually supported by extended families and has tight links with the people that he represents (tied to clientele and clan relations): during the interviewing process, slum dwellers showed a blind trust in community leaders’ policies and decisions¹⁰⁹. Slum dwellers are

¹⁰⁷ The relations with private formal institutions in case study areas consist mainly in activities related to private actors providing services and indirectly, as in the case of Chikkalwadi, private builders involved in the slum rehabilitation projects. These actors (and the institutional structure beyond them) are felt as extraneous organisms respect the community. A deeper reflection inherent the relationships between the “illegal” slum areas and the market (which is outside the objective of this work) could be a key focus for other researches but, here, it’s relevant underlining the distance between community members and the private sector.

¹⁰⁸ The administration of the rationing and ward offices and, from the legal point of view, the local police structures.

¹⁰⁹ Due to cultural substrata, a “public” criticism referred to the community leader will not be accepted in the community and would represent a transgression to the community “rules of the game”. Thus there is no surprise in the reactions of the interviewees on this theme. Political dissent, even if manifested in civil and “democratic” way, is not a common practice in “not notified” areas: dissent can result in “informal reconciliations” (where slum dwellers accept community leaders “proposals”) or in conflicts. With punctual exceptions (mainly in Sai Leela), the way of an open and participatory debate on spatial/planning questions is still a hypothesis for case-study communities.

in close contact (frequently in a position of dependency) with the community leader, who finds his legitimation¹¹⁰ through giving some space to community members in the decision-making (reserving however the right to have the last word). The complexities in the connections in place between community members and leaders are evident when the authority¹¹¹ changes its relations with the community's extended families/clans¹¹². The links between the community leaders and criminal, or political, powers¹¹³ are transformed in identity from informal to criminal institutional set-ups). These dynamics call into question the legitimation of and support for the leader, fracturing the community (Rafi Nagar 2 is under this process).

This kind of recognition is not given to community committees (including the proper community council, *mandal* or other kind of associations working in a spatial/planning dimension): slum dwellers usually legitimate "council" members, but seldom recognize the organizations as an authority. When based on community social structures, the council has a real representative role but its capacity to solve spatial/planning questions is very limited. Councils seem to have limitations also in legislative terms: frequently proposals and ideas for implementing projects and activities take shape outside the council, in meetings of extended families/clans, in community leaders' practice, in personal plans, or from actors outside the community (mainly NGOs or political parties). Community members perceive the limitations and immobility of community councils, thought of as empty containers¹¹⁴ without real capacity (or will) to tackle problems and to innovate. Community decision-making processes frequently bypass the community council level in institutional and political terms: many of the decisions are taken by community leaders (almost always so, where community leaders coincide with big men, as in Chikkalwadi, or with slum lords, as in Rafi Nagar 2), or by the powers that really control the community.

Criminality is perceived as a power and key actor in "not notified" settlements. The absence of public institutions and the weakness of the informal community institutions have guaranteed space to criminal institutions in developing activities, with complete

¹¹⁰ A part few exceptions, as some *mandal* working in specific sectors (as women protection in Chikkalwadi), or cases in which there is a sort of "political" imposition from outside the community having woman as point of reference, as in the case KKS in Rafi Nagar 2 (in both the examples these leaders are at the border between a common "president" of association and a pure community leader), community leaders are male.

¹¹¹ This authority has large decisional competences and in some communities coincides with the authority (where the community leader is a "big man"). This condition is the most frequent in communities where there is plurality of powers in fights, as in Chikkalwadi.

¹¹² Of course this condition excludes from decision-making mechanisms newcomers or slum dwellers belonging to community "minorities".

¹¹³ Community leaders are seen as men of the "oppressive system" controlling the community. Any dimension of dialogue in the relation slum dwellers-community leader disappears and becomes relation of subordination. This is the case of Chikkalwadi but manifestations of these tendencies are present also in Rafi Nagar 2.

¹¹⁴ This tendency has conducted to limitations in the role of councils in Rafi Nagar 2 and a proliferation (with a decadence of competencies) of the Chikkalwadi councils. The institution is still working, with limited powers, in Sai Leela.

control over specific territories and populations¹¹⁵. The presence of criminal organizations is perceived in all the spatial/planning processes: access to basic services and goods is regulated by slum lords' mediators but also the movements and the possibility of using community spaces follow the *dada* rules. The feeling of dependency and oppression characterizing the system is reinforced by threats and violence. Slum lords and their men are felt as part of the community ("respected" and feared for the impotence of any dialogue and the possible use of power without the constraints guaranteed by community organizations). Nevertheless, the criminal institution (as opposed to criminals as people), understood as a social structure for the community (claiming the "right" to be autonomous), is not legitimized at all: slum dwellers paradoxically distinguish the authority of the persons from the authority of the institution.

Box 6.5. Institutional context of participation in "not notified" settlements

Institutional set-ups, thus organizational and cultural structures, define the basis for participatory dynamics inside a fragmented context. Participation here, as usual, is analysed with a focus necessarily centred on the spatial/planning aspects (other arenas of participation entailing socio-cultural aspects are not considered). Participation is strictly related to the cultural context and historical perspective of Indian cultural and slum dwellers' socio-political movements. In Mumbai slum areas, participation as a socio-cultural and political practice does not have a long history (Somaiya [2009] refers to the first slum dwellers' demonstrations during the '60s) and slum dwellers' involvement in bottom-up politics is quite recent in comparison with experiences in other cities of the Global South. Participation in "not notified" areas is even more recent: in the past, when there were different deadlines for notification, illegal settlements remained in a marginal position in comparison with the large, consolidated slums of Mumbai (i.e. Dharavi). In recent settlements, the need for time to establish consolidated relations and an open/democratic community cultural basis (indispensable conditions for developing participatory mechanisms) is even clearer. The research approaches the theme considering essentially two main directions: exploring the role of organizations in enabling people to participate (offering institutional assets allowing real participatory dynamics); and the perceptions of participatory practices among community groups and members.

In case study settlements, participation in community institutions is partial. The possibility of participation provided by the organizations is very limited: in all the three settlements, the only type of community political organization, even partially accessible to slum dwellers, is the community council/committee or *mandal*. The control of the main extended families/clan over these is firm and overcomes individuals' will: few possibilities of getting on to the councils are left to other families or newcomers. Inside the council decisional mechanisms are not participative and bottom-up reasoning is not applied, not even in consultative practices: decisions are taken outside the council and the relations with the "base" are frequently diffused in an informal way, without systematic procedures ("old" community families are almost always consulted but the processes are inconsistent). This is so in all the political procedures in "not notified" settlements: usually there are no electoral processes to define councils' composition (or community leaders) and the definition of political organisms follows the will of large families' and power relations between clans.

Authorities at the community level (excluding evidently criminal institutions), represented by the community leader (or big man), are not touched by structured participatory mechanisms: community leaders tend to involve key elements of the community in the decision making

¹¹⁵ This is valid in particular in Rafi Nagar 2 and in the "West Bengal" ghetto of Chikkalwadi.

processes but the involvement is not consistent in procedures and timing (different stakeholders have distinct weight and are sporadically engaged; this happens more frequently when decisions have clear public consequences). Authorities (or community powers) resort to participatory practices when the involvement of slum dwellers is unavoidable and evidence of “mass” and of homogeneity in community response (or the necessity of working as a compact unit) is required for visibility and/or political intentions, as on the occasion of strikes and demonstrations or in responding to actions against the community (in Sai Leela and Rafi Nagar 2, collective actions against demolition processes belong to the community memory). These initiatives, which can cross settlement borders, involve large parts of the community and are frequently driven by intermediate institutions. However in this case community powers look for consensus rather than starting new democratic paths with community members (connections between general participatory processes and social control practices have already emerged in Mumbai slum areas - see as entry point Desai, 1995): powers seem to be interested in annihilating individuality in a large undefined (and thus more pliable) whole (7.4.).

Community based organizations (or else associations formed at the community level), whether belonging to the informal world or formally registered, represent another “negated” theatre for participatory mechanisms. Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi show a certain number of actors dealing in part with spatial/planning questions organized in the form of CBOs or associations: in these institutions, which sometimes play an influential role in the settlements, like the KKS in Rafi Nagar 2, the limitations regarding the involvement of the members and bottom-up practices are plain to see. These organizations (registered or not) lack statutes, with a persistent (and sought) absence of rules: voting for president, councillors and other theoretically elected positions in the organization occurs at irregular intervals or not at all; relations between association members, tasks and responsibilities are not defined or only partially outlined, in a voluntary fluidity which gives to the president/director a lot of room for self-referential decisions. The interviews showed that leaders and association members are not even interested in the existence of these practices, revealing directly or indirectly that decisions in the organization are taken informally and the procedures characterizing the organization remain undefined (clearly in the interest of the presidents and/or directors).

Intermediate institutions (mainly local NGOs and political parties) are engaged in participatory practices at community level: NGOs seek to involve slum dwellers directly in projects (contracting members of the community to facilitate the implementation and the legitimation of NGOs’ activities in the territory, like Apnalaya in Rafi Nagar 2) or developing participatory activities, which aim to involve slum dwellers (like YUVA in the Sai Leela pavement dweller community). In this case (but other intermediate institutions, as political parties, adopt similar strategies), the intention is to generate participation through top-down mechanisms: intermediate institutions force the formation of participatory mechanisms from the top and the empowerment of possible instances coming from the base or enabling the creation of social movements remains limited. Yet relations between urban poor and political parties continue to be strong, despite the presence of new forms of political representation and social movements - see a comparison with other Indian contexts in Harriss, 2005). In “not notified” settlements, participation becomes frequently a hollow exercise: intermediate institutions seek communities’ support and consensus, but the results in terms of participation are disputable. Apart from the level of participation in the community, the quality and “necessity of participation” for the people seem to remain a question mark for intermediate institutions. Institutions seem to be designed without considering participative mechanisms as a mode of interfacing with the community: relations between organizations and community follow hierarchies, clientelist approaches and informal relations between extended families/clans to manage spatial/planning questions.

In the discourse on participation in the illegal city, equity emerges as a key issue: community members do not have the same chance to participate and community authorities either do not consider the question at all or consider it as secondary. Activism outside the institutional structures of the social fabric, as a way to interrelate the base with political issues (even for simple re-asserting themes), seems to be absent in case study settlements, with the partial

exception of the Sai Leela pavement dwellers' involvement in campaigns to achieve basic rights to settle in the city (4.5.3.). From in-depth interviews and participant observations, a lack of trust in participation prevails in the case study communities. Slum dwellers are interested, not in the appropriateness of participatory practices, but in the mechanisms and the results of these practices. Interviewees declared that they participate in activities (mainly meetings, electoral speeches, strikes and demonstrations) but their participation is rarely the consequence of ethical or philosophical positions including direct political engagement with "public questions" or "direct democracy": participation is oriented to very concrete objectives (responding to the input of big men or local politicians; or linked to the necessity of being present in order to be considered in a specific political play). This tendency reflects a lack of identification with political processes or consciousness of the democratic dynamics embedded in participatory practices. Participation is understood in a "minor tone", without a political project for the community (self-empowerment), not even from a superficial (cynical) perspective of power acquisition: participation seems to be driven by community powers.

Community members participate in community political life not as equals but according to their role: for extended families' members, the involvement in community dynamics tends to be more consistent; for women, the involvement frequently consists in act of being there, in order to assert the opinion that "has to be approved". Usually persons involved in participation mechanisms are also members of political parties or NGOs, in a relation of reciprocity with the engaging institution. Inhabitants feeling participatory practices as duties to be accomplished (when staying outside the process is a disadvantage), remain also outside other "political" activities. Spatial choices (with their "planning" consequences), even at a micro scale, naturally generate discussions, conflicts, implying decisions that surpass the individual sphere (like for instance, the management of the *para* to access shelters, the use of public water taps, the re-construction of the settlement after demolitions, etc.). These dynamics underline the need for participation: imposed decisions work when powers wield total control over the community but, when the decision is taken inside community informal institutions, this control is not easily achieved, despite the influence of community leaders (or big men) on slum dwellers. The frailty of top-down decisions becomes clear and choices taken by the leaders are not completely respected. Participation remains a political hypothesis for community sustainable development, and remains at this stage only dimly visible in case study institutional set-ups.

Intermediate institutions are perceived in a contradictory way by slum dwellers. NGOs are seen as organizations close to the community providing basic needs and services (thus outside the political play) while political parties¹¹⁶ are perceived as remote entities, "helping" the community during the electoral period and leaving the field after the elections. Besides this impression, NGOs actually take key decisions for the case study settlements but also "drive" slum dwellers to opt for certain "political directions"¹¹⁷; political parties are involved in providing services and goods (but in a sporadic way), reclaiming more publicly their role in community decision-making processes. Slum dwellers' involvement in these institutions plays a role in bringing intermediate institutions closer to communities. The influence of these stakeholders in decision-making processes is so large that their power becomes an institution in itself in the community: this is the case with YUVA in Sai Leela and with some local politicians in

¹¹⁶ Slum dwellers feel other intermediate actors (informal or criminal) as part of the community, despite negating a legitimation of their role: these kinds of mediators are considered as "businessmen" following specific interests. Their "political"/strategic role for the community (in spatial/planning decisions) is not recognized.

¹¹⁷ This is the case of YUVA in Sai Leela and Apnalaya in Rafi Nagar 2 (7.3.).

Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi. Lack of participation and frailty of community organizations facilitate the institutionalization of intermediate institutions as powers.

6.7. Back to the analytical framework: summary of institutional analysis

In the previous step of the research, socio-spatial analysis explored the nature of fragments and their relations. The socio-spatial approach contributed to describing the phenomenon, providing tools for a geography of Mumbai's fragmentation, focusing on the illegal city. However, from a socio-spatial perspective, the nature (and the causes) of urban fragmentation dynamics remains unclear. Socio-spatial approaches offer sequences of pictures linked to the phenomenon but cannot explain the links between different stages of the process and why these processes are taking place in the city (Question 1T). An institutional approach allows a new vision of socio-spatial elements and an understanding of processes that lead to certain socio-spatial states. Exploration of case study institutional set-ups worked on the analysis of fragmentation processes. In the land sector, institutions play a key role, shaping different forms of accessing and managing land, creating institutional fractures in the territory (generating fragments within an institutional perspective). In the housing sector, institutions seem to be less relevant in organizational terms (although the importance of mental models has to be accepted), leaving a lot of room for individuals (similar institutional set-ups can lead to different housing solutions, smoothing out differences between fragments or creating differences in the urban fabric, independently of the institutional arrangements in action). In the services sector, institutional solutions are fundamental to understanding access and management of services in the settlements (Question 2T).

The research has used a radical definition of institution, seeing institutions as structures of society and spatial/planning questions as an arena in which political organizations, laws, religions, rites, and processes of thought and word affect individuals. Considering relations between society and space, the institutional approach works on the social fabric exploring typologies of organizations and behaviours stemming from slum dwellers' cultural/mental models. Case study "not notified" slum areas outline a scenario in which: the State (Municipality) formal institutions, far from promoting pro-active community development, appear instead as oppressive systems of territorial control; community institutions are legitimised by the population (and unrecognized by the State), working through informal mechanisms; criminal institutions are not legitimised but are recognized as wielding power over slum dwellers. Institutional complexity (overlapping informal and criminal solutions) controverts an image of the illegal city as "un-ruled" and socially "unstructured" territory. Case studies' institutional set-ups are shaped by three types of power: (i) based on slum lords' authority, as in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi West Bengal ghetto; (ii) based on a community leader system, as in the Sai Leela micro-fragment;

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and (iii) characterized by a plurality of authorities (big men), as in Chikkalwadi main area. Powers play a key role in determining community organizational set-up and slum dwellers' mental models (Question 3T).

Analysing urban fragmentation means at least conceptualizing a definition of fragment, exploring processes that have led to the formation of fragments in the urban fabric and the relations between different fragments. The research has shown how institutional roots of the mechanisms generate socio-spatial fragmentation (differentiating Rafi Nagar 2 from other informal areas, like Rafi Nagar 1; Sai Leela from the formal fabric of the Parel Village; Chikkalwadi from formal re-developed slums like the P.M.G.P. Colony, and from informal consolidated areas like Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2). The institutional dimension analysis has at the same time shown the links between institutional mechanisms of urban fragmentation and the political dimension of the question: urban powers drive institutions to act in a given way, opting for certain choices and consolidating behaviours and habits, culminating in the creation and the maintenance of their authority, producing, and even being interested in fostering, fragmentation processes (Question 3M).

7. POWER ANALYSIS

7.1. Introduction

Power relations represent a core part of urban fragmentation phenomena. This idea has been already outlined in the general questions at the beginning of the research (GQ1) (see 3.3.) and implicitly belongs to certain literature associating power with urban dynamics (despite being not explicitly treated in literature on urban fragmentation). As emerged during the fieldwork, and then in Socio-Spatial and Institutional Analysis, there is no strict cause-and-effect relation between socio-spatial conditions and institutional frameworks in the fragmented context of the case studies: case studies show at the most correspondences between socio-spatial characteristics and specific institutional set-ups). Socio-spatial assets are not systematically generated by given institutional frameworks, structuring social actors and relations in recently-formed communities and shaping spatial conditions and choices in “not notified” settlements. The passage between socio-spatial and institutional spheres seems to be more complex than that: considering spatial structuring principles (which in Jessop et al. [2008] are territory, place, scale and network), a plurality of socio-spatial conditions seems to be associable with certain institutional set-ups, which fix and continuously renew them, in both synchronic and diachronic terms; the different fragments, characterized by specific institutional set-ups, develop particular socio-spatial devices with a given rationality (which can be spontaneous¹, imposed or caused by several factors); the process starts to be circular with a fusion of socio-spatial and institutional dynamics increasingly fragmenting the fabric. This part of the analysis explores those conditions generating the process, which pertain to power relations (Box 7.1.).

Box 7.1. Tools for power analysis (and elements for a literature review on power from an urban fragmentation perspective)

Literature on power is very extensive and can be approached using analytical tools coming from different disciplines. In this research, power is analyzed institutionally and in its complex relations with the city (2.1.), following a radical application of the concept of institution (starting from the etymologic meaning of the word). A key entry point is the work of Benveniste (1976), where the roots of power are explored through the figure of the king and of royalty and its privileges. Benveniste’s study presents linguistic contents, to which we will

¹ In literature the “spontaneity” of urban fragmentation dynamics is discussed only to some extent (see 2.2.).

come back in the analysis of different natures of power which emerged in the fieldwork:

- Regarding the figure of the leader, the term *rex* (king), present only in the Iranian, Latin and Celtic culture, represents more a religious figure than a purely political actor (he has the right to delimit the city and establish principles of Law); in the Iranian tradition, the power of the king has a mystic essence, which, through several evolutions, comes back also in the Greek concept of βασιλεύς; in German, “Edel” and the old German “atalo-”, “atta-”, adjectives of the king (meaning “noble”), have also the meaning of “adoptive father”;
- Regarding the nature of “authority”, the verb κραίνειν (used in Greek epic literature) is a prerogative of the person who confers an executive value on a project (without implementing it personally); the character of the authority consists in transforming a “word” into “action”; the word κράτος means “superiority, pre-eminence” (in fighting and in the assembly);
- Regarding the relations between people and leader, there are two names/concepts indicating “people” in Homer (δῆμος, defining a portion of territory and the people living on it, and λάος, a community of warriors grouped in a relation with the “herder” or “leader”).

These areas of interest recur in theoretical discourses on power, focusing on relations with the city (or the urban). The literature is extensive but here the research groups together theories (institutionally) of power and the city:

- Studying power as an entity (with different philosophical and/or socio-cultural attributes) related to the history of ideas (i.e., power figures in Marxist, neo-liberal and post-modernists schools of theories on the city), see Castells (1975), Harvey (1973);
- Conceptualizing power in relation to governance (in a political dimension) and then to planning, focusing on transmission and management of power (*power to*, *power through*, etc.; see Healey, 1997, Jenkins et al., 2010);
- Approaching power as strategies and tactics, seeing connections between power and planning in realistic rather than philosophical terms (starting from Thucydides and Machiavelli and going through to Nietzsche and Habermas), focusing on the rationality of power (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

The research focus will work through these lines following power as institution (and interpreting its connections with the urban through this study’s institutional approach). Particular emphasis will be placed on the concept of authority (following mainly Kojève, 2011) for the implication that this has in planning (7.2 and 7.3). The application of Kojève’s analytical framework in case study areas (which is just one of the possible conceptualizations of power, selected for its flexibility and depth) shows that powers in “not notified” settlements cannot be always approached as authorities. In the actual parallel systems of law in place in the “illegal” city (alternative to the formal legal one), powers are either recognized (and thus become an actual authority for slum dwellers) or suffered by slum dwellers (in Kojève’s perspective, powers using force are not authorities; just power without reaction becomes authority).

In power analysis, several expressions appear regularly:

- “Power relations”, an expression frequently used to describe relations between powers (actors/organizations) in a global sense. Here, in exploring urban fragmentation, the focus is mainly on connections between actors in competition for the territory at the same level (horizontal relations) or belonging to different scales but working on the same territory, usually in hierarchic frameworks (vertical relations);
- “Power equilibria”, stable or dynamic, referring to the set-up between different powers (actors and organization) in a certain territory ordered according to power relations in place horizontally and vertically;
- “Power fluxes/flows”, a concept used to show networks in place between actors/organizations in setting agreements or in delegating power in controlling areas, interests, activities and persons.

Case study settlements' institutional set-ups seem to be defined in unequal and unsustainable ways²: relations in place give advantages to certain actors in economic or political terms and the maintenance of equilibria between institutions is oriented to keep the power of the decision-making processes in the hands of established authority (totally ignoring equity as a parameter in power distribution). To understand these processes, analysis of power focuses on the rationality of choices made by the authorities (Flyvbjerg, 1998), questioning the sustainability of urban fragmentation dynamics in "not notified" settlements, therefore implicitly discussing also the sustainability of current power distribution in the territory. Fieldwork shows that institutions' actions on the socio-spatial fabric are driven by the authorities controlling the territory: the rationality of spatial/planning choices is built on the search for, and/or maintenance of, their interests. To achieve these objectives, urban powers (in that moment in effect already authorities) determine institutional set-ups in the territory: at the organizational level, mainly through the maintenance of favourable equilibria in the actors' arena; at the cultural level, driving cultural fluxes, shaping mental models, forcing parts of the social fabric to maintain certain behaviours and, in spatial/planning terms, using and deciding functions of space in ways that are directed to the control of the territory and of the population.

For these reasons, power is central to this research³, constituting the core of the analytical framework:

- Empirically, the research aims to clarify which are the powers controlling case study areas, the relations between actors-powers in the arena, the mechanisms that powers use to achieve their objectives and the rationality of planning choices for case study territories from the perspective of existing powers (3E; see 3.3.);
- Methodologically, the research rehearses power distribution analysis as a tool for understanding fragmentation processes within the city (3M; see 3.3.);

² The lack in sustainability does not regards just "philosophical" and political aspects but involves the "institutional" set-ups of those parts of the urban fabric. This is clearly visible in the socio-economic inequalities emerging in the territory, which frequently result in fights, urban violence and a continuous condition of "tension" in the city.

³ A research on urban fragmentation processes "necessarily" reflects on power: analysing urban fragmentation dynamics through an institutional (thus to some extent also political) approach obliges to explore the relations between power and sustainability, which in this research are approached through certain values and interests (equity, necessity of "real" democracy in order to achieve institutional sustainability, attention for participation and bottom-up community empowerment, focus on the individuals and their relations with the community and its institutions). This perspective (not exempt from limitations) represents just one of the possible "ethical" approaches to the question and is declaredly embedded to the culture, the formation and experiences of the researcher; however a reflection on power from this perspective (connecting urban fragmentation and sustainability through questioning equity and power distribution) has to be considered as key part of the research narrative and has become even more necessary after the fieldwork.

