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# Making participatory land policy in Pune, India

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# Declaration

I, Harshavardhan Rajeev Alka Jatkar, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Harshavardhan Jatkar

# Abstract

Land is significant to politics in India. The Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) of the Government of Maharashtra (GoM) seeks to rehabilitate slum-dwellers by using land as a resource. Whereas there are many theoretical and practical ways of conceptualising, using, and politicising land, how people subjected to the slum rehabilitations imagine, use and politicise land remains underexplored. This thesis explores people's land subjectivities during the implementation of the state-sanctioned SRP in India.

To do so, I draw from postcolonial theory and subaltern studies to interrogate a socially made 'participatory land policy' (PLP). This socially made PLP is visible through my proposed postcolonial sensory field, which constitutes people's contextually articulated land subjectivities and participatory encounters between government and the governed. This shows that the Indian state institutions are not the sovereign authors, but participants in socially making PLP. The socially made PLP is society's intentional conduct regarding land that shapes people's own land subjectivities and policies. By critically examining slum rehabilitations in Pune, this thesis uncovers a socially made PLP in which various bodily, material, and textual encounters and people's postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities are made visible.

Empirically, I focus on two settlements undergoing slum rehabilitation in the city of Pune, India. Using an abductive research strategy, ethnographic data generation and discourse analyses methods, I show that the SRP principally considers land as property and commodity. Alternatively, some of people's articulations of land straddle between modernity and tradition (therefore postcolonial), while others remain unrecognisable using prevailing vocabularies (therefore subaltern). This thesis uncovers three subaltern meanings of land, namely: an anchor for interpersonal metonyms, inseparable from spatial morphology, and flesh of the community. Effectively, this thesis presents a theory of a socially made participatory land policy attentive to postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities in Pune.

# Impact Statement

The academic impact of this thesis lies in furthering research in the disciplines of development and planning policy studies, and postcolonial and subaltern studies. Firstly, by fostering a dialogue between political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment and 'pre-Modern' or 'non-Modern' theories, this thesis demonstrates one possible way to rework the theoretical sensibilities of academic researchers to the postcolonial context of India. Secondly, this research translates the theoretical strategies from postcolonial theory and subaltern studies to aid the analysis of participatory land policy. Thirdly, this research develops ethnographic and analytical tools to aid further academic research on the socially made participatory land policy in postcolonial contexts such as India's.

Substantively, this research would have plausible impact outside academia. By interpreting three subalternised (i.e. unrecognisable using prevailing vocabulary) meanings of land, this thesis produces a conceptual infrastructure (i.e. vocabulary) to foster further democratic dialogue in postcolonial India. A substantive impact of this research would come about after disseminating the knowledge produced by this research in local languages of the studied region. Accordingly, the findings of this research are meant to help those people who cannot effectively communicate their ideas with governors, so that they can use the findings of this research for their political action.

In regards to policy impact, this research contributes by demonstrating the limitations of existing Modern theories of land policy. Therefore, one possible area of policy impact lies in opening a discussion on alternative theories of 'participatory land policy' that are attentive to postcolonial and subaltern perspectives in India and elsewhere. For instance, one alternative to 'dialogic' and 'consent-based' notions of participation could include moments of everyday 'encounters' between government and the governed. Consequently, focusing on the dialogue between government and the governed at everyday encounters makes it possible to acknowledge policy's complicity in silencing various voices in postcolonial democratic India.

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# Acronyms and Abbreviations

**ADB** – Asian Development Bank

**ASR** – Annual Statement of Rates

**BERA** – British Educational Research Association

**BJP** – Bharatiya Janata Party

**BSUP** – Basic Services for the Urban Poor

**CSUS** – Chicago School of Urban Sociology

**DCR** – Development Control Rules

**DDA** – Delhi Development Authority

**DP** – Development Plan

**DPSP** – Directive Principles of State Policy

**GoI** – Government of India

**GoM** – Government of Maharashtra

**JNNURM** – Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

**KUDL** – Kumar Urban Development Ltd.

**LAA** – Land Acquisition Act 1894

**LARR** – The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2013

**LAY** – Lok Awas Yojna

**MASHAL** – Maharashtra Social Housing and Action League

**MOUD** – Ministry of Urban Development

**MRTP** – Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966

**MSAA** – Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1971

**NGO** – Nongovernmental Organisation

**NPRR** – National Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement, 2007

**PMAY** – Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna

**PMC** – Pune Municipal Corporation

**PURA** – Provide Urban Amenities to Rural Areas

**RAY** – Rajiv Awas Yojna

**RCC** – Reinforced Cement Concrete

**SAA** – Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956

**SIZ** – Slum Improvement Zones

**SRA** – Slum Rehabilitation Authority

**SRP** – Slum Rehabilitation Policy

**SRS** – Slum Redevelopment Scheme (launched in 1991 in Maharashtra)

**SSC** – Subaltern Studies Collective

**TCPO** – Town and Country Planning Organisation

**TDR** – Transfer of Development Rights

**TPS** – Town Planning Scheme

**ULB** – Urban Local Body

# Glossary

**Advaita –**   Non-dual – a philosophical school of the Vedanta (end of Vedas) literature

**Artha –**   Meaning, also refers to Wealth in Indic literature

**Bhakti –**   Devotion, also the name of a social-reform movement in Maharashtra

**Chawk –**   Public space at the junction of two roads or a courtyard

**Chawl –**   A long narrow building with tenements offering low-income housing

**Corporator –**   Local elected representative, a member of the political assembly of a municipal corporation

**Datta –**   A Hindu deity

**Devasthān -**   Temple or (literally – god's place)

**Dharma -**   *Duty* or *Right*

**Dvaita –**   Dual – In the Vedic literature, the Dvaita structure referred to the two-world thesis; one representing the world in which humans live, and other representing the transcendental world in which other-worldly entities reside

**Fakir -**   *Dervish*

**Ganapati –**   A Hindu deity

**Gāothān –**   The old city (literally village-place)

**Government** (with capital G) – Various institutions together called Government established in India in resonance with the ideas derived from political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment

**government** (with small g) – 'Conduct of conduct' conceptualised as an abstract field of power from where people's conduct is conducted.

**Gully –**   Alley

**Gunthewāri -**   A system of dividing land in Maharashtra according to a measure of *gunthā*. According to the Maharashtra *Gunthewāri* Act, land divided as per the system of distribution was not legally recognised by the state. The Act was diluted in 2015, thereby recognising the land division and distribution as per the *Gunthewāri* system. 1 *gunthā* = 121 square yards = 101.17 square meters.

**Ināma –**   Gift/ reward

**Jāgirdāri –**   *A* system of temporary land holdings that evolved in the 16th century under the Mughal rule. In *Jāgirdāri, jāgirs* (land holdings) were given to *dārs* (officials/ nobles).

**Jirnoddhār –**   Renovation

**Juggi-zhopadi -**   hutment / slum

*Kāryakartā* – Worker/ Volunteer

*Loknīti* – Policies of the governed

*Mahalwāri* – A system of land holdings introduced under British rule between 1820-1840. *Mahals* (houses/ extended villages) were owned by peasants and village councils were responsible for tax-collection.

*Mandal* – Organisation

*Mandir* – Hindu Temple

*Masjid* – Mosque

*Māyā* – Illusion/ Fiction – As a concept it originated from the *Advaita* tradition of philosophy in the eighth century. It denotes all reality available to human beings as unreal/ fictional, for according to the doctrine, the true/ absolute Reality is outside the phenomenological reach of the human beings.

*Modern* (with capital M) – By Modernity (with capital M), I refer to the project of European Enlightenment that began in the late 16th century and persisted (and perhaps continue to persist) in the geopolitical West until the late 20th century. This idea of modernity is imbued with a meaning of time as linear and telic, and projected as a mandatory change from the old to the new in the name of progress. Capital M is meant to remind the readers that European Enlightenment continues to be hegemonically performed in India even in the 21st century. The politico-intellectual effect of capitalising and singularising Modernity is to allow alternative modernities (in the plural) to come into re-presentation on their own.

*Modern state* (with capital M) – The idea of an apolitical ordered hierarchical structure of a societal organisation with established and 'written' laws and policies – an idea that is tethered to the political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment.

*modern* (with small m) – the experience of the present-day (in the here and the now)

*modern state* (with small m) – The present-day empirically-existing institutions through which populations in India are governed. Even though they are hybrid, unfixed and informal, the modern state institutions remain derivative of the political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment.

*Morcha* – March or a rally

*Nīti* - policy (with small p)/ politics

*pakkā* – Solid

*Policy (with capital P)* – a written document produced by the modern state institutions

*policy – (with small p)* – *nīti* - as in, intentional actions of individuals

*Postcolonial (without the hyphen)* – The persistence of colonisation across time and space. In this thesis, I also use postcolonial to refer to the body of

literature that has explicitly been called *postcolonial theory* in the Euro-North American academia.

***Post-colonial (with hyphen) –*** The period that came after the end of colonial rule

***Prajā –***    Citizen-subjects

***Rājā –***    King / ruler

***Rājnīti –***    King's policy or policies of government (policies that guide the conduct of people's conduct)

***Rājya –***    Country/ state

***Ryotwāri -***    A system of land holdings introduced under British rule in southern parts of India around 1792 in Madras and 1817-18 in Bombay. In this system, land was owned by the *Ryot* (citizen-subjects/ people) and government collected taxes directly from the *ryot,* i.e. without intermediaries.

***Sahbhāg –***    Participation or com-partaking

***Sai (baba) –***    A Maharashtrian saint

***Śakti –***    Force / Power

***Śāstra –***    Science

***Vasti –***    Settlement/ neighbourhood

***Vitthal –***    A deity local to Maharashtra, venerated by the *bhakti* saints in Maharashtra

***Zamindāri –***    A system of land holdings introduced under British rule in northern parts of India around 1793. *Zamins* (lands) were administered by *zamindārs* (nobles/ intermediaries) and the tillers were tenants of the *zamindārs.*

# 1  INTRODUCTION

> "[T]here is no such thing as land in [an] essentialist sense which means the same to everybody" (Davy, 2012, p. 62).

Land means many things to various people and excites diverse types of politics in the world. Modern land governance is theoretically and practically built on the concept of land as a *thing*, such as property, territory, commodity, nature, and resource, among other things. As property, land secures people's individual and collective rights through a legitimised institutional body; as territory, land gives legitimacy to the nation-states and creates boundaries; as commodity, land is exchanged in markets; as nature, land is expected to support earth's ecosystem. To quote Polanyi (2001, p. 187), "what we call land is an element of nature inextricably interwoven with men's [sic] institutions". These concepts of land as a *thing* – manipulatable and governable by human institutions – is a hallmark of political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment, both in theory and as performed practice around the world.

Based on the concept of land as a *thing*, various state institutions around the world produce land policies to govern land and their polities. Even though these land policies keep changing over time and are almost always imperfectly implemented, the underlying fact remains that many contemporary nation-states seek to govern land through policies. Furthermore, to make these land policies suitable for the people, the people are asked to 'participate' in land governance in various ways. People are either consulted before making land policies or are asked to voice their concerns during the implementation of various land policies. This is one story of the contemporary state-led practices of land governance in India, impeccably resonating with political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment.

Alternatively, critical theorists have argued for various distinct concepts of land untethered to the concept of land as a *thing*. Consequently, different types of land politics are brought into light beyond the modernist tendency to capture land's essence theoretically and practically. For instance, land is conceptualised as socially

constructed (Davy, 2012), room without modern boundaries (Ingold, 2011, p. 147), relationally entangled with everyday practices (Datta, 2015), plural, fluid, and unfixed (Sud, 2019) and a place for being and doing (Barker and Pickerill, 2020). As a socially constructed and plural entity, land enters various domains of human activity in diverse ways and means differently to "various sectors of society and their accompanying professional skills" (Lichfield, 1980, p. 379). For instance, land means support for buildings to an architect and engineer, a platform for plans to planners, potential for development to a real-estate developer, privacy and security to an individual and partisan philosophy to a politician (Ratcliffe, 1976, p. 13). Theoretically pluralising socially constructed meanings of land unsettles the narrative of monopolistic land governance that seeks to control land as a *thing* through various policy instruments.

Yet, amid all the academically and professionally constructed meanings of land, what meanings do non-academic and non-professional people give to land and how does this meaning-making take place? If Euro-North American academia is theoretically seeking to get past political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment in the 21$^{st}$ century, then how do *non-academic* people living in *formerly colonised non-Euro-North American contexts* imbue meanings to land? Moreover, how exactly do people contribute to land's life within, outside and between the bounds of political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment still performatively practiced around the world? This thesis explores how people contextually signify and feel land, and contribute to land's life during slum rehabilitations in Pune, India. Moreover, this thesis presents to development and planning policy scholars a postcolonial sensory field, as a method for reading a socially made 'participatory land policy' in a way that helps to contextually uncover people's land subjectivities.

In the following part of the introduction, I expand on the academic positioning of this thesis (section 1.1), research problematic and questions (section 1.2), reasons to focus on 'participatory land policy' (PLP) (section 1.3), empirical cases with which I ethnographically engage in this research (section 1.4), the main argument of this thesis and the document structure written for and from a British academic institution (section 1.5).

## 1.1 Situating the thesis

This thesis is situated at the academic disciplinary conjuncture between 'development and planning policy studies' and 'postcolonial and subaltern studies'. Effectively, the postcolonial theoretical route through which I critically analyse Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) is my contribution to the field of development and planning policy studies for two primary reasons. First, "[p]olicy studies is a relatively nascent discipline in India" (CPS, 2019, online) and thus requires context-specific theoretical interrogation. Second, the dialogue between postcolonial theory, subaltern studies and policy studies remains underexplored even in Euro-North American academia. One of the primary concerns of postcolonial theory and subaltern studies has been to decentre Europe and Eurocentrism from the theories and practices in the post-colonial contexts around the world, a concern directly relevant to policy studies.

The lessons from postcolonial theory and subaltern studies have been influential in various social science disciplines, including urban studies (Robinson, 2006; Chattopadhyay, 2012; Roy, 2015), planning theory (Watson, 2002, 2012; Roy, 2009b, 2011; Porter, 2016), human geography (Jazeel, 2014; Jazeel *et al.*, 2019), development studies (Sylvester, 1999; Kapoor, 2002, 2004, 2008; Sharp and Briggs, 2006; Ziai, 2012; Radcliffe, 2015), sociology (Go, 2013; Patel, 2017) as well as decolonial theory (Dussel, Krauel and Tuma, 2000; Mohanty, 2003; Lugones, 2010) – to name a few. Among these varied and dispersed theoretical interventions, this thesis undertakes a much smaller task of critically engaging with the available theories of 'participatory land policy' and prises them open to allow for postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities to be read and recuperated by development and planning policy scholars for furthering democratic dialogue in Pune, India.

Development and planning policy studies as an academic discipline is embedded within the narrative of political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment, given the prevalent definition of policy as the state's or an institution's governmental rationality. The phenomenon of ""political modernity" – namely, the rule by modern

institutions of the state, bureaucracy, and capitalist enterprise" originates from European Enlightenment (Chakrabarty, 2008, p. 4). It includes concepts of "citizenship, the state, civil society, public sphere, human rights, equality before the law, the individual, distinctions between public and private, the idea of the subject, democracy, popular sovereignty, social justice, scientific rationality, and so on" (Chakrabarty, 2008, p. 4; also Raghuramaraju, 2011). Land policy, participatory or otherwise, is one of the core concepts and instruments of this political modernity. Consequently, to study 'policy' as 'governmental rationality' of 'the state' means to acknowledge the existence of political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment.

To be clear, the idea of political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment cannot directly be correlated to the 21$^{st}$-century geopolitical region called Europe and North America, also sometimes geopolitically referred to as 'the West'; just as 'Indic theory' cannot be directly corelated to the 21$^{st}$-century geopolitical region called India. That is, by critiquing political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment, I do not engage in a *comparative* political analysis between the geopolitical regions called the West and India in this thesis. More importantly, I do not engage with the question of 'origins' – that of who said what first. Such an exploration requires a theory of universalist history as single, linear, and teleologically moving towards the same end, which also resonates with political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment. Instead, I primarily seek to decentre the performed ideas of political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment, in India and cite the often-marginal grounded histories, popular cultures, and local language literatures, for the immediate ends of allowing postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities to be read in the here and the now.

Moreover, this political modernity does not originate from contemporary geopolitical region called Europe or the West alone (Gaonkar, 1999). Given India's colonial and nationalist history, the norms of political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment are upheld and performed in India through laws, policies, and practices of government, even though "[t]here is, […] no historical example that can be found in the real world of modern nation-states that matches [the] ideals [of political modernity]" (Chatterjee, 2019a, p. 85). As Guha (2001, p. 41) suggests, "the colonial

experience has outlived decolonization" and "colonialism […] [is] a historic barrier that reason can never cross". That is, this thesis is not geared towards reasoning 'why' political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment is still performed in India. Instead, I proceed by acknowledging that political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment "continues to "arrive and emerge" as always in opportunistic fragments accompanied by utopic rhetorics" (Gaonkar, 1999, p. 1) in India. Moreover, the norms of political modernity continue to characterise "postcolonial democracy [as] a pathological perversion of a more desirable form of liberal polity enshrined in Western democracies" (Chatterjee, 2017, online). Consequently, this research explores 'how' political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment is performed during slum rehabilitations and affects people's land subjectivities in India.

To account for the colonial experience and political modernity's treatment of post-colonial politics as deviant from its norm, I argue for strategically and stylistically marking political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment as Modernity with capital M. The purpose for capitalising Modernity is to persistently remind the readers and myself that Modernity with a capital M (i.e. political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment) is hegemonically performed in India, particularly during the implementation of the state-sanctioned development and planning policies such as the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP). To counter-propose another way to visualise the policy-world, I propose a theory of a socially made 'participatory land policy' with a purpose to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

Useful to the task of uncovering postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities is situating the subject-agents, such as the residents, landowners, real-estate developers, and corporators engaged in the slum rehabilitation projects, theoretically and empirically at a postcolonial conjuncture. This postcolonial conjuncture is a moment that situates the subject-agents between the 'M/modern' and the 'traditional' – a material and discursive terrain that is further muddled with the historical experience of colonialism as a rule by '*external'* powers. In other words, being modern (with small m – as in, the present-day) always appears to be somewhere else to the postcolonial subject-agents because of the historical experience of colonialism.

As Chatterjee (1997, p. 20) writes, "it is because we [i.e. the formerly colonised people] want to be modern that our desire to be independent and creative is transposed on to our past […] [-] an imagined past, because pasts are always imagined". Consequently, Banerjee (2013, p. 32) hints at "the defining paradox of the colonial/postcolonial condition — [i.e.] to have to claim both tradition and modernity in the same breath". It is at this specific discursive and material conjuncture that postcolonial subjectivity appears itself for a deeper academic reflection. Moreover, by acknowledging the ongoing reification (in the present continuous tense) of Modernity, it becomes possible to recognise and uncover postcolonial subjectivities that resist and unsettle Modernity. The purpose for uncovering postcolonial subjectivities is to foster further democratic dialogue between the governors and the governed and to allow alternative ways of being modern to come into existence in their own terms. This focus on Modernity (with capital M) and noting its tension with the modern (with small m – as in, the non-coercive experience of the present-day) is vital for the primary audience of this thesis, i.e. development and planning policy scholars and professionals engaged in slum rehabilitation projects in India.

Since "[p]olicy studies is a relatively nascent discipline in India" (CPS, 2019, online), this thesis broadly addresses development and planning scholars and professionals working on slum rehabilitations and land policy-related issues in India. Many of these scholars and professionals are already working within, outside and between the bounds of Modernity, and engage in slum rehabilitations politically, intellectually and technically. I consider myself one of these professionals engaged in slum rehabilitations in India. Professionally trained as an architect, I have previously worked with non-governmental organisations in India to foster democratic dialogues among various actors in Maharashtra. In this thesis, I intend to present a postcolonial sensory field of a socially made 'participatory land policy' to facilitate development and planning policy scholars' efforts at fostering democratic dialogues during slum rehabilitations in Pune. I now recount the research problematic and main research questions in the following section.

## 1.2 Research problematic and questions

The problem I seek to address in this thesis is that the people engaged in the everyday politics of slum rehabilitations do not expressly speak about 'land' using the same vocabularies that the modern state institutions in India or the development and planning policy scholars are used to speaking about 'land'. Not articulately speaking about land is not so much a problem if the modern state institutions, such as the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) or the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA), were not directly intervening in slum rehabilitations using Modern ideas of land and practices of 'the state' (with capital M).

Moreover, the problem is that some land subjectivities and policies always remain unheard in the cacophonous and often very expensive politics of lobbying among the political elites, the bureaucratic practices of governance, as well as among the knowledge-producers, including the postcolonial politics of decentring Modernity with which I engage in this thesis. The postcolonial sensory field, that I propose in this thesis, is geared to see, and listen to the postcolonial (i.e. untethered to, yet critical of, Modernity) and the subaltern (i.e. unheard and unrecognisable) land subjectivities.

The problem is best demonstrated through a reference from my ethnographic fieldwork. Kalebai is a long-term resident of a so-called slum in the city of Pune. She explained:

> "Now, this house of mine is old. [Kalebai banged on the solid wall of her existing house]. Can anybody remove me from here? [She asked me a rhetorical question and directed the rest of her speech to the Government of India]. By taking our signatures, you [i.e. the GoI?] are making our solid proof here! What difference are the signatures going to make us? […] One hundred years! What? Were you sleeping? In 100 years, SRA [i.e. Slum Rehabilitation Authority] people must have come and taken our proofs away so many times […]. We have [people] from the old generation, who are there to take decisions" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18).

Kalebai was speaking about her house located on a piece of land in a vasti (i.e. a settlement) called Kelewadi in light of the looming slum rehabilitation instigated by the GoM. Although the GoM established an independent institution called Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) in Pune only in 2005, Kalebai's reference to her repeated encounters with the "SRA" for the past "100 years" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18) was an allegorical reference to the Indian state's insistence on rehabilitating 'slums'. During our conversation, Kalebai pointed out the work she had put into building her own house without any direct support from any institution of the GoI. Even though the various GoM institutions and the corporators have actively provided services to the 'slums' since India's independence, Kalebai allegorically and performatively denied GoI's interventions.

In a way, Kalebai seemed astonished with the GoI's persistent insistence towards documenting and rehabilitating 'slums', especially given her conviction in the vasti-residents' ability to fend for themselves and decide land's and Kelewadi's future. Kalebai had good reasons to feel frustrated. After all, what the SRA-written Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) was offering her in the name of 'rehabilitation' neither matched her expectations, nor did it seem necessary to her. Moreover, Kalebai – like many other people living in Kelewadi – had invested a lot in her house, the vasti, and the neighbourly relations, both financially and emotionally. In the above narration, I hear Kalebai asking – Why then? Why was the drama of 'slum rehabilitation' put into motion and insisted upon by the GoI? Why was the GoI not recognising Kalebai's financial and emotional investment in her house, vasti, neighbours, and in turn 'land'?

The written-documents produced by the GoM present 'their own' reasons for insisting upon rehabilitating 'slums' – as though 'the state' were an actor independent of the people like Kalebai with separate and independent intentions. The Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) is one such written-document produced by the SRA. The SRP clearly states that slum rehabilitation is to be undertaken for improving the lives of the so-called 'slum-dwellers', like Kalebai, by using the 'slum-lands' as a 'resource' for rehabilitation. In other words, notwithstanding how Kalebai relates to her house,

vasti, neighbours, or land, either materially, discursively, or emotionally, the SRP articulates 'land' as a 'resource' using a modernist and developmentalist rhetoric.

Here, even though various authors have demonstrated the porosity (Benjamin, 2008), and informality (Roy, 2009b) of the state institutions, the Indian state performs coherence embodied through policies such as the SRP. Moreover, many people like Kalebai are made to live under the threat of the state's potential physical violence in case of non-compliance. Instead of starting with an assumption that Kalebai is 'falsely conscious' of the 'real-world' – an assumption inherent to the Modern/colonial social sciences – I draw from postcolonial ethnography and seek to understand Kalebai's comments about her subjectivities, by learning from her own articulations of her lived experiences.

In short, if the SRP articulates 'slum-lands' as a 'resource' for 'improving people's lives', then how does Kalebai articulate anything about 'land' on which she resides? Does she speak about the 'land' on which she lives in the same manner as she spoke to me about her house and the vasti? Furthermore, what effects do the GoM's and real-estate developers' persistent efforts to rehabilitate Kalebai from the 'slum' into an apartment-building have on how she thinks and articulates 'land' and eventually decides land's future? These questions primarily hint towards the politics of making and remaking land subjectivities and policies – a politics that is visible, I argue, at the interface between government and the governed in the slum rehabilitation projects.

While the back-and-forth politics of slum rehabilitations between 'the state' and 'the people' in India is theorised by various scholars from several disciplinary backgrounds using numerous conceptual lenses, I undertake the task of exploring the social making of 'participatory land policy' (PLP) through slum rehabilitation projects. To be clear, this thesis is not about state-society relationship in India. The purpose behind using the conceptual rubric of PLP is to decentre the privilege given to the GoI's policy-documents and create the theoretical possibility of acknowledging that other actors, including real-estate developers, vasti-residents, landowners, non-humans, and even otherworldly entities like goddesses and gods, also participate in land's life and *appear* to have their own policies to various actors.

More importantly for this thesis, Kalebai's contributions do not take place in a vacuum, but amid the persistent and often bothersome efforts of the GoI, the real-estate developers, and even landowners, to 'rehabilitate' 'her' from 'the slum' into an apartment building, as is readable through her comment above. To further demonstrate the effects of GoM's and the real-estate developers' persistent efforts to rehabilitate Kalebai from the 'slum', I mobilise the concepts of postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities readable at the points of encounters between government and the governed within the social making of PLP. In this regard, this research is strategically guided by the following questions:

**How do slum rehabilitations make participatory land policy (PLP) in Pune?**

**How does PLP make postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities visible?**

Note that I have mobilised 'how' questions – not 'what' or 'why' questions. The 'how' question refers to the 'process' and the 'outcome' of the process and provides an academic avenue into understanding the processual potentials and barriers, disorientations and ambiguities involved in voicing postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities in India's postcolonial democracy. In anticipation of the conclusion of this thesis, I answer the above question by showing that slum rehabilitations make participatory land policy (PLP) through bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed and by continually making and remaking people's land subjectivities and policies. However, my intention behind posing and answering the above questions is to make the postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities visible for further democratic dialogue between government and the governed. Consequently, I strategically pose the questions mentioned above to guide this research.

## 1.3  Why 'participatory land policy'?

In this thesis, I invoke the conceptual rubric of 'participatory land policy' (PLP) to read the politics of land during slum rehabilitation projects in Pune, to strategically intervene in the prevalent theories of 'participatory land policy' derived from Modernity (with capital M). Various scholars have already studied politics of slum rehabilitations in India using different conceptual frameworks, such as urban informality (Roy, 2009b, 2016), occupancy urbanism (Benjamin, 2008), subaltern urbanism (Roy, 2011), vernacular governance (Sundaresan, 2013) – among many others. Yet, these frameworks do not directly engage with people's land subjectivities crafted amid fragmented reification of Modernity. Focusing of the rubric of socially made PLP helps focus on the struggle or cooperation between intentional conducts of both governors and the governed during slum rehabilitations, in a way that directly confronts Modern rhetoric of liberal democratic governance. I expound on the two strategic reasons for invoking the rubric of 'PLP' below:

Firstly, the Indian state discourses describe liberal democratic land reforms and practices as 'participatory'. Seen through the lens of Modern liberal imagination, the Indian state deploys a mixture of policies to govern land in a manner that 'allows' businesses to create a commodity-market of land, while simultaneously protecting the rights of its citizens to hold property and to consent for the policies of government. This combination of governance practices is what Chatterjee (2019b, p. 61) calls the "duality in contemporary liberal democracies". Therefore, even though there is no single source from where a single coherent land policy-document originates through Indian state's porous bureaucracy (Benjamin, 2008), the traces of GoI's Modern governmental rationalities regarding land are readable in the various discourses produced by the Indian state. Such traces of Modernity are visible in state-written laws and policies, such as The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (LARR) 2013 or the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) implemented in Pune, as I further elaborate in Chapter 2.

In this thesis, I treat the idea of the Modern state (with capital M) as a phantasmal concept that is empirically not fully sutured, yet performed through everyday modern state practices (with small m) in India (see Mbembe, 1992; Mitchell, 2006 for postcolonial contexts more broadly). Despite the evidently informalized manifestation of the entity called 'the state' (Roy, 2009b; Jatkar, 2018), the various porous state institutions (Benjamin, 2008) perform coherence to produce coherent-looking policy-documents, such as the SRP, vividly specifying a hierarchical bureaucratic structure. That such policies exist and are enacted upon by the institutions of the GoI is testimony that the ideas of Modernity and the Modern state (with capital M) are performatively practiced in India.

Moreover, the recent shifts in the state-led discourses refer to liberal democratisation of land. This phantasmal idea of the Modern state (with capital M) and its empirically porous institutions have already produced land-related Acts and policy-documents that mandate participation of project-affected people by seeking their liberal consent. As Chatterjee (2019a, p. 85) writes, "[t]he normative ideal of representative democracy is the ethical state in which […] government functions with the consent of the governed". In the same guise, the SRP seeks a liberal consent from the slum-dwellers before proceeding with the slum rehabilitation. Naming 'consent-seeking' as a form of 'participation', I demonstrate in Chapter 2, results from a Modern (with capital M) and specifically a liberal social contract interpretation of the act of consenting. This Modern form of participation is performatively practiced in India through state-written policy-discourses and policy-practices during state-sanctioned projects such as the slum rehabilitations. Consequently, the Indian state institutions appear to be exercising liberal democratic governmentality on people's conduct regarding land, through policies such as the SRP. Seen through the lens of Modernity, SRP is therefore a form of Modern participatory land policy (PLP).

Secondly, for the argument of this thesis, I theoretically decentre Modernity (with capital M) to allow for postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities and policies to be read and recuperated during slum rehabilitation projects. In other words, this thesis is not about reading the SRP as PLP through a Modern liberal narrative. This thesis

is about demonstrating how PLP is socially made through slum rehabilitation projects so that people' imaginations about land and contributions to land's life can be recognised, without being treated as deviant from the Modern governmental rationality embodied in state-written policies such as the SRP. Furthermore, the proposed conceptualisation of a socially made PLP is guided by an intention to uncover distinctively postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. Postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities are readable in Pune precisely because the Indian state still exercises Modern/colonial governmentality over the subjects of the SRP through M/modern institutions, and people are still engaged in learning to live with, struggling against, and creatively adapting to Modernity (with capital M). That is, people are still engaged in "invent[ing] new [and postcolonial] forms of the modern social, economic, and political order" (Chatterjee, 2011, p. 52) untethered to Modernity (with capital M).

To supplement people's efforts to invent alternative forms of being modern, I decode the conceptual rubric of PLP so that I can decentre Modernity and recode the rubric using the same vocabulary. This strategic theoretical manoeuvre of decoding and recoding the conceptual rubric to suit one's purpose – a procedure called catachresis (i.e. an apparent incorrect use of the words) – is a lesson drawn from postcolonial theory (see, e.g. Burney, 2012, pp. 179–180; Nayar, 2015, p. 25). Keeping the same vocabulary strategically allows keeping the discourse relevant in the era of liberal democratic governmentality. In other words, the conceptual rubric of a socially made PLP is meant to decentre and confront Modern liberal democratic governmentality exercised through policies such as the SRP.

The socially made PLP is society's conduct regarding land (i.e. land policy), which is participatory because of the already occurring encounters between government and the governed. Here, India's porous state institutions are not the sovereign authors of the socially made policy, but rather participants contributing to the making of PLP. Likewise, real-estate developers, corporators, multi-national corporations, non-humans, and various transcendental entities are all participating in the social making of PLP. My ethnographic fieldwork in this research shows participation of real-estate developers, corporators, landowners, vasti-residents, cattle, show-flats, posters,

religious buildings, gods and goddesses, in addition to the porous state institutions. Consequently, this thesis does not argue that the state institutions should have a participatory land policy document. Rather, this thesis calls development and planning policy scholars to learn to read the fluid and constantly-changing form of a socially made participatory land policy, with a purpose to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities and policies so that further democratic dialogue can be fostered among those who govern and those who are governed.

## 1.4  The research context

> ""East is east and west is west and never the twain shall meet,"
> [Kipling, 1889] could be a characterisation of Pune from 1817 to
> 1947, and maybe even today! […] Despite severe hardships in the
> new 'native city' of slum pockets, life thrives in its own way"
> (Benninger, 2010, online).

> "We envisage on the vision of "Slum Free City" by encouraging
> policies to tackle the problem of slums in a definitive manner"
> (PMC, 2007, p. 26).