- Theoretically, the research explores the connections between powers and institutional set-ups, shaping socio-spatial fragmentation dynamics (3T; see 3.3.).

The case study areas' institutional complexity corresponds to dynamic power relations in search of equilibria on the territory. The analysis of these relations offers additional elements for thinking about fragmentation dynamics working on power polarities (understood as powers/actors grouped by common interests) and fluxes/flows (thought of as interactions of power between actors pertaining to different levels and scales, here mainly city and local settlement scales, or actors of the same level fighting for specific territories) in place in Mumbai. The research contribution will be an outline of the complex fabric of powers in action at the city scale, focusing on geographies of power in case study areas, clarifying power mechanisms in "not notified" areas and seeing power from illegal actors' perspectives. The analysis looks at authorities' and powers' distribution at the micro-scale, in a very vulnerable context, where powers can operate without restrictions. A first approach to the analysis will focus on the authorities wielding power in the territory. Besides the traditional questions related to the genesis and transmission⁴ of power, which are recurrent in the literature on the sector, understanding the nature of power offers elements for explaining institutional mechanisms and causes of socio-spatial fragmentation dynamics in case study areas.

The context of globalization, and the economic-political rewriting of power relations at the global level, have led to a new interest in power and the concept of authority⁵, also in the urban environment dimension⁶, where new assembling of authorities and rights is in place (Sassen, 2006). In the city of the South, this process involves also the informal fabric, which sees in the fight for rights (therefore a redefinition of powers) a question of renewed importance (see Harvey's last works). In Mumbai the fight for power in the city from an historical and political perspective has already been a subject of debate (for an introduction see Masselos, 2007). The discussion has not yet targeted the purely urban dimension of the conflict: this work outlines a perspective from the illegal city.

⁴ The genesis of power is embedded with the socio-spatial (and then institutional) formation of fragments: in land occupation analysis (5.2.1.), institutional frameworks have taken the shape designed by the authorities controlling the territory. In this sense, direct evidences on the genesis of power come from the Chikkalwadi, where the dynamicity of power fluxes/flows allows the formation of new authorities in the fragment/community (while in the other two case studies the situation is to some extent more consolidated). Regarding power transmission, case study areas do not offer significant feedbacks, mainly due to the recent formation of the communities. This fact does not mean that powers are stable in the fragments: in Chikkalwadi, power transmissions are frequent but happen through the search of a new power equilibrium, which can imply also the use of pure force or, more frequently, negotiations not ascribable to conventional processes of power transmission, established by formal laws.

⁵ In this historical-political moment, it is significant seeing how the preoccupation of Alexander Kojève on the emptiness regarding real analysis on what "authority" is, as it was expressed in 1942, still results a vivid and actual question (the posthumous text of the philosopher, *La Notion de l'Autorité*, was published in 2004 in France, where, due to political events, the reflection on power was the subject of journalistic and academic discussion).

⁶ The literature on the argument is extensive; among the texts there stands out the voice of Saskia Sassen with *Territory, Authority, Rights. From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (2006).

7.2. Power relations at the community scale: internal dynamics

In a first stage, the analysis of power inside the communities was focused on understanding power mechanisms: who has the power and why, and then, agreements and equilibria between actors in wielding power over slum dwellers. This phase of data collection and analysis enabled the researcher to explore strategies and tactics of powers in case study areas but opened also further questions on the nature of powers in the illegal fabric of the city. In fact, the analysis has shown that the rationality of powers did not depend only on strategies and tactics (founded on different objectives, levels of power-authority and methods through which power is exercised) but also on the types of power characterizing the different actors (becoming authorities, through slum dwellers' respect and obedience). Therefore the second stage of the fieldwork consisted in exploring the slum dwellers' reasons for respecting authorities, which shape community collective (and individual) rationalities in spatial/planning decision-making processes.

Case study areas offer different institutional set-ups where distinct actors (organizations but also individuals) represent the authority, arranged within specific power equilibriums. These authorities shape institutional community decision-making mechanisms in obtaining services and goods, obliging the other stakeholders to opt for pre-defined spatial/planning choices and to exhibit certain behaviours in the use and construction of space. In addition to this trend, relational geographies have shown a significant influence of external authorities in managing access to land, housing and services in case study areas: the sources of power seem to be distant and individuals are in relations with only the lowest level of the hierarchic system of powers⁷. At this stage, the attention will be on who has the power, why certain actors are in a position to exercise power, and how power is used by these actors⁸.

7.2.1. Power relations around access to land

In land access two actors hold power in case study areas: community institutions (the focus is mainly the community leader) and criminal organizations (in this case the organization has its local focus in the figure of the slum lord). In both cases, these two authorities operate in a parallel law system⁹ (the real owner of the land is the State, in

⁷ An increasing abandonment of power from the community institutions represents a constant in case study areas and helps in understanding planning strategies for these areas.

⁸ As Flyvbjerg reminds, these questions are recurrent objects of analysis for researchers reflecting on power (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

⁹ Kojève expresses the "legality" as "corpse", "mummy" of the authority. Kojève argues that the negation of the authority means "unrecognizing the authority" therefore, for this reason, destroying the authority in

different forms) (Box 7.2.). Therefore the authority of the formal system wields power intermittently through time over the territory and when this occurs, the authorities which usually control land access are deprived of their power. The actions of the State provoke a temporary return of “not notified” settlement in the system of rules of the formal city, in the condition already in place for the informal city (“notified” slums).

From the land access analysis, emerges a geography of powers in two dimensions:

- The first is a formal one, centred on the Municipality (State), represented by the traditional duality formal-informal, which appears mainly in Sai Leela¹⁰;
- The second is an informal-criminal one, based on the community leader-slum lord duality, which appears in all the case study areas, but is visible mainly in Rafi Nagar 2¹¹ and Chikkalwadi¹².

In both the dimensions, control of land access mechanisms is key to the perpetuation of balances of power and offers a first provisional panorama on the political dynamics in progress in case study areas.

In Rafi Nagar 2, balance of power in land access is the result of the fight for the control of territory between criminal organizations and, in a second step, the outcome of criminal order imposition on informal community institutions. Political vulnerability (in terms of capacity of association, of organization, in other words, a lack of institutional sustainability), which tends to generate social fragmentation in case study communities, has offered the conditions for the establishment of slum lords’ order, transforming slum lords’ institutional framework into authority, accepted (or even recognized) by community institutions. In Rafi Nagar 2, the roots of slum lords’ power lie in the permanent possibility of pure force demonstration facing a very un-homogenous social fabric.

In Sai Leela, community social fabric is very homogenous and slum dwellers’ identification with the community leader did not allow significant interferences by criminal institutions, despite the lack of democracy embedded in Sai Leela’s decision-making system (4.5.3). During periods when the Municipality decides to ignore the illegal condition of the settlement, there is no real threat to the informal community institutional set-up, which leaves great space for manoeuvre to the community leader.

itself. “It is possible negating, in a specific case, the existence of an authority but it is not possible opposing the “Law” to real, thus recognized, authority” (Kojève, 2011) [translation of the researcher].

¹⁰ In this settlement, due to the location in the urban fabric and the “pavement dweller” condition, which is felt insecure from the outset, the “negative” action of the Municipality, addressed to clear the settlement and recompose the use of the footpath, recurs very frequently through demolitions; when the community can be recomposed, stakeholders opt for informal solutions, where, in land access questions, the community leader represents the authority.

¹¹ In Rafi Nagar 2 land access mechanisms, slum lords play the main role and represent the real authority. Few deviations from the slum lords’ orders have been found during the fieldwork. Actions of the Municipality changing existing equilibriums in land access are scarce.

¹² In Chikkalwadi slum lords control land access mechanisms in part of the settlements (the West Bengal ghetto is completely controlled); in the parts of the settlement closed to Annabhau Sathe Nagar informal rules are at work.

His power is however not absolute: a partial consultative role is granted to the community council and extended families and individual households retain a certain weight in decisional processes. The origin of the community leader's authority is related to the trust that pavement dwellers have placed in him since the formation of the community: this trust offers to the community leader, with the institutional arrangements in place, the authority to control land access by pavement dwellers and newcomers (4.5.1), assuming a position of leadership, which extends to other spatial/planning domains.

In Chikkalwadi power relations in land access are more complex. Due to the site's dimensions and the articulation of the institutional overlaps, mapping institutional set-ups and power relations becomes contestable and probably useless for achieving the objectives of the research. In Chikkalwadi, both the types of power equilibrium seen in Rafi Nagar 2 and in Sai Leela, based on slum lords and community leaders/"big men" systems¹³, are at work. As in communities under slum lords' control, big men's power lies in part in the threat of exercising pure force against slum dwellers and, differently from the case of Rafi Nagar 2, in the capacity to control slum dwellers' demand, offering responses to basic needs and building a web of favours, debts and connivances. In comparison with community leaders, the figure of the big man has a more precarious authority (and recognition), requiring continuous reinforcing of power, even forcing the situation with threats and blackmail against slum dwellers. In this complex horizontal (in relation to other "big men") and vertical (in relation to slum dwellers) equilibrium, to be renewed according to any minimum changes in the local political context, the power system reveals weakness and instability.

Box 7.2. Law and right to the city: powers and citizenship in "not notified" settlements

The illegal condition of "not notified" settlements entails the non-recognition of basic human rights (illegality of recent informal settlements and contemporary absence of pro-poor housing policies) and negation of development perspectives (whether public upgrading interventions or private re-development projects). Who are the powers interested in maintaining this status? Does the legal framework favour certain authorities at the local level? Can the unrecognized condition of "not notified" slum dwellers be described as real citizenship? Do bottom-up practices oriented to obtaining rights take place in case study areas? The research focuses on two points in the connections between law, rights and citizenship, which emerged during the fieldwork:

- The Municipality has direct interests in keeping recently-formed urban fabric "not notified", due to the impossibility of responding to the housing demand of the low-income population. There are also indirect interests in the maintenance of this condition, which allow public authorities to avoid the obligations in services provision and settlement upgrading enjoyed by "notified" slums;
- The "not notified" condition favours the action of local powers, independently from their nature, without distinctions of political, ethnic, or religious belonging.

¹³ In Chikkalwadi a sort of big men proliferation is in place. These actors cover the role of community leaders without being formally recognized by the community. The authority of these big men is real just on limited portions of the settlement and the "territorial identification" of power (linking specific groups of slum dwellers and leaders) is verified just in the "West Bengal ghetto". In the other parts of the community, big men control territories which are contested.

Conceptualizing citizenship for “not notified” slum dwellers is a theoretical purpose rather than a real strategy for local political parties and civil society organizations: besides public declarations, actors’ attention, in theory dealing with the entire social fabric, is focused on individuals, leaving in second place collective forms of considering the community. This contradiction is linked to the lack of political substrata (in term of consciousness in policy-making, political value in community decisions and participatory social movements), which are almost absent from “not notified” settlements: the matter cropped up only discontinuously in the interviewing process, allowing only a partial analysis of the question. Slum dwellers rarely think of themselves as political entities (having rights or a specific status before the law): this happens when they are struggling in front of powers or in conflicts with neighbouring communities (or with different religious groups). The idea of political entities fighting for basic rights is present as consequent result (thus without systems of values driving political strategies) mainly when the community is at risk.

Examples of reaction to the status of political exclusion (and belief in a struggle for rights) come from Sai Leela. Here YUVA works to empower community organizations claiming rights through direct activities of capacity building and indirect actions driven by the PDO. Both the strategies see the community as the object of a process, rather than as a subject driving the process with political consciousness of empowerment (addressing equal and sustainable power distribution). KI24 says: “In several meetings with [public] authorities, the legal framework prevented any actual possibility of dialogue [with the Municipality] on the question of rights. There were several attempts to influence the panel of discussion at the Maharashtra State and at the Ministry of Housing [of the Central Government] levels but, for the moment, we haven’t achieved significant results. We have also sent an official letter to the United Nations presenting the question of pavement dwellers in the perspective of human rights, but the procedures are very long. (...) Without legal recognition, it’s difficult to convince pavement dwellers about the importance of the fight for rights”. This is possible only when the object of the struggle is immediate and material. Rethinking the legislation regarding the illegal city is a key condition of reaching a real citizenship for “not notified” slum dwellers, a precondition for any sustainable planning strategy.

Actors exercise power in different ways, according to the nature¹⁴ of the authority that they have over slum dwellers, depending to the power geographies linking the community with the rest of the city. Three types of authority in power relations, expressed in land access mechanisms, involve slum dwellers:

1) First, in territories under *dada* rules, slum dwellers know that they can settle in the community only by accepting the authority of the slum lords; the protection requires a payment and the acceptance of *dada* rules. Thus the access to land builds the relations between slum dwellers and slum lord. Slum dwellers in reality accept the loss

¹⁴ This “nature” is constituted by mental models and “processes of thought” structuring the authorities, thought as institutions. Objectives of power fluxes/flows’ action depend by these institutional conditions: besides the discourse related to powers’ psychological analysis (which are outside this work), case studies offer a vision of the materiality in powers’ aims in the “illegal” city. Preservation and increasing of power, growth of economic affairs, imposition of certain cultural beliefs and attitudes in spatial/planning terms are traduced in decisions that regard very “basic” subjects (i.e. conformation of the community access internal roads, location of basic water and sanitation services, population movements): the nature of power, in spatial/planning terms, is focused on the control of the territory. In very few cases, powers’ actions are addressed to improve slum dwellers living conditions or in a perspective of development (remaining outside the local authorities’, big men or slum lords, interests). These dynamics change in territories under (partial) “control” of community institutions.

of a significant part of their rights¹⁵ in exchange for the possibility of occupying land. Once settled in the community, they are obliged to respect *dada* rules to remain protected, thereby avoiding the risks¹⁶ of suffering violence and damage to property. Slum dwellers “consciously and voluntarily” do not react against slum lords’ orders¹⁷: they know that the reaction could lead to the use of violence against them¹⁸ (obliging the family to leave the community and its sources of livelihood or even to suffer psychological and physical harm). The authority is exercised directly by the slum lord during the first phases of land access (a part of the work of the mediators who put newcomer families in contact with the slum lord). After this initial step, when the payment is entirely completed and the question strictly related to land access is solved, the slum lord’s power is delegated to mediators and the slum lord’s henchmen in the settlement (or, in exceptional cases, to local gangs¹⁹).

2) Second, in areas controlled by informal community institutions, authority is built on a sort of respect-trust shown by slum dwellers to the community leader and the system of values (civil, religious, etc. see Box 7.3.), which the community leader represents. The leader represents the community due to the relations in place with the extended families/clans (and their cultural backgrounds) composing the community. In contexts where the community is homogeneous and has been led by the same system since its formation (as in the case of Sai Leela), the community leader becomes the symbol of the community and of its rules, customs and traditions: slum dwellers (and newcomers) recognize the authority and the rules established over time by community institutions. Here tradition²⁰ is understood as the whole of fixed social relations²¹, rules and

¹⁵ Rights of the “not notified” slum dwellers are not comparable with the common rights (including “rights to the city”) of formal citizens, not even with slum dwellers living in “notified” settlements (Box 4.2.). *De facto*, in several cases, slum dwellers renounce to democratic practices at the community level (in some cases conserve the possibility to vote in the formal system).

¹⁶ In this passage slum lord’s power becomes “authority”: slum dwellers “renounce” to any reaction against slum lord’s decisions (“rebellions” to the slum lord’s will are systematically contrasted, including the recourse to violence). Tolerating a reaction against the *dada* rules would mean the crisis of slum lords’ authority (as in the case of the Rafi Nagar 2, where the woman, who decided of avoiding the first payment of the “protection” to settle in the community, is facing pressures, threats; participant observation, 11/01/2011).

¹⁷ Using the reference of the Kojève’s discourse on authority, the nature of these power relations reminds the Hegelian scheme of the “Authority of the Lord over the Servant”: the slum lord (“Lord”) takes risks that the slum dwellers (“Servants”) do not accept to take.

¹⁸ All the members of the family can be put under pressure by the slum lords, without restrictions. The threats are directed mainly to the households but in-depth interviews reveal pressures also on women and children.

¹⁹ The first two cases are the “common regime” in Rafi Nagar 2 and in the Muslim part of Chikkalwadi. In the most vulnerable part of Rafi Nagar 2 and in the “West Bengal ghetto”, sporadic interventions of gangs in relation with slum lords are present (but in in-depth interviews, the action of gangs is mainly associated to the recent past with a slowdown of the phenomenon after 2004-2005).

²⁰ The authority of the leader reminds, in Kojève’s terms, the model of the “Authority of the Father over the Son” or the “Authority of the Tradition” and of who holds it. The idea of this kind of Authority is derived by the Scholastic reflection on power (Kojève, 2011). Here the authority is associated to the “cause”: old extended families represent the origin of the community (and the community leader is the representative of these founders’ group); a reaction against this authority would mean a reaction against the “community”. The respect of the “rules” (consisting mainly in the respect of the “roles” in the community institutional set-up, thus in the acceptance of the authority in the community leader, but also of the community council and

behaviours that extended families/clans have contracted and assigned to the community institutions. Power equilibrium includes that:

- Extended families/clans (and individuals) cannot actually call into question the leadership of the community leader (who has a great influence on families' members because of the story of the community and his role in providing connections to get not only services and goods but also jobs or NGOs' support);
- The community leader cannot operate against all the community families combined or outside the path of the traditions and the system of rules (and reciprocal respect of roles) that have been consolidated over time.

In land access, the power equilibrium forces the newcomer to keep close contact with families already settled in the community and accepted by the community leader²².

3) A third type exists, where the figure of the big man is central, as in Chikkalwadi. It is characterized by great dynamism. Big men constantly emerge in the community, leading groups of slum dwellers occupying specific portions of the settlement or united by familial or job relations. Their power is based on the capacity to offer a project/perspective²³ to slum dwellers: this perspective does not consist in real policies or strategies of development but mainly in the solution of basic-practical questions related to community infrastructure and housing (for example, pursuing bureaucratic processes to be connected with the water network), or the organization of a specific sector (like the construction sector in Chikkalwadi). When the big man has established his role in the community, his authority is extended into all fields of community life, including community expansion and access to land (even if his power in this field is usually weaker in comparison to the other two models found in the field). Here power relations between big man and slum dwellers (including newcomers), entail institutional

extended family systems of approval and/or support) implies the respect of the "traditions" that have been produced by the community since the formation of the settlement.

²¹ Here a significant role is still played by the caste system. The case of Sai Leela offers the possibility to question the literature (which insists on the limitation of the power of caste system in Indian megalopolis and the overturning of the consolidated hierarchies provoked by the "new" social dynamics imposed by globalization). The research was not built to focus social fragmentation tendencies but however, at least in the case of Sai Leela, a strict connection between specific caste systems (with its power equilibrium and authorities' hierarchies) and particular shapes of the habitat (or a pre-defined position on spatial assets and planning choices) does not appear. The caste seems to have a more inorganic "power" in determining spatial/planning questions: in Sai Leela several households belong to the same castes without having common (or pre-defined) spatial/planning behaviours but belonging to a common caste (a part facilitating dynamics of power and the imposition of specific kinds of authority) enables inhabitants to accept "culturally" certain spatial conditions that can be unacceptable for other castes, as for instance the key choice of "being a pavement dweller".

²² In case of familial relations with households already living in the community, this is just a formality.

²³ This authority recalls the "Authority of the Chief over the Band". The reference is to the Aristotelian theory of authority: the Chief holds power because of his capacity to foresee events and design future interventions and decisions (Kojève, 2011). This capacity distinguishes the Chief from the members of the band: band members think of the "immediate", "contingent" problems, blind to future evolutions. Persons that know their limits in "seeing" problems and reality leave the responsibility to a leader that "is able to see". The chief becomes the undisputed leader, guiding the band. This authority lasts until the "end of the project": during this time he plays the role of "dictator".

arrangements which are similar to the solutions adopted in settlements/fragments under the control of informal community institutions²⁴.

Box 7.3. Religious issues and powers: incompatibility between religious belonging and collective needs in the “illegal” city?

The Hindu/Muslim conflict has been explored in different perspectives at the Mumbai scale: internal conflicts (such as the riots of Mumbai in 1992-93), terrorist attacks, repressions (several episodes happened in recent years in Mumbai from both sides), extremist movements' propaganda becoming strategic policy for political parties: all are objects of analysis in sociological, political and juridical studies (in addition to the large journalistic literature on the theme). Literature regarding “religious conflicts” (between Hindu majority and Muslim minority) in spatial/planning perspective is limited. Few authors approach the question and mainly belong to socio-political disciplines; in urban studies, there is no “real” theory addressing questions about religious powers and the organization of space in Mumbai. What can research case studies offer in exploring these aspects of power?

In Hindu communities (Sai Leela and part of Chikkalwadi), religious powers, indissolubly merged with the social structures (including the hierarchies of the caste system), and consisting in a plurality of independent religious individuals, play as *sui generis* actors and influence believers' relation with space. Yet these actors do not represent real powers dealing with the spatial/planning questions of the communities, influencing directly neither community authorities (in Sai Leela) nor big men (in Chikkalwadi). Hindu religious entities can support specific big men for personal reasons or give their acceptance to certain authorities: in this case, big men or local authorities (including slum lords) use this support-acceptance to establish rooted authority (as happens in Chikkalwadi with big men affiliated to religious organizations). A sort of play between political and religious authorities (where the community authority gets a religious investiture, in exchange for political or economic favours) recurs in case study areas. There is no direct pressure of religious authorities on specific spatial/planning choices or decision-making processes.

In Muslim communities (Rafi Nagar 2 and part of Chikkalwadi, in particular the West Bengal ghetto) religious powers are very rooted in the territory. The imam is a moral authority (ethical recommendations of the religious authority carry great weight in the social fabric), significantly influencing believers' social behaviour with consequences in the spatial/planning dimension. Despite this relationship with the territory, in case study areas, a distinction persists between political assets and religious powers: in Chikkalwadi, where the imam is considered by the population as a sort of community leader (due to the different kinds of social services, which are provided directly through the imam or by the *mandal*, grouping the believers), there is no structured political spatial/planning strategy (connected to social role) expressed by religious powers: religious authority remains a sort of parallel entity. In Muslim case study communities, characterized by a power equilibrium based on criminal institutions, religious and *dada* rules remain separated (despite slum lords seeking an ethical formal approval). In spatial/planning themes, the influence of the imam or other religious authorities in community choices and decisions is indirect (pressure is only rarely exerted in the form of a religious/moral recommendation, mainly in the use of spaces and in actions oriented to the separation of genders; similar actions occur for the realization of religious equipments, such as Mosques or places for Muslim education).

In Rafi Nagar 2 and in Sai Leela, the location of religious assets matches the territories of the respective Muslim and Hindu communities. In Chikkalwadi, the two religious communities are neighbouring. The equilibrium between the two is just apparently stable and the distances

²⁴ The types of big men differ: the fieldwork in Chikkalwadi revealed the presence of institutional arrangements where the big men aim to become real community leaders and other cases where the big men's authority is similar to the slum lord system (this is the case of big men recently emerged as authorities in the community thanks to external interventions).

between the social groups are marked (4.6.3). For the Muslim part, the isolation from the rest of the fabric is evident (with the extreme case of the West Bengal ghetto, which seems to be impenetrable even to other Muslim people); apart from the connection with neighbouring Hindu areas, the Hindu population can count on an evident demographic majority with consequent political supremacy (due to demographic and political reasons), which supports also an image of themselves as land/city owners, seeing Muslim communities, frequently composed of recently migrants, as merely guests). The reactions to this tendency consist mainly in Muslim self-exclusion mechanisms, with the creation of alternative economic circuits and social networks. These can become extremist movements – tough not necessarily terrorist. In the case study areas this possibility was raised by some key informants, but during the fieldwork there was no public demonstration in this direction). In Chikkalwadi, the Muslim population has access to jobs and to a large range of goods and services exclusively inside the Muslim community. Spatial segregation consequences in case study settlements (such as the West Bengal ghetto) are natural results of these spontaneous processes emerging inside the socio-institutional fabric: these phenomena are not planned or ordered by the authorities controlling fragments but appear at the community level as institutional coping strategies.