Pune is a city located within the geopolitical region called Maharashtra in India. If seen through the conceptual category of Modernity (with capital M), Pune appears at a historical conjuncture where the city is increasingly becoming an important hub for attracting global capital while being locally governed through the M/modern state institutions for the first time in its post-independence history. Moreover, Modern (with capital M) and colonial planning practices of land use zoning and control continue to guide the city authorities' attitude towards the so-called slums, and slums continue to be imagined by the state institutions as something to get rid off. For instance, the city's first-ever locally prepared and approved development plan (DP) 2007-2027 seeks "to tackle the problem of slums in a definitive manner" (PMC, 2007, p. 26). Almost concurrently, the Government of Maharashtra (GoM) established a Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) in Pune with a sole purpose to administer slum rehabilitations.

Despite the long history of slum upgrading, slum resettlements, and service provisions in slums, the SRA currently uses a 'Slum Rehabilitation Policy' (SRP) described by many scholars as a market-led, in-situ slum rehabilitation (Patel, 1995; Singh and Das, 1995; Bapat, 2012). In a city where 40% of the population lives in slums and almost 75% of slums are located on privately owned lands, Pune's experiences in market-led, in-situ slum rehabilitations and participatory governance have the potential to provide many lessons for similar projects being undertaken

elsewhere in India. Moreover, given the history of colonial planning still practised in the city, Pune also offers a distinctive position from where to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities amid ongoing market-led, in-situ slum rehabilitations.

For this thesis, I selected two vastis undergoing slum rehabilitation as my field-sites, namely, Kelewadi and Dandekar Pool Vasti. With two field-sites, I do not engage in *comparative* analysis in this thesis. Instead, the two sites methodologically helped me abstract from the empirical particularities of the two vastis and visualise the making of PLP in Pune through participatory encounters and land subjectivities more broadly. As I recount in the following sections, the way slum rehabilitations have unfolded in the vastis differ significantly. Yet, together these vastis allow theorising the social making of PLP given the similarities in the slum rehabilitation process, such as the use of the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP), involvement of real-estate developers, various bodily, material and textual encounters, land subjectivities, and the shared postcolonial experiences. Below I briefly introduce the two vastis.

### 1.4.1 Kelewadi

Kelewadi is located on land admeasuring about 79 acres/ 319,702 sq. m. (KUDL, 2012) in the south-eastern part of Pune. Geographically, Kelewadi is situated within walking distance from many city amenities, such as schools, colleges, hospitals. Moreover, Kelewadi is located at the foot of one of nine hills in Pune now part of a Biodiversity Park (BDP) earmarked in the city Development Plan (DP) 2007-2027. The land, on which Kelewadi is located, legally belongs to a Muslim Trust, and is leased to a real-estate developer for ninety-nine years. The Kelewadi settlement began establishing in the 1940s with assistance from the local corporators. The real-estate developer, who first leased the land, initiated the process of slum rehabilitation in the early 2000s. However, political negotiations among the Kelewadi-residents and the developer were not conclusive. The land was subsequently leased to two other real-estate developers, and the political negotiations for slum rehabilitation continue to date. The following sketch shows the existing settlement and the partly built rehabilitation buildings.
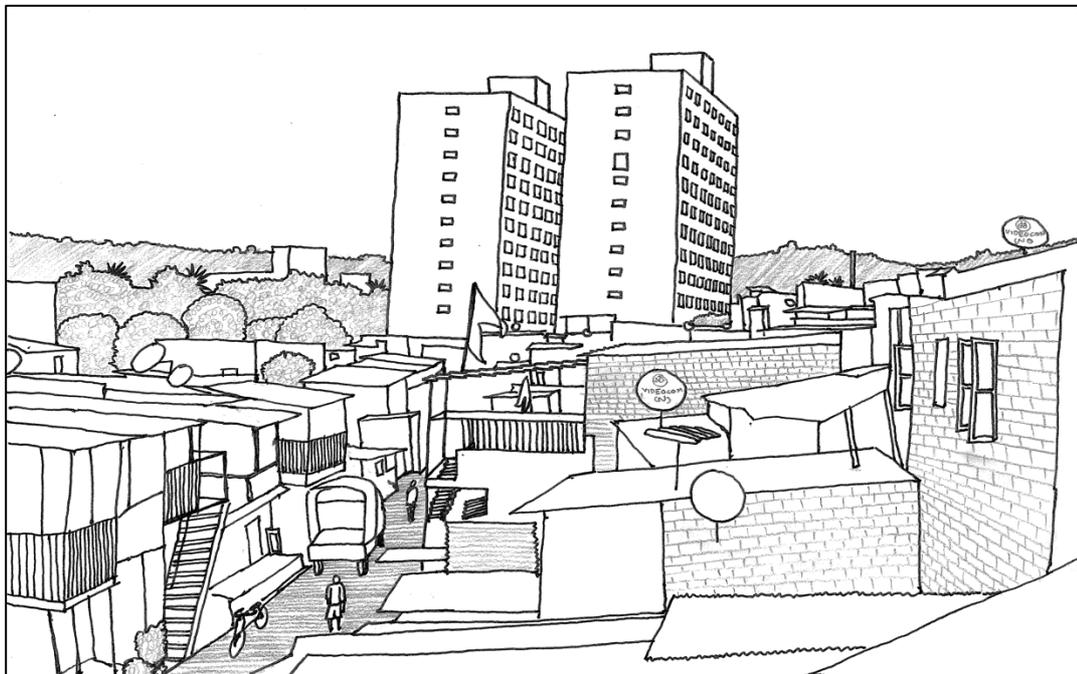


Figure 1: Sketch of the existing and imminent rehabilitation (Source: author, 27/04/18)

### 1.4.2  Dandekar Pool Vasti

Dandekar Pool Vasti is located on land admeasuring 9460.44 sq. m. of an area in the southern part of Pune close to the *gāothān* (the old city). It is located at a walking distance from Pune's primary intercity bus terminus, and is close to schools, colleges, and hospitals with well-connected public transport. This land parcel abuts a rivulet that connects to one of Pune's three rivers. Unregulated sewage flows through the water-stream. The residents of the vasti used this stream for open defecation until the PMC built public toilets. The rivulet floods in the monsoons affecting a few houses on the edge of the rivulet. The land legally belongs to a private landowner. The landowner independently attempted to redevelop the vasti in the 1980s without fruition. After many violent negotiations and the emergence of the state's Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP), the landowner leased the land to a real-estate developer in the early 2010s. The following sketch shows the ongoing rehabilitation.
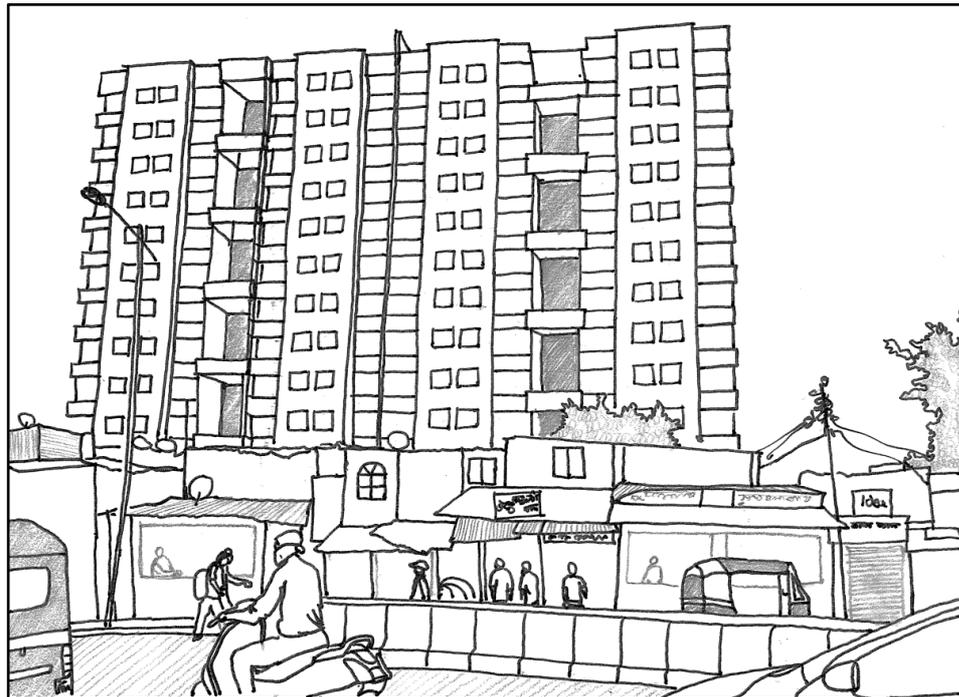


Figure 2: Sketch of the existing and imminent rehabilitation (Source: author, 03/06/18)

In sum, both the vastis have a long history of land struggles and are subject to the SRP. Likewise, both the cases invite residents' consent, involve real-estate developers and theoretically help shed light on the social making of PLP in a way that uncovers postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

## 1.5 Argument and the document structure

This thesis *argues* that the slum rehabilitations in Pune are socially making a participatory land policy (PLP) through bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed. This thesis further argues that, by focusing on the socially made PLP, it becomes possible to recognise the ongoing reification of Modern concepts of land during slum rehabilitations and to deliberately uncover the postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. Below, I lay out the structure that builds this argument.

**Chapter 2** presents prevalent debates on the topic of land in India, and the historically changing land governance regimes read through Modern interpretations. The purpose behind recounting a brief history of land debates in India, and particularly in Maharashtra, is to contextualise the slum rehabilitation projects in the Indian state's liberal democratic conjuncture. In other words, the scholarly debates on land in India demonstrate that the Indian state governs land through liberal democratic governmentality in the 21$^{st}$ century. Therefore, I show through Chapter 2 that the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) can be read as a participatory land policy of the state through the lens of Modernity. However, to look beyond concepts tethered to Modernity and to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities, I undertake decoding and recoding of the conceptual rubric of participatory land policy (PLP) in Chapters 3 and 4.

In **Chapter 3**, I theoretically decode the conceptual rubric of participatory land policy (PLP) by focusing on the concepts of 'land', 'policy', and 'participation' – concepts core to the argument of this thesis. I mainly engage with the prevalent liberal and social contract theories of participatory land policy as envoys of a political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment still performatively practiced in India. Decoding the conceptual rubric assists in decentring Modernity and later catachrestically recoding the rubric to demonstrate the social making of PLP in a way that uncovers postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

I undertake the task of catachrestically recoding the conceptual rubric of 'participatory land policy' (PLP) in **Chapter 4** – titled 'a postcolonial sensory field'. In keeping with the postcolonial theory's call to read beyond Eurocentric literatures, I cite popular culture, poetry, as well as *bhakti* literature from Maharashtra to aid the construal of a postcolonial sensory field. The point of citing literatures from popular culture or Marathi literature is not to demonstrate any 'original Indian-ness' of the ideas from these citations. The purpose behind citing literatures from local languages and popular cultures is to make theory relevant for those engaged in slum rehabilitations and slowly undertake the task of decentring theory from its Eurocentric origins. Theoretically, I mainly draw on the lessons from postcolonial theory and subaltern studies to recode the conceptual rubric of PLP. More specifically, I draw from the works of Chatterjee (1997, 1998, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2018, 2019a), Chakrabarty (1995, 2002, 2008), Guha (1982; 1996, 2001), Raghuramaraju (2011, 2013) and Spivak (1988, 1993, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008).

In sum, I conceptualise PLP as an open political field of encounters between government and the governed that shapes land subjectivities and policies of those involved – and, in turn, society's land-related intentional conduct. While government (as in, the field of power from where people's conduct is conducted) has its policies (which I call - *rājnīti),* the governed too have their policies (which I call - *loknīti*). Their interaction at the moments of encounters takes place through bodies, matter, and texts. In other words, encounters affect land subjectivities and policies of government as well as the governed, which, in turn, socially make a fluid and constantly-changing PLP. Using this conceptual rubric, I demonstrate that a participatory land policy (PLP) is being socially made during slum rehabilitations and is always in the making.

As one more analytic exercise derived from postcolonial theory, I ethnographically demonstrate the encounters with Modernity during the social making of PLP. The purpose behind locating concepts and practices derived from Modernity is to make visible postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. To reiterate, I call the recoded conceptual rubric of PLP – a 'postcolonial sensory field', given my reliance on postcolonial scholarship for theoretical manoeuvres that aim to decentre Modernity

(with capital M). The task to look past Modernity also requires that land subjectivities that are merely felt or sensed by the subject-agents engaged in slum rehabilitations and me-as-a-researcher are brought into re-presentation. With this recoded conceptual rubric of PLP as a postcolonial sensory field, I proceed to ethnographically engage in two slum rehabilitation projects.

**Chapter 5** lays out the ethnographic research strategy, including the fieldwork plan. Given my use of postcolonial theory, I also place my role as an ethnographer from British academic institution and a native-from-Pune under scrutiny. In this vein, I draw from the Euro-North American self-reflexive ethnographic practice to suggest making my encounters with the participants of this research as the site where knowledge can be temporarily and purposefully co-produced. I call this process 'fielding the research' like in the game of cricket. Like a fielder, my task was to maintain the boundaries of the conceptual as well as empirical field – a field in which many others were also participating. With this field in sight, I elaborate on the research methods I follow in this research, including data generation methods of semi-structured interviews, photo-documentation, and observations; methods of textual and visual data analysis; and ethical considerations. In keeping with the postcolonial injunction to look beyond Eurocentric methods of knowledge-production, I also utilise Marathi/Hindi linguistic categories and the theory of *kāraka* to aid my reading of participants' narratives.

**Chapter 6** presents the discourses that inform the land policies of government (*rājnīti*) and the governed (*loknīti*) during the slum rehabilitation process. Neither government nor the governed have fixed ideas about land. However, in keeping with the postcolonial call to locate and decentre Modernity, I demonstrate how various Government policy-documents and instruments seek to make land into a state-controlled-property and a developer-controlled-commodity. In other words, the changing state-discourses retain within them specific ideas from Modernity – namely 'property' and 'commodity' among others. On the contrary, the policies of the governed are informed by alternative discourses. These alternative discourses refer to different histories, geographies, and the proposed futures for the two selected settlements, namely: Kelewadi and Dandekar Pool Vasti. In this chapter, I reinforce

the idea that Modernity, including the attendant ideas of the Modern state, land as an alienable *thing,* policy as state's rationally decided actions, and participation as taking people's consent, are all performed in the two studied rehabilitations, no matter how inchoately and imperfectly. People's discourses hint at alternative ways of imaging land. The purpose of recounting the performative nature of Modernity and people's alternative ways of imagining land is to methodologically focus on the narratives about the encounters between government and the governed in Chapter 7, to further uncover contextually made postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities in Chapter 8.

**Chapter 7** recounts various encounters between government and the governed. Government and the governed are abstract concepts, and attention to encounters shows that sometimes even the governed can temporarily access the field of power called government. Here, I recount bodily, material, and textual encounters between state-officials, corporators, real-estate developers, landowners, vasti-residents and non-human entities such as cattle, show-flats, religious structures, state-produced posters, as well as consent forms. These multifarious encounters position various actors as either governors or the governed at any given moment. The purpose of providing detailed accounts of the multiple encounters is to locate moments when participation can be said to have occurred – a site where land subjectivities and policies are shaped. These shifting land subjectivities affect the land policies of the governors as well as the governed – thereby socially making a participatory land policy (PLP).

Methodologically, these encounters act as a window onto the shifting land subjectivities and policies of government and the governed. **Chapter 8** presents three registers of land subjectivities that were made germane in slum rehabilitation projects and made visible to me through narratives about the various encounters. These include interpersonal, morphic and chiasmic land subjectivities. Here, I present the distinctively postcolonial land subjectivities that appear as ambivalently straddling between the M/modern and the traditional. To reiterate, the land subjectivities are named postcolonial because I interpret them via a deliberate move to decentre

Modernity (with capital M). These land subjectivities are postcolonial because of my theoretical manoeuvre and not by any essential character of the people present 'out-there' in India. In other words, these subjectivities are tied to the context of this research and this text.

Interpersonal land subjectivities, I demonstrate, are neither completely 'individual' nor 'collective' in the fixed and sovereign sense of the words. Both sovereign individuality and collectivity (e.g. the strict definition of 'class' or 'womanhood') are derived from Modernity. Instead, I present interpersonal land subjectivities as temporarily articulated to suit the purpose of the narration and the political demands of the governed. These interpersonal land subjectivities appear to be relationally, affectively, and purposefully articulated. As I have suggested earlier, there is nothing 'originally' 'Indian' about these articulated interpersonal land subjectivities. However, I call them *postcolonial* because the narratives do not easily fit into the Modern binary of individual/collective in the fixed and sovereign senses of the words. Instead, subjectivities are articulated in terms of contextually relevant metonyms (as in, we-the-women, we-the-slum-dwellers, etc.).