7.2.2. Power relations around housing and services

Unlike in the land sector, in the housing and services sectors powers do not show their nature and hierarchy: the authorities controlling the territory frequently delegate power in exchange for money, favours or a declared commitment to establish profitable political agreements between actors. Thus authorities maintain strict control over land access but leave housing and services provision to other agents. As regards housing (and construction), the control of the processes is usually left to community institutions or even to slum dwellers' individual initiative. In Rafi Nagar 2 and in the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi, areas under *dada* rules, the access to housing is in the hands of slum dwellers who can ask for the help of informal private "companies"²⁵ to build the construction or can pay for the shelter at the same time as the lot of land²⁶. In areas where the control is under big men, such as Chikkalwadi, the space of action for the slum dwellers is even more extended, apart from the cases where the big man is directly involved in housing activities. Generally slum dwellers do not suffer pressures or impositions on individual dwelling conditions (in terms of construction choices for the shelter, materials to be used or organizational framework of the work). In settlements such as Sai Leela, where the authority of informal community institutions is consolidated, the housing processes are tied to the set of rules at work in the community, which can be thought of as tradition: these customs include the sequence of the shelters on the footpath (thus the sequence of the family occupying the space) and the distances to be respected from public infrastructural elements (firstly the main street where the footpath is located). The system of rules is deeply rooted in the

²⁵ These companies consist in groups of slum dwellers frequently grouped by community leaders or members of community councils.

²⁶ This last option is common in areas where slum lords' control is strict, as in the most vulnerable parts of Rafi Nagar 2 and in the "West Bengal ghetto".

dynamics of the community, such that there is no need to use power to impose solutions: the agreement is a given fact²⁷.

In services provision, apart from those areas where criminal institutions constitute the authority, power mechanisms are fluid and slum dwellers' decisions are influenced by the context more than by authorities forcing institutional solutions on them. In areas controlled by criminal organizations, services (in particular electricity) are provided through payments to slum lords or to mediators. This solution exists also in "not notified" areas controlled by big men: they are frequently service providers (taking a leading role in the community through services provision such as, in Chikkalwadi, the extension of water networks to family groups). In such cases service provision is a tool to establish power. This role of service provision in power dynamics is only transitory. Once authority has been consolidated, services provision itself becomes a superficial appendix and the focus is on the control of slum dwellers' actions (in spatial terms, control of land access and housing). In areas controlled by community institutions, services provision is a private activity like any other; in the case of Sai Leela, providers from outside the community constitute an external power, imposing conditions²⁸ on pavement dwellers. Community authorities intervene when the realization of infrastructure for services provision can drastically change the settlement: in this case, interventions are seen as a "fact of identity" and the involvement of community members²⁹ is taken for granted.

Addressing different sectors (i.e. land, housing, services) in the relations between community and territory offered the possibility of exploring the deep nature of authority and the power relations between authorities and slum dwellers; this in turn allowed reflection on the mechanisms through which powers shape institutional set-ups that lead to the formation of fragments. The exercise of simplification led in the research is used to understand the character of the authorities and power relations in spatial/planning issues in case study areas (underpinning fragmentation processes), without pretending a complete "control" of the relations power-society. In fact observations coming from the field constantly call to mind the fluidity of institutional set-ups and powers. The basic figures of power³⁰ that emerged in the analysis exercise, in

²⁷ This role of community "tradition" is not detectable in power dynamics characterizing the other two types of power relations (centred on the figure of slum lord or "big man"): in those cases, the action is associated to the use of threat and violence. The possibility of reactions against slum lords or big men is always present.

²⁸ However conditions imposed by external providers are related to services price and functioning: participant observations have not revealed changes in community institutional set-ups due to external actors working in services provision.

²⁹ This happens also in cases in which the infrastructure is outside the territory of the community and represents an indirect "threat" for the settlement (as in the case of the "monorail project" for Sai Leela pavement dweller community).

³⁰ "Authority of the Lord", for criminal institutions based on slum lords; "Authority of the Tradition/Father" for the informal institutions led by community leaders; "Authority of the Chief" for the community organized through "big men" systems. Following the interpretation of Kojève, the fourth and last typology of authority,

their action on the community, an authority that is more complex and consists in a fusion between different kinds of authorities, a combination of powers where a predominance of one type over the others is detectable between the lines. In addition to this polymorphic condition, powers working at the micro scale are connected with other levels of power, which can subvert power relations in action at the local scale (as the Municipality does when it decides to act on the illegal city).

7.3. Power relations at the community scale: external dynamics

In a context marked by fragmentation, where socio-spatial (and institutional) elements seem to break up networks and isolate territories, the researcher was induced to think at the community scale, looking deeply inside the local context, considering as a first step secondary, or sometimes even purely hypothetical, links with powers working at higher levels. But data collection and analysis on authorities at the local scale revealed webs of relations between local criminal and, less obviously, informal leaders and urban power at the city scale. “Not notified” settlements are part of power fluxes/flows and are connected with external powers in specific kinds of hierarchies³¹. Interviews of community leaders in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi offered key information to start exploring this aspect of power.

“Not notified” settlements are deeply inserted into the urban fabric of the city, and socio-spatial connections based on different institutional set-ups, directly involve the sphere of power. The apparent political isolation and marginality (or even negation) of “not notified” areas in public policies³² masks their importance³³ (and in some cases centrality) for specific power flows, which find a key resource inside the illegal city. Following an initial period of settling, once community institutions take shape, the fragment is involved in the dynamics of the city: community institutions tend to establish links and agreements with other more consolidated institutions, aiming to be included in favourable socio-economic and power circuits.

These dynamics are visible “from the bottom” taking into consideration power relations in place with intermediate institutions. Ramifications going from fragments to higher

the “Authority of the Judge”, coming from the platonic reflection on power, will be explored in the next sections for its function of reference in analysing community driven planning policies in “not notified” areas.

³¹ The complexity of power hierarchies and relations has an inhomogeneous and “fragmented” character: introducing the current power context in the city, Masselos speaks about the “fractured discourses of the post-modern Bombay” (Masselos, 2007).

³² The main authority working at the city scale remains the Municipality. Excluding specific *una tantum* connections with communities, Municipality plays as a *deus ex machina* power, subverting hierarchies and relations emerging between actors/institutions that work in an “illegal” fabric.

³³ This is the case of several economic polarities (constituted by single private companies or groups of investors) that found in the “illegal” city large and growing markets (all the new informal city is *de facto* “not notified”). These markets can be exploited in direct or indirect way, depending from the typology of business (for example the provision of water does not need to be “in black”; on the contrary electricity is provided indirectly, involving formal areas and legal costumers).

levels are detectable in mechanisms of power involving “not notified” communities with political parties. These actors increasingly become interested in recent slum areas, which are new vote banks and which shift the local political equilibrium. This interest is converted into approaches between local representatives of political parties and authorities governing the settlement (community informal institutions or criminal institutions, without any ethical limitation in terms of counterparts or in designing the strategy to get the agreement).

According to information from community leaders and local members of political parties, the objectives of negotiation between authorities in the community and political parties seeking material advantages are not related to ideals³⁴ or conscious political development: the dialogue between institutions is a cynical exchange of interests between counterparts. Communities’ felt needs and priorities in spatial/planning questions become accessories to reaching counterparts’ objectives (8.3.). Political parties are interested in getting votes and are present only in order to create a base in the community through contracting slum dwellers or big men/slum lords as political party local representatives; and they invest resources in small projects in the territory only as an integral part of an electoral campaign³⁵. Community authorities have interests in the negotiation, which, arguable improvement of slum dwellers’ living conditions³⁶ aside, help authorities to consolidate their power in the community. According to KI16, there is a clear interest in “passing through” a first electoral process³⁷ (independently of the result in spatial/planning terms) just to take advantage from the indirect recognition of the community that the process entails. These kinds of operation transform political parties into authorities³⁸ driving power flows at the local level.

With the conclusion of the negotiation, slum dwellers (and possible “contrasting” and alternative powers) know that established authorities have “conquered” links with political parties (useful to consolidate the settlement). Part of the population, receiving

³⁴ There is no ideology in the discourse of political parties on the illegal city but also the ideas for community development are very poor: the ideological charge, which still animates political life at the national, state and city level, in these areas seems to fall before the interest of political parties in the electoral game (getting votes). The “crisis” and the “defeat” of urban politics, which appears in the political science literature in the North and in the South of the World, is also evident in “not notified” slum areas.

³⁵ Both the strategies are relevant to Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi. Sai Leela is not touched directly by the interests of political parties and, due to its status, has not been affected by infrastructural interventions financed with political parties resources.

³⁶ Several projects funded with economic resources of political parties have very limited impact on the territory: the rationality of power proves to be “another” rationality. One example is the plastic water tanks provided by political parties in Rafi Nagar 2. These interventions have not solved at all the problems in water resources for the community. They have pushed slum dwellers to use familiar stores and rely on water tanking, because of the inconstant and scarce provision of water.

³⁷ To facilitate the access of the population to the electoral process, political parties “materially” help slum dwellers in writing and submitting applications to the Municipality for a voting card.

³⁸ Referring to the Kojève’s exercise, political parties in “not notified” areas represent a “composite” authority, based mainly around the figures of the “Authority of the Tradition” and “Authority of the Chief over the Band”, because of their connections with ideological backgrounds and the need (and capacity) to be project promoters for communities.

one-off interventions for free, accepts political parties' help and gives in exchange votes (even without particular pressure from the authority), devaluing the practice of voting³⁹. Slum dwellers and community authorities understand the importance of being included in the political system (such as receiving a voting card; taking part "as a community" in the elections), but are not confident about the policies developed by the State (the Municipality) and political parties:

- At the collective level, they are conscious of the power that comes with political inclusion, but reject the role of politics in their life and in the development of the territory;
- At the individual (ideal and ethical) level, interviewed slum dwellers recognise politics in terms of an interest in public affairs and in the decisional processes that change the territory and their lives at the scale of the settlement; but their perception of politics goes no further than this.

Despite these limitations, in Sai Leela the first steps in assuming consciousness in the (real) dimension of politics have been completed.

Box 7.4. Twilight of the idols: ideological spoils and rationality of action in political parties' practices in case study areas

The lack of a political vision of the city and a consequent lack of consistent urban policies at the strategic/technical level is a common denominator in Mumbai's recent history. This holds true, independently of the political actor under consideration or of ideological background, which ranges from extreme left wing Maoist formations to right wing Hindu extremist entities, such as the BJP and Shiv Sena. This character, which tends to separate the political project of the parties (and social movements) for the city from the actual actions in the fabric, can be detected in both the formal and the informal city and is even more evident in "not notified" areas, where the lack of the settlement recognition is a political obstacle before the law (and before State organizations) and a strategic obstacle to parties' action. This action, oriented to establish certain power flows and to control "possible" electoral basins, works in a context where the establishment of an authority is determinant in spatial/planning decision-making processes, because of the frailty of public planning tools. Political powers occupy recent urban fabrics, using client-patron strategies.

Re-interpreting the tradition of "negative thought" (taking mainly Nietzsche as a starting point), some analysts and researchers in urban studies, focusing on urban dynamics and decision-making processes at the city scale, have argued how supposedly rational, coherent political practices (responding to certain systems of values) have given way to more prosaic (and in some cases nihilist) applications of utilitarian logic in the actions in territories: the logic of sectoral interest becomes the motor of political action, even when obviously in contradiction to their ideological roots. For the research, the methodological problem consisted in using interviews and participant observation to explore a theme that is a black box, in which political parties' formal declarations and practices evidently differ from the informal negotiations occurring under the desk and from the real rationality in achieving political objectives. To approach political parties' action in case study areas, after reviewing the scarce literature on the topic (at the scale of Mumbai a non-academic but deep starting point is provided by Mehta, 2004), the researcher involved the research support group and a

³⁹ This feeling, detectable in the in-depth interviews and participant observations (when community members were critical of interventions funded by political parties), goes together with socio-economic vulnerability and isolation of the community. In fact distrust in politics is much more evident in the vulnerable parts of Rafi Nagar 2 and in the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi than in Sai Leela or in other areas of Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi.

small number of slum dwellers involved in previous participant observations, focusing on the situation of Rafi Nagar 2 and the approach of extremist Hindu parties in this Muslim community.

The “natural” expectation was to find exacerbated contrasts between these parties and Rafi Nagar 2 organizations, thinking of these actors as possible agents of exclusion (and consequent fragmentation) in the socio-spatial fabric. The declared policies of these parties consist in a (not hidden) penalization of the Muslim population (brought to the limits of racist expressions and actions), responding to the insecurity hypothetically generated by the Muslim population for the Hindu community. Muslim communities are thought of here as embedded in, involved in or even supporting terrorist actions in the city, causing urban degradation and underdevelopment. The rationality of intermediate institutions in “not notified” areas is influenced by this cultural context. During the fieldwork, a member of the research support group signalled the presence of right-wing extremist propaganda activities in Rafi Nagar 2, and in participant observations several slum dwellers admitted to being in contact with these parties (and even to voting for them). The reasons are complex: the distrust of formal politics has created a lack of interest in the political debate, even at the scale of the city. “Whatever they say is false”, “Here political ideas do not matter, here the facts are important” are recurrent justifications in slum dwellers’ discourse; in this context, right-wing extremist Hindu parties seems to seduce part of the Muslim population with a feeling of direct contact with power. In a territory where the use (and the manifestation) of pure force is the common way to exercise authority, the possibility of being in contact with or being part of power fluxes/flows connected with the “true” city (i.e. the formal, Hindu one) has appeal. Several other factors contribute to consolidating these kinds of relation: the common language of the leaders, whether a Muslim slum lord or a Hindu extremist politician representing the party in the area. This language is based on the open exhibition of power, even in its more vulgar and grotesque forms, far removed from a controlled tone, which usually characterizes traditional relations inside the communities with respect to both language and behaviour; the custom of exchanging favours; the common purchase of votes, where a certain number of votes can guarantee services or goods for the community.

In spatial/planning terms, the distrust of political sense in planning (which for slum dwellers consists in collective perspectives on development at the community level; individual perspectives of development remain confined in the uncertainty), accompanied by the status of “not notification” (thus, using Saskia Sassen’s conceptual references, citizenship neither authorized nor legitimized by the Municipality), lead to planning practices different from conventional Western approaches and depending completely on negotiation, compromises or impositions by powers. The rationality of the spatial/planning choices consists in responding to powers’ needs, divesting community (citizenship) rights, in a process allowing empowerment of authorities at the local scale, “despite” slum dwellers. “Planning” here is used by political parties as a tool for consensus (8.3.).

In the interaction with power “fluxes/flows” (connecting different authorities at distinct scales in networks that overlap levels of power in the same territory), community institutions appear as “driven” subjects. This nature, apparent in their relations with political parties, appears also in power relations involving community institutions with intermediate institutions, such as local and international NGOs. Formally, and in some cases efficiently, NGOs try to empower community institutions, and several projects entail a pro-active community role in all phases of implementation and management of activities). Nevertheless, the cultural context that NGOs’ strategies contribute to creating in case study areas leads in the opposite direction. The “capabilities framework” to which is oriented NGOs’ action, and the institutional level in which these actions are thought up is scarcely compatible with the tools in the hands of community

institutions. “Not notified” settlements seem to need dedicated approaches to rethinking bottom-up interventions, allowing people true participation and enabling community institutions to drive processes, including the spatial/planning dimension.

The research does not aim to evaluate NGOs’ strategies and action in “not notified” areas. Here the interest is instead in exploring NGOs as an institutional subject: an actor (with authority) influencing community institutions⁴⁰. This influence is rooted in their relation with the communities, a deep connection with the social fabric, involving community leaders and councils or CBO members, who frequently work with or are contracted by NGOs, a condition that naturally tends to influence NGO counterparts⁴¹. This happens also in areas, such as Rafi Nagar 2, where slum lords⁴² control the territory. NGOs’ actions can question the slum lord system in the measure that this action carries a political awareness for slum dwellers and community institutions. For this reason NGOs have not succeeded in working in the West Bengal ghetto, and fear of repression deters slum dwellers from collaborating with NGOs). However a strong reaction by the powers against NGOs can lead to several negative consequences. The political weight of certain NGOs in orienting decisions at different levels is consistent, and the material support which they provide to vulnerable people is fundamental, such that it is also convenient for criminal institutions to maintain an equilibrium with them.

In the case of Rafi Nagar 2, Apnalaya “facilitated” the creation of a CBO grouping rag pickers of the area (KKS). The CBO changed the balance of power⁴³ within the community institutions, characterized by a dualism between two community committees (*mandal* or other institutions with comparable objectives) dealing with socio-spatial questions. From a strategic and political point of view, the NGO has obtained a base in Rafi Nagar 2 and, apart from the formal declaration of autonomy, the dependence of KKS on the NGO⁴⁴ is clear. Apnalaya created the committee, being decisive in structuring and in formalizing the organization with capacity building activities, and then influencing the choices made by the council of KKS. The NGO’s activities have improved community living conditions, working in a context of great

⁴⁰ This influence can be articulated in several way: for instance, determining objectives and fixing planning actions, which community informal institutions are “obliged” to include in the agenda; defining interventions in socio-economic sector, which become factors of development for the population, orienting future choices; offering social services, which become an “exchange” value in proposing further projects to donors.

⁴¹ NGOs play a key role at this level influencing community institutions, creating new forms of organizations or even reshaping the authority that community institutions have on the territory.

⁴² There is no interest by the slum lords in impeding NGOs activities in “their” territory. In Rafi Nagar 2, a certain “respect” of influence areas is in place: Apnalaya does not touch directly fields where slum lords took their power (which are in many cases “territorial” issues) and slum lords do not act against social and health activities implemented by the NGO.

⁴³ Without forgetting that all the community “informal” institutions have to deal with the “real” authority in the community (criminal institutions).

⁴⁴ This dependence was evident also during the interviews: NGO local officers decide the place (the local NGO office) and were present during the interviews. Interviewees’ behaviours reveal the influence of NGO officers, playing as “mediators” between the researcher and the interviewees in the first approach of the interview.

sensitivity and even in many respects of danger; yet at the same time the NGO has abandoned its intermediate role of facilitating links with formal world and of empowering community institutional frameworks, becoming an actor influencing community decision-making processes, acting in a similar way to other authorities⁴⁵. This influence consists in conditioning decisions in terms of CBO⁴⁶ personnel selection and in forcing certain strategic directions (socio-spatially or politically - according to the NGO's political orientation). This status does not mean that the CBO in itself is void of political content or that the CBO is a pure emanation of the NGO, but its political and institutional autonomy is nevertheless weak. This condition enables the NGO to gain a target population, to produce projects and to maintain a favourable institutional context, but rethinking bottom-up dynamics and real inclusion policies emerge as necessities yet to be attained in case study areas.

In the case of Sai Leela, YUVA acts in an ambivalent way, being an intermediate institution linking community informal institutions with the Municipality and, at the same time, directly shaping community strategies. The NGO's influence is built on two cornerstones: its weight in decisions that the Sai Leela community leader takes; and its influence on the PDO. In the former case, the influence is based on the different scales of action of the two counterparts: the community leader knows that he cannot unaided conduct negotiations with the Municipality demanding community rights to the city, and the NGO's legal support (including capacity building activities, which contribute to establishing and formalizing the authority) is a resource that he cannot do without. In the latter case, the NGO offers to Mumbai pavement dweller communities a political panel (the PDO), which can work at a higher level, giving a political perspective to pavement dwellers' declarations. But the PDO is parallel to YUVA and follows the direction that the latter imposes, demonstrating the dependency in the power equilibrium between community informal institutions and NGOs).

The rationality of these power fluxes/flows draws a complex scenario. In case study "not notified" areas, NGOs' strategies address community empowerment, with the implementation of bottom-up practices (thinking of slum dwellers as the centre of policies and projects), but the practice of empowerment projects⁴⁷ has as a paradoxical consequence the centralization of the NGO's role, "despite" community institutions. NGOs' actions risk consolidating equilibriums of power already in place, such that slum dwellers are little by little deprived of their role in decision-making. Lack of

⁴⁵ Following the Kojève's exercise NGOs are a composite authority, where the predominant type consists in the "Authority of the Chief over the Band" due to their mandate and capacity in building and disseminating planning bases for stakeholders (slum dwellers and community informal institutions).

⁴⁶ The CBO director (president) is a "woman of the NGO" and the respect for (and dependence on) the NGO's staff is a conditioning factor.

⁴⁷ The cases of both KKS and PDO belong to a kind of participatory strategies: KKS is central due to the socio-economic importance of the dumping ground for a great number of slum dwellers living in the Shivaji Nagar area; the constitution of the PDO seems to have significant potentialities for slum dwellers' political participation.

participation⁴⁸ (Box 6.5.) is visible also in this institutional area: “not notified” slum dwellers’ power is minimal and different authorities, including intermediate institutions, have an interest in maintaining this condition.

Other external authorities emerge as influences in case study areas, but their action cannot be seen directly in the territory. Their decisions influence the choices of the authority at the fragment level, but several community institutions and slum dwellers are completely excluded by these upper decisional levels⁴⁹. Some elements of these power fluxes/flows working at different levels come from the criminal institutions system in Rafi Nagar 2. In this case, the authority (slum lords) is connected with other levels of criminal institutions that have direct influences on decision-making. Slum lords’ level of autonomy is questionable: slum lords have a great margin of manoeuvre in key socio-spatial processes like land access, sharing part of profits gained from the management of the territory⁵⁰ with higher levels of criminal institutions. In other sectors, such as drug trafficking or recycling, local slum lords in Rafi Nagar 2 seem to have marginal roles⁵¹. Economic actors⁵² (e.g., construction companies working on slum area redevelopment) work as external authorities in a similar way. The gap between levels is so great that economic powers’ strategies are almost not readable at the community level. In this sense Mumbai’s great economic powers exhibit a behaviour comparable to that of public authorities at the Municipality and State levels, operating “beyond” communities.

7.4. Power at the individual scale: rationalities in action

Besides the discourse on the community, a key dimension in understanding power in its spatial/planning implications is the individual. The work on power mechanisms at the community and city scales did not yield evidence on power consequences for individuals in processes of thought and word. Looking at power relations at the

⁴⁸ To some extent, the character of participatory processes implemented by NGOs is under discussion. The evaluation of participatory processes and community empowerment is not a direct object of this work but doubts about the possibility of power redistribution through current participatory processes remain strong after the fieldwork.

⁴⁹ At a initial stage, for the researcher, there is an impossibility in detecting clearly actors and policies, which appear when the authorities at the community level are at work. Only at this stage these organizations show their difference from intermediate institutions like NGOs and political parties.

⁵⁰ This information comes from the participant observation (and in particular the discussion with a mediator during the field visit of 10-01-2011). Finding reliable sources to verify internal processes for criminal institutions is complex (but indirect information coming from the interviews with the police goes in this direction).