Likewise, morphic land subjectivities are not easily categorizable and hermetically separable into private and public spheres of life – another strict binary that is foundational to Modern theory of liberal democracy. I demonstrate that the narratives of the participants express a sense of fluidity and flow of bodies, affects, and matter between the private and the public domains of spatial morphology in the vasti. More importantly, I also call these morphic land subjectivities as distinctively postcolonial because they do not directly adhere to the strict analytical split between 'space' and 'land' characteristic of Modern theories of planning policy (with capital M).

Lastly, chiasmic land subjectivities are those land subjectivities that are expressed as land having a hold onto people – so long as people hold onto land. This idea of a chiasm is derived from Merleau-Ponty's philosophical explorations of 'touch' – at the limits of the visible. Land in political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment is considered as strictly alienable or strictly inalienable from the humans. Moreover, land is not attributed with agency. Notice that the idea of alienable or inalienable land

arises from *seeing* land through the *eyes* – which invariably creates a distance between the object and 'us'. However, Merleau-Ponty suggested that the sense of 'touch' is only alive so long as the touch exists, and the direction in which the 'touch' flows is impossible to determine. That is, it is impossible to pin-down 'who/what is touching what/whom'. Chiasmic land subjectivities are those subjectivities that resemble the touch of the land. So long as people hold onto the land, land holds them back. Here, chiasmic land subjectivities refer to land's mediated agency on the people.

In conclusion, **Chapter 9** answers the main research questions by demonstrating the fluid and constantly-changing form of socially made PLP and by summarising three possible readings of subaltern land subjectivities derived from the three registers of postcolonial land subjectivities explored in Chapter 8. Ultimately, this thesis concludes by calling development and planning policy scholars engaged in slum rehabilitations to read postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities by focusing on the social making of PLP during slum rehabilitations in Pune, so that further democratic dialogue between government and the governed can be fostered. To promote democratic dialogue, I suggest to development and planning policy scholars to politico-intellectually engage at the bodily, material, and textual encounters and to persistently learn to learn from the subaltern.

# 2 SITUATING MODERN LAND DEBATES

This chapter lays out the historical backdrop of land debates in India in support of the relevance of this research. By opening the discussion from state-led debates on land in India, this chapter seeks to expose the persistent presence of Modern (with capital M) conceptualisations in state-led and scholarly debates in contemporary India. These debates around Modern concepts continue to remain important for the polity in India. By recounting the debates on the Modern concepts (with capital M), I seek to acknowledge the fact that Modern ideas, practices, and institutions have been explicitly used by various marginalised populations in India to speak against the injustices perpetuated since the pre-colonial times. In other words, despite my theoretical inclination towards the postcolonial critique of Modernity, I do not universally reject Modernity.

Subsequently, by exposing the Modern concepts still prevalent in state-led and scholarly debates about India's land governance, I seek to problematise an *uncritical* intellectual and practical application of Modernity (with capital M) in modern India (with small m). In this respect, decentring Modernity opens the space for re-presenting alternative subjectivities, including postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities already being made in Pune. More importantly, tracing the broad discursive shifts in the debates on land in India, I seek to contextualise the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) at Indian state's liberal democratic conjuncture, exercising Modern governmentality (with capital M) on those engaged in slum rehabilitations.

I open this chapter with a very brief history of instituting the Modern state (with capital M) in India (section 2.1). Consequently, I briefly narrate the shifting discursive contours of pre-independence (section 2.2.1) and post-independence (section 2.2.2) debates on land. More specifically, I focus on land debates in liberalising (section 2.2.3) and democratising (section 2.2.4) India. Lastly, I briefly recount the changing discourses on 'slums' (section 2.4) – to situate the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) at the liberal democratic conjuncture of the Indian state.

## 2.1  The 'liberal democratic nation-state' named India

"The history of independent India […] might be seen […] as the history of

a [Modern] state […] [and] as the adventure of a political idea: democracy"

(Khilnani, 2004, pp. 4–5).

The Modern democratic nation-state called India began its adventurous journey in 1947 with a population of about 300 million, and a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Constitution[1]. The project of building a unified nation-state was a deliberate project, orchestrated by a few individuals, to bring the heterogeneous groups of individuals residing in the geopolitical region called the Indian subcontinent into its discursive ambit. That idea of a democratic nation-state brought forth a baggage of concepts, ideologies, procedures, and institutions with which the polity had to learn to live. Recent anthropological literature on the everyday state demonstrates that this project of instituting the idea of the nation-state is still being performed in India, despite its imagined and phantasmal character (Hansen, 2001; Hansen and Stepputat, 2001). Arguably, the discourse of the liberal democratic nation-state was a dramatic shift for the people living in the Indian subcontinent from the former political regimes of the pre-independence India.

The intellectual and political discourses of the 19th and 20th-century Indian political reformers that informed the crafting of the Constitution were influenced by 'Western' ideologies – particularly by Anglophone political philosophers such as Locke, Bentham, and Mill (Bayly, 2012). Consequently, Banerjee (2013) notes that Indian political thought, predisposed under the colonial rule, considered Modernity (liberal or socialist) as a solution to the plight of India's perceived backwardness such as the

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[1] The preamble of the Constitution of India declares "WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST* SECULAR* DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens" (*The Constitution of India*, 1950). *The words Socialist and Secular were added after the Forty-second Amendment enacted in 1977 under the Emergency period (1975-77).

caste-system or religion. Consequently, a liberal democratic theory derived from Modernity became part of the modernising[2] mission of the Indian nation-state.

On the one hand, the early post-independence modernising efforts by Nehru are seen as a zealous project of "liberat[ing] the minds and bodies of ordinary Indians by purposeful acts of economic and social transformation" (Corbridge and Harriss, 2000, p. 20). On the other hand, various scholars such as Vivekananda, Tagore, and Gandhi, contested the uncritical Modernising (i.e. tethered to Western liberal or socialist ideas) project of transitioning from the old to the new by throwing away the old. The latter scholars insisted on assimilating the pre-Modern South Asian intellectual and cultural history within the vision of the new modern India (not necessarily Modern with capital M).

Therefore, since independence, the "temporal presupposition, seeking to overcome tradition [past] and lay claim to modernity [future]" (Banerjee, 2013, p. 31) has continually preoccupied Indian political and social thought almost into the 21st century (Raghuramaraju, 2011; Patel, 2017). For instance, Corbridge and Harris (2000, p. 232) recorded a spread of pessimism during the Congress Government before the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Government in 1998, coinciding with the rise of hope towards "modernizing ambitions of the post-colonial state". The rise of BJP through absolute majority in the 2014 and 2019 elections in India seems to demonstrate a similar hope towards a modernising developmental nation-state. Not only has the BJP Government explicitly aimed for development[3], but it has also revitalised the aspirations towards a sovereign nation-state (derived from political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment), outwardly supported by the citizens of India. The political slogans in the 2019 BJP's campaign, such as '*kaam ruke na, desh*

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[2] By 'modernisation' (with small m) I refer to a non-coercive experience of the present-day.

[3] Alongside Development/ development distinction, Rigg (quoted in Lewis, 2019) articulates another distinction between $D^d$ and $D_d$. Where $D^d$ refers to development undertaken by developmental nation-states, $D_d$ refers to change undertaken by NGOs and civil society organisations. The reason I do not enter these distinctions is that I am mainly referring to developmental-state development $D^d$ – which I simply refer to as development in this thesis (not Hart's (2001) 'small d' development linked to capitalism).

*jhuke na'* (the work will not stop, the country will not bow), are testimony to the ambitions of the BJP Government towards developmental sovereign nation-state.

Although the hope for M/modernisation (i.e. tied to ideas from political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment) has persisted in the 21st century, the substance of M/modernisation appears to have shifted in the post-liberalisation era. In many ways, the discursive mix of economic liberalisation, nationalism, and development (seen as modernisation) was witnessed in Gujarat's experience before BJP's nationwide victory in 2014 (see Sud, 2012). In this narrative, modernisation appears delinked from state-led socialism and linked to market-led development (sometimes referred to as neoliberalism) (Joseph, 2007). However, the social freedoms of the so-called lower castes, religious and ethnic minorities, women and queers continue to be curtailed in India specifically with the 21st-century rise of Hindutva nationalism (Jaffrelot, 2017). Additionally, Münster and Strümpell (2014, p. 8) argue that the Nehruvian idea of a Modern state "was not wiped away with the 'market-friendly reforms' after 1991 […] [but] instead, […] was 'remade'". Consequently, Sud (2012) demonstrates the Modern (with capital M) liberal-illiberal conjuncture of India's contemporary state – economically liberal and, at many occasions, politically illiberal.

Alongside the politically illiberal experiences, the democratic ideals appear "to have put down deep roots" (Joseph, 2007, p. 3213) in India. Not only do elections take place unfailingly in India, but non-governmental organisations and civil/political society have also been active in pressing their views onto the state discourses. The point I want to make here is that India's post-independence democratic arena can be called, if anything, a highly politically charged one. In other words, "India does not "have" politics but is actually constituted by politics" (Khilnani, 2004, p. 9), or India is made and remade by politics.

Among many politicised topics in India's democratic arena, land has been one of the central, if not the most important, topic of political debate throughout India's democratic journey. Not only is land at the core of the liberal democratic theory of the nation-state through territorial sovereignty over land and man's [sic] rights secured

through property in land (Blomley, 2004), but land has also become characterised by scholars as a critical resource for rapidly urbanising India (Mohanty, 2014).

The very concept of land triggers various political debates globally as well as in India. With the changing political regimes, the discursive meaning of 'land' has also been changing in scholarly and state-led debates. In the following sections of this chapter, I recount the various discursive shifts that can be broadly associated with the state-led debates. Successively, I show that the state-led discourses on 'land' have changed from pre-independence *Zamindari,* post-independence liberal-socialist dispute over the right to property in land, the post-liberalisation shift in the discourse towards articulating land as a commodity and a resource, to the 21st-century reforms towards democratising land.

Furthermore, given that I read the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) as a kind of participatory land policy, I later briefly recount the shifting slum-related debates in India to demonstrate that state-led discourses have also shifted from seeing slums only as areas of dilapidated buildings to an under-utilised resource in land. The SRP also directly reflects the liberal democratic conjuncture of the Indian state policies. Therefore, I take the SRP to mean PLP seen through the lens of Modernity – and later decode and recode the conceptual rubric of PLP in Chapters 3 and 4 to allow reading a social making of PLP and to allow recovering postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities during Pune's slum rehabilitation projects.

## 2.2  Land in Modern India

This section expounds on the vast historical scope of the study of land in the Indian subcontinent. For practical purposes, this section contextualises the land debates onto land affected by the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) being implemented in Pune, Maharashtra and situates the debates at the early 21$^{st}$-century liberal democratic conjuncture of the Indian state.

### 2.2.1  Land in pre-independence India

The predominantly known pre-independence history of land in India often begins with the system of Jagirdari developed under the Mughal rule, and forms the basis of a claim that land has historically been alienated from its users at least since the Mughal rule. Under the Mughal system of Jagirdari, Jagirs (lands) were administered by jagirdars (nobles/ intermediaries) who collected taxes on behalf of the Mughal emperor. With the waning of the Mughal empire, the jagirdars were left as de facto owners of their land. In the late 18$^{th}$ and the 19$^{th}$ century, the Jagirdari system was substantially reformed as the East India Company increasingly gained influence in South Asia.

The pre-colonial land regimes were transformed into three different systems under the Company Raj, including Ryotwari in Madras in 1792, Zamindari in Bengal in 1793, and Mahalwari in Punjab between 1820 and 1840 (Mearns, 1999; Mitra, 2017). Ryotwari system of land administration was introduced first in Madras in 1792 and later in Bombay in 1817-1818. In Ryotwari, land belonged to the ryot (citizen-subjects/ people) and the government collected taxes directly from the ryot without intermediaries. Zamindari (also sometimes referred to as Permanent Settlement) imitated the system of Jagirdari, in which zamins (land) were administered by zamindars (nobles/ intermediaries) on behalf of the East India Company. Mahalwari was a land regime, in which Mahals (extended houses/ villages) belonged to the peasants, and village councils were responsible for collecting taxes. With a history of land regimes that included intermediaries, Mitra (2017) argues that the consequent

alienations of land, ostensibly first by the Mughals and later by the British, had left it fragmented at the time of drafting the Indian Constitution in 1950.

The prevalent political discourses that affected the drafting of the Indian Constitution in 1950 can broadly be categorised as those between liberalism and socialism. However, notwithstanding the liberal-socialist debate, Austin (1999, p. 120) notes that "no leader disputed [the] principles" of non-extortion and land redistribution to the tiller leading to the abolition of Zamindari, except notably Sardar Patel, who "argued for relatively better compensation for expropriated property" (Austin, 1999, p. 28). Accordingly, the historical experience of Zamindari conditioned the post-independence debates on land in India, where post-zamindari land redistribution "was meant to serve democracy as well as the agricultural economy" (Austin, 1999, p. 120).

## 2.2.2 Land in post-independence India

Western political ideologies had already influenced the post-independence debates on land in India. Since the socialist ideology prevailed in the political discourses of the 20th century in India, Iyer (2017, p. 191) notes that the land reform objectives announced in 1950[4] were to "redistribute land to the tiller, abolish the intermediaries [zamindars] and give the peasants tenancy rights". Nevertheless, as a result of the liberal-socialist debate, a paradox of citizen's fundamental right "to acquire, hold and dispose property" under Article 19(1)(f), and the restrictions to this right in the name of public interest under Article 19(5) was inscribed within the Constitution as a compromise (Mitra, 2017). Furthermore, Article 31 inscribed the concept of the eminent domain[5] that continues to allow the state to acquire property in land for public purposes, upon payment of compensation.

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[4] Iyer (2017) claims that these land reform objectives were a result of Karachi resolution 1931, 1936, and JC Kumarappa Committee 1949.

[5] The concept of Eminent Domain has been traced back to the writings of Hugo Grotius's book 'De jure Belli ac Pacis' (The law on War and Peace) published in 1625.

The subsequent constitutional amendments concerning land portray three tussles: first, regarding the status of an individual (liberal) versus a collective (socialist) right to property in land; second, regarding the decision-making authority between the judiciary system and parliamentary system; and third, regarding the decision-making authority between the central and provincial Governments.

The first tussle between the individual versus the collective right to land is conceptually linked to the idea of land-as-property. The second tussle revolved around land as a fundamental right to property, thus a judicial matter; and land as a theme of the Directive Principles of State Policy[6] (DPSP), thus a parliamentary concern (Austin, 1999; Mitra, 2017). Mitra (2017, p. 49) suggests that while the right to property as a fundamental right (judicial matter) got successively diluted, the changing political context (parliamentary concern) in India suggests that "protection property rights, particularly of the poor, can no longer be brushed aside". The Modern concept of land-as-property remain crucial for the protection of the rights of the poor in India.

Parallel to the tussle between the judiciary and the parliamentary system, land was also a topic of the decentralisation debate (the third tussle). Land was made a state matter[7] in Government of India Act 1935 and remains so to date. Subsequently, different provincial Governments in India drafted different land-related legislations that have suited contextual specificities and shifting political interests. Within the constitutional directives, state land policies have traditionally revolved around property rights, tenures, taxes, and transactions (Tiwari *et al.*, 2015; Nirmal Roy, 2017). Despite the changing policies, land remains articulated as a property.

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[6] Directive Principle of State policy, Part IV of the Indian Constitution, states the policy guidelines relating social, economic, and political justice, non-enforceable by any courts but necessary for social order within the state.

[7] The Seventh Schedule (Article 246) of the Indian Constitution places land in the State List, including rights in or over land, land tenures including the relation of landlord and tenant, and the collection of rents; transfer and alienation of agricultural land; land improvement and agricultural loans; colonization.

While much of the early state-led debate about land revolved around agricultural land, the first attempt to draft an 'urban land policy' was taken in 1961 by the Town and Country Planning Organisation (TCPO) of the GoI (Acharya, 1988). The objectives of the TCPO committee of urban land policy advocated for large-scale state acquisition of land for urban development (Mohanty, 2014; Tiwari *et al.*, 2015). The TCPO committee of urban land policy concisely proposed key objectives of the urban land policy as follows:

1. To achieve optimum social use of urban land
2. To make urban land available for housing, community amenities, and productive activities, including infrastructure
3. To safeguard the interests of the poor and marginalised sections of urban society
4. To promote cooperative community efforts and genuine individual land developers
5. To use urban land as a resource to finance urban development
6. To encourage flexible land-use response to the rapid urban changes

Seen through the lens of Modernity, the six objectives of urban land policy resonate with the socialist inclination of the pre-liberalised Indian state. Consequently, Acharya (1988, p. 1427) argues that urban land reforms in India had attempted to "dilute some of the disturbing trends in the urban land-market, such as speculation, land price increases, and skewed distribution of land". Furthermore, Kshirsagar (2007, p. 4) claims that the TCPO committee of urban land policy "observed that to realize the objectives, there [was] no escape from large scale acquisition". Consequently, having experimented with the implementation of the urban land policy guidelines in Delhi, Kshirsagar (2007, p. 4) notes that the post-implementation evaluation by Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in 1983 showed limitations to large scale public ownership. In effect, Kshirsagar (2007) lists three problems arising from DDA's public acquisition of urban land, namely: rise in housing costs, over-provision of land to powerful non-state groups, and deliberately reducing land from the real-estate market.

As the growing fiscal and political uncertainties in the 1980s triggered the economic liberalisation reforms of 1991 (Nayyar, 2017), the state-led discourse on urban land shifted towards conceptualising land as a resource and commodity. Subsequently, the Ministry of Urban Development (MOUD) proposed new guidelines for urban land policies in 2007 resonating the post-liberalisation reforms as I review in the following section.

### 2.2.3  Land in liberalising India

With waning socialist ideology since the 1991 liberalisation reforms, the discourses on 'land' shifted from conceptualising 'land as a fundamental right to property' to 'land as commodity and resource'. While Acharya (1988) had already claimed that the failure of land reforms in India lies in the state's desire to control land, many scholars have criticised state-led land administration more explicitly in recent years. For instance, Chakravorty (2013) claims that the state laws have been complicit to the problem of increasing land-prices and displacement of the poor. Similarly, Tiwari et al. (2015, p. 99) argue that the Indian state has been using "draconian laws to regulate urban land", consequently failing to achieve their "egalitarian and low density objectives". On a prescriptive note, Mohanty (2014, p. 186) suggests that urban land policies in India have not exploited urban land as a resource to finance urban infrastructure and services substantially.

Within the state policy discourses, the Ministry of Urban Development (MOUD) revised the 1965 urban land policy guidelines in 2007 with a new set of objectives. MOUD's policy objectives aim to "overcome inefficiencies, distortions, and inequities in the urban land market; […] leverag[e] land as a resource for urban development; […] increase […] the overall supply of land for urban uses; […] propose […] [an] alternative to compulsory land acquisition" (Kshirsagar, 2007, p. 3).

Unlike the 1965 recommendation for large scale acquisition by the Government, the 2007 guidelines for urban land policy provide alternative measures to achieve the proposed objectives as follows (Kshirsagar, 2007):

1. To amend (or repeal) land taxing mechanisms to generate resources from unearned increment in land values to finance city infrastructure
2. To make information about land markets publicly available
3. To make long-term real-estate development and management plan and utilize vacant lands with efficient systems of incentives and disincentives
4. Deregulate development controls such as restricting supply and mandating high land consumption to reduce property prices
5. Densify along major transportation corridors
6. Allow participation by representatives of housing agencies as envisaged by Maharashtra Housing Authority Act
7. Relax Floor space Index (FSI) regulations
8. Bring the poor into the fold of formal land market through policies such as Mumbai policy for housing squatter populations through private developers

Overall, I read the recommendations to be calling for lesser Government control in regulating 'land market', increased access to information, bringing poor into the formal markets, and increased participation. These guidelines resonate with what Sud (2012) calls land (property) liberalisation in India. The fact that urban land policy guidelines are made at the state level is, in itself, testimony that the "bureaucratic policy making and politics [Modern administrative state politics] is alive and active in India" (Sud, 2014, p. 44).

In other words, the discussions relating to state intervention in land administration and markets persist to date. Accordingly, Pellissery and Jacobs (2017, p. 207) argue that the recently witnessed heated public debates around state-led land acquisition in India demonstrate "an underlying tension between those who view […] land as a necessary element of economic development (land as a commodity) and […] land primarily from the perspective of the user and owner (land as a resource)". Similarly, Sud (2012) summarises the contemporary discussions on land liberalisation as among those favouring less state control and those insisting on the need for the state control. Concurrent to land liberalisation, the decentralisation reforms of the 1990s have also affected the political discourses concerning land further influenced by democratisation reforms in the early 21$^{st}$ century.

### 2.2.4   Land in democratising India

In India, the political pressures for increasing the democratic participation of 'people' in decision-making grew simultaneous to land (property) liberalisation. For instance, Mohanty (2014, p. 100) claims that the compensatory land acquisition model of the Government did not succeed in India due to "stiff resistance from farmers". Likewise, Raghuram and Sunny (2015) note that the growing number of protests in the country against land acquisition had fuelled the process of legislating The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (LARR) Act 2013. Furthermore, many planning and policy scholars have also advocated for a decentralised and democratic approach to land in India for differing reasons (Chakravorty, 2013; Mohanty, 2014; Mitra, 2017; Pellissery and Jacobs, 2017). Altogether, the drafting of the National Policy for Rehabilitation and Resettlement (NPRR) 2007 and LARR Act 2013 was not politically unexpected.

The 74th Amendment to the Constitution had opened the possibility of devolution of powers to local bodies, including urban local bodies (ULB). Moreover, both the NPRR and LARR specify the necessity of active participation of project-affected people before the acquisition of land. With an aim to be "humane, participative, informed, and transparent", the LARR provides a clause for obtaining "the prior *consent* of at least eighty [or seventy] per cent of the affected families" for private and public-private projects, respectively (LARR, 2013, pp. 1, 3, emphasis added). In other words, land continues to be articulated as property through the clauses of fair compensation and liberal democratic consent (Wahi, 2016, pp. 959–960). To paraphrase Sud (2012, p. 85), "as [liberal democratisation] has advanced, land too has come within its ambit".

Consequently, decision-making regarding land is devolved onto the project-affected people. In other words, the project-affected people are allowed to take decisions about what to do with the land that affects their life. However, in a liberal democratic format, the form of decision-making is instituted as consenting to Government's land acquisition policies, mostly by granting a signature or a thumb-print. This is also true for Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP). While the national legislations have inscribed participation by 'consenting' onto the national state discourse, it appears to also

reflect onto the Maharashtra state (and Pune) land policies I review in the following section.

Together with economic liberalisation and consent-seeking, land appears at the liberal democratic conjuncture of the Indian state. As Chatterjee (2019b, p. 61) indicates, "[t]here is a duality in contemporary liberal democracies between the subject of interests and the subject of rights, or *Homo economicus* motivated by rational interests and the citizen-subject as a constituent of popular sovereignty". In the case of land, liberal democratic policy discourses re-present people with economic interests in land and right bearing citizens with a sovereign capacity to consent to the state's land policy – such as the SRP.

## 2.3  Land in Modern Maharashtra

Maharashtra's state-written land policies and Acts appear to have resonated with the paradigmatic shifts in India's state-led discourses on land. The history of policies and Acts affecting land and housing in Maharashtra can be summarised as follows:

|   | *Year* | *Land-related legislations in Maharashtra* |
|---|--------|--------------------------------------------|
| *1* | 1940s | - Bombay Rents, Hotel and Lodging House Rates Control Act, 1947 |
| *2* | 1960s | -  Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning (MRTP) Act, 1966 |
| *3* | 1970s | - Maharashtra Apartment Ownership Act, 1970 <br> - Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act, 1971 <br> - MMRDA Act, 1974 <br> - Urban Land Ceiling & Regulation Act, 1976 (ULCRA) |
| *4* | 1990s | - Development Control Regulations for Greater Mumbai, 1991 <br> - Maharashtra Rent Control Act, 1999 <br> - Urban Land (Ceiling & Regulation) Repeal Act, 1999 |
| *5* | 2010s | - Maharashtra Housing (Regulation & Development) Act, 2012 <br> - The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 <br> - Government of India's Real Estate (Regulation and Development) Act, 2016 |

Table 1: Landmark legislations affecting land and housing in Maharashtra
(Source: Mhaske and Sharma, 2015)

Until the 1990s, the various Acts and policies of the GoM appear to be broadly influenced by state-led socialism. For instance, the Maharashtra Rents Control Act, 1999, derived from the Bombay Rent Control Act of 1947, was meant to prevent landlords from evicting tenants due to the increase in rents. Likewise, the Urban Land (Ceiling & Regulation) Act, 1976 prevented individual land owners from owning lands beyond a specified limit, to control the monopoly of private landowners on land in cities. Instead, any vacant land in excess of the ceiling limit was to be surrendered to the state for equitable distribution of land in urban agglomerations.

Alongside the rents control and land ceiling Acts, the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning (MRTP) Act, 1966 provided direct guidelines for state-led and state-controlled planning. Consequently, Development Authorities and Regional Planning Boards were established with the purpose of preparation of development plans (DP) and development control regulations (DCR) for urban areas. Through the MRTP Act, 1966, the provincial Governments could establish areas under their jurisdictions for the purposes of planning. Furthermore, every Planning Authority was required to carry out surveys, prepare existing land-use maps, and prepare & implement development plans (DP) and development control regulations (DCR) – all remnant of Modern (with capital M) and colonial cultures of planning (see Porter, 2016).

The structural changes that induced land liberalisation at the national level also affected the Acts and policies in Maharashtra since the 1990s. For instance, the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act, 1976 was repealed in 1999 for various reasons that resonated with the arguments for liberalisation. Mhaske and Sharma (2015, pp. 30–31) recount various reasons for repealing the Act, including (i) The Act artificially created land scarcity, (ii) The Act provided low compensation rates to landowners, (iii) The Act facilitated the increase in land prices in cities, (iv) The Act was not sufficiently enforced, (v) increasing 'supply' of land would create higher employment rates, improve productivity levels, increase property tax base, reduce corruption and unlawful payments to get development permissions, and improve overall social well-being. In short, these reasons hint at lesser state control in land markets, thereby seeking liberalisation of land.

However, the process of liberalisation did not lead to the complete abolition of the state-planning procedures established by the MRTP Act, 1966. Instead, new concepts were introduced to control the so-called 'market' of land. For instance, the concept of Transfer of Development Rights (TDR) was introduced in the DCR of Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) in 1997 to control the land market (MASHAL, 2011b, p. 21). Likewise, as I show in this thesis, concepts such as the Floor Space Index (FSI), Transfer of Development Rights (TDR) zones continue to facilitate the porous state institutions to perform coherence and control the 'market' on land.

As the state institutions' roles are being re-thought in the 21st century, the GoI's Real Estate (Regulation and Development) Act, 2016 triggered the establishment of Real Estate Regulatory Authorities (RERAs) at the provincial Governments. Through the RERAs, the GoM aims to ensure transparent and efficient Real Estate sector, protect the interests of the consumers, and establish mechanisms to settle disputes (Mhaske and Sharma, 2015, pp. 39–40; MahaRERA, 2020). Moreover, the national trend towards democratising land, by asking people to 'consent' for land acquisition (through LARR, 2013) or rehabilitation and resettlement (through NARR, 2011), also reflects in the context of land governance in Maharashtra. Various sectoral policies and projects of the GoM stipulate the mandate for seeking consent from project-affected people prior to acquiring land, including the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP).

The point behind recounting the changing legislative and policy landscape in Maharashtra is to demonstrate that 'the state' in Maharashtra is being remade fragmentedly depending on the "sector, level and branch of the state" (Gupta and Sharma, 2006, p. 280; Münster and Strümpell, 2014). In the case of land, although land liberalisation is still underway, it is controlled through various state laws and policies. Here, the fact remains that "bureaucratic policy making and politics is alive and active in [Maharashtra]" (Sud, 2014, p. 44) in the form of a chequered legal and policy landscape. More importantly, this chequered landscape of legal and policy discourses affect land through cohered performances and practices of the state and

shed light on what I refer to as the liberal democratic governmentality of the state in Maharashtra.

Given the fragmented character of legal and policy discourses and the state institutions in the so-called post-liberalised India, I choose to focus on one Government policy that affects land in the city of Pune – namely the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP). The GoM formulated the SRP in the context of long-lasting debates over the concept of 'slum' and the so-called slum-dwellers' political rights to housing and the city. In the following section, I briefly recount the debates over slums in India, Maharashtra and Pune to situate the SRP at the liberal democratic governmentality of the porous state in Maharashtra.

## 2.4 Slum Policies as Land Policies

> "I have a dream that everyone living in *juggi-zhopadi* [slums] in Delhi should have a *pakkā* [solid] house by 2022" (Modi, 2015).

The category of 'slums' has been the topic of political debate since India's independence and appears to remain so in the 21st century[8]. The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act (SAA) 1956 provided a Constitutional backing for Government intervention in the so-called problem of slums. Slums, defined as 'areas', can be read as associated to land-as-territory from the outset. Although Gilbert (2007) notes that the word 'slum' originated in Victorian England without any explicit link to geographical areas, it acquired a geographical connotation in the 20th century. Subsequently, as far as the Indian state is concerned, the SAA 1956 associated the term slum with areas of land from the outset. Accordingly, any slum policy effectively affects land, thereby making it a land policy.

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[8] Gilbert (2007) claims that the UN-Habitat millennium declaration announcement of the vision for slum-free cities renewed the use and significance of the term 'slum' worldwide.

The SAA 1956 defined such areas as slums which:

a. are in any respect unfit for human habitation
b. are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty management and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health, or morals

According to the SAA, a competent authority would first *name* areas of the city as 'slum areas', which then become a *subject* of Government's various slum-related policies. The SAA first recommended slum-improvement and later slum-clearance if the improvements were deemed impossible by the competent authority. While the early Government response to slums was demolition and clearance, these efforts were consequently seen to be "unsuccessful […] [and] inhuman" (SRA, 2019). The change of Indian state's attitude towards slums resonated with the then global attitude towards slums that shifted from slum clearance to slum upgrading in the late 20th century.

Subsequently, the Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement Clearance and Redevelopment) Act, 1971 (MSAA) incorporated improvement and redevelopment works. In response to the Constitutional changes on property rights, slum-dwellers' right not to be evicted without compensation was maintained in the Act except for the exercise of the 'eminent domain'. Influenced by John Turner's (1976) argument to foster autonomy in housing, the mid-1980s witnessed a shift in India's Slum Policies under the shadow of the World Bank policies of assisting slum rehabilitation (SRA, 2019), although still through state intervention.

However, as land was being liberalised since 1991, the state's attitude towards the slum also changed. Consequently, as the state laws changed since liberalisation, the Government policies simultaneously changed. During the 1990s, the GoM was opting for a new approach to housing and 'slum rehabilitation', which various authors have come to call a market-led approach (e.g. Patel, 1995; Singh and Das, 1995; Bapat, 2012). Patel (1995, p. 2473) recounts that this new approach was a result of Shiv Sena leader Bal Thackeray's proposal to the Congress Government in 1990. Bal

Thackeray was one of the prominent political figures in regional politics of Maharashtra and his proposed housing policy in 1990 sought financial and administrative assistance from real-estate developers. Consequently, the Congress Government brought into force a programme to rehabilitate slum-dwellers by involving the private-sector in the early 1990s. Given the Government policy changes, Bapat (2012) suggests that the mid-1990s witnessed the first attempts to include the private sector in financing the re-housing of slum-dwellers on the same land on which they resided, first in Mumbai and thereafter in Pune.

Later in 1995, Shiv Sena-BJP (SS-BJP) Government came to power in Maharashtra with Bal Thackeray's election promise to provide free houses to all slum-dwellers (Singh and Das, 1995). Bal Thackeray's promise to give free housing to the slum-dwellers was based on the "'philosophy' of 'cross-subsidy' – that the builders [real-estate developers] can be made to subsidise slum development" (Singh and Das, 1995, p. 2477). Unlike the pre-1990s Government policies to eradicate slums or rehabilitate slum-dwellers elsewhere in the city, critical to the Congress' (in 1991) and later SS-BJP' housing policies (in 1995) was the attempt to house slum-dwellers on the same plot of land. In political terms, the possibility of housing slum-dwellers on the same plot of land by inviting the private sector remains lucrative even in the 21st century as evident through my ethnographic study of the SRP implementation in Pune.