⁵¹ The distinction of roles has not to be considered in a strict way; in case study settlements, criminal institutions can include people theoretically belonging to other sectors: an example comes from Rafi Nagar 2, where local politicians are under inquiry because of their connections with the criminal business related to the recycling.

⁵² Rafi Nagar 2 is just in part interested by this process. The real activity reshaping the territory concerns the dumping ground with negotiations that involve the Municipality and private companies (the operation would involve a large part of the Shivaji Nagar area, on the northern side, entailing several communities, including Rafi Nagar 1 and 2). In Chikkalwadi, economic powers indirectly affect the community (with the re-development project proposal in Annabhau Sathe Nagar 2, see 4.6.2.) or are a direct threat in relation to the re-using of the industrial spaces at the border of the settlement.

community scale, slum dwellers' rationality seemed incoherent and sometimes inexplicable, but focusing the other way round on individuals (through the analysis of their stories and daily relations with space), decisions and equilibria in place appeared rational, and the respect for authorities (and for actors apparently exercising power with negative consequences for slum dwellers) could be explained as having "necessary" reasons. Women's sensitiveness to these processes offered the researcher a crucial source of information.

In power relations in place (outlined by internal-external fluxes/flows), community and individuals have frequently been thought of by authorities as passive spectators, victims of power processes or objects of consensus. At higher level (city scale), urban powers deprived of relevance the role communities and individuals in spatial/planning decision-making processes. At the lower level (slum areas), the lack of bottom-up power and participatory dynamics becomes visible in the impoverishment of the role of community informal institutions, weakening participatory processes and leaving to slum dwellers few possibilities of independent action. This context is culturally influenced by the tradition and the complex articulation of hierarchies of Indian society (here mainly Hindu)⁵³. Power equilibria in place in the illegal city work on unequal bases: a large part of not notified slum dwellers have renounced (or have been forced to renounce) active participation in civil life, their rights to the city, and eventually their share in power. Authorities, exercising power at the community level, are interested in keeping the "not notified" population in a state of exclusion, separated from the rest of the city (reinforcing urban fabric fragmentation). Natural dynamics socio-spatially fragmenting the fabric (in certain theories, implicitly taken as assumptions), embedded in a complex system where rules of the market and economic polarities work with socio-cultural and historic-ethnic contrapositions, are in reality used by powers (or even re-designed by authorities) to achieve a fragmented status, which is seen as an objective⁵⁴.

In "not notified" areas, urban fragmentation dynamics start with a absence of formal/public rules (not only at urban normative level): authorities define rules on an open "framework" where the generation of other rules (and the changing of the existing ones) is always possible without any need to consult the community. Is this situation rational from the perspective of public actors/authorities? Which interests does the Municipality pursue in leaving the most vulnerable part of the population without rights

⁵³ As appears in the analyses of the socio-cultural context in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi, the Muslim communities (low classes and vulnerable social group) are characterized by "political behaviours" which are the result of policies addressing exclusion. Powers at different levels has brought Muslim communities in a condition of distrust in relation to the institutions of the State (in particular the Municipality). This condition is accompanied by a lack of specific panels of discussion considering the Muslim "question".

⁵⁴ The interests in maintaining or promoting a fragmented city are multiple for the actors working in "not notified" slums: criminal institutions circuits at the city scale, through the fragmentation of the fabric, can control the excluded fragments, being facilitated in establishing their rules without facing "organized" upper level institutions or communities' political networks; "big men" can find small portions of territory with space for their own personal initiatives; political parties can exploit votes banks with almost insignificant investments, ignoring the rules in place in the "formal" city.

to the city? To what extent do case studies offer spaces to resistance/rebellion against the “system” of power and attempts to achieve a more equitable and sustainable condition? Do conditions characterized by a leading role of slum dwellers and their community informal institutions in planning processes present favourable conditions for inclusion in the city?

The “not notified” condition of extended slum areas does not present significant advantages to public actors. The exclusion of recent settlements (relatively new city informal fabric) relieves the Municipality of responsibility to providing basic services, but, even without considering ethical principles and socio-economic equity, the rationality of legal tools applied against the illegal city are questionable, at the very least’. “Not notified” settlements are an indispensable resource for the city (the “old” arguments discussing the hypothetical marginality of informal areas in the city of the South [as in *The Myth of Marginality* by Pearlman, 1976] perfectly fit Mumbai): “not notified” settlements offer work forces to sustain the formal city, provide markets with indirect economic advantages for public institutions, and take part in political equilibria governing the city. Despite their socio-cultural and institutional diversity⁵⁵, “not notified” settlements naturally tend to seek inclusion in the city; exclusion dynamics and actions oriented to consolidate territorial divisions are driven by powers and authorities at upper levels.

In this unbalanced power context, specific institutional set-ups informally developed inside a community/fragment, and promoted by civil society and/or intermediate institutions, contain seeds of and opportunities for bottom-up policy and alternatives to systems of power in advantaged positions⁵⁶. The search for authorities seeking social justice and equity is already visible in some manifestations characterizing case study communities (in Sai Leela) and in the conflicts emerging inside the communities/fragments (mainly in Rafi Nagar 2) or between fragments (Rafi Nagar 2 vs Rafi Nagar 1 or Chikkalwadi vs Annabhau Sathe Nagar 1 and 2, at the other scale also Sai Leela vs Mint Colony). These tendencies oblige one to think about redesigning power distribution and establishing new political forms which centre on individual slum dwellers and community.

⁵⁵ “Diversity” has not to be thought as synonymous of fragmentation and does not imply incommunicability between territories with different socio-cultural patterns.

⁵⁶ In those cases, the research finds forms of the fourth typology of authority considered in Kojève’s analysis: the “Authority of the Judge”, the platonic idea of authority. The concept is based on the association with the “Authority to Justice” (or Equity). For Plato, all the other authorities are illegitimated, thus momentary, ephemeral, accidental, pseudo-authorities that can be conserved only through the “terror”, thus, for their nature, precarious. For the research objectives, the theory is interesting for one of its characteristics, the length. In fact, in the platonic perspective, the “real” Authority is stable, durable (Kojève, 2011), thus only an authority based on justice and equity can be sustainable. Of course, the platonic idea of Authority has several limitations, implying a totalitarian application of the authority (and the negation of other typologies of authorities). As Kojève affirms, the Authority of the Judge is a *sui generis* authority because it can balance (or destroy) other authorities.

At the scale of the community, the institutional set-up of Sai Leela, based on community informal institutions, contains institutional solutions that could lead to a deeply community-driven power system. Despite the determinant role of the community leader, who retains authority over the territory, the weakness of the community council and the problems in managing the influence of intermediate institutions, the community presents homogeneous socio-economic conditions and an institutional set-up open to participation and equity in internal power distribution. Sai Leela's institutional set-up is strongly legitimized by pavement dwellers, and the people's common provenance and the compact dimensions of the community facilitate internal social cohesion and conflict resolution. This context seems favourable to developing a more participatory decision-making⁵⁷ on spatial/planning themes, increasing households' responsibility and giving new vigour to the community council: these tendencies are already emerging as needs among community members⁵⁸. Evidently a different distribution of power inside the community, with an empowerment of the pavement dwellers/individuals, implies a redefinition of community council roles and a reduction of the authority of the community leader: neither of these would be easy and would require the support of external facilitators⁵⁹, including formal public actors⁶⁰. The process would have clear political and ethical consequences. Case study communities, through experiences that may be characterized as weak or immature, offer provisional elements in exploring alternatives to the current power scenario.

At a higher scale, in rethinking power distribution (enlarging the base of the decision-making mechanisms related to spatial/planning questions), experiences like the PDO point the way to achieving inclusion and rights to the city. Despite the mentioned limitations (and unsolved questions in network construction and relations with the

⁵⁷ The action of YUVA is only in part addressed to develop this kind of practice (in particular activities focusing on capacity building) but a sort of maintenance of "given" power equilibria is conducting the strategies of the NGO. Also in this case, as frequently happens in Mumbai, opposite tendencies seem to coincide in a contradiction: the NGO is trying to empower auto-governmental dynamics in the community but it is also part of a power system influencing community institutions.

⁵⁸ These "needs" have never been expressed through "public" declarations (in in-depth interviews or participant observations) or (democratic) forms of "opposition" in the community informal system (which could be plausible in community councils with real political functions) but remain readable between the lines of the interviews and visible in pavement dwellers' behaviours, when the questions go on community organization themes.

⁵⁹ This operation opens to several questions: can a "political" interference in relation to community self-development be considered "ethical"? Which right can the civil society presume to have in facilitating an external (thus in part "imposed") institutional process on the community? Case study NGOs offer a first feedback on these questions.

⁶⁰ In Mumbai, the MCGM (and in second plane the SRA) should drive these processes. Despite the refusal in recognizing "not notified" settlements, can the MCGM (or another public institution) be the agent taking the responsibility in constructing a new institutional scenario, "imposing"/provoking certain decisions to the communities? Or can the MCGM be only the "referee" for the processes in action at the "fragment" level, seeking spatial/planning policies of inclusion (operating just in a second stage a redesign of power distribution)? Political conditions force to propend for negative answers but the situation for "not notified" areas is in evolution (see 8.2.1 and 8.5.).

NGO), panels like the PDO represent opportunities⁶¹ to be developed and imply a re-thinking of current power distribution and relations, offering an alternative institutional set-up to the systems in place. The PDO brings together not notified pavement dweller communities, and, in the context of the illegal city, is an innovative tool for claiming rights and elaborating policies (4.5.3). Network limitations are in part recognized also by the actors involved in the activities, but the possibility of developing a political “place” for bringing together communities’ issues and starting real negotiations with formal counterparts⁶² would be hard to achieve for populations until now excluded from the city. The possibility of reflecting together, in the PDO’s strategy at “global⁶³” level, on relevant problems (identifying development strategies and key responses to enable communities to cope) becomes an opportunity to imagine new power equilibria. These hypotheses, consisting only of verbal declarations, sporadically cited in newspapers or in NGOs’ reports, but strongly present within community institutions, put individuals and their community based institutions at the centre of the project.

For slum dwellers, at the individual scale, relations with power follow dynamics⁶⁴ already explored in other dimensions: sources of power are remote, even those operating at community scale (with the exception of communities like Sai Leela, controlled by community institutions or in some areas under big men). On the contrary, the outcomes of power processes, and the end points of power fluxes/flows are perceived as closed, in all their force. In case study settlements, individuals’ reactions can be various: the tacit recognition of fragment authorities is a common habit⁶⁵, but elements of rebellion and conflict emerge wherever power equilibria are weak.

In decision-making about spatial/planning issues at the scale of the community, the influence of the authority on slum dwellers is so strong as to call into question in some junctures the latter’s capacity to take autonomous decisions: community leaders, big men, or slum lords’ mediators exercise pressures on slum dwellers⁶⁶. Public differences

⁶¹ The example is not isolated and other similar networks have involved Mumbai’s slum areas: in some cases, as for instance in the experience of the National Slum Dwellers Federation, these networks generate real social movements with “political perspectives”.

⁶² With the Municipality for an immediate “tolerance”; with Maharashtra State Agencies and the Indian Central Government for full recognition of their status.

⁶³ During researcher’s fieldwork, the PDO was working with 14 communities: 3 of them, including Sai Leela, are completely composed of “not notified” families. The distribution of these communities in the city is scattered. A key objective of the organization consists in grouping all the pavement dweller communities at least at the Ward scale (F/South), enabling the PDO (and YUVA, which continues to lead the “movement”) to start negotiations with public authorities, strengthened by a collective political mandate. The history of the organization tells about losses and incorporations of communities in the organization (in the middle of the 2000s, the PDO reached 25 communities): the exclusive dependence on specific claims in some phases has impoverished the political dimension of the organization and its capacity to be a political panel (recognized by the Municipality as the main player for negotiation).

⁶⁴ These dynamics recall the relations between slum dwellers and the MCGM (4.4.5).

⁶⁵ In addition to individual stories about complex choices (of rebellion) and changes of life (due to punishments) that appeared sporadically, the researcher’s immediate feeling of power influence on slum dwellers emerged from the initial stages of the fieldwork.

⁶⁶ This recalls the idea of the leader’s “total” influence on the mass (Canetti, 1986). The freshness of the Canetti’s theories is readily apparent in case study areas: community leaders and big men use techniques

or rebellions against extended families' impositions are rare and within extended families as well powers strongly condition spatial/planning decisions. The cause of these dynamics seems to be linked to the necessity of survival⁶⁷ (community coping mechanisms), which is always present in the extreme condition of vulnerability characterizing "not notified" areas: this need induces slum dwellers to accept authority unconditionally. The substrata of these processes are detectable in the sense of hierarchy embedded in Indian society dynamics (also in the urban environment) and in the weakness of democratic and/or participatory processes in the illegal city.

7.5. Distribution of power and fragmentation: lessons learnt from case studies

The three types of authority emerging from the analysis of "not notified" settlements relate to the formal city in different ways and with different levels of intensity. In "notified" slums or in other formal parts of the fabric, power fluxes/flows and equilibria are characterized by the presence of the State (in the form of the Municipality, State Agencies or Central Government) and by private actors and economic (including criminal) powers, defining the rules of the game⁶⁸. The presence of "high level" actors (working only indirectly in "not notified" settlements) changes spontaneous institutional set-ups and power fluxes/flows in the illegal city. Case studies offer elements to reflect on how these disconnections in power relations generate urban fragmentation.

In power relations in case study areas, at the high (city) level, there is either clear discontinuity between forms of power (informal-formal) or continuity within a hierarchical system (criminal); at the low level (micro/local), homogeneous powers (in terms of type) fight for territory control and different kinds of authority (usually pertaining to informal and criminal domains) work to establish their power in the same territory:

that seem to "hypnotize" slum dwellers under their control. Within these leaders' instruments, during the interviews emerges the knowledge of information (unknown to slum dwellers), thus the possibility to tell and determine the "reality" of the facts according to personal objectives (see as reference Canetti, 1986).

⁶⁷ The concept of "survival" is deeply embedded in the concept of power, as Canetti explains in his work. The survival until the death is the first primitive "recognition of power". Power takes shape through the "urge to survive": this instinct, taken to extreme levels, drives the leader to fight for his uniqueness, as the only person who survives (Canetti, 1972), as the only authority that governs the territory. In Canetti's words: "(...) although the truth has no dignity at all. It is so shaming that it annihilates. It concerns a private passion of whoever has power: the pleasure that he has in surviving increases with his power" [*Macht und Ueberleben* (1972); researcher's translation]. This will is clearly perceptible as a common denominator in case study communities: authorities need to be "unique" and aim at complete centrality of their role, being permanent in settlements where have imposed their rules (in Rafi Nagar 2 or in the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi). In territories where power relations have not yet reached an equilibrium there is dynamic struggle (as in the power balances between big men fighting to control territory/people in Chikkalwadi). This objective characterizes also the community leader's behaviour in Sai Leela where theoretically the community has a role in socio-spatial questions and the status of power (and thus the recognition of the authority) is embedded in community institutions and traditions; the fact that in Sai Leela there is neither procedure of succession nor oral-written limitation on the community leader's action indicates the authority's "need to survive".

⁶⁸ The literature on the topic in Mumbai is extensive. The present research does not seek to analyse these dynamics, which would require different conceptual apparatus and fieldwork.

- In Rafi Nagar 2, power equilibrium consists in a homogeneity of power, with criminal powers set in hierarchies (depending on actors/individuals outside the area) at city scale while power relations present a consistent diversity at the community scale⁶⁹;
- In Sai Leela, disconnection between high and local level powers is clear, with power relations at the lower level working in opposition to formal power flows of the area⁷⁰ (a socio-spatial overlapping between power systems is in place);
- In Chikkalwadi, homogeneity of “great powers” at higher level (economic-political polarities remaining outside slum dwellers’ perception) corresponds to a diversification of powers (informal-criminal⁷¹) at the local level controlling portions of the settlement (and population) and fighting to extend their influence over rivals⁷².

Geographies of powers depend on several elements. Case study areas show how specific socio-spatial and institutional factors (for instance, the location of the settlement within the urban fabric and its political weight) can condition power fluxes/flows, determining the establishment of power equilibriums and authority types:

- In case studies characterized by poor “economic appeal” or low political weight (few households with the right to vote), community institutional set-ups are related to types of authority characterized by extended families’ influence, political stability (low level of power conflicts) and centrality of community informal institutions at the micro-scale. Socio-spatial conditions facilitate community autonomy in relation to high level power fluxes/flows and hierarchies.
- In case study settlements/fragments located in areas with economic potential but excluded politically, criminal institutions take leadership, building hierarchical systems. These systems are controlled through agreements between criminal institutions and other powers at the city level, with slum lords as local reference points. They are based on the permanent possibility of fighting or the use of violence to re-establish order; they tolerate but marginalize community informal institutions and individuals, who are deprived of any real role in decisions.
- In case study areas enjoying both economic potential and favourable connections with the formal city (i.e. included politically), and inhabited by a

⁶⁹ In Rafi Nagar 1, which is the only community touching Rafi Nagar 2, community informal institutions retain considerable power and autonomy in comparison with Rafi Nagar 2 (despite the presence of criminal institutions in certain sectors, like service provision).

⁷⁰ The condition of Sai Leela is shared by the large majority of pavement dweller communities in the Parel Village area (and is applicable to a large part of the formal city), thus there is “linear” contiguity of authorities based on community informal powers along these settlements.

⁷¹ The West Bengal ghetto is a sort of exception (power relations follow models already seen in Rafi Nagar 2).

⁷² Attempts in gaining territory (and/or households) are not exclusively related to urban fighting or violence (slum dwellers’ memory is marked by fights that happened in the first years of community formation); the competition is centred on gaining influence and extending services (and consensus).

large number of families, which have obtained the right to vote, criminal authorities contest space with fragmented community institutions, usually driven by big men. These scenarios are dynamic with unstable power equilibria and continuous conflicts and negotiations to establish new hierarchies. In these areas space for slum dwellers and community institutions remains limited.

7.6. Back to the analytical framework: summary of power analysis

Power analysis of case study areas has revealed three types of authority at the scale of the fragment: (i) an authority based on informal community institutions (centred on community leaders) as in Sai Leela; (ii) an authority based on the capacity of individuals (generally indirectly connected to external powers) in leading (parts of) the community (depending on big men), as in Chikkalwadi; (iii) an authority based on criminal institutional arrangements centred on slum lords, as in Rafi Nagar 2. These authorities, operating at the micro scale, are tied, in different ways and with varying intensity, to power fluxes/flows affecting larger parts of the city, or to specific economic/political circuits: power analysis confirms the idea, which emerged in the socio-spatial and institutional analyses, of networking between illegal fragments and the rest of the urban fabric. Two tendencies emerge from the fieldwork: the presence of powers that are fighting to establish their role in certain communities as in effect the authority, creating divisions in the territory; or the presence of higher level authorities that deliberately keep the territory fragmented to facilitate their achievement of specific objectives. The need of an authority to mark territorially the limits of its area of influence, seeking internal homogeneity, provokes the generation of fragmentation tendencies at city scale; these processes have institutional facets, when powers, in order to establish their influence, impose the creation of specific political/socio-cultural arrangements, becoming fragments' institutional set-up (Question 3E).

The analysis shows how powers become central in generating urban fragmentation dynamics, answering questions on fragmentation conditions and mechanisms that emerged in the socio-spatial and institutional analyses. In fact authorities condition specific institutional set-ups both in terms of organizations at the community level and in terms of cultural impositions and behaviours at the level of the individual slum dweller. The institutionalization of processes and relations becomes essential to the survival of powers, which can avoid the naked use of force in the maintenance of territory control. Power analysis enables the exploration of the reasons for institutions' control of access to land, housing and services; in particular, the exploration of land access mechanisms can more directly reveal institutional mechanisms and the roots of power). The necessity of a relationship between powers and land (underlined by the etymologic roots of language describing power in the tradition of Indian-Sanskrit literature) is confirmed by the attention authorities devote to delimiting the space under

their control: territory seems to be the more direct structuring principle for understanding power relations and types (Question 3M).

Urban powers, understood as actors and fluxes/flows (immaterial actors) working at the level of city, can be analysed through different approaches. The literature on Mumbai presents at least three distinct directions in exploring urban powers and their relations: (i) an economic approach, developed within the academic and administrative-political ambits, that seeks to analyse Mumbai's economic mechanisms and polarities (which constitute powers); (ii) a criminal-focused approach, developed within the ambit of journalistic inquiry, that explores urban violence and tensions pertaining to religious-political conflicts and to gang warfare; and (iii) an historical approach, developed almost exclusively within the academic ambit, where political analysts and historians have explored the changes in Mumbai's power assets, touching only indirectly on socio-spatial questions. The institutional approach allows one to relate political fights and tensions (which lead the territory to certain power equilibriums) to spatial/planning aspects of urban fragmentation. The analysis has found links between types of authorities and specific rationalities in making socio-spatial choices. Rationalities depend on the nature of power equilibria. Seeking more equitable and sustainable scenarios (which involves power re-distribution strategies), the relations between power and rationality have been explored here, paying attention to individuals' and communities' opportunities to take spatial/planning decisions. Case studies show how in areas marginal in economic relevance and political weight, associated with a low level of tension between powers (like Sai Leela), there are possibilities for developing decision-making processes based on community institutions and respecting individuals' needs; whereas in areas centralised economically and politically, accompanied by a high level of conflict between powers, community institutions are marginal in power equilibria, with an impoverished political/planning role, frequently centred on criminal institutions; individuals remain without protection under conditions of social pulverization and of deprivation of rights to the city (Question 3T).

8. PLANNING ANALYSIS

8.1. Introduction

Using conventional urban planning theories to approach case study conditions in spatial/planning terms yields debatable results. The institutional set-ups upon which “traditional” planning practices are founded, using the lexicon of Patsy Healey (Healey, 1997) in terms of “hard” infrastructures (seen as power equilibria in place) and “soft” infrastructures (socio-institutional relations connecting planning subjects, State, private actors, civil society organizations, communities and individual slum dwellers¹) cannot be transposed directly on to the institutional context of Mumbai’s illegal city. City public and private actors consider “not notified” settlements as either unplanned areas or urban entities occupying illegally portions of territory planned for other functions. These settlements are actually objects of informal community spatial/planning decisions. Planning decisions are tools of powers defining a specific order on the territory, an order which is used to control the population and its activities. In this sense, urban planning becomes an instrument to impose behaviours and uses of space² on social groups and individual slum dwellers. Community actors/stakeholders seek another function and concept for planning, seeing in spatial-planning decision-making processes an opportunity to participate and be politically active subjects, limiting and redistributing the power of consolidated authorities.

Case study areas’ urban fabric is institutionally and politically fragmented and powers use various tools to establish and maintain certain favourable equilibria in the territory. Within this perspective, planning becomes an area of powers’ action as a tool to create conditions of exclusion, breaking up the social fabric and the development of networks unfavourable to them, and establishing clientelistic and political connivances addressing the growth of their economic interests and the extension of control over slum dwellers. Nevertheless, for other actors (State, civil society, communities organizations, etc.) planning remains a key instrument to redistribute power, to achieve equity (through an action/policy on the territory) and to (re)discover real spaces of

¹ Flows of knowledge and competences of these subjects, which would open scenarios on capacity building processes, are not an objective for this work.

² This objective for powers does not have “structured” forms and influences in a scattered way slum dwellers, extended families and social groups in the case study areas (Box 5.3.).

democracy. In this context, the research questions the role played by urban planning in mitigating fragmentation dynamics and in development orienting “not notified” areas in a perspective of equity and sustainability, favouring a redesign of power distribution, which appears as key condition to achieve a real institutional sustainability for the illegal city (GQ2, see 3.3.). This question entails a critical approach to planning, in terms of theory and philosophy, which, in terms of urban practice and strategy, can foster sustainable dynamics in “not notified” slum areas (4T, see 3.3.).