Simultaneous to liberalising land-as-property, the Congress Government programme mandated the consent of 70% slum-dwellers for development in the early 1990s. That is, seeking consent from the 'slum-dwellers' was a trend towards liberal democratisation since the early 1990s. However, although the earlier Congress Government policy of seeking 70% consent from the slum-dwellers was retained in the SS-BJP's Slum Rehabilitation Policy, a new clause to mandate compensation or involuntary rehabilitation for the remaining 30% of slum-dwellers was added (Singh and Das, 1995, p. 2480). The possibility of Modern state's (with capital M) monopolistic use of force to evict the 30% of the non-consenting slum-dwellers was retained through this clause. To ensure the implementation of the slum

rehabilitations, a Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) was first established in Mumbai in 1995, in line with the MRTP Act, 1966.

Whereas the above-mentioned Government policy shifts in the 1990s mainly took place in Mumbai – the capital city of Maharashtra, the policy-shifts in Pune were further complicated by the 74th Amendment of the Constitution that devolved the powers to urban local bodies, including to the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC). In the following section, I briefly recount how the liberalising and democratising trends unfolded on Pune's policy landscape under the shadow of the GoM.

### 2.4.1 Slum Policies as Land Policies in Pune

Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) prepared development plans (DP) for the city of Pune since its establishment. Kulabkar (2002, p. 83) notes that slum rehabilitation was on the agenda for development since the 1987 twenty-year development plan. However, prior to the 74th Amendment of the Constitution, the DP was approved by the GoM from Mumbai. Kulabkar's (2002) ethnographic study on the politics of implementing DPs in Pune recounts the struggle between GoM and PMC over decision-making powers before the actual devolution of powers to PMC. Consequently, in consonance with the 74th Amendment of the Constitution, Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) began preparing its own development plan for the first time in 2007 to be approved by local elected representatives (or corporators). At the time of preparing the DP in 2007, PMC had several Government policies and programmes to choose from, including:

1. Slum Redevelopment/ Rehabilitation schemes
2. Lok Awas Yojna
3. Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna
4. Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) under JNNURM
5. Rajiv Awas Yojna[9] (PMC, 2007)

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[9] After the BJP Government came to power since 2014, the central government has promoted a new Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna (PMAY), with four types of schemes considered for state assistance: (1) In-situ Rehabilitation of existing slum dwellers using land as a resource through private participation; (2) Credit Linked Subsidy; (3) Affordable Housing in Partnership; (4) Subsidy for Beneficiary-led individual house construction/ enhancement.

Alongside PMC's efforts to intervene in slums, the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) was established in Pune in 2005. Until 2005, Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) had a department called '*Galiccha Vasti Nirmulan Vibhag*' (Filthy Settlement Clearance Department), whose main preoccupation was prevention of unauthorised constructions and slum clearance. However, after the establishment of the SRA in Pune, the PMC's role in directly intervening in 'slum rehabilitations' has drastically reduced. Since 2005, the SRA remains under the authority of the GoM and is mandated to oversee the implementation of slum rehabilitations. The preparation of the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) in Pune, was the GoM's attempt to construct a coherent policy for slum-areas in Pune in a clear and hierarchical administrative structure. That such policies are created and enacted upon is testimony that the phantasmal and the fragmentary state performs coherence to govern slums and land in Pune.

During the time of my fieldwork, the PMC prepared the development plans (DP) and development control regulations (DCR) to administer and plan Pune affecting the land-uses as well as the land market in the city. Simultaneously, the SRA administered the slum rehabilitations through the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP). The SRP invites the real-estate developers to undertake slum rehabilitations in return of incentives in terms of development rights. The allowance of a land market via development rights and the simultaneous control of the market by regulating the transfer of development rights (TDR) corresponds to the liberal governmentality exercised by the PMC.

Moreover, since the Congress and SS-BJP slum policies that mandated the consent of 70% of slum-dwellers, the provision for obtaining this was also inscribed in Appendix T of the DCR in Pune in 2004 (Joshi, 2007, p. 10). The same clause is also now included in the SRA's Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) guidelines. The clause specifically requires that 70% of the slum-dwellers shall consent to the slum rehabilitation and permit the real-estate developer to undertake the said rehabilitation. Although the SRA prepares a list of eligible developers as per the stipulated criteria, the SRA neither initiates a dialogue between the developers,

landowners, and the slum-dwellers, nor takes the responsibility of obtaining consents. In case the real-estate developer or at least 70% of the residents come forth with a proposal for slum rehabilitation, the SRP stipulates a clause for compulsory participation of the landowner. Given the reliance on the mandatory consent from 70% of slum-dwellers, the SRP also principally democratises land. Consequently, I situate the SRP at the liberal democratic governmentality of the Indian state seen through the lens of Modernity.

## 2.5  Conclusion

In this chapter, I briefly recounted the history of state-led land debates in India and Maharashtra to situate the SRP at the liberal democratic conjuncture of land governance in Pune. The purpose behind recounting this brief history was also to demonstrate that bureaucratic policy-making is still alive and active in India, including the Modern state practices (with capital M) of preparing development plans by surveying, mapping, and counting people. Alongside these mundane state practices of land governance, the real-estate developers are now invited to facilitate Government programmes and schemes, including in the implementation of the SRP. Consequently, the state governs land through liberal governmentality. Furthermore, given that the slum-dwellers are also asked to consent for slum-rehabilitation and the real-estate developer, I suggested that the SRP is at the liberal democratic conjuncture. More importantly, the existence of the state institutions, the discursive use of the concept of property, transfer of development rights, land-as-territory, policy as a written and a rationalised document of a state institution, and participation as giving a liberal consent – all refer to the fact that political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment (Modernity with capital M in this thesis) is still performatively practiced in Pune through discourses and practices.

Because Modernity is still performatively practiced in India in a manner that treats non-Modern and pre-Modern as deviant and secondary, the purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that people engaged in slum rehabilitations are not dormant and that they contribute to the making of society's land policy, simultaneously making visible the postcolonial and subaltern ways of being modern (with small m).

Here, the governors, such as the politicians and bureaucrats at various Government levels, are not oblivious of the politics of the governed. However, the precise land subjectivities and policies of the governed remain disassociated from, but entangled with, the politics of governors and the M/modern state (with capital M) in Pune. Here, even though politicians and bureaucrats have their own policies and varying agendas for politics, the Modern state's liberal democratic governmentality continues to be

simultaneously performed, referred to, and reinforced through discourses and practices of the state.

In this regard, it is by decentring Modernity and its associated concepts (but not completely rejecting them) that, I contend, postcolonial and subaltern subjectivities become readable. Consequently, as I demonstrate through this thesis, the government (as in, the conduct of people's conduct) and the governed together make a participatory land policy (PLP). To be able to visualise the social making of PLP during slum rehabilitations in such a way that makes visible postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities, I now turn towards decoding the conceptual rubric of PLP so that political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment can be decentred from the rubric.

# 3  DECODING PARTICIPATORY LAND POLICY

In preparation for gearing the theoretical sensibilities for researching in and for postcolonial democracy of Pune, I undertake a critical review of Modern literature on participatory land policy still prevalent in the Euro – North American scholarship. To do so, I decode three concepts relevant to the notion of participatory land policy, namely: (urban) land, policy, and participation. The purpose behind decoding of the concepts is to acknowledge the limitations of the early 21$^{st}$ century residual Modernising tendency in the Indian state discourses and practices. Moreover, given that I situated this research at the sub-disciplinary conjuncture of 'postcolonial theory and subaltern studies' and 'development and planning policy studies', I borrow my understanding of the concepts from disparate disciplinary backgrounds in line with the postcolonial critique's tendency to be "deliberately interdisciplinary, arising in the interstices of disciplines of power/knowledge that it critiques" (Prakash, 1994, p. 1476).

To do so, I begin by reviewing the concepts of land and urban land (section 3.1) to demonstrate a debate between Euro-North American postmodern (nominalist) and Modern (essentialist) ways of conceptualising land and urban land. In this way, section 3.1 reviews Modern and postmodern ways to imagine the *substance* of what land is (ontology). However, the conceptual ensemble named 'participatory land policy' also indicates towards political theories of the state, since both policy and participation are mostly imagined as political concepts. Therefore, I review Modern land policy (section 3.2) and participation in land policy (section 3.3) literature and a Euro-North American academia's critical response to Modern state theories. Overall, I retain three criticisms against Modernity (with capital M) through this chapter, namely: ontological (i.e. of essentialist land concepts and originary social contracts), epistemological (i.e. of anthropocentrism and primacy of the 'cogito'), and normative (i.e. of violence of norms on the deviant). By showing the limitations of Modernity, I pave the way to formulating a postcolonial sensory field I develop in Chapter 4.

## 3.1 What is Urban Land?

This section explores the meanings of land and urban land as prevalent in Modern literature. Postmodernism's nominalist critique of Modernist essentialism (Zenner, 1994) holds together the discussion in this section. At the risk of simplification, essentialism refers to a doctrine where the objects like land or human subjects are believed to have essences that do not vary over time, and nominalism proceeds by naming the properties of objects or human subjects as temporary signifiers to avoid an essentialist claim. Postmodernism charged its criticism against Modernity's tendency of essentialism as a dogmatic doctrine failing to acknowledge that the objects and/or human subjects change their properties according to the context that surrounds them.

The postmodern doctrine of nominalism opens a possibility of the politics of naming and re-presentation. That is, nominalism gives way to the politics of who shall get to attribute meaning to an object and/or a subject. Postcolonial theory has engaged substantially with the politics of naming and re-presentation to demonstrate the persistent coloniality of Euro-North American theorisation on non-Euro-North American contexts. Moreover, one of the postcolonial theoretical manoeuvres explicitly decodes meanings embedded in various Euro-North American concepts and recodes them to fit the non-Euro-North American context. I wrote in Chapter 1 that this strategy of deliberately decoding and recoding the meanings to fit one's context is referred to as catachresis – i.e. an apparently incorrect use of words (see e.g. Burney, 2012, pp. 179–180; Nayar, 2015, p. 25).

To decode the conceptual rubric of participatory land policy (PLP), I propose first de-fining the concepts of land, participation, and policy. Etymologically, 'to define' means to completely (*de*-) bound, limit, or end (*-finis*). However, to 'completely bound' meanings of the concepts means to deny polysemy and therefore the possibility of catachresis. Consequently, I suggest de-fining the concepts of land, policy and participation. By hyphenating the word 'de-fine', I wish to invoke another meaning of the word – i.e. to do the opposite of (*de*-) bounding, limiting or ending (*-finis*) the

meanings so that the concepts can be left broad enough to account for polysemy and the possibility of catachresis (i.e. an apparent incorrect use of words). I will recode the rubric of PLP in Chapter 4 and later explore the various meanings of land through my ethnographic work. Moreover, as Li (2007) suggests, de-fining the concepts allows me to acknowledge that the meanings of these concepts will have changed by the time I go back to study the research sites. I de-fine concepts so that the context can define them.

### 3.1.1  De-fining Land

In this section, I show how land can be understood in multiple ways, such as terra firma, nature, resource, commodity, property, and territory. All these conceptualisations of land, primarily refer to land as a thing with an *essence*. In a Modernist pretext, having determined the essence of land, the theorist then proceeds to theorise the operations of nature, society, culture, politics, or economy. However, as a response to the critique of essentialism and the insufficiency of nominalism, land can be conceptualised as relational, as theorists such as Davy (2012) and Datta (2015) do, or unfixed as Sud (2019) does. It is the concept of land as relationally made and remade subjectivity which I further develop in Chapter 4.

It is widely accepted that land is an object in nature, pre-exists human interventions, is limited in quantity and a valuable resource for human actions. To quote Karl Polanyi, "what we call land is an element of nature inextricably interwoven with men's [sic] institutions" (quoted in Davy, 2012, p. 26). It is also often argued that land enters different domains of human activity differently, and is considered to mean differently to "various sectors of society and their accompanying professional skills" (Lichfield, 1980, p. 379). For instance, Ratcliff (1976, p. 13) suggests that land means support for buildings to an architect and engineer, a platform for plans to a planner, potential to a developer, means for privacy and security to an individual, and partisan philosophy to a politician. Contrary to conceptualising land as meaning differently to different individuals, land can also broadly be considered to constitute two ingredients

(essences), namely the interests in land and the values of such interests (Willcox, 1980, p. 399).

In the most colloquial sense, land refers to the portion of the earth's surface that is not covered by water (see Moore, 2015). However, in physical geography, land means terra firma with certain physical qualities (essences), which may or may not be of interest to humanity (anthropocentrism[10]). As terra firma, land is considered fixed in location and incapable of being transported; however, its qualities are considered capable of being eroded, but irreplaceable (Lichfield, 1980, p. 388). Such a definition of land as terra firma also includes natural resources, including everything non-human.

Intuitively, land, as an element of **nature**, can be expected to have existence value or essence. Jonathan Aldred (1994, p. 381) defines existence value as "the value of an object in natural world apart from any use of it by humans". In recent years, growing environmental and ecological consciousness has brought the existence value of objects in nature within the popular discourses. Kivell (1993, p. 9) notes that although most of the interest in the environment was expressed at a global scale in the 1980s, local interests in the environment have been translated mainly into nature parks with direct implications on the use of urban land.

Similarly, Owens and Cowell (2011) argue for the spiritual, aesthetic and intrinsic qualities of the non-human world (essences), which they consider central to conflicts over land utilisation in societies. In their view, theorists of ecological modernisation have paid little attention to the intuited nature. They argue that the intuited nature of land is inherently (essentially) in conflict with land development. Such a broad understanding of land as part of the natural environment associates its "features with the workings of nature without human effort" (Williamson et al., 2010, p. 41). The argument for the intuited nature or existence value of land without human effort is

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[10] Anthropocentrism is a doctrine where humans are at the centre and everything non-human revolves around the moral standing of the human. In other words, non-human things are secondary to humans.

both critical and useful to protect the environment from human destruction. However, the inherent-ness of the intuited nature remains an essentialist argument, that does not assist in understanding how slum rehabilitations socially make PLP in Pune's postcolonial democratic arena in such a way that makes postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities visible.

Additionally, land has also been conceptualised as a resource for various human endeavours (anthropocentrism). However, land as a resource can have multiple interpretations depending on one's politics. In classical economics, for instance, land means a natural resource freely available for monetary income generation. The resources derived from land would include agricultural products, minerals, water and forest resources, including flora and fauna (e.g. Lichfield, 1980; Balchin, Bull and Kieve, 1995). Alternatively, within land administration theory, land as a resource has broader implications, making it a source of, not just monetary wealth, but power, status, and revenue (Williamson *et al.*, 2010).

Despite Polanyi's (2001, p. 76) claim that "[t]he commodity description of labor [sic], land, and money is entirely fictitious", land continues to be conceptualised and exchanged as a commodity (C). Etymologically, the word commodity links to Latin commodus meaning appropriate, fit, convenient and satisfactory. In agreement with the etymological meaning, Karl Marx (2017, p. 27) defined commodity as:

> "[I]n the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties [essences] satisfies human wants of some sort or another [anthropocentrism]. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference".

Accordingly, land as a commodity is argued to be fixed, practically indestructible, homogeneous from country to country and subject to broad categories such as agricultural, residential or industrial (Koenigsberger and Groák, 1980, p. 374). It has also been argued that within its economic life, land is neither costless, valueless or priceless as consumption goods and services are laid out on land by entrepreneurs (Lichfield, 1980, p. 388). Based on the conception of land as a commodity, the spatial

theory of land rent also perceives land as "a potential source of revenue [i.e. resource] generated through economic [i.e. exchange/ transactional] activities" (Davy, 2012, p. 63). Consequently, the concept of land as a commodity makes land infused with use-value and exchange-value in Marxian analysis.

Additionally, land as a commodity gets linked to other exchange markets and commodities. On the one hand, land itself can be used as a raw material for producing other services and goods such as housing (H), infrastructure (I), or public services (S). On the other hand, land can be exchanged as a commodity with other commodities. For instance, landowners sell their land to buyers, mostly (not always) through the medium of money in contemporary societies, to buy other commodities such as, say, gold. By bringing land into the commodity (C) marketplace using money (M) as a medium of exchange, land is made Capital in Marx's formula ($M - C_L - M' - C_{L/H/I/S} - M''$) as long as the commodity circuit ends with surplus money (M). However, before being made Capital, every instance when land is used for production or exchanged for something, land is conceptualised and made a commodity.

On the contrary, Koenisberger and Groák (1980, p. 374) suggest that "in many societies, land simply is not negotiable [for exchange/ alienation]". As Polanyi says "to isolate [land] and form a market out of it was perhaps the weirdest of all undertakings of our ancestors" (quoted in Davy, 2012, p. 26). Similarly, Elyachar (2005) argues that land is one of the possessions that was forcibly commodified through its conversion from being a universal property to the private property of a few wealthy individuals. "Thus, a free [exchange] market in land", according to Koenigsberger and Groák (1980), "is neither a universal fact nor a universally accepted working concept". Nonetheless, Boonyabancha (2009) claims that land has increasingly become a commodity to be traded in Asian communities.

Besides, "[l]and, as Odysseus' slave-girls, is still property" (Leopold, 1949, p. 203). Land as a thing is often treated as property. While property, in colloquial use, continues to be seen as a thing that is owned, legal theory considers property as "rights and obligations of a party [individuals/ groups of individuals] in relation to the object [i.e. land]" (Lichfield, 1980, p. 388). Furthermore, to a lawyer, wild animals and

buildings are part of the land as property (Davy, 2012, p. 26). In other words, the concept of property defines what an individual or group of individuals can (or cannot)/ should (or should not) do with land, mostly legitimised by another individual or a group of individuals. As Sikor and Lund (2009, p. 1) claim, "[p]roperty is only property if socially legitimate institutions sanction it […] [and because] the process of recognition of claims to property [simultaneously requires] recognition of its authority […] This is the [social] contract that links property to authority". Unlike the commodity description of land, land as property is therefore closely tied to the concept of authority – thereby of relevance for the analysis of making PLP.

However, Macpherson (1978, p. 1) suggests that property as an "institution, and the way people see it, and hence the meaning they give to the word, all change over time". By suggesting that the meaning of property is not stable, Macpherson (1978) further argues that the concept of property is often mistaken for the concept of possessive individualism. While Blomley (2004) shows that land was made private property in the U.S. through Locke's justification of the British colonial enterprise, Guha (1996) traces the instituting of private property in Bengal also through the British colonial enterprise. Consequently, land as property has quite vividly been made, as summarised through the title of Singer's (2014) paper, "the law [or foundation] of [liberal] democracy" in the post-colonial nation-states with its roots in colonialism.

Not only is land made property through colonial enterprise and now institutionalised through liberal democracy in India, but is also politicised through parliamentary and legal debates in India as I noted in chapter 1. Similarly, in postcolonial cities in Australia, Blomley (2004) shows that "property is both the point of […] struggles [against dispossession and displacement] and the medium [for the struggles]". With a lingering colonial baggage of the concept of property as a superior form of social organisation, Pellissery and Jacobs (2017, p. 215) note that the early 20th century concept of property as things owned by an owner (usually an individual man) with rights to "(ab)use them as he [sic] saw fit" has changed and expanded, particularly in the US, with "significant social contention". Whether land as property is a fundamental

individual right", granted by God or transcendental Reason, or whether it is a communal property is a long-standing aporetic[11] debate inherent to the theory of Modern liberal democracy. Mitra's (2017) overview of Constitutional debates on property in India, reviewed in section 1.2.2 (on page 24), is a useful reflection on the history of political upheavals in light of the debate between an individual versus a communal property.

Conversely, land as a territory is also a focus of political and planning theory. Some authors articulate a sharp split between the concepts of property and territory (e.g. Delaney, 2008; Moore, 2015). For Moore (2015), because political and jurisdictional authorities construct property rights for acquisition (use) and transfer (exchange) of land as territory, territory is conceptually prior to property. Notwithstanding whether territory came before property, Blomley (2016) shows how the concept of property is also territorialised in contemporary societies. Consequently, Moore (2015) suggests that territory, unlike land itself, is a political concept which refers to the geographical area of any political entity such as nation-states or kingdoms.

With the etymological roots to terra meaning land, earth, nourishment or sustenance, the concept of territory also links to *terrere*, meaning to frighten or terrorise (Delaney, 2008). Land as territory, thus, denotes keeping out and creating boundaries between inside and outside, and between insider and outsider (Delaney, 2008, p. 14). The notion of land as a territory is used in political theory at various scales, from global to national, as well as urban analysis. Globally, Moore (2015, p. 3) claims that land is limited and despite the talks on "globalisation and de-territorialisation", almost the entire landmass on the planet has been claimed into "distinct, mutually exclusive territorial units". For Moore (2015), this precise claim to land as territory gives rise to territorial politics of inclusion and exclusion. In line with this view, the classical

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[11] My understanding of aporia comes from Spivak's (2008, p. 275) – a situation where one encounters an impossible decision with opposing positions, "with a decision that makes us rather than we it".

ecological approach sees urban land as subject to rivalry among various interests and uses.

Ravindra (1996, p. 23) argues that such an understanding of land, in line with Burgess's 1925 model based on cities in the U.S., relies on "spatial expression of ecological principles of competition, dominance, invasion and succession". Many authors refer to such control over land, as a territorially bounded area, as territorial politics (e.g. Delaney, 2008; Balakrishnan, 2013). By claiming land as territory, the theorist's gaze is pre-emptively directed towards politics of inclusion and exclusion. However, as I argue through this thesis, land itself is a concept that is contextually made differently by different people and needs consideration to comprehend the politics of participatory land policy.

Along with territory, the power of the concepts, such as commodity and property, is such that the two have been coupled in market economies. Property, in particular, becomes a "commodit[y] in which wealth may be stored and which may be traded, often with good prospects for capital gain and favourable tax conditions" (Kivell, 1993, p. 6). Alternatively, land as a territory can also be exchanged (commoditised) by converting it into development rights (property). Thus, the notion of land as a commodity can be argued to free land from being terra firma, nature, resource, property, and territory as spatially bound and geographically fixed. In other words, all the essential qualities of land can be traded as commodities.

Accordingly, Williamson *et al.* (2010, p. 41) suggest that the concept of "unbundled land" extends commercial opportunities in land, creating multiple interests in land as tradable commodities. As I shall elaborate in Chapter 6, the concept of transfer of development rights (TDR), used by GoM to govern land, commodifies land (including slum land). As a justification, Williamson et al. (2010) suggest that the easiest way to rationalise society's relations to land is to trade in commodified land.

Despite the analytical usefulness of the essentialist concepts of land, various land policy theorists have argued that land is a social construction (e.g. Willcox, 1980; Williamson et al., 2010; Davy, 2012). Part of the reason for claiming land as a social

construction arises from the limitations posed by the essentialist conceptualisation of land reviewed so far in this section. To reiterate, I reviewed six essentialist conceptualisations of land, namely land as terra firma, nature (intuited or determined), resource, commodity (real or fictitious), property (alienable or inalienable/ individual or collective), and territory (exclusive or inclusive). Not only is land considered by planners and policy-makers as already terra firma, nature, resource, commodity, property, and territory; but also, the essentialising concept constricts the development planners' and policy-makers' gaze towards a particular kind of politics.

Consequently, each of the concepts of land triggers a unique kind of politics ranging from adversarial (at times violent/ dominating) to relational (at times consensual) politics. For instance, land as nature has given rise to environmental politics at least since the 1980s at a global scale (Kivell, 1993). For brevity, environmental politics over land can be conceptualised as contestation about whether and how to protect land for the environment. Similarly, land as a resource for human endeavours has long triggered politics over the redistribution of land as a resource, i.e. contestation over who gets to use land as a resource.

Land as a commodity also triggers a politics of who gets to commodify land in which markets. Contrariwise, because the concept of property is tied to the concept of Modern state, land as a property not only triggers redistributive politics, i.e. who gets to have property in land, but also recognitional politics, i.e. whose property in land is recognised by the state (since state remains a predominant monopoly over land in most post-colonial nation-states). Lastly, land as territory triggers politics of who gets excluded or included on geographically bounded areas of land. This thesis is not focused on the validity of each of these types of politics in Pune, but about the politics of making PLP in Pune. What I have in mind is a conceptual and material politics where land is made into different things depending on the context, including, but not limited to, the six concepts reviewed so far. To review how else has land been conceptualised, and the implications of pluralist frameworks of land conceptualisations, I now turn to social constructivist land policy theorists.

Willcox (1980, p. 399), in his review of land policies, suggests acknowledging that "the word 'land' [in land policy] does not refer to land at all, at least not in the dictionary sense of a 'solid part of earth's surface'". Similarly, Davy (2012, p. 62) argues that "land is not a fact, but a social construction". Alternatively, for Coyle (1993, p. 19), the allocation of land-uses has always been about "the nature of society, issues of freedom and responsibility, community and democracy". While for Davy (2012, p. 62), boundaries, real estate prices, and environmental qualities are social constructions; Williamson et al. (2010, p. 38) argue that commodification of rights over land is itself a testimony of how people construct abstract meanings and ideas over land.

Conceptualising land as a social construction also leads towards accepting plural meanings of land given the social diversity in the world. In other words, land is socially constructed by various groups of people differently. According to Owens and Cowell (2011), the concept of land is always saturated with diverse, and at times contradictory, social and cultural meanings. For instance, land is property, when mixed with 'human labour' in Lockean sense, it is a 'biotic community' deserving a 'land ethic' (Leopold, 1949), and it is a "vast mnemonic system for the retention of group history and ideals" (Lynch, 1960, p. 126) (Owens and Cowell, 2011).

Acknowledging that multiple people have different interpretations of land is not only to claim that land is polysemic (i.e. the word land has multiple meanings), but also to claim that land is plural (i.e. land meanings are culturally relative)[12]. However, neither polysemy nor pluralism automatically helps escape essentialism because both polysemy and pluralism can allow multiple essences to coexist. Concerning the concept of land, it is possible to say that land is terra firma, nature, property, commodity, and territory all at the same time. Put differently, land has many essences. While Davy (2012, p. 62) claims that "there is no such thing as land in [an] essentialist sense that means the same to everybody", he further claims that "[land] is read, claimed, bounded, or entered in plural ways and by a variety of persons". It

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[12] I derive the difference between polysemy and pluralism from Stuart Hall's (2005) account of the return of the repressed in media studies.

follows from pluralist imagination of land that land (political/ legal/ policy/ planning) theorists should acknowledge multiple meanings of land (polysemy) held by multiple people (pluralism).

In a social constructivist vein, Moore's (2015, p. 9) political theory of territory argues for universal land rights while warning that since everyone's interest in land is unique in nature, land and territorial rights cannot merely be equalised upon some preferred theory of justice. She further claims that people already have complex and normatively meaningful relationships to land and each other. Thus, given the absence of a *tabula rasa* for the application of an egalitarian distributive principle, Moore (2015, p. 7) points towards potential "violence to people's motivational commitments and psychological proclivities" if redistribution of land is to be carried out  (also Lombard and Rakodi, 2016; Marx, 2016). It is with the normatively significant relations of people with each other and to the place that Moore (2015, p. 7) thinks moral reasoning should begin.

In the context of postcolonial jurisprudence, Anker (2017, p. 292) claims that "there is a natural fit between theories of legal pluralism and a postcolonial critique of [colonial monopolistic state] law" because both the theories tend to expose often marginalised indigenous laws. In a way, legal pluralism allows accommodation of alternative laws within the ambits of state law – as is evident in the Hindu and Muslim laws in India.   However, legal pluralism is incommensurable to the Australian Indigenist (and the postcolonial critical) project of rethinking the "whole liberal paradigm of autonomous individuals, social contract, and rights" (Anker, 2017, pp. 286–292). As I stated earlier, being historically aware that private property and liberal institutions arrived to the colonies through the British colonial enterprise, the postcolonial critique of Modern institutions (sharing its anti-colonial tendency with the indigenist project) remains critical of the very need for pluralist states and laws.

To rethink the essentialist liberal democratic frameworks, Datta (2015) argues for a relational understanding of land – as a hybrid space connected with people's everyday practices. Datta (2015, p. 109) argues that for Tim Ingold, land is an open (unbounded by Cartesian dimensions) space of everyday practices "where things

become actors". In other words, land, in itself, is no-thing but an actor imbued with (but also affecting the) meanings that the humans bestow upon it. Therefore, from a relational perspective, land as an object has a lesser ontic priority than its relationships of meanings with other actors. Datta (2015) illustrates how multiple indigenous meanings of land relate to people, animals, trees, plants, dreams, and spirituality.

Likewise, Li (2014, p. 589) also argues that land is not a thing, but is made into a thing for investment purposes through what she calls "inscription devices". For Li (2014, p. 589), inscription devices such as "the axe, the spade, the plough, the title deed, the tax register, maps, graphs, satellite images, ancestral graves, mango trees […] are integral to assembling [land] as a resource for different actors". Correspondingly, Sud (2019, p. 1) further argues for a concept of "[d]ynamic land", which "is constantly changing, materially and in meaning". As Sud (2019) demonstrates, the concept of "dynamic land" ethnographically sheds light on the "unfixed state" in India's land governance. Similarly, Datta's (2015) relational understanding of land as a hybrid space of everyday practices also amounts to an ethnographic re-reading of land that challenges the Modern interpretation of land as a thing. With the anti-essentialist inclination, I shall further operationalise the concept of contextually made land subjectivities as an ethnographic window onto people's relations with land made visible in the making of PLP. More importantly, the purpose of this thesis is to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities that remain untouched in the scholarship on land cited so far.

In this section, I reviewed the concepts of land prevalent in the literature on land in Modern (essentialist) frameworks and alternative ways to conceptualise land, namely social constructivist, relational, materially and discursively inscribed, and unfixed. However, the discussion in this section revolved around the concept of land in its broadest sense and multiple scales from global, national, to local scales. Contrariwise, there is substantial scholarship on the concept of urban land which I briefly review in the next section to conclude that in an anti-essentialist framework, the term urban cannot add any essence to the term land.

### 3.1.2 De-fining Urban Land

The specificities that 'urban' adds to 'land' is a question of varying views among academics from various disciplines. Conventionally, urban is synonymously used to refer to the geographical area, also called the city. With etymological roots to Latin *urbanus,* the urban denotes of city, polished, refined, cultivated, and courteous, as against the unpolished and raw countryside/ rural. The superiority of the urban inherent in the urban/rural dichotomy is a long-standing hierarchy also enmeshed in the post-independence nationalist debates on Modernisation in India as I articulated in the previous chapter. Theoretically, the uniqueness of the urban has also been inscribed in the disciplinary traditions in the West.

Conventionally, planners and geographers categorise land-uses on a scale, that ranges from urban to the wilderness at its extremes (Seto *et al.*, 2012). For instance, the 1965 Committee of Urban Land Policy, commissioned by the Ministry of Health, GoI, categorised land in five distinct categories. These categories included developed urban land, undeveloped urban land, land within urbanisable limits, land beyond the urbanised limits and land frozen from development (Acharya, 1988).

Alternatively, the Chicago School of Urban Sociology (CSUS) (Wirth, 1938) has been influential in the analytic separation between urbanism as a way of life and the city as a geographically-bounded area. Wirth argued that the urban way of life is characterised by "alienation, anomie and anonymity [explaining the] impersonality, secularization and social organization [visible in cities]" (Zenner, 1994). While the CSUS theorises urbanism as a way of life linked to the geographic and demographic specificities of the city, I think that the implications of separating the urban way of life from the city can theoretically denote that one can have an urban way of life even in a village.

Unlike the sociological interpretations of the urban, three dominant theories of the urban relegate its operations to structural explanations using the concept of land. For instance, while denying the overemphasis on the urban (in Wirth's urban sociology), the Marxist tradition maintains that "social formations, such as feudalism, capitalism,

and the world-systems, are important essences" (Zenner, 1994, p. 56) that affect the super-structural way of life in cities. Consequently, Harvey (2008, p. 37) argues that urbanisation is primarily a process which helps "absorption of capital surpluses […] [by] creative destruction that has dispossessed the masses of any right to the city whatsoever".

Linking the structural analysis to the political ecology of cities, Harvey (2010, p. 184) also argues that the "creative destruction of land" produces a second nature (nature reshaped by humans), leaving very little of first nature in cities. Taking the Marxist analysis further, Scott (1980) constructs a theory of urban land nexus where private decisions structured around capitalist social and property relations determine the land-uses in the cities. Consequently, cities, as opposed to villages, are also portrayed as primary engines of economic growth, simultaneously being urged to become more entrepreneurial, competitive, market-friendly, and accepting of rapid urban growth (Sanyal and Deuskar, 2012, p. 51). In the Marxist tradition, the 'urban' adds nothing specific to land which is conceptualised as the resource imbued with use-value and exchange-value.