Conceptualizing urban planning for these kinds of socio-cultural environment (and identifying strategies of actions oriented to sustainability) implies discussing research methodology, including the researcher’s philosophical position in relation to these questions (Box 8.1.). The research explores the planning dimension in case study areas, following the institutional approach used as the main methodological tool throughout the research (4M, see 3.3.), focusing on the role of community as generator/linchpin of planning mechanisms. In this multidimensional domain, the research works on the spatial-planning dimension at the community level (4E, see 3.3.). Through the analysis of spatial-planning felt needs, of planning mechanisms (priorities and spatial/planning procedures, thus how the planning agenda is set and the decision-making processes³ are established and implemented) and of practices organizing spaces and functions in the territory, experiences of diverse planning policies emerge. In a perspective oriented to sustainability, Municipality/public actors, community institutions and individual slum dwellers are the focus of the exploration, questioning their capacity to transform power distribution and exploring the possibility of more equal and inclusive conditions for the illegal city, mitigating fragmentation dynamics⁴.

Box 8.1. Tools for planning analysis (and elements for a literature review on planning from an urban fragmentation perspective)

The research explores planning dynamics at the community level. The community is implicitly assumed as “generator” of inclusion and as the main planning subject in recomposing the city and healing socio-spatial fabric fractures, which represent the key interest for this work. This assumption is connected with the theories dealing with issues (equity, exclusion/inclusion, etc.) embedded in fragmentation dynamics (despite the absence of specific frameworks working on mitigation of fragmentation and splintering dynamics). Among various authors and schools touching these areas, the reader can take into consideration at least:

- “Community action planning” and “equity” planning theories, where the attention is focused on involving stakeholders in the decision-making process, with direct correspondences between felt needs and answers in planning. These theories are

³ Considering spatial/planning decision-making processes means questioning the “illegal” city governance, involving the political dimension of the question (reasserting that “not notified” settlements are mainly a “political” question). Political dimension was (and in part is) relegated in a second plane in approaches underpinning technocratic visions of planning, as expression of established powers (Pasolini would extended the discourse to a technocratic vision of the society and of the “system”, 1971). Research institutional approach inverts the terms, using planning to understand policies.

⁴ The reflection on the relations between planning and urban fragmentation involves working at different scales, including formal planning strategies, which in Mumbai rarely work at community level. Case study areas offer feedback from the bottom on the relations between urban policies and fragmentation.

based on shared responsibilities between stakeholders and, in particular, within equity planning approaches (Metzger, 1996), on an equal value of actors in the debate. Action and equity planning see in participation the main tool for achieving sustainable planning solutions, which in community action planning entail small-scale, incremental interventions, measurable through immediate and tangible results (Hamdi, Goethert, 1997).

- Advocacy planning tradition (referred to US experiences in '60-'70) in which there are explorations of alternatives to State-driven forms of planning (Davidoff, 1965). These theories/practices seek to engage different actors (groups of interest, classes, etc.) in inclusive platforms to define planning actions, mediating competing interests. Even though these practices carry the risk of a zero-sum outcome (Healey, 1997), being related to groups' objectives (and making complex decision-making processes), advocacy planning experiences represent structured attempts to "liberate" actors from State subordination in planning dynamics.
- Collaborative planning, working on governance of local environments in a "relational", institutionalist and interpretative meaning (Healey, 2007). This school stresses the necessity of involving in planning activities social networks embedded in the socio-spatial context to be planned (thus implying their recognition and "inclusive control" within planning processes). Collaborative planning practices work to strengthen social and intellectual capital, to seek socio-political change, and to address real citizenship and democracy.

Approaching planning in "not notified" settlements obliges one to work beyond the conventional areas of interest and to use alternative tools to analyse actors and mechanisms, subverting the instruments commonly used in the literature of Mumbai planning (and specifically in studies entailing "planning" and renewal of "notified" slums). This approach requires:

- Admitting as forms (results) of planning, spatial/planning micro-interventions (or activities) shaping illegal settlements, operated mainly by community actors, contrasting with a global, comprehensive vision of the fabric and its development, which is embedded in conventional vision of planning;
- Recognizing spatial/planning decision-making process (and cultural substrata), characterized by a great dynamicity, due to unstable power relations and equilibria, which can seem "un-ruled" or sometimes non-existent from a conventional perspective, while there are present only "other" rules (different from those in place in "notified" settlements);
- Considering a condition of constant competition between rationalities in spatial/planning processes, putting in discussion community internal planning logics, while usually conventional mechanisms of planning require a certain time to be implemented and are correlated with specific rationalities and power equilibria (which maybe become obsolete as soon as the planning tool/activity is completed).

The research analyses planning through an institutionalist approach. This implies an interest in two main aspects:

- The connections between physical development planning and policy analysis traditions, exploring the meaning that they assume in the illegal city. This approach develops two analytical dimensions of the research, focusing on socio-spatial and institutional set-ups in case study planning questions. The work focuses on decision-making processes rather than concrete spatial/planning interventions;
- The connections between planning practices (and implementing actors at city, community and individual levels) and strategies and tactics embedded in power relations. The researcher here explores planning as a tool of powers' action (in the physical city) and as an instrument for community (and individuals) to limit (and redistribute) authorities' power, addressing equity in local environments.

8.2. Planning practices/policies in “not notified” settlements

Approaching the planning questions in case study areas led the researcher to rethink the conceptualizations already characterizing the literature on informal areas of Mumbai. The feedback coming from the literature was disappointing from the perspective of research’s objectives, which focuses on interrelations between institutions and powers in spatial planning: the community dimension was almost completely excluded and social issues were negated, relegating planning to merely a physical planning tradition, where “not notified” slums result in un-recognized, thus un-planned, territories. During the second fieldtrip, the research explored paths for data collection-analysis looking at planning processes from the bottom up, starting from what planning is for community institutions and individuals. In building grounded concepts, the focus lies on who is doing planning and on the processes through which spatial/planning actions take shape.

8.2.1. Actors involved in spatial/planning decision-making processes for the “illegal” city

“Not notified” settlements lie outside formal planning mechanisms and inclusion practices, which are in place for the informal/“notified” city. This status is included in a scenario where urban governance public decision makers have *de facto* renounced social housing and slum areas renewal⁵. In fact policies on “notified” slum areas consist in leaving the initiative to private actors, conserving for the public authorities a role in controlling the process⁶, through the SRA, which ends up being just an additional parallel actor in relation to the Municipality and other State Agencies involved in the management and planning of Mumbai. Besides arguable consequences on the quality of redevelopment projects⁷, institutional overlapping result in fractures and contradictions in city governance⁸ with (hidden or manifested) contrasts between

⁵ In the past decades the Municipality seemed to have a more pro-active role, despite the structural limitations of the attempts (for a first approach on the theme see Annez et al., 2010).

⁶ The control of private initiatives (and the establishment of efficient partnerships) is still partial and, despite seeing it as nodal step addressing “good governance” for the city, the nature of redevelopment projects, which respond to the interests of private investors (4.6.2.), follows market logics rather than slum areas’ integration/inclusion. Questions such as density and stock to be sold in the market are themes of negotiation rather than socio-institutional radical questions (sustainability of community institutions in slum areas, relations formal/informal city, etc.), which become accessories in the debate between private sector and public authorities (the controversy on Dharavi redevelopment is an example of the different interpretations of the redevelopment question in a key area of the city, see Patel, Arputham, 2007; for an introduction on public policies, focusing in particular MMRDA practices, see Banerjee-Guha, 2002). In this perspective “not notified” settlements are seen as undesired urban phenomena by public actors dealing with redevelopment.

⁷ Redevelopment projects have provoked several critical reactions in the civil society, in the political and academic debate. The question has been touched by the researcher where “not notified” settlements are in relation with redevelopment projects, as in the exploratory visits during the Field Trip 1 (in those occasions redevelopment projects have shown lacks in quality of habitat and services). Resettlement projects, as the Laloo Bhai Compound near Chikkalwadi, seem to be even more critical, including the emerging of social questions due to the “forced” resettlement (for a first entry point on the debate, see the assessment prepared by Bhide et al., 2003).

⁸ This plurality of subjects characterizes several sectors, in particular transportation and services provision, questioning “integration” in Mumbai’s planning policies.

several authorities (each with its own objectives) having a role in defining planning strategies.

The ambivalent position of public actors increases the precariousness of the illegal city. “Not notified” settlements represent an obstacle to implementing formal planning strategies. They occupy areas designed for other functions, thereby obliging the authorities to set the zoning *ex post*, according to the actual character of the informal areas⁹ in the territory. Political pressures for an informal recognition of important “not notified” settlements, such as Chikkalwadi, create a forced tolerance, unofficially preventing clearance and eviction or demolition¹⁰. Public authorities are thus dragged into negotiations in which the counterparts are local political parties (supported by local powers) with specific interests in maintaining “not notified” settlements in an undefined condition, weakening community institutions.

However in this context community informal institutions remain the main actor in spatial/planning decision-making processes¹¹, which involve community representatives (mainly community leaders and legitimised big men) and collective organizations¹² (such as community committees or *mandal*, acting as “councils”). When community institutions (here understood as planning actors) have to deal with authorities imposing political directions and cultural models (e.g. in occupation and management of land), the room of manoeuvre for community institutions becomes very limited: in these cases, where settlements are controlled by criminal institutions and/or big men, planning coincides with activities of control operated by the authorities, which impose agendas and influence the definition of residents’ felt needs. Imagining space collectively, having visions of spatial development for the community and finding common spatial rules and objectives on the (“controlled”) territory would create disadvantages for authorities, which consider management of questions related to space one of the key fields in the exercise of power. Thus here planning seems to be deprived of its political roots (as an object of collective interest, seeking governance of the territory) and becomes a dry field, where spatial decisions are a secondary result of the interplay of interests among powers (frequently taking place at a higher level), or a

⁹ This condition applies all the informal areas of Mumbai, in particular the “notified” ones, with indirect consequences on the “not notified” parts. “Notified” areas have acquired rights to the city with an implicit recognition in formal planning tools of public authorities. “Notified” settlements frequently have “not notified” appendixes, which exploit a sort of tolerance due to the presence of “recognized” communities.

¹⁰ The scarce efficiency of any policy of clearance in the Indian urban context is known among technicians and academics (and in part of the political world) and critics to these policies have a long tradition, starting from the work of Geddes, who defined these policies “disastrous and pernicious” (Tyrwhitt, 1947).

¹¹ In case study areas, authorities at the local level, including criminal institutions, are engaged in spatial/planning questions (future occupation of land, selling of lots or land partition) according to specific agendas and needs.

¹² This occurs independently from the role that these institutions have inside the social fabric of the communities (which in some contexts can be very marginal) and from the relations in place with the authorities governing the territory at the local level.

“naked” tool through which authorities¹³ exercise power. Spatial questions and urban needs that lie outside authorities’ interests remain *de facto* unplanned (or, in the case of vulnerable fragmented areas, without subjects/actors producing spatial arrangements for the whole territory of the settlement¹⁴).

Intermediate institutions, such as local/international NGOs¹⁵ and political parties, intervene in planning, orienting community institutions and individual slum dwellers (without having structured spatial/planning policies). Fieldwork has shown how NGOs work in providing specific equipments in the settlement, in finding solutions to conflicts related to spatial themes between slum dwellers’ groups, and influencing directly individuals involved in decision-making processes (pushing community leaders or councils to opt for certain spatial/planning directions). Case studies present two main options regarding connections in planning between political parties at the local scale¹⁶ and community informal institutions: (i) the negotiation of spatial arrangements or planning solutions where interventions are funded by the political party through economic actions or through political support¹⁷; (ii) the direct affiliation of community members (and/or leaders) as political parties’ representatives at the local level, which results in the influence on community decision-making processes and meddling of the political parties in spatial/planning directions.

8.2.2. Spatial/planning decision-making processes at the community level

Besides the bureaucratic procedures related to demolition processes¹⁸, decision-making by public authorities focusing “not notified” settlements is almost completely hidden: underlying negotiations¹⁹ exist but detecting links and/or real terms of the agreements between interested counterparts, political and economic powers and public

¹³ In this sense in “not notified” areas echoes of structuralist argumentations (Castells, 1975) and criticisms against neo-liberal planning practices resound; however the perception of these dynamics at the community level is deprived from “ideological” contents and results in individual (anti-political) reactions.

¹⁴ This is the case of communities/fragments controlled by “big men”. In this sense Chikkalwadi shows a proliferation of emerging powers (mainly individuals trying to “become” community leaders), which control only parts of the territory. This power equilibrium does not allow taking decision at the scale of the fragment, limiting possibilities of real “planning”, even with the limitation that the term has in the “illegal” city. Also in this case, community institutions remain the only “planning” actors addressing a collective idea of territory, responding to individuals and families needs.

¹⁵ NGOs activities are mainly focused on providing basic support to the community for food security, health, education and legal awareness but the dialogue with local organizations puts counterparts in a more extended reflection including communities’ socio-spatial environment (where habitat and urban services are key questions for slum dwellers).

¹⁶ The gap between the declarations of political parties at the city level (and their vision of Mumbai) and the practices at the community level is evident. Distances between political propaganda and urban practices are clearly in place also in informal recognized areas but, in the case of “not notified” settlements, the legal status of recent urbanizing areas makes the gap even more evident. Urban policies of political parties at the city scale are (in some cases voluntarily) woolly and leave the main planning instruments (as the future Development Plan) without definition (during the interviewing processes no declaration was released on the Plan). Policies focusing “illegal” city are absent.

¹⁷ For instance concessions on Municipality’s demolitions/evictions actions.

¹⁸ These facts regard in particular Sai Leela (4.5.2.) but involve also the other case study areas.

¹⁹ In K123, a political high-level administrator of the Sai Leela ward has openly alluded to these kinds of practices.

administration is possible only to a limited extent²⁰. Decision-making processes for community informal institutions are more visible and correspond to the institutional set-ups characterizing each fragment. Despite different socio-institutional environments, case studies show certain common conditions/constraints in planning:

- Absence of central institutions/organizations, recognized by community authorities and slum dwellers, with specific tasks in spatial planning;
- Lack of a “global” planning vision for the fragment (and of its relations with the rest of the urban fabric);
- Minor role (conceded space) of individuals'/slum dwellers' initiatives/actions in community planning systems.

With the exception of the settlements controlled by criminal institutions (where these organizations control spatial/planning decision-making processes), spatial/planning decisions for the territory are usually taken by community leaders (with a secondary consultative role for community councils), leaving space for authoritarian (or oligarchic) practices in planning with scarce involvement of the community at family and individual level²¹. In case study settlements spatial/planning initiatives inside the community are almost spontaneous, starting from individual slum dwellers, groups of families or people involved in community informal institutions; there is a lack of planning agendas and interventions for the settlement²². When dispute²³ or socio-cultural differences regarding spatial/planning decisions²⁴ between families are resolved, the passage from definition of perceived needs and actions on the ground is very quick (facilitated by the absence of a real structure for planning).

The decision-making on spatial/planning questions reflects the fluidity of informal systems characterizing other decisional sectors in community institutional set-ups²⁵.

²⁰ This negotiation is clearly illegal and the instruments of this work do not include opportunity for such inquiry (3.9.).

²¹ These practices are deeply related to power equilibria in place in the settlements: a large number of decisions are taken by few community members (also in Sai Leela, which is independent from criminal institutions); where criminal institutions represent the real authority, community institutions are removed from their functions (or assume a marginal role) in spatial/planning decision-making processes.

²² The legal status and the vulnerability of “not notified” settlements amplify this tendency, which is present also in the informal city. In some cases these constraints put in discussion the feasibility (and the concept) of planning in these areas.

²³ Spatial/planning decision-making processes take place in contexts where articulation of the the social fabric and the institutional complexity are high. The possibility of fracture increases according to the presence of potential contrasting social groups and clans (therefore according to the stability of power equilibria between them). In this sense taking spatial/planning decisions is easier in Sai Leela rather than in Chikkalwadi.

²⁴ In this case solutions come through the authority governing the territory. Powers impose certain directions, according to their objectives, in particular in fragments governed by criminal institutions. In case of spatial interventions, which do not touch slum lords' interests, decisions are left in the hands of community institutions. When there is no agreement between community leaders and councils (due to powers instability, recurrent cases happen in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi), the negotiation is driven by intermediate institutions (NGOs and political parties, or rarely religious institutions).

²⁵ There are no written rules to take decisions and slum dwellers' involvement is in a large extent negated (i.e. voting processes are substantially not practiced). Of course there is no graphic form of

Spatial/planning choices immediately assume political rather than technical connotations, conditioning real possibilities and objectives of planning activity: the will of powers in imposing specific planning solutions becomes a kind of recognition of an authority²⁶. Spatial/planning practice assumes the importance granted to the main socio-political decisions and planning is thought of as territory of power demonstration.

8.3. Planning in relation to urban fragmentation

From the initial phases of the fieldwork, the impression of a close link between the fragmented context of case studies areas and (“imposed”) planning strategies appeared. The question consisted in conceptualizing these relations, following the specific conditions of urban fabric starting from the ground. The nodal point was the expression of the complex relations between powers and community-individual forms of planning in terms of organizations and mental models. Data collection offered elements to understand how powers have advantages in feeding fragmentation dynamics and in weakening community planning. A key to comprehension was in-depth interviews with community leaders, which lent another shape to the hypothetical lack of organization and rules at local level and its relations with fragmentation dynamics.

In case study areas, due to cultural backgrounds and mental models, perceiving fragmentation at the micro-scale and socio-spatial discontinuities is common. For slum dwellers, this perception includes mainly the extent of social networks, the use of spaces and the relations with neighbouring communities in daily life (see 4.4.4., 4.5.4. and 4.6.4.). For community leaders, fragmentation is related to the difficulties in improving access to services and coordinating decisions which entail territories belonging to several settlements. For slum dwellers working in intermediate institutions, the perception of fragmentation regards the difficulties in developing shared policies for the territory. The lack of legal recognition of these settlements increases the perception of fragmentation and exclusion from the rest of the city.

In this context, a lack of bottom-up planning practices at fragment scale corresponds to an analogous planning non-definition at higher scale (entailing several fragments), influencing relational geographies of the illegal city. Spatial relations between different territories are un-planned and suffer because of this condition, which is independent of the type or legal status of settlements involved in the relationship. Due to the absence

spatial/planning representation, fostering disputes among different groups of interest regarding the design of the project.

²⁶ The design of community roads, the location of toilet facilities and “public” water taps are the usual object of powers’ decision. Part of these interventions represents acts of propaganda rather than real changes/improvements of slum dwellers’ living conditions.

of a political substratum²⁷ sustaining urban planning, relations between fragments are a direct object of power flows at the city scale. The imposition of specific relations between communities and social groups²⁸ is accompanied by strategies influencing the cultural backgrounds of fragments' populations. These practices lead to self-establishment of fragmentation dynamics in the social fabric and the consolidation of social fragmentation at the scale of the city.

Case studies show different powers' strategies realized through planning (here seen in its passive meaning, as a tool of powers) in shaping relational geographies between fragments:

- The relations between Rafi Nagar 2 and the rest of the city are designed in the interests of criminal institutions. Planning relational geographies between Rafi Nagar 1 and 2 consist in fostering exclusion dynamics in relation to "not notified" areas (maintaining scarce connections with Shivaji Nagar, leaving unserved recently formed parts of Rafi Nagar 2, promoting competition for available resources between the two communities, related to the use of the dumping ground, etc.).
- The authority in Sai Leela²⁹, coinciding with community informal institutions, steers planning actions seeking inclusion (or integration) with the formal parts of Parel Village. The intent of the community authority is to consolidate networks with formal neighbouring areas, mainly in the provision of basic services, and strengthening the socio-cultural relations, already in action in the use of places and of services, between pavement dwellers and the formal city.
- In Chikkalwadi, under the "big men" system power flows/fluxes at the local scale are not in equilibrium. The result in planning terms is overlap between divergent interests³⁰ of (relatively small) social groups supporting the different powers on the territory. Plurality of planning strategies is another facet of fragmentation in planning and policies for the settlement³¹, making contradictory the relations with neighbouring areas with emerging exclusion dynamics, provoked by

²⁷ The only institution that seems having the capacity to develop a political action regulating the relations between fragments is the Municipality. There is no formal plan to drive these relations in slum areas, indistinctly referring to the informal and the "illegal" city (and also regarding the formal fabric there is discussion about the consistency of the "design" of these relations at the city and metropolitan region scales).

²⁸ For instance "driven" conflicts between Rafi Nagar 1 and 2 or exclusion processes in Chikkalwadi operated by Annabhau Sathe Nagar inhabitants.

²⁹ Sai Leela is the only case study area in which powers at local scale (coinciding with community informal institutions) try to explore practices of inclusion "from the base". The results are not always relevant but the character of the planning action here is positive, implicitly generating political consciousness among pavement dwellers.

³⁰ For instance in the extension of water networks, the improvement in community services provision coincides with the perpetuation of single interests, negating collective perspectives of planning.

³¹ In the West Bengal ghetto, planning actions are oriented to achieve the interest of criminal institutions (in a similar way with Rafi Nagar 2) through exclusion practices, which include the negation of free access and movement of people to the area. The rest of Chikkalwadi is mainly in the hands of "big men" remaining tied to their particular clientele.

planning practices of marginalization and control³² (as already registered in Rafi Nagar 2).

Formal design (ignoring the reality of informal urban development) and policy (refusing “dialogue”/recognition of recent urban formations) foster urban fragmentation tendencies, separating “not notified” areas from the rest of the city. This discontinuity between planning practices and real urban fabric development leads to a reflection on the role of planning as factor of fragmentation in the illegal city:

(i) In Rafi Nagar 2, the new project for the Deonar dumping ground and the incipient connections between Rafi Nagar 1 with the city correlate with formal planning actions³³, with fragmentation dynamics involving community spatial/planning assets. A rethinking of the dumping ground area limits the possibilities of Rafi Nagar 2 expansion (at this stage, there is no planned action affecting the existing built-up area, excluding sporadic demolitions related to policing rather than planning strategies). However, the political relevance of the community, leading to parties representatives’ reactions at the State level³⁴, has driven to the almost complete stopping of demolition and evictions. This condition has not yet resulted in the recognition of the settlement, leading to a sort of permanent non-definition of the area³⁵: Rafi Nagar 2, without specific public strategy, remains open to (criminal) powers’ fragmentation strategies.

(ii) In Sai Leela, public action consists in demolishing the settlement (and generally in clearing all the “not notified” pavement dweller communities of the Parel Village area). This activity, which could be questioned as a planning strategy, representing mainly an operation of police, is almost systematically³⁶ pursued, seeking a formalization of the area, which is characterized by consolidated urban fabric. Urban fabric fragmentation (and splintering urban services) is an indirect result of the legal non-recognition.

(iii) In Chikkalwadi, public actors (Municipality and SRA in particular) involved in planning action are not the only stakeholders fostering fragmentation tendencies in the area. Here also private actors, interested in rehabilitating “notified” slums near Chikkalwadi, with a redevelopment project proposal³⁷ involving Annabhau Sathe Nagar 2, indirectly influence fragmentation of planning policies: the social and political change embedded in the re-development project change the networks and the equilibria in place between the redeveloped and the “not notified” communities, increasing

³² The “West Bengal ghetto” of Chikkalwadi is an extreme case of this dynamic with a break-up of the networks at work in the rest of the settlement and a system of control/repression inside the “ghetto”.

³³ These actions, led by the Municipality, show that inclusion processes remain outside public actors agenda (Rafi Nagar 2 is totally ignored).

³⁴ Rafi Nagar 2 has been “used” by certain politicians as example in the debate for the definition of the deadline for slum areas notification (extending the current cut-off date from 1995 to 2000).

³⁵ This un-definition becomes an indirect factor increasing fragmentation for “not notified” settlements.

³⁶ The un-homogeneity in law application is another factor generating fragmentation in the urban fabric. This condition can be seen only at a higher scale, because “not notified” communities located in the same area (or ward) usually are subdued to common “parameters”.

³⁷ The story of the project shows the problematic relations between “planning operations” and pure economic affairs, as the redevelopment project was in this occasion for private builders (4.6.2). Redevelopment policies seem to favour private investors rather than the poor (Patkar, Singh, 2007).

exclusion. Due to political and economic interests³⁸, an un-planned action of upgrading is in place in the settlement: the improvement in living conditions for slum dwellers is developed through one-off interventions without comprehensive planning strategies³⁹. The legal status of Chikkalwadi impedes the implementation of real policies⁴⁰ of development with the permanence of exclusion trends between “notified” and “not notified” areas.

The absence of specific policies for “not notified” settlements by formal institutions (dealing with planning at the city scale⁴¹) is translated into exclusion dynamics: these areas remain in a condition of exclusion because their being excluded, marginal, outside the law, provides advantages to Mumbai’s urban powers, which can enter into a free market, easily obtaining political support and strengthening their authority over the territory. Weak political consciousness and participatory practices in “not notified” settlements turn into an advantage for political powers, which can thereby operate in the illegal city without organized opposition⁴². This political situation favours also the action of economic powers⁴³, which are interested in acting in deregulated territories, without any kind of ties⁴⁴. Interests in perpetuating the absence of rules and in increasing exclusion constitute the basis of fragmentation dynamics through planning.

8.4. Rationalities in “not notified” community planning

The researcher’s interests were focused on understanding why community decision-making processes (in spatial/planning issues) take particular forms in case study areas. The interest in planning rationalities followed as natural consequence. Initially

³⁸ The dimensions of Chikkalwadi politically impede the demolition/eviction of the community. Political parties have interest in supporting slum dwellers for a (partial) recognition of their rights.

³⁹ Chikkalwadi’s slum dwellers indirectly obtain an advantage but the operation could be seen at the same time as another case of splintering urbanism.

⁴⁰ In spatial/planning decisions involving “not notified” settlements, political and administrative domains interweave: political pressures limit the administration in the application of the normative regarding “not notified” settlements; the administration, and generally the law in place for “not notified” areas, obstacles the creation of new policies for case study areas.

⁴¹ Informal actors have difficulties in operating at a scale that overcomes the boundaries of the fragment. These problems are mainly connected to the deep correlation between informal community institutions and the specific territory of the settlement where these institutions have been formed. Possibilities of informal “inter-community” planning, during the fieldwork, have almost remained at the state of “project”. Criminal institutions indeed operate at higher scales: their actions seem to be focused on the socio-economic domain of the question “planning”.

⁴² The dissent leads to violent forms of contrast and “not notified” slum dwellers’ social movements become field of action of extremist organizations.

⁴³ The approach of this work does not focus on economic plays of power in Mumbai, which would require a deep analysis. However the connection between economic and urban powers in city renewal is evident and touches also “not notified” areas (e.g. companies providing services and builders involved in slums renewal, which are inside global financial fluxes).

⁴⁴ The Municipality does not seem to consider a policy of power redistribution connected to spatial/planning decisions: the centralization is high and there is no apparent intent of experimenting bottom-up/participatory practices for slum areas, not even considering “not notified” cases. It is clear that, in this moment, local political forces do not see any advantage in sharing decisional responsibilities in planning. Control of the territory is still a key factor, allowing the permanence of power equilibria in Mumbai.

the researcher's impression consisted in thinking of inhabitants' and social structures' cultural backgrounds (e.g. Hindu/Muslim "dualism") as main source of rationality in planning. In contrast, fieldwork has shown the increasing role of powers in producing and institutionalizing rationalities, frequently resulting as impositions rather than institutional products. The researcher became conscious of the multi-dimensional exercise of power by authorities: on the organizational community set-ups and then, a deeper one, at the individual level, on mental models (and on slum dwellers' coping strategies).

The control of actions in the territory and of slum dwellers' attitudes and behaviours in using places and services is connected to powers' objectives. For urban powers, establishing favourable forms of governance in the territory is increasingly a necessity. The mismatches⁴⁵ between powers' objectives and spatial/planning decision-making mechanisms (influenced by the institutionalization of powers' interests), which lie in the sphere of community informal institutions and socio-cultural backgrounds, "produce" specific rationalities.

In institutional set-ups shaped by the powers underpinned in criminal institutions (the slum lords system at the fragment scale), as in Rafi Nagar 2 and in the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi, rationality in planning is centred on establishing and maintaining an order (thus here, a set of spatial and planning solutions) that can guarantee the perpetuation of the authority in the territory. In these areas spatial/planning solutions, which are usually tasks of community informal institutions, are reallocated to the sphere of the (household) individuals. This strategy enables local slum lords to maintain their influence over key community extended families. Within criminal set-ups, powers' rationalities⁴⁶ of action, beyond singular objectives (or tactics), consist in impoverishing community institutions⁴⁷, leaving slum dwellers without any kind of protective social structure. Residents' precariousness and vulnerability⁴⁸ seem to favour the slum lords' system. The rationality of planning within the slum lords systems

⁴⁵ Each spatial/planning decision can be seen as result of the contrasts between the rationality of the authorities controlling the territory and the resistance of collective planning dynamics.

⁴⁶ An open question mark for the research, which requires further inquiries (and should involve environmental psychology experts), consists in the institutionalization of powers' objectives in slum dwellers' mental models. In this work, the imprinting of powers objectives in community informal institutions, through authoritarian practices, clearly appears in planning choices: the most favourable decision in maintaining the power *status quo* becomes the "natural choice" for stakeholders; actors don't work on the best solution (from technical, environmental, socio-spatial points of view), but on the solution that will conserve power equilibrium.

⁴⁷ Community institutions have a say in a very limited number of spatial/planning questions and their control on the territory is marginal, due to slum lords' action, precluding perspectives of community development: slum dwellers pay a lot (in some cases more than "formal" citizens) for scarce services and continue to be very limited in exploring possibilities for habitat improvement and services upgrading.

⁴⁸ An improvement of the socio-economic conditions (increase of the income, improvement of social services, support and action of civil society and NGOs, etc.) would imply a parallel consolidation of the networks at work with the rest of the city and the formation of possible alternatives to current powers.

promotes communities' isolation and the break-up of networks⁴⁹: planning processes in action in areas under criminal institutions foster urban fragmentation dynamics and push "not notified" settlements into unsustainable conditions.

In areas under big men authority, rationalities in planning seem to vary a lot case by case (according to the type of "big man" and the context in which power is exercised). The rationality of spatial/planning decisions works between the need of consolidating the big man role inside the community and the development of real community based planning systems. The ambivalent role of "big men" is central to understanding the rationality of planning in those territories. Chikkalwadi offers elements regarding the phenomenon: big men operate similarly to slum lords⁵⁰, but seek to be recognized (and legitimised) as community leaders⁵¹. Instability of institutional set-ups and recognizable individual interests of "big men"⁵² characterize the nature of urban fragmentation dynamics in these areas.

In areas under the control of community informal institutions⁵³, rationalities in planning do not present authority-community contrapositions. Spatial/planning decisions are the result of dynamics internally generated by extended families/clans and individuals inside the social fabric. The community leader has great room for manoeuvre and, in some questions, is free to operate without consulting councils and representatives of extended families (maintaining a general political acceptance of community stakeholders). Here a subversion of common logic in "not notified" settlements takes

⁴⁹ Connections with the rest of city (formal or informal) are perceived as factor of development by the community leaders of Rafi Nagar 2. Confirming this feeling, in the "West Bengal ghetto" of Chikkalwadi, relationships with the rest of the fabric (even with the rest of the community) are conscientiously impeded and slum dwellers lie in a sort of segregation: the perception of vulnerability in slum dwellers' perspective, with the temporal extension of isolation, is increased in comparison to the period of community formation.

⁵⁰ Some of Chikkalwadi "big men" seems to be inside (or at least in contact with) criminal circuits. Here the distinction between "big men" and slum lords consists mainly in the absence of hierarchies within the "big men" systems, while slum lords are usually inserted in power flows/fluxes working mainly at the scale of the city.

⁵¹ In Chikkalwadi the need of finding community institutions of reference is expressed also through "big men", connected to local *mandal* or political parties, which are trying to foster representative processes inside the community (institutionalizing their role). This dynamic is still in progress: the involvement of the population is very partial and large areas of Chikkalwadi do not recognize the authority of these "big men".

⁵² Services represent the arena where the different rationalities show the nature of the "big men" approach in planning: contrasts between individual "big men" initiatives and experiments of collective practices are in place. Electricity and water provision are frequently controlled by "big men" that find in services provision one of the "sources" of their power. As consequence, in order to extend their control on the settlement, "big men" control connections and impede the formalization of the service. In Chikkalwadi, alternatives, proposed/institutionally "planned" by slum dwellers and technically implemented by the Municipality, have been already experimented (as for the water sector, where the extensions of the main network passing through the "notified" slum of Annabhau Sathé Nagar have been planned in a collective perspective). Fragmentation of planning actions in "not notified" settlements appears in another version: only "notified" families can apply for extensions of the network thus services upgrading involves the territory in a scattered way, creating distances and dependency between served and un-served areas.

⁵³ In this case, the main planning actor coincides with the authority enabling communities to work at the local scale. This fact does not mean that the community is completely free to organize its structure and take spatial/planning decisions. Sai Leela case study tells about the complex webs of relations, which the community creates as coping strategy and the limitations in planning embedded in pavement dwellers' condition.

place: addressing responses to community needs, thus acting in favour of slum dwellers (4.5.3.), with the objective of improving population living conditions, becomes rational (allowing representatives of community institutions to consolidate their role in relation to their supporters). Mechanisms oriented to defend community interests can be extended to other “not notified” neighbouring communities⁵⁴, fostering inclusive relational geographies: urban fragmentation is here understood as external dynamic provoking exclusion.

A comparison between case study planning rationalities can be arguable. However, despite their diversity, case study areas present common trends, which offer elements for the analysis:

- Habitat improvement at the individual/family level is at the top of slum dwellers’ spatial/planning agenda (in case study areas, relations with space start from the shelters and families’ habitat⁵⁵; consequently planning decisions, elaborated at the community level, are addressed to individual needs in this sector);
- The focus on individual habitat condition leaves in second place the “structures for urban development”, such as interventions in accessibility⁵⁶ of services and, more generally, a design of the territory at the scale of the community⁵⁷ (the design of such interventions has to respond to a variable succession of needs and cannot be ordered initially with a “global plan” applying to the entire territory of the settlement);
- Communities’ capacity to adapt and change is related to the institutional assets and power equilibria in place, which renew planning rationality (changes in powers and institutional frameworks provoke the formation of different rationalities in spatial/planning choices).

The rationality at the scale of the extended family seeks to protect households but this objective does not extend to a spatial/planning strategy changing the territory. Feedback from the fieldwork sees this action mainly focused on the socio-cultural

⁵⁴ As happens between Sai Leela and the other pavement dweller communities of the Parel Village (for instance this dynamic explains the common risks that pavement dwellers take in helping, reciprocally, other communities during the demolitions/evictions).

⁵⁵ This interest-need characterizes “not notified” communities independently from institutional set-ups and power equilibria in place. The attention for the shelter is seen as urgent even in the most precarious areas of Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi, where first superficial observations could give an impression of carelessness: despite the vulnerability and the absence of security in land tenure, interest respect the habitat remains high.

⁵⁶ For instance, in Chikkalwadi, the “design” of the *para* (conformation and materials) is completely “unplanned”, as result of casual occupation of the land, determined by an ex-post operation on the territory connecting shelters with the main access road of the community. In cases like Rafi Nagar 2 the successive occupation of the land to the *nalla* (thus to the water) and the design of the *para* to access shelters is more regular: in this case, environmental conditions have forced community planning approach to opt for a solution, which involves the entire settlement.

⁵⁷ One example is given by the “public places” in the community: despite the importance that these spaces have in slum dwellers’ life, public spaces are usually afterthought in relation to the development and expansion of the settlements. In certain occasions the absence of spatial/planning decisions addressing the development of collective/community devices have brought slum dwellers to confer public use to residual spaces, as happens in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi.

domain. Belonging to specific social groups, place of origin and religious belief⁵⁸ influence the decisions of extended families about the territory, which helps to create homogeneity at the fragment level. This condition is not visible at higher scales⁵⁹ (in big “not notified” settlements like Chikkalwadi, strong diversities in extended families’ mental models of planning characterize the socio-urban environment).

Slum dwellers’ coping strategies, which can be seen as spontaneous rationality of action (precluding conventional planning rationalities or formal planning strategies), opt for the maintenance of local power equilibria and renounce the design of medium- and long-term planning actions. Coping strategies frequently push slum dwellers to support authorities controlling the territory, even if this choice involves a loss of power (in the possibility of taking their own spatial/planning decisions and of being part of planning processes) and impoverishes real possibilities of democratic life in the community (renouncing *de facto* power and rights⁶⁰). Besides the political play in each case study area, with this trend at the individual level, community institutions lose human and social capital to develop empowerment processes (as confirmed by NGOs, which find difficulties in implementing participatory strategies because of the weakness of the social fabric and slum dwellers’ imposed habit of refusing certain responsibilities⁶¹), limiting their possibility of consolidating collective practices of planning.

8.5. Seeds of planning alternatives for “not notified” slum areas

Initial information coming from the literature (in particular municipal documents) outlined scenarios where planning in the illegal city is “negated” or “nonexistent”. Fieldwork, in particular in Sai Leela pavement dweller community, belied this idea. The experiences of community leaders, CBOs (at city scale) and NGOs showed how planning actors and processes are in place in not notified areas (even if in an unrecognized way), although with a specific meaning (divergent from conventional conceptualizations related to formal planning): in Sai Leela, within community institutions-based decision-making processes, planning, thought of as a bottom-up

⁵⁸ On the contrary, belonging to certain political parties does not explain the rationalities of interventions in “not notified” areas, which work disregarding theoretical principles, but being related to material plays of power.

⁵⁹ An hypothesis grouping slum dwellers’ location in relation to the same place of origin (State) was just in part confirmed in the case of Rafi Nagar 2 during participant observation activities: place of origin has not resulted as representative criteria of territory occupation or “condition” for newcomers. This factor does not systematically involve the community, appearing only as element enforcing the reasons to settle in a certain area of the settlement.

⁶⁰ The impoverishment in planning involves also cultural factors: renouncing to a own view of planning drives to a sort of auto-imposed homologation, leaving responsibilities to authorities.

⁶¹ YUVA’s experiences in Sai Leela show how the involvement of community members in the decision-making processes facilitates the emerging of other institutional set-ups, including “new” forms of rationality putting pavement dwellers in a central position for spatial/planning action and elaboration.

practice⁶², appeared as a tool to redistribute power, putting at the centre the needs of communities and individuals.

Case studies show how institutional set-ups centred on the community and power distributions⁶³ oriented to more equal conditions play a role in mitigating urban fragmentation dynamics. Practices which can be ascribed to community based forms of planning allow:

- Involving households and extended families, as showed by the Sai Leela experiences;
- Anticipating conflicts between social groups. Water network extension projects in Chikkalwadi are an example of the increase of capabilities in the dialogue between different cultural-religious groups through community based planning dynamics;
- Interpreting needs of the territory in a more complete way (e.g. identification of toilet facilities for women as priority in Rafi Nagar 2);
- Laying the basis for the improvement of slum dwellers' socio-economic conditions⁶⁴.

These experiences, coming mainly from the context of Sai Leela⁶⁵ (though lessons can also be learned from Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi), could represent the roots of alternative spatial/planning practices in “not notified” areas (free from the logic and impositions of economic-political powers) and, when community members/households are effectively involved in planning processes, achieve a political reshaping of power relations.

In Sai Leela, authorities have control of planning processes⁶⁶ (decision-making, priority agenda definition, etc.) and information regarding community spatial/planning decisions is widely spread between stakeholders (including lower levels and community newcomers⁶⁷). At this micro-scale, in particular at key moments (such as resettlement after a demolition), planning is characterized by direct access to information, *de facto* anticipating misinformation⁶⁸. All the community members are involved in planning and

⁶² This perception of the affaires which involve the territory can be seen also in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi, despite the impossibility of developing real planning in those settlements, due to powers equilibria.

⁶³ Also when attempts of power distribution are in place, as in Sai Leela, institutional set-ups are far away to be “democratic” (4.5.5.).

⁶⁴ In “not notified” slums, the “technical” problem, where urban planner operates as problems-solver, is overcome by the political dimension embedded in in the context where the problem takes place.

⁶⁵ In the case of Sai Leela, community institutions are both authorities and the main planning actors.

⁶⁶ These common starting conditions in “not notified” areas (including Sai Leela), where individuals are left in the hand of powers without collective “protection” mechanisms), seem to be adapted to neo-liberal expressions of planning practices (supported by certain political parties and intermediate institutions).

⁶⁷ This fact is due to socio-cultural and institutional conditions and the physical/demographical small dimensions of the community facilitate the process.

⁶⁸ This dynamic regards the community leader and his relations with slum dwellers. Community leader has the possibility to orient the community in taking certain decisions through the information coming from the communications/“negotiations” with the Municipality and the police, the inputs provided by external intermediate actors (in Sai Leela mainly YUVA) or the decisions taken by the PDO, which cannot be

action in the territory and the procedures are accepted and recognized by the community, through representatives of households/families: in this way, a certain distribution of power⁶⁹ is realized in spatial/planning practices. In Sai Leela, planning entails a larger scale of action through the PDO. Working mainly at the political level, during its history, the PDO has not been characterized by a proactive role in urban planning but, through intermediate institutions, supports dialogue with formal planning institutions (including State agencies working in infrastructures) and offers collective-mutual systems of help, which have been tried out only sporadically⁷⁰.

The mere existence of this network generates positive consequences in the behaviour of the authorities, which are interested in finding support and in maintaining a democratic attitude with NGOs and PDO representatives (applying decisions and procedures suggested by the panel at the community level⁷¹). Besides the PDO-YUVA support activities, the strengthening of the network potentialities is expected by slum dwellers: at the councils/CBOs level, the PDO can provide a larger space of interaction facilitating “legislative” processes and, at the household level, can promote individual initiatives, which would be difficult under the rigid control of community leaders. The path that has been explored in Sai Leela (and in other communities belonging to the PDO) allows imagining a change in the relations between urban powers and planning processes in not notified areas, which have been conceptualized by community research stakeholders through the following actions⁷²:

- *Felt needs* have to orient social networks activities, being the base for negotiation with public actors;
- *Setting the agenda*, as a democratic process, has to be defined in interaction between community leaders and civil society organizations, improving the experiences implemented in platforms like the PDO;
- *Decision-making* in its participatory dimension has to be strengthened, increasing the involvement of community organizations and slum dwellers in all the phases of the process.

directly controlled by community members (and in some cases not even from members of the community council). Due to the need in maintaining powers' equilibrium in place, the room of manouvre for this operation is however limited and forcing advantages given by misinformation can have negative consequences in community leader's perspective.

⁶⁹ Informal community planning actions can be seen here as attempts of setting structuralist-progressive power-planning relations, seeking a change in urban dynamics.

⁷⁰ An example consists in the “bank of materials” experimented by YUVA in Sai Leela as a one-off activity, which has not been replicated (from a legal point of view, supporting “not notified” settlements is seen as an action strengthening the un-planned fabric, fostering criminal affaires and circuits of underdevelopment).

⁷¹ This process indirectly facilitates community involvement in decision-making processes (entailing spatial/planning decisions), agenda and felt needs. To a certain degree the PDO is (and can become more directly) a sort of “unofficial” regulator entity for affiliates communities.

⁷² Among the different possibilities of classification, the researcher follows the connections planning actions-power (Forester, 1989).

These seeds for alternative relations between power and planning, to some extent in place in Sai Leela, entailing the roots of institutional set-ups in place, are present but not yet developed through practical activities in Rafi Nagar 2 and in Chikkalwadi, due to power balances. However these experiences allow us to outline new challenges for “not notified” settlements. In the case study context, sustainability, connected to the mitigation of urban fragmentation and to the promotion of inclusion, has to be understood in relation to equity: equal governance and development practices become real pre-conditions to speaking about the institutional sustainability of Mumbai’s illegal city. In order to achieve sustainable conditions and improvement of living conditions for slum dwellers, planning actors have necessarily to take into consideration both hard infrastructures (changing the systems of power in place, which foster fragmentation tendencies), and soft infrastructures (improving socio-cultural and political capitals, expressing the potentialities hidden in the social fabric).

8.6. Back to the analytical framework: summary of planning analysis

The case studies have shown two main institutions operating in the planning dimension: (i) the Municipality, which acts in a negative way on the illegal city, directly (through demolitions/evictions) and indirectly (implementing infrastructures for the formal city), without defining policies focused on “not notified” areas and legal inclusion in the city; (ii) the community informal institutions, either representing the authority as in Sai Leela or divested of power as in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi, which represent a positive/pro-active actor dealing with spatial/planning questions. In this context, settlements managed by community institutions conserve collective attitudes in spatial/planning decision-making processes, although this capacity seems to be weak in areas controlled by “big men”. In territories managed by criminal institutions, planning processes follow logics and interests of powers without entailing collective participatory practices and governance perspectives, marginalizing the role of the community and of individual slum dwellers (Question 4E).

An institutional approach to planning questions in “not notified” areas allows us to focus on two key aspects: (i) the institutional architecture in place, which connect the actors in the arena (which at the “fragment” level reveals complexities in relational terms) with the relations between powers, community institutions and slum dwellers; (ii) the processes of thought and word, and thus mental models, which influence planning rationalities in “not notified” areas (institutional set-ups controlling communities make the difference while coping strategies prioritize individual needs and habitat, limiting the space for elaborating collective strategies and interventions) (Question 4M).

The case studies have shown the need for community institutions’ empowerment in planning: this operation, embedded in more equal and sustainable conditions for “not

notified” areas, depends on the community institutional set-up. Community informal institutions play a key role in interpreting slum dwellers’ felt needs (and in conducting negotiations with powers, Municipality and formal intermediate institutions), fostering democratic, participatory and bottom-up processes. A marginalization of these institutions (which is in progress in Rafi Nagar 2 and in the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi) opens up scenarios of social pulverization and drifts towards authoritarian and repressive control of the territory by powers. Community institutions are also a key node in conflict resolution, at the scale of the settlement, and in mitigation of fragmentation tendencies, at the scale of the city. Thinking about equity and sustainability means rethinking power distribution through planning. In “not notified” areas, communities’ and slum dwellers’ involvement in spatial/planning questions is contextualized in scenarios characterized by hierarchic and passive cultural substrata: a cultural and political change, rediscovering active democratic consciousness, becomes a pre-condition to attain equity, and thus sustainability, in planning practices (Question 4T).