Alongside the Marxist critique of political economy, Alonso (1964) revived the classical von Thünen theory of land rent to provide structural explanations of the city. Within neoclassical urban land economics, too, Balchin et al. (1995) suggest that "urban land shares most of its basic features [essences] with land in general". By spatialising the concept of land as commodity in cities, the von Thünen and Alonso models of land rent suggests that land-uses (form/ super-structure) follow the highest bidder (function/ base) (Duranton and Puga, 2004, 2015; Davy, 2012). The idea of land as a commodity and utility maximising individuals trading in land market forms the basis for micro-foundational theories of urban economics.

In a similar vein, Mohanty (2014) argues that urban land, in particular, acts as an input, an output and a resource for development (i.e. a commodity) in cities. However, in his study of land market development in India, Baken (2003, p. 13) suggests that urban land markets are one of the most imperfect markets compared to the ideal-typical neoclassic model. In fact, Balchin et al. argue that "there is no satisfactory

resource allocation model, (with a manageable number of variables) which can determine optimal combination of factors of production [particularly] in an urban economy" (Balchin, Bull and Kieve, 1995, p. 11).

Contrary to the Alonso theory of land rent where land-uses follow the highest bidder, the Ricardian theory of land rent suggests that land rent follows the productivity of that land (essential properties of urban land) instead of the highest bidder. The essential properties are primarily the location of a land parcel in the city, and conditional properties are the amount of productive investment already done on the land. With a Ricardian logic, Kivell (1993) argues that land is affected by the actions of the owners or occupiers of that land and surrounding land.

Apart from the Marxist critique of Wirth's urbanism as a way of life, Zenner (1994, pp. 56–58) notes yet another predominant critique originating from poststructuralist and postmodern traditions in urban cultural anthropology. Consequently, after the postmodern blurring between reality and fiction, Rabinow (1988) suggests that urbanism is not a reality in need of discovering (essentialism), but a way of representing other phenomena. To quote Rabinow (1988, p. 361), "[u]rbanism provides a particularly privileged space for exploring the interconnections of practices and symbols of reason, representation, society, [M]odernity, and modernism".

In a nominalist guise, Chattopadhyay (2012, p. xiii) claims that "quite a few urban thinkers would agree that there is nothing called a "city" anymore [in 2012]". Consequently, many imagine cities as a complex phenomenon that evades any possibility of a comprehensive theory that totally captures the essence or structure of the city (McFarlane, 2009; Chattopadhyay, 2012; Simone, 2014; McFarlane and Desai, 2015). Whereas McFarlane (2011) conceptualises the city as an assemblage, Simone (2014) articulates cities as fragments of infrastructures. As Chattopadhyay (2012, p. xiii) suggests, "[through] the descriptive *vocabulary* [of the city] […] [t]he fiction of a city as a coherent entity – a thing – unravels". Given the focus of this thesis on the social making of PLP to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities, it might be possible to suspend the necessity of defining the urban momentarily. To rephrase Willcox's (1980, p. 402) suggestion, "for practical purposes, 'urban' can take

care of itself since it will be assumed to encompass anything to which the [land] policies relate". However, what are urban land policies considered to relate to in Western Modern theories is a question I critically expound on in the next section.

## 3.2  What is Urban Land Policy?

Like the concept of urban land, the concept of urban land policy is deeply enmeshed in the Modern theories of the nation-state. One linkage between the concept of policy and the state arises from the etymological link between the words policy, police, politics, and polis (city and/or state). A second link between policy and state arises because the concept of policy is predominantly seen by policy-makers, policy-analysts, and academics as a "social change mechanism" (Yanow, 2011, p. 304) and a "governmental device" (Hodgson and Irving, 2007, p. 1), and therefore relevant and linked to the concept of the state. In this section, I elaborate on two prevalent theories of land policy that derive from Modern theories of the state. The purpose behind reviewing Modern theories of land policy is palpable, given that Modernity remains a dominant and ongoing project in post-independence India, as I suggested in section 1.2 (on page 47). By critically reviewing Modern theories of land policy, I demonstrate a need for expanding the Modern theoretical framework to incorporate subaltern voices in and for the postcolonial democratic context of India.

Historically, the Modern concept of policy arrived in the Indian state through the project of nation-state building. In the field of urban (land) planning, the Nehruvian dream for M/modernisation was materialised through Le Corbusier's Chandigarh in 1960, shortly after independence (Prakash, 2002). The legacy of Modernist planning theories of the 1950s and 60s commands that the expert planner, acting as a policy-maker, prepares a master-plan for the city (effectively a policy document), which is then implemented, and citizens are subsequently asked to inhabit the planned city.

Contrariwise, Chattopadhyay (2012, p. xiii) claims that "no sane architect today [in 2012] would harbour the dream of designing the city [and] the modernist formal promise [of an ordered and planned city] has been defunct for several decades now". However, as I showed in section 1.2 (on page 47), the legacy of Modernity is entrenched much deeper in the Indian state than in the architects' dreams. The Indian state continues to enact its Modern liberal democratic institutions, and therefore in

my view, the critical review of Modern land policies is necessary for reconceptualising PLP in and for postcolonial democratic Pune, India.

In the first part of this section, I begin by the conceptualisation of land policy that has been prevalent in the 20th century since the inception of Anglophone Modern policy studies with their direct roots in Modern theories of the state. Part of the reason to focus on Anglophone literature arises because the political debates that gave rise to the Constitution of India were influenced by the liberal Anglophone theories (Bayly, 2012) just as much as the Anglophone land policy literature appears to resonate with the land policy debates in India in the early 21st century. The second reason arises from my personal language skills limited predominantly to English. Consequently, I briefly recount how the paradigmatic shift from Modernity to postmodernism affected the discipline of policy studies towards the end of the 20th century to learn from postmodern interpretive policy studies to facilitate the analysis of PLP in and for postcolonial democratic Pune.

Because policy itself decidedly became a subject of academic investigation ostensibly since the publication of 'Policy Sciences' (Lerner and Lasswell, 1951), I first read the Modern land policy literature through the analytical categories of the Laswellian policy studies. In consonance with the Modernist norm-deviant thinking, Laswellian policy sciences demonstrate a series of analytical separations in need of revisiting to avoid the ontological, epistemological and normative (i.e. anthropocentrism and ethnocentrism[13]) criticisms charged against Modernity.

In Modern policy studies, firstly, there is an analytic distinction between the policy world (reality) and policy sciences (representational analysis), and secondly, there is an analytical distinction between who makes policy (agent) and for whom it is made (subject) (DeLeon, 2009). Both these analytical separations are in themselves Modern because the theory firstly assumes that reality has problems (the 'is' as the 'deviant') that needs change towards an ideal-typical society (the 'ought' as the

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[13] Ethnocentrism is a doctrine where another culture is evaluated, judged or studied based on one's own culture as a norm.

'norm'); and secondly, the theorist (the cogito/ the subject doing policy science) is viewing the real-world from outside it (the object of science)[14]. In his analysis of land policy framework, Davy (2012, p. 37) succinctly shows both the analytic separations of the policy sciences as follows:
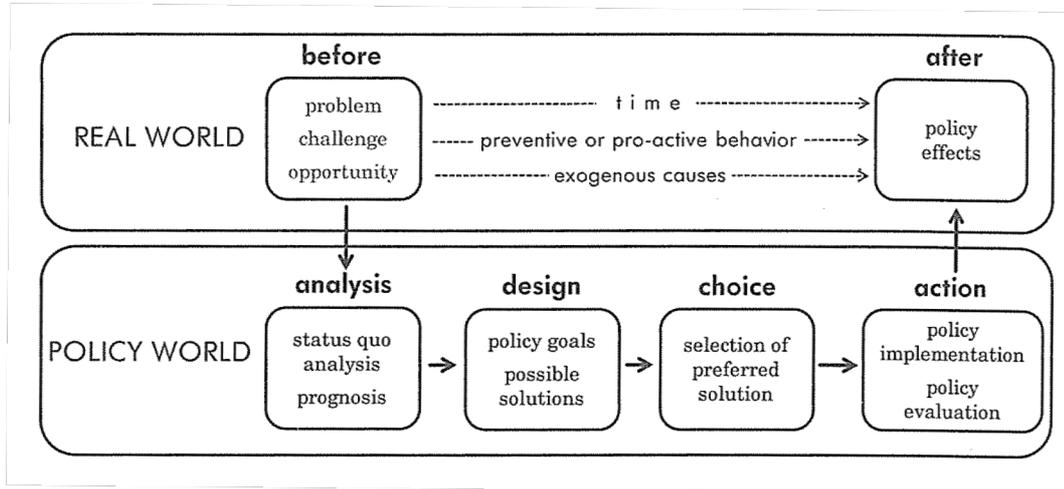


Figure 3: Policymaking - from analysis to action (Davy, 2012, p. 37)

In my understanding, the first distinction epistemologically maintains a difference between the real-world and the representation of the real-world through which policy-makers and analysts seek to control the real-world. As Hodson and Irving (2007, p. 1) suggest, the concept of policy continues to be seen by policy-makers and analysts as a "governmental device". In other words, the theorists, policy-makers, and planners are outsiders studying and controlling the real-world. The second distinction arises from the assumption of who is the agent and who is the subject of policy. As Davy's (2012, p. 37) diagram of policymaking (Figure 3) shows, the policy-world is made up of agents who rationalise the land policy and implement it in the real-world that has problems, challenges, and opportunities that gets controlled and/or rectified (i.e. subjectified) by the agents in the policy-world. In other words, the policy-world is the agent and the real-world is the subject in Davy's (2012, p. 37) diagram.

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[14] While Chatterjee (2011) denotes Modernity with norm-deviant thinking, Jameson (2012, pp. 55–57) recounts that Modern thought originating from Descartes cogito created a fundamental split between the subject (knower) and the object (of knowledge).

Implicit to Davy's (2012) representation of policymaking is a linear and processual model of problem → analysis → design → choice → action → effects. In fact, Colebatch (2002, p. 50) suggests that most policy studies maintain "[a] 'stage' or a 'cycle' model[s] of the policy process" with axiomatic assumptions of "instrumentality, hierarchy and coherence" (2002, pp. 8–10). Therefore, the step after 'policy effects' in Davy's (2012) diagram (figure 3 on page 84) loops back (and/or forward) to further 'problems, challenges, and opportunities' that the policy-world takes up for analysis → design → choice → action.

Situated within the liberal democracies of the 20th century U.S. and the UK, the Anglophone land policy studies can be attributed to a liberal land policy theory. In a liberal land policy, Governments are treated as sovereign actors representing at least some societal interests and can/should control land and polity through policies (as instrumental technology). Furthermore, the liberal theory assumes sovereign individuals owning (property) and trading (commodity) in land – a phenomenon that, for differing reasons, needs Government control. In liberal democratic theory, the degree of society's agreement or disagreement with Government policies is expected to define the results of subsequent elections.

Consequently, land policy can be seen "as a set of measures aiming to achieve the goals formulated by the public authorities" (Darin-Drabkin quoted in Willcox, 1980, p. 408), or a comprehensive set of activities that governments undertake to influence land-uses, values and planning development (Kivell, 1993, p. 124). More broadly, Willcox (1980, p. 408) suggests that land policy is mainly "a course of action [regarding land] adopted and pursued by the government, party, ruler, [or] statesman". Likewise, in urban land economics, Hallett (1979, p. 149) argues that urban land policy is a policy of (i) state participation in the real estate market, (ii) town planning policies, (iii) the taxation of land value increments. More simply, Kivell (1993) makes clear that the fundamental purpose of land policy is controlling development, either through land-use patterns or through some notion of fairness or redistribution.

One of the most influential justifications for Government intervention towards controlling land originates from the social contract theories. The supposition behind

perseverance of liberal democratic (Modern) Indian state lies in a social contract that gives legitimacy to "Weber's procedural or rational-legal authority" through "competitive elections" (Ho, 2019, p. 99). Although liberal social contact does provide an actual moment for signing the contract through elections, the social contract theories assume an originary (i.e. ahistorical) moment of a contract that has taken place at the instance of transition from a natural state to a social (civilised) state. As I argued in the previous chapter, this idea of an originary social contract may only have been brought to India through the colonial (Modern) enterprise. In Chapter 6, I explicitly articulate the rationalities and technologies by which the GoI attempts to govern land and people in Pune through the SRP assuming a social contract. However, social contracts can also theoretically help construct land policy frameworks to read the structural operations of the society in India, as Davy (2012) does. In the following section, I review the enduring power of the social contract interpretations of India relevant to land policy to provide a way towards a postcolonial theory of PLP without recourse to the comforts of property descriptions.

Arguing that "land policy is public policy", Davy (2012, p. 5) constructs a polyrational land policy that accounts not only for Lockean (liberal), but also Rousseau's (egalitarian), Hobbes' (hierarchical) and fatalist social contracts linked to the concept of property. In defining polyrational theory of land policy, Davy (2012) creates four private property relations, namely: insular, kinship, corporate, and container land-uses; and four common property relations, namely: opportunistic, collaborative, structural, and environmental land-uses. On the one hand, Davy's (2012, p. 246) model of polyrational land policy pluralises the meanings of land to include land as a commodity, land as a resource for human capability to achieve the desired goals, land as a territory and as environment (Davy, 2012, p. 26). On the other hand, Davy also spatialises the polyrational land policy framework to account for the fact that land is a spatial concept. Consequently, Davy's (2012, p. 246) spatialised polyrational land policy is expressed as below:

| Restricted land uses (private property relations) | Land use rationality | Shared land uses (common property relations) |
|---|---|---|
| Insular uses (e.g. a house) | INDIVIDUALIST weak grid/ weak group Lockean property | Opportunistic uses (e.g. vehicular traffic) |
| Kinship uses (e.g. market place) | EGALITARIAN weak grid/ strong group Rousseau's property | Collaborative uses (e.g. community centre) |
| Corporate uses (e.g. supermarket) | HIERARCHICAL strong grip/ strong group Hobbesian property | Structural uses (e.g. railways) |
| Container uses (e.g. shopping mall) | FATALISTIC strong grid/ weak group | Environmental Uses (e.g. a park) |

Table 2: Design principles for polyrational land policy derived from Davy (2012, p. 246)

Davy's (2012, p. 246) model of polyrational land policy is a Modern framework of land policy because it derives from Modern theories of alienated property and retains a private/public binary foundational to the Modern theory of liberal democracy (Pellissery and Jacobs, 2017). Furthermore, as Davy (2012) acknowledges, social contract theories are not historical facts, but fictions. By pluralising the social contracts, the polyrational land policy escapes monorationality – often attributed to the Modern state. Moreover, as I recounted in the previous section, although "there is a natural fit between theories of legal pluralism and a postcolonial critique of law [here Modern state monopoly on property]", pluralising social contracts does not question the "whole liberal paradigm of autonomous individuals, social contract, and rights" (Anker, 2017, pp. 286–292) pertinently insisted in a postcolonial critical project.

Although the social contract arguments have been persuasive enough to be instituted in the Indian state, the Anglophone governmentality studies have re-read the putatively liberal state ideologies and practices since the 1980s (Jardim, 2013). The relevance of governmentality studies to read politics in postcolonial India is made explicit since Chatterjee's use of "the notion of governmentality in a rather original

way" [15] (Gordon quoted in Jardim, 2013, p. 1078). Consequently, I now recount how liberal land policy can be re-read using governmentality studies. To do so, I draw from Nielson's (2011) reading of policy as a linear logic of political rationality → governmental technology → subjectivity.

Drawing from Anglophone governmentality studies, Nielson (2011, p. 69), conceptualises policy as:

> "a relation between […] political programmes and justifications for particular ways of exercising power ('political rationalities'); […] practices and methods introduced to govern particular people in particular ways ('governmental technologies'); and the perceptions, experiences and conduct ('subjectivities') of the people towards whom these rationalities and technologies are directed".

Predating governmentality studies, liberal land policy theorists from Hallett (1979) to Kivell (1993) also worked with the assumption of the logic of political rationality → governmental technology → subjectivity. For instance, while Hallett (1979) claimed that the government must intervene in controlling land no matter the ideological reasons (rationality), Kivell (1993) suggested that land policy can and should control different aspects of land (rationality) through land policy instruments (technology) to promote desirable social organisation (subjectify the 'is' to the 'ought'). For Kivell (1993, pp. 130–139), land policy should control externalities such as undesirable neighbourhoods, powerful agents such as those with capitalist interests, urban sprawl, prices, profits, and gains (rationality); through land-use zoning, taxation, and land ownership (technology); and promote development, liveability, public goods such as hospitals and roads, and redistribution of wealth (subjectify the people – the 'is' to the desired goals