9. CONCLUSIONS

9.1. An institutional approach to urban fragmentation as an instrument to reflect on planning oriented to sustainability: the rationality of a power redistribution addressing equity

The research process started as an attempt to reflect on powers in the city of the Global South: urban fragmentation was chosen as one of the dynamics with significant explanatory power to engage with the question, becoming at the same time a tool and a field of action of the research. In this phase of global crisis, where the fundamentals of development models and socio-economic and cultural systems are thrown open for discussion, questioning urban fragmentation offers the opportunity to return to the discourse of sustainability (which often takes the shape of a trendy subject, impoverished in content) from a very radical perspective, where the meaning and the sense of the city are at stake. The need to overcome the sterile debate on sustainability in urban studies and the necessity of questioning power has oriented the choices taken during the research process (location of the research, focus of analysis, methodological approach). The first decision consisted in working in the context of the Global South cities where increasing inequalities and a continuous redesign of the rules of the game allow powers to be seen at work in the urban fabric in a more vivid way: exploring the recent urban formations of Mumbai, considered illegal by formal authorities and characterized by a deep socio-economic vulnerability, offers the possibility to discuss equity and inclusion from a perspective of rights to the city and achievement of institutional sustainability. A second decision driving the research was to work on planning, both because it appears as the area where urban fragmentation dynamics can be analysed in all their complexity, overcoming sectoral visions, and because it appears as an instrument of change in power distribution. The last decision that shaped the research methods was to approach the case studies in a qualitative way, providing a narrative that could show the complexity and the contradictions characterizing the reality, and could offer new elements to contrast with the literature on urban fragmentation.

The research topic and the experience in the field revealed a wide range of themes/questions underpinning urban fragmentation in the case study areas. The

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research has followed a few radical main streams as possible paths to engage with urban fragmentation:

- The links between the different socio-spatial forms resulting from urban fragmentation dynamics, entailing continuously territory, network, place and scale (questioning the tendency to explain fragmentation processes using only one structuring principle);
- The complexity of the institutional dimension in fragmentation processes (overcoming the tendency to use organizations as the main tool to analyse institutional assets and solutions, and rediscovering the role of what neo-institutionalist analysis identifies as mental models, here termed “processes of thought and word”) and the role of institutions in fragment formation and consolidation of relational geographies;
- Power as a factor creating the rationality through which institutional set-ups in not notified settlements take shape (questioning the idea of power as an external agent/force governing the illegal city from the outside);
- Planning as an instrument of inclusion and democracy addressing power redistribution (considering equity not just as an ethical reference point but as a pre-condition for any sustainable scenario), thus overcoming a technocratic vision of planning, which still predominates in Mumbai’s formal institutions.

The research dimensions (socio-spatial, institutional, power, planning) have presented several connections, which have been taken into consideration to contrast with the literature on urban fragmentation. The analysis questioned three myths appearing in the debate: (i) an only hypothetical unity (and homogeneity) of the fabric “before” the starting of fragmentation processes; (ii) the blind belief in answers found exclusively in the socio-spatial domain (morphological and typological parameters; socio-economic indicators) reducing urban fragmentation to a collateral effect of other processes; (iii) planning as a technical remedy for fragmentation dynamics (free of political connotations) while planning, if used as tool by powers, becomes in itself a factor of fragmentation. The results of the analysis opened these arguments up for discussion.

9.2. Fragmentation dynamics seen from the “illegal” city: lessons learnt in the empirical domain

In the literature Mumbai is considered almost unanimously as a fragmented city. In a first stage, this research sought to question this hypothesis through a view at the scale of the city, evaluating the possibility of working on urban fragmentation from the perspective of both the formal and the informal fabrics. Exploratory visits showed the complexity of this operation and, at the same time, uncovered the richness and the explanatory power of “not notified” slum settlements, un-recognized parts of the informal fabric where the absence of law and public protection policies have allowed

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the opening of deep fractures from the rest of the city and within the illegal fabric: to understand the phenomenon, the interest was focused on the most vulnerable part of the informal city. The three case studies, which cover the main types of “not notified” settlements, outline a scenario of social and then spatial fragmentation. Despite the existence of networks and common use of places, which keep slum dwellers together, territorial aspects (portions of land with different socio-spatial characteristics and borders emerging between communities/settlements) and transits between scales (which exclude “not notified” settlements from networks and projects at the city level) serve to underline fractures in terms of social assets, cultural-political character and religion. These characteristics are not just diversities inside homogeneous social fabrics but become factors of conflict between and within fragments (1E).

Socio-spatial analysis questions the concept of fragment itself: does it consist of a space inhabited by certain social groups/castes? Or is it a territory with specific spatial characteristics? The idea of fragment coming from the literature is fluid and authors refer to pieces of the fabric separated by voids in a spread-out urban context (Zaninetti, 2008); parts of the fabric characterized by certain morphological and physical conditions (Bouchanine and Balbo, 1995); territories with distinct levels of connection to networks (Coutard, 2008); territorial entities representing a formal-informal dichotomy according to the institutional set-ups in place (Cusinato and Michelutti, 2007). The fieldwork has shown the insufficiency of socio-spatial elements in determining fragments in the territory: there is no socio-spatial paradigm (or set of factors) that can help in comprehensively explaining the phenomenon. The analysis of the institutional roots structuring society (understood in their global meaning according to Emile Benveniste’s definition, which includes organizations, law, technologies, religions, processes of thought and word) allows us to understand the formation of separated territories (that can have similar socio-spatial characteristics in relation to the rest of built environment, as the Rafi Nagar 2 case study shows) and the creation of specific relational geographies between different fragments. Institutions shape fragments in socio-spatial terms and, at the same time, socio-spatial elements contribute to the consolidation of certain institutional set-ups; even in the Sai Leela case study, a pavement dweller community of only 30 families, applying an institutional approach revealed the complexity of the institutional dimension (although considering only the spatial/planning aspects) and the sensitiveness of cultural and organizational equilibria in determining the set-up in question (2E).

The institutional set-up of the fragment becomes the arena of conflict among powers: controlling organizations (and the institutions politically structuring community decision-making and setting agenda processes) and population behaviours (the institutions that shape the cultural background and citizens’ rationality) means having control of the territory, a strategic-tactical tool for the achievement of powers’ interests and a main field of action for powers in case study areas. The connection between institutions and

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power was obvious during the fieldwork: the existence of given institutional set-ups appeared possible only through the presence of specific power equilibria. Shaping and managing institutions decisively contribute to control the population and establish determined authorities over the territory. The case studies present three different models of authority based on criminal institutions/slum lords (Rafi Nagar 2), “big men” (Chikkalwadi) and community informal institutions/community leaders (Sai Leela). Not notified settlements’ power distribution goes from a concentration of power in the hands of one person (slum lords model) or of several individuals (big men model), to a distribution that involves more collectively community institutions and slum dwellers (community leaders model) (3E).

Once the equilibrium on the territory is found (it is stable in Sai Leela, in question in Rafi Nagar 2 and more dynamic, yet to be consolidated, in Chikkalwadi), powers become authorities, exercising their force, including spatial/planning choices. At the same time, the relation between power and planning has to be seen from the bottom, from the side of individuals suffering the action of powers. From the slum dwellers’ perspective, urban planning is an opportunity for community informal institutions to redefine their relations with the authorities:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, where community informal institutions and individual slum dwellers are limited in spatial/planning decisions, which are mainly taken by slum lords, power redistribution attempts take place in the form of violence and fights;
- In Chikkalwadi the political situation is much more articulated and criminal institution practices (in the West Bengal ghetto) are paralleled by initiatives that involve parts of the community in a more direct and participatory way (led by big men). Attempts at power distribution remain tied to individual initiatives and interest groups’ political visions;
- In Sai Leela, a certain sharing of spatial/planning decisions takes place and, within certain limits, participatory forms are consolidated. An increasing democratic attitude allows networking the community with an organization operating at the city level, breaking an exclusion tendency (4E). Power distribution becomes a community practice.

9.3. An institutional approach as a tool to analyse urban fragmentation: an assessment of the methodology

Through the fieldwork, two empirical poles emerge as guides to exploring urban fragmentation: the socio-spatial geographies of the phenomenon and the urban powers driving fragmentation processes. Starting from these elements, the methodology of the research was built to engage the sustainability of the illegal city understood as a condition of equity through power redistribution, seeking slum dwellers’ access to a

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system where basic rights to the city are guaranteed. The theme could sound ideological, but the first approach to the fieldwork immediately revealed the necessity of the question for Mumbai's urban governance. In the methodology this feedback from the field was translated into questioning the research methods that appear in the literature on fragmentation: despite making several fundamental contributions, anthropological, socio-economic and morphologic-spatial approaches seem to avoid (or to render only implicit) the political questions related to the phenomenon, which underpins a necessary reflection on power. Institutional approaches allow us to explore this field directly without diverting the research: nature of power, concept of authorities, strategies and tactics become the nodes to understand/conceptualize the fragmentation phenomenon (1M). Between the different institutional approaches that could be considered, the lesson from Benveniste (where power is one of the main analysed institutions) and his application of the deep meaning of institution fitted perfectly with the objectives of the research. The researcher's interests and logistical limitations led to choosing qualitative methods in applying the institutional approach and a narrative as output of the work. This solution seemed from the early stages the most suitable to explore the fluid relations in place between power and planning choices, rationality and institutional set-ups, mental models and political choices.

The institutional approach has allowed going beyond the socio-spatial aspects of urban fragmentation, exploring the (institutional) roots of processes that, in the spatial/planning domain, pertain to power relations. Using "institution" in its radical, deeply etymological, meaning has a double methodological facet: it becomes both a "structured field" which is the object of analysis and a "structuring principle" used to explore the other dimensions of the research. Applying the definition of institution in "not notified" areas shows the complexity of societal structures in a fragmented context:

- Law as a gap in access to rights for slum dwellers (between formal juridical/legal systems of the city and un-written informal/criminal systems of rules in force in the communities);
- Religion as co-presence of possible conflicts (in particular Hindu-Muslim);
- Caste as a factor designing spatial/planning hierarchies (though somehow impoverished in the global city);
- Processes of thought and word as elements of diversity/separation (in the approach of the community and individuals to the definition of felt needs, setting a priorities agenda, use of places and feeling of exclusion/bordering).

The institutional approach allows us to ask the question "Why?", engaging with processes that are rarely explored by other socio-spatial approaches to urban fragmentation, which offer mainly pictures of "How" the phenomenon characterizes urban fabrics (2M).

The concept of authority (and power relations between authorities) is key to defining the character and the mechanisms of fragmentation phenomena. Confirming that a

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simple consequential cause-and-effect relationship does not explain fragmentation dynamics, the fieldwork has shown connections between fragmentation dynamics and the character of power relations:

- The submission of community informal institutions to the rule of slum lords implies specific planning decision-making arrangements for Rafi Nagar 2 (and for the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi), which separate the interests of the community, oriented to a collective development, from the actual centres of powers, which follow criminal interests;
- The emerging role of big men, linked to political parties/clans, defending groups of interests, creates a sort of oligarchic organization of the territory in Chikkalwadi, where fights for power impede the consolidation of a policy for the whole community;
- The delicate equilibrium between community leader and extended family representatives, which constitutes power relations in Sai Leela (and in the areas where community informal institutional set-ups control the territory), explains decision-making and agenda-setting processes in spatial/planning choices.

Understanding in depth the rationality of planning in the illegal city is possible only by analysing power relations (3M).

The literature which in at least some degree links an institutional approach to planning practices is extensive, and taking a position within this universe has been necessary. Due to the necessity of taking into consideration power redistribution practices, the research approach has focused on collective decision-making and agenda-setting processes and on participatory involvement of slum dwellers in spatial/planning definitions of territory. The analysis of planning has led to a focus on rationalities of planning and the political implications that planning has in the societies of the illegal city: this vision goes beyond the technical/technocratic aspects of planning. This offers the space to question spontaneous and semi-spontaneous planning experiences in “not notified” slums. Community forms of planning promote inclusion in the city’s mechanisms in three different ways in case study areas:

- In Rafi Nagar 2, the very few community experiences of planning seek to overcome vertical institutional fragmentation between criminal institutions and informal community institutions (an operation addressing the integration with the informal neighbouring settlements, accompanied by intermediate institutions, mainly NGOs, with scarce results);
- In Chikkalwadi, planning experiences involving the entire community remain rare but however work to mitigate horizontal institutional fragmentation, characterizing “big men” systems (a strategy driven by political parties in order to achieve partnerships and integration with formal/informal neighbourhood areas);
- In Sai Leela, planning policies and practices, which are community driven and supported by NGOs, in part integrated with a network of pavement dweller

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communities (PDO), seek the recognition of basic rights through negotiation with public institutions (4M).

Box 9.1. The way forward: hypotheses for further explorations of urban fragmentation dynamics through institutional approaches

The experience in the fieldwork has offered elements to propose further applications of an institutional approach to urban fragmentation: these spaces entail research methods (exploring other tools within institutional approaches), work on other typologies of fragments (extending the analysis of relational geographies), the possibility of engaging other sectors/dimensions related to the institutional roots of the phenomenon (mainly focusing on socio-economic and political implications). Because of the researcher's limitations (including the impossibility of working directly in Hindi and Marathi), a deep analysis of the processes of word in the institutional set-ups characterising each fragment was not possible. In this field the research has only shown some implications of the question, using a very limited number of examples (6.2.1.). Working directly in the local language gives not only logistic advantages but also opens a space for analysing dependencies and hierarchies in relational geographies "through the language", offering other perspectives to the interviewing process. Consequent positive effects of the incorporation of processes of word into the method will regard the study of the "rites" embedded in socio-spatial relations, which have been only sporadically explored in this work.

Following the objective of the research, the choice of case studies aimed to focus on the most vulnerable subjects in fragmentation processes. Due to logistical limitations, a global analysis of all fragment types was not feasible. Of course this does not mean that an analysis of fragmentation processes from the perspective of informal and formal fragments is sterile. On the contrary, socio-spatial analyses have shown a rich fabric of relations between different kinds of fragments, which enable us to see the dynamics involving parts of the social fabric (in part) excluded from this work. Taking into consideration other fragments would probably entail limiting the analysis of power relations in their extreme shapes but would allow exploring the break-up of access to land, discontinuity in housing and splintering dynamics in service provision at a higher level (city scale). In this case, the discourse on sustainability will probably appear smoother and the accent on equity will seem less urgent.

The research made several efforts to underline the multi-sectoral character of urban fragmentation phenomena. Because of the researcher's background (as an architect and urban planner), sensitivity and interests (in power rationality and its influence in determining urban planning practices), the work has focused on relations between the concepts of power-rationality-planning and urban fragmentation dynamics: this has not precluded the appearance of other elements enriching the analysis, which could not be taken into consideration initially. An analysis working at higher scales would at least offer a view on the consequences of great economic polarities on fragmentation processes; exploring these mechanisms would probably entail a redesign of research methods and a loss of the community dimension. It would however offer another picture of the policies regarding the illegal city, which are not always visible at the community scale.

9.4. Equity as a factor of sustainability for the "illegal" urban fabric of Mumbai: theoretical implications of power distribution in urban fragmentation processes

Urban fragmentation has been conceptualized through different approaches in the contexts of both the North and the South of the world. In both cases, the political/ideological background embedded with the question emerges in all its vigour:

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analysing fragmentation means taking into consideration inequalities, and the political roots of the phenomenon appear immediately. As regards the context of the South, this recognition is even more unavoidable than in that of the North. Despite providing several elements to the discussion, morphologic-physical approaches to urban fragmentation are lack consideration of the political roots of the phenomenon, which are, at least implicitly, recognized by anthropologic-cultural and socio-economic approaches. The need to focus on the institutional-political dimension is connected to the multi-sectoral nature of fragmentation phenomena: in this dimension, the socio-spatial and institutional complexity and the articulated relations between power and rationality can find a sense, overcoming the limitations of mono-sectoral approaches (which tend to reduce the phenomenon to restricted circuits where technicalities are supposed to explain the whole dynamic). If the focus goes from the analysis of the phenomenon to its mitigation (usually the phenomenon is considered negative in the literature), the limitations of different approaches consist of the absence of solutions or at least a lack of consistency in the strategies: few authors offer a response to the phenomenon (some allude to an answer coming from the outside or lying in an external actor, playing at city level -frequently the Municipality-, able to act in favour of inclusion, integration and redistribution of resources, depending on the analytical interpretation of the dynamic). The case studies have shown how, at the micro-level, the solution has to be sought within the socio-institutional fabric of the communities and how, at the macro-level, the response is connected to the lack of public urban policies addressing equity and inclusion (1T).

The institutional approach has led to exploring the institutional roots of fragment formation and border definition, respectively understood as institutional break-up and the socio-spatial translation of different institutional set-ups in the territory. The fieldwork has provided elements to consolidate a definition of "fragment": a territory characterized by specific institutional set-ups in terms of organizations structuring decision-making processes (focusing here on spatial/planning decisions) and in terms of individuals' cultural background, rationality and behaviours in relation to space. The case studies have shown three different levels-states of fragmentation:

- Rafi Nagar 2, fragmentation in relation to the rest of the fabric (with clear institutional breaks in set-ups with the neighbouring areas) and internal tension due to a fight for power and competition between different criminal organizations (slum lord driven system with a secondary role for community institutions);
- Sai Leela, fragmentation in relation to the formal fabric (but continuity in institutional forms with the other pavement dweller communities) and internal homogeneity (central role for community informal institutions);
- Chikkalwadi, fragmentation in relation to the neighbouring informal/formal areas with internal conflicts (competition between different "big men" institutional

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systems) and possible generation of a new fragment under control of criminal institutions (the “West Bengal ghetto”).

According to these states, three types of border have been found, depending on the institutional set-up and socio-spatial character of the fragments (“visible” in Sai Leela; “invisible” in Rafi Nagar 2; “immaterial/scattered/negated” in Chikkalwadi) (2T).

The analysis of power represents a further step within the institutionalist approach. The recognition of the role of power in urban fragmentation theories passes through the analysis of the consolidation in the territory of institutional set-ups, which depends to some extent on cultural inheritances but mainly on the actions of powers. Power analysis in the case study areas has shown three power systems (in terms of scale and relations):

- Economic-political formal powers, taking not notified communities as markets, mainly in services provision (direct individual relations between power and slum dweller/household);
- Powers at high scale (city or urban region levels) including public organizations and criminal institutions with hierarchic control of the territory (co-presence of direct relations between powers and slums dwellers and indirect relations through intermediate institutions);
- Power at local scale (settlement level) including informal community institutions and criminal organizations (co-presence of direct relations between powers and slum dwellers or indirect relations through extended family representatives).

Once specific power equilibriums are established, powers become authorities and processes of consolidation of institutional set-ups start. The nature of the authorities in “not notified” settlements can be represented with key figures:

- The authority of “the Lord over the Servants” in territories controlled by criminal institutions (as in Rafi Nagar 2 and the West Bengal ghetto of Chikkalwadi) due to slum lords’ decision/strategy of taking “risk” (operating outside the law) in governing the communities (risk that is not shared by slum dwellers and community institutions);
- The authority of “the Chief over the Band” in territories under “big men” control (as in Chikkalwadi) due to the capacity of designing projects (which however remain localised, frequently involving only one specific need or sector), offering future visions/plans for their supporters (protecting interests groups);
- The authority of “the Father over the Son” (or the authority of the “Tradition”) in areas under informal community institutions’ control (like Sai Leela), effectively managed by community leaders, where powers use cultural devices (beliefs, customs, assumed rules and rites) to consolidate their authority.

Initial experiences of more democratic and collective forms of organization of “not notified” communities, based on new forms of power distribution (like the PDO network), have been implemented in Sai Leela. These experiences offer a different model of power relations, which call to mind, in Kojève’s words, the authority of “the

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Judge”, based on equity (considered by the philosopher as a factor of durability), thus a sustainable authority from an institutional point of view. Of course powers’ articulation in case study areas is context dependent and presents a composite nature where two (or more) types of authority co-exist (3T). Power is a factor of horizontal fragmentation, with different organizations fighting to find a favourable equilibrium in the territory (as in the contrasts between formal actors and community informal institutions in Sai Leela). Power is also a factor of vertical fragmentation (through hierarchies), with contrasts between authorities seeking control and organizations reclaiming autonomy (like community informal institutions in Rafi Nagar 2 and Chikkalwadi).

From this perspective, where the illegal city becomes a stage for fighting between powers, urban planning has been analysed both as an instrument of the authorities to wield power and as tool in the hands of public and community institutions to redistribute power, mitigating horizontal and vertical power break-up. With the exception of the Municipality, authorities exercising power through planning in not notified settlements are confined to a local dimension (and hypothetical connections with powers at city scale appear on a second plane or are completely unreadable), thus action on planning decision-making and agenda-setting processes reflects the scale of the fragment:

- In areas controlled by criminal institutions (slum lords), decisions of the authorities in urban planning involve mainly the control of land access and the (illegal) connections with formal networks for services provision (complete control of authorities in decision-making and agenda setting; interest in exclusion in relation to formal/informal fabrics, in keeping slum dwellers without recognition and in avoiding participatory and democratic practices);
- In areas controlled by big men, authorities plan localised projects, mainly connections with formal networks (partial control of authorities in decision-making and agenda setting; interest in inclusion with formal/informal fabrics, in formal recognition of slum dwellers, which should be partial, maintaining the actual power equilibrium; interest in supporting participatory practices);
- In areas controlled by community informal institutions, authorities approach planning in a global sense, responding to population felt needs in spatial questions (control of authorities in decision-making and agenda setting is shared with slum dwellers; interest in inclusion with formal/informal fabrics, in full formal recognition of slum dwellers and in the promotion of participatory and democratic practices).

If we consider urban planning as a tool to bring about a redesign of power equilibria, there are two main actors in the game, influencing from outside the dynamics at the community level:

- The Municipality, which acts in “not notified” settlements in a contradictory way, merging the official strategies (clearance of the illegal city) with unofficial planning practices, which *de facto* tolerate “not notified” settlements, offering support in services provision;

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- Networks of communities, such as the PDO, supported by NGOs, which try to lay the basis for a negotiation with public formal institutions and to take some strategic decisions on spatial/planning questions.

If we consider internal actions to address power redistribution, the limitations of community informal institutions and individual slum dwellers in subverting power equilibria in place are clear, but spatial/planning decisions appear as one of the areas where contrasts are more visible and change is felt as more urgent by the population. In “not notified” settlements, urban planning becomes a structured field/structuring principle, existing only at the local scale, and community informal institutions represent the only panel considering planning as a collective spatial question (for criminal institutions, taking or influencing spatial/planning decisions is merely a tactic in pursuing particular interests). Within the research perspective, a rethinking of the role of the community, which implies a redistribution of power addressing equity (thus mitigating fragmentation tendencies) and recognition of rights, seems to represent a key step for any sustainable scenario in the illegal city (4T).

9.5. Conclusion: urban fragmentation as a question of power, and its mitigation as a strategy to address sustainability

Urban fragmentation appears as a socio-economic and spatial phenomenon, which has institutional roots. Inside (and beyond) the institutional dimension, powers play in “not notified” areas according to their interests, designing relations and hierarchies between organizations operating in the same space; powers at the local scale have complete control of illegal territory, imposing specific uses of places and restricted access to networks but, at another personal level, also influence slum dwellers’ mental models, determining rationality in spatial/planning choices, creating rites and forms of language in the relations between slum dwellers and authorities. Socio-spatial elements provide a picture of the phenomenon, offering an image of the inequalities in urban fabric (fragmentation does not consist of simple “diversities” in socio-spatial character but entails forms of contrasts/conflicts between parts of the fabric). Institutional factors allow the detection of the roots of the phenomenon, showing how fragments take shape in the territory and which kind of relational geographies link together (or irremediably separate) different fragments (fragmentation is not simply a spatial consequence of socio-economic dynamics, but involves the structures of society in the city). Ultimately the discourse on power explores the rationality of the process, showing “why” fragmentation dynamics take particular institutional shapes in specific territories (1GQ).

The rationality of powers’ actions in the case study areas consists in the maintenance and growth of control of the territory, addressing the furthering of their interests. These conditions allow us to define the field in which planning is operating: in a initial

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approach, planning in not notified areas seems to entail decision-making and agenda-setting in responding to basic needs; but urban planning is also an instrument by means of which authorities consolidate power equilibriums in the territory. Experiences in Sai Leela have revealed how community and intermediate institutions are trying to rethink planning as a tool, promoting a new vision of development for the illegal city. Despite presenting several limitations, these attempts have shown how these parts of the fabric can achieve sustainability only through a more equitable distribution of power, which would enable the pursuit of solutions tackling rights and socio-economic inequalities. Unequal power distribution is the basis of conflictive situations, which maintain insecurity and violence and have contributed in fostering a “policing practice” in public control of territory. The permanence of these conditions calls into question the existence of “not notified” settlements in itself, independently of the legal status of those areas.

Seeking a response to this tendency, certain community informal (and intermediate) institutions are trying to use spatial/planning to address inequality reduction and real sustainability for slum dwellers, for the moment with insufficient results. Some communities are already experimenting with systems involving a more shared responsibility in spatial/planning questions, enabling work at the city scale, as in the case of the PDO, which involves Sai Leela. The Municipality, which remains the main actor for the development of urban policies, offers the potential for inclusion of the illegal city. The recognition of “not notified” areas allows access to basic rights to the city and to formal circuits, with an improvement of living conditions in socio-economic terms, but also in the consciousness of the liberating value of the city. The fieldwork has shown how exclusion certainly favours specific economic-political powers and, at the same time, inclusive practices mitigating fragmentation present collective advantages. If Mumbai wants to achieve sustainability, urban planning tools have to address reduction/control of fragmentation tendencies, extending the socio-spatial networks, operating a redesign of services and supporting informal housing. All these (and other) interventions have as a precondition the possibility of an interaction between the different institutional set-ups characterizing the different fragments. Urban fragmentation mitigation remains a complex political choice: however, if authorities decide to promote power redistribution addressing equity, scenarios of sustainability can be possible even for the illegal city of Mumbai (2GQ).

APPENDICES

A.1. EVOLUTION OF THE RESEARCH

The analysis of the literature on urban fragmentation shows different positions in the theoretical definition of the question and several approaches to enter in the debate. After considering the possible ways forward, the research was focused on understanding how “urban powers”, in the context of the city of the South, are playing onto urban planning inside urban fragmentation processes: this choice enables to explore urban fragmentation through an institutional approach, to understand the role played by the different actors in shaping the process and to think about the sustainability of such kind of fragmented panorama, re-thinking again in this context key issues such as governance, right to city, equity and participation in planning decisions. The evolution of the research interests both the theoretical and the empirical domains, while, in the methodological aspects, certain continuity can be seen in the different steps of the evolution. In the theoretical domain the field experiences refine the research through the following steps: urban services; urban planning and power in urban planning. In the empirical domain, the steps regard: informal areas of Dar es Salaam; formal and informal areas of Mumbai and “not notified” slums of Mumbai. The methodological approach maintains a character related to an institutional approach to the question with modifications that will be detailed below. In the following lines, a synthetic summary of the evolution of the research is presented.

The area of analysis of the research lies in urban planning. This sector was chosen after a reflection on the scenarios which appeared with the presentation of the first research proposal¹. That proposal was focused on a specific sector (urban services, and in particular water provision) after the researcher’s field experience in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), within a research project implemented by the GRECDH (UPC)². In

¹ After a general review of the literature on urban fragmentation that constitutes the *Trabajo de recerca tutelado* (Research tutored work) presented in February 2007, the proposal was presented in October 2008 at the Technical University of Catalonia (UPC) as *Proyecto de tesis* (Thesis project), a necessary step to be authorised to produce a thesis in the UPC. The *Proyecto de tesis* presentation confers the *Diploma de estudios avanzados* (Diploma of advanced studies) that includes the *Suficiencia Investigadora* (Capability of research) that allows the PhD Candidate to produce a PhD thesis.

² The research project called “Evaluation on Urban Development Programmes Related to Water Access and Urban Services in Big Agglomerations” was implemented by the Research Group in Cooperation and Human Development (GRECDH) of the Technical University of Catalonia (UPC) based in Barcelona (Spain). The project was funded by the Catalan Agency of Cooperation for Development (ACCD) in 2007.

this first proposal, which was an *ex-post* result of the fieldwork for the GRECDH research project, on the one hand the focus on a specific sector facilitated the approach to the theme (which is consolidated in the literature on “splintering urbanism” and fragmentation in services provision); on the other hand, this focus implied a significant loss in the comprehension of a phenomenon that is radically multilayered and rich in conceptual diversities. Due to the fact that the interest of the researcher lies in exploring the institutional roots of the phenomenon (and not the urban services sector itself) and due to logistic problems which emerged in Tanzania, the research proposal was re-shaped, trying to orient the efforts in the theoretical and methodological domains on the search for some of the roots of urban fragmentation.

A new version of the analytical framework of the thesis was re-built through the development of three areas of interest: the analysis of the fragments and their relationships (and the “anatomy” of the phenomenon, in its basic and initial dualism between formal and informal institutions) through basic socio-spatial categories (territory, scale, place and network -the TSPN framework³-); the mechanisms characterizing the institutions that are supposed to govern portions of territory; and the perspectives of institutional sustainability and governance of fragmentation processes in the urban planning dimension. During this phase the first exploration trip in the field (Mumbai, India) was conducted. The feedback from the first experience opened new key perspectives, which implied a further re-definition of the framework, in order to merge the theoretical needs defined in Europe with the demands which emerged from the field, in a research where the “context” itself, with its problematic scenario and richness, plays a key role. The questions that the first trip put on the table were discussed formally and informally at the 11th N-Aerus Conference⁴ held in Brussels and then, in a detailed way, during supervision meetings at the Centre for Environment and Human Settlements (CEHS) of the Heriot-Watt University, in Edinburgh.

The new shape of the research is the result of this critical process: the tools for the analysis of both the spatial domain of urban fragmentation (based on the TSPN framework) and the institutional domain (built on the distinction between the categories formal, informal and intermediate) have been re-thought in order to find more elastic tools in the interpretation of the phenomenon. During the analysis of the analytical framework weaknesses, to understand the roots of the phenomenon appears to require

³ The TSPN framework was presented by Jessop, Brenner and Jones (2008) with the title “Theorizing socio-spatial relations” was focused in re-thinking the mono-dimensional approaches to socio-spatial relations, considering it fundamental to explore all the possible interconnections between the four basic concepts that they suggest for the socio-spatial relational analysis.

⁴ The Conference entitled “Assessing and exploring the state of Urban Knowledge: its production, use, and dissemination in the city of the South” was held in Brussels in October 2010. The researcher presented a paper entitled “An analytical framework for urban fragmentation analysis in the Global South city. Questioning urban planning practices through an institutional approach”, in the parallel session on “Reviewing and Renewing the Urban/Rural Dimensions”. During the session, the time for the discussion was very limited so the debate on the paper and the assimilation of feedback continued during the conference in informal ways.

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exploring the role and presence of urban powers and of the relationships of power between actors. This analysis can provide an entry point to understand the organization of space and the control of the territory: in this sense urban planning seems to be a key dimension to analyse the role of the different institutions in a fragmented urban fabric.

Table A.1. Evolution of the research		
Evolution of the research	Feedback from the field	Decisions
Phase 1_Holistic view of urban fragmentation (October 2006-February 2007) Presentation of the Supervised Research Work (<i>Trabajo de Recerca Tutelado</i>) (February 2007)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus the work on institutions and their relationships with fragmentation dynamics in the city, after literature review.
Phase 2_Research project on urban services in Dar es Salaam (thought as argument for a fragmentation study). (March 2007-July 2008) Fieldwork February-May 2008; Informal meetings in DPU (UCL) London and CEHS (HWU) Edinburgh (April 2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Splintering in urban services and the possibility to reflect on urban fragmentation dynamics; Territorial vision of urban fragmentation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use the fragmentation tendencies in Dar es Salaam as starting point to reflect on urban fragmentation.
Phase 3_Sectoral analysis on urban services in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) through an institutional approach to explore fragmentation processes. (August 2008-March 2010) ⁵ Presentation of Research Project Proposal (<i>Proyecto de Tesis</i>) (October 2008)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Come back from a sector vision to an holistic vision of the question; Pass from urban services to urban planning as subject to enter in urban fragmentation analysis.
Phase 4_Urban planning in Mumbai (India) as area of interest in exploring fragmentation through an institutional approach and TSPN framework. (April 2010-November 2010) Period 1 in CEHS (May 2010): Fieldwork August-October 2010; Period 2 in CEHS (November	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consider the great variety of problems connected to urban fragmentation; Realise the difficulties in finding an appropriate case study to explore formal-informal contexts; Consider the role of the "urban powers" and their importance in the analysis of institutions and territory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Invert the logical sequence of the analytical framework: from fragmentation and institutions to powers in a fragmented context and planning for sustainability; Analyse power distribution as fragmentation factor; Explore the role of urban

⁵ During the 2009 the researcher was working in Palestine as project manager of the research project "Increase of water availability and access in areas vulnerable to drought in the West Bank" (OSRO/GAZ/808/ITA), funded by the Italian Cooperation Agency and implemented by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the Gruppo di Volontariato Civile (GVC), the Palestinian Hydrology Group (PHG), the Union of Agricultural Workers Committees (UAWC) and the Land Research Centre (LRC).

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2010)		planning related to equity for a more sustainable city.
Phase 5_Powers and planning in Mumbai (India) slums to understand urban fragmentation and scenarios of sustainability and equity through an institutional approach. (December 2010-March 2011) Fieldwork November 2010-February 2011; Period 3 in CEHS (March 2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus the attention on a limited portion of the city (attention on “not notified slums”); • Consider the importance of the legal framework for informal settlement analysis; • Explore connections between informality and formality (role played by criminal institutions). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of four analysis areas for the research (socio-spatial; institutional; planning; power); • Need of exploring relational geographies between fragments; • Emerging of the connections powers-institutions through “rationality”.
Phase 6_Powers and rationalities engaging (institutionally) urban fragmentation as factors of equity (thus sustainability) in Mumbai “illegal” settlements. (April 2011-April 2013)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploring possibilities of qualitative analysis; • Narrative as writing-up technique of reference.

A.2. FIELDWORK STATISTICS

Table A.2. Fieldwork statistics	
Activity	No.
Exploration visits (accompanied by local institutions)	14
Interviews with “research support group”	23
Interviews with key informants/stakeholders	25
Interviews in the field	43
Participant observation days	10
Direct observation	*
*see comments in the sub-section 3.7.2.	

A.3. EXPLORATORY VISITS

Table A.3. Exploratory visits		
Community	Date	Institution accompanying in the exploration visit
Trip 1		
Govandi-Laloo Bhai Compound	15-09-2010	TISS
PMGP Colony	15-09-2010	TISS
Anik Panjapol Link Road	23-09-2010	Slum Rehabilitation Society
Shanti Nagar	27-09-2010	Apnalaya
Rafi Nagar 1	28-09-2010	Apnalaya
Rafi Nagar 2 (Baba Nagar)	28-09-2010	Apnalaya
Dr. Ambedkar Nagar	05-10-2010	Slum Rehabilitation Society
MP Mills Compound	06-10-2010	SDC
Dharavi (Banwari Compound)	09-10-2010	SPARC
Krantijyoti Pavement	12-10-2010	YUVA
Sai Leela Pavement	12-10-2010	YUVA
Sangarsh Wasahat Pavement	12-10-2010	YUVA
Trip 2		
Anna Bhau Sathe Nagar	19-01-2010	TISS
Maharashtra Nagar	19-01-2010	TISS

A.4. ROLE OF THE RESEARCH SUPPORT GROUP IN SHAPING THE FIELDWORK

Table A.4. Role of “research support group” in shaping the fieldwork		
	Date	Relevance of the interview for the evolution of the research and the methodology
Trip 1		
R.N. Sharma	31-08-2010	Need to focus on criminal institutions in slum areas
	07-09-2010	Re-think role of public actors dealing with slum upgrading or redevelopment
	15-09-2010	
	21-09-2010	Consider networking coming from migration dynamics in the slums
	22-09-2010	
Amita Bhide	29-09-2010	Hypothesis of slums' classification in Mumbai
R.N. Sharma	01-10-2010	Think about areas that include slums and upper class settlements (like Andheri)
	11-10-2010	
Trip 2		
R.N. Sharma	30-11-2010	Consider pavement dweller communities near dockyards
	06-12-2010	
	13-12-2010	Involve MCGM in the research to get data on selected case study areas
	24-12-2010	
Ruchi Sinha	24-12-2010	Detect relations of informality-criminality in Rafi Nagar 2
R.N. Sharma	27-12-2010	Consider informal areas of recent formation, North-East Mumbai (Mankhurd)
Ruchi Sinha	08-01-2011	To understand Rafi Nagar 2, need to explore dumping ground and police station
	10-01-2011	Consider links between political parties and urban development in Rafi Nagar 2
R.N. Sharma	12-01-2011	
Ruchi Sinha	12-01-2011	Explore possible phenomena of “micro-ghettoisation” in Rafi Nagar 2
R.N. Sharma	13-01-2011	
Amita Bhide	17-01-2011	Analyse relations between “not notified” and “notified” part of settlements
R.N. Sharma	19-01-2011	
	21-01-2011	
	03-02-2011	

A.5. INTERVIEWS WITH “KEY INFORMANTS”

Table A.5. Interviews with “key informants”		
	Date	Institution (and position)
Trip 1		
KI1	17-09-2010	Slum Rehabilitation Society
KI2	20-09-2010	Tata Institute of Social Science (Associate Professor)
KI3	21-09-2010	Tata Institute of Social Science (Associate Professor)
KI4	21-09-2010	YUVA
KI5	24-09-2010	MMRDA
KI6	27-09-2010	Apnalaya
KI7	06-10-2010	SDC (Project Manager)
KI8	07-10-2010	Hiray S.S. Trust's College of Architecture (Professor)
KI9	09-10-2010	National Slum Dweller Federation
KI10	09-10-2010	Centre for Slum Studies
Trip 2		
KI11	07-12-2010	Apnalaya
KI12	07-12-2010	SRA (Deputy Chief Engineer)
KI13	15-12-2010	MCGM (Development Plan Department, Executive Engineer)
KI14	10-01-2011	Mumbai Brihan Police (Zone 6)
KI15	19-01-2011	Mumbai Brihan Police (Zone 6)
KI16	20-01-2011	Tata Institute of Social Sciences (Visiting Professor)
KI17	25-01-2011	Force (Officer)
KI18	25-01-2011	Apnalaya
KI19	02-02-2011	MCGM (Development Plan Department, Executive Engineer)
KI20	04-02-2011	Pavement Dwellers Organization
KI21	07-02-2011	Apnalaya (Project Manager)
KI22	09-02-2011	MMRDA
KI23	10-02-2011	MCGM
KI24	11-02-2011	YUVA
KI25	11-02-2011	MCGM (M/East Ward, Executive Engineer)

A.6. INTERVIEWS IN CASE STUDY AREAS

Table A.6. Interviews in case study areas		
Name	Date	Position and characteristics of the interviewed
Rafi Nagar 2 (Baba Nagar)		
RN1	29-12-2010	Community leader
RN2	29-12-2010	Household, woman
RN3*	29-12-2010	Woman
RN4	15-01-2011	Household, woman
RN5	15-01-2011	Household
RN6	17-01-2011	Household, street vendor
RN7	18-01-2011	Community leader ^o
RN8	31-01-2011	Woman
RN9	31-01-2011	Woman
RN10	31-01-2011	Woman
RN11	31-01-2011	Woman
RN12	01-02-2011	Household, woman
RN13	01-02-2011	Household
RN14	01-02-2011	Household
RN15	08-02-2011	Member of community committee (from Rafi Nagar 1)
RN16	08-02-2011	Young man (from Rafi Nagar 1)
Sai Leela Pavement Dwellers Community		
SL1	26-01-2011	Community leader
SL2	26-01-2011	Woman
SL3*	26-01-2011	Household
SL4	26-01-2011	Household, member of the community committee
SL5*	08-02-2011	Household
SL6	08-02-2011	Woman
SL7	08-02-2011	Woman
Chikkalwadi		
C1	27-01-2011	Local politician [^]
C2	28-01-2011	Community leader ^{oo>}
C3	28-01-2011	Woman
C4	28-01-2011	Household, street vendor
C5	28-01-2011	Woman
C6	29-01-2011	Woman
C7	29-01-2011	Household
C8	29-01-2011	Woman
C9	29-01-2011	Woman
C10	02-02-2011	Community leader ^{oo>} (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 2)
C11	02-02-2011	Household (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 2)
C12	03-02-2011	Community leader ^{oo>} (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 2)
C13	03-02-2011	Woman (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 2)
C14	05-02-2011	Community leader ^{ooo} (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 2)
C15	05-02-2011	Woman (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 2)

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C16	05-02-2011	Woman (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 2)
C17	09-02-2011	Community leader °°°°°(from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 1)
C18	09-02-2011	Woman (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 1)
C19	09-02-2011	Woman (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 1)
C20	09-02-2011	Woman (from Anna Bhu Sathe Nagar, part 1)
<p>*interviews with the active presence of other persons; >interviews with presence of other members of the community; °President of the association KKS and of the committee "Roshni Mahila"; °°Religious leader of the Ahmed Raza Husaini Majid; °°°President of the committee "Sayrat Saywa Mandal"; °°°°President of Woman Association of Anna Bhau Sathe Nagar 2; °°°°°President of Woman Association of Anna Bhau Sathe Nagar 1;^Samajwadi Party based in Shivaji Nagar Samajwadi Party Office</p>		

A.7. INTERVIEW GUIDELINES: COMMUNITY LEADER

Which is the current state of your community?

- _Composition (possible formal and informal parts)
- _Borders (characteristics)

- _Income (source, differences)
- _Religion (which, one or more than one)
- _Political Parties (presence and activities in the community)
- _Migrant people (from where, how many)

Which is the story of your community?

- _Formation of the community (when, how)
- _Land (invasion, division and sell)
- _Housing (access, typologies -number of rooms; materials; services (water, electricity, etc)-, owning-rent)
- _Upgrading (yes, no, which kind)
- _Redevelopment/re-settlement (yes, no, people interested; where)
- _Demolitions/evictions (when, where, which entity)

Which kind of organizations are working in the community and who is deciding what (in terms of planning)?

- _Internal organization (representative process)
- _Organizations (CBOs, NGOs)
- _Private sector (formal, informal)
- _Criminality (forms and sectors of action; influence in the territory)

Which are the relationships between the community and the other communities of the area and with the city centre?

- _Sharing resources (places, services) inside-outside/outside-inside
- _Associations with other communities of the ward
- _Conflicts

Which are the negotiations with other stakeholders?

- _Role of the community in key planning decisions (redevelopment, upgrading, new members, services, etc.)*
- _Negotiation with public sector (relationship with BMC, Maharashtra State Agencies)
- _Negotiation with private sector (definition of rehabilitation project, if any; interest for the land)

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- _Negotiation with criminality (provision of land, house and services)
- _Institutions that facilitate the negotiation (NGOs)

*How is organized the participation in the planning decisions?

- _opportunity of participation (for the community)
- _mechanisms of participation
- _who and how is participating

A.8. INTERVIEW GUIDELINES: HOUSEHOLD

What is your household like?

- _Composition (members, general information)
- _Income (source, differences)
- _Religion (which, one or more than one)
- _Migrant family (from where, why)

Can you tell me briefly the story of your household?

- _Arrival in this community (when, how)
- _Housing (access, typologies -number of rooms; materials; services (water, electricity, etc)-, owning or rent)
- _Land Tenure (property, formal-informal documents, illegal state)
- _Upgrading (improvements in the house or in the basic services)
- _Redevelopment/Re-settlement (yes, no; if yes when, where and inside which project)
- _Demolitions/Evictions (yes, no; if yes when, where and why)

To which kind of organizations can you go to deal with problems in housing, land tenure and basic services?

- _Community and Civil Society Organizations (CBOs, NGOs; for what; level of service-efficiency)
- _Public organizations (for what, level of service-efficiency)
- _Private sector agencies (if any, which, for what, level of service-efficiency)
- _Criminality (slum lord or other forms of criminal organizations; if any, for what, level of service-efficiency)

Which are your contacts with people from other communities and which are the facilities located in other parts of the city that you are using?

- _Job (inside-outside the community, if outside, where, how)
- _Resources (places, services)
- _Other kinds of relationships with people or institutions inside-outside and outside-inside the community
- _Conflicts-problems

To what extent do you participate in the decisions that involve housing, land and services issues?

- _opportunity for participation (for the households in the community's decisions)
- _mechanisms for participation (in CBOs or NGOs; religious and political life; public institutions)
- _who and how is participating (inside the household)

A.9. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Table A.9. Participant observations		
Location	Date	Spatial object or process observed
Rafi Nagar 2	10-01-2011	Extension of the community to the dumping ground
	11-01-2011	Relationship with the <i>nala</i> ; new land occupation
	17-01-2011	Exploration of <i>para</i> and consolidated housing
	18-01-2011	Border with dumping ground
	25-01-2011	Borders (and relations) with Rafi Nagar 1
Chikkalwadi	27-01-2011	Exploration of the community and consolidated housing
Rafi Nagar 2	31-01-2011	New housing (1)
	01-02-2011	New housing (2); new toilet facilities
Chikkalwadi	02-02-2011	Exploration of the border with Anna Bhau Sathe Nagar Part 2
Sai Leela Pavement	08-02-2011	Relations with street and new MMRDA "monorail" project

A.10. RAFI NAGAR 2: LOCATION

Box A.10. Rafi Nagar 2: location



Figure A.10.1. Location of Rafi Nagar 2 at Mumbai scale.



Figure A.10.2. Location of Rafi Nagar 2 inside the Shivaji Nagar area (circled in transparent grey).



Figure A.10.3. Distinction between Rafi Nagar 2 (informal part, commonly "Baba Nagar", in red), Rafi Nagar 1 (in grey) and the "buffer zone" between the two parts (in transparent grey) according to the perception of the interviewees.

Source: Google Earth (image downloaded at 17/3/2011, modified by Enrico Michelutti).

A.11. SAI LEELA PAVEMENT DWELLER COMMUNITY: LOCATION

Box A.11. Sai Leela Pavement Dweller Community: Location



Figure A.11.1. Location of Sai Leela Pavement Dweller Community at Mumbai scale (identified in grey the Parel area).



Figure A.11.2. Location of the community (in red) inside the Parel Village area (circled in transparent grey).



Figure A.11.3. Extension of the community in October 2010 (plain plus transparent red) and in January 2011 (in plain red).

LocSource: Google Earth (image downloaded at 18-04-2011, modified by Enrico Michelutti).

A.12. CHIKKALWADI: LOCATION

Box A.12. Chikkalwadi: location



Figure A.12.1. Location of Chikkalwadi (in red) and the Mankhurd area (in transparent grey) at the scale of Mumbai.



Figure A.12.2. Chikkalwadi (in transparent red) in the Mankhurd area.



Figure A.12.3. Chikkalwadi (in red), Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 1 (in dark transparent grey) and Annabhau Sathe Nagar part 2 (in light transparent grey) constituting the three parts of the settlement.

Source: image from Google Earth (downloaded the 09-05-2011, modified by Enrico Michelutti).

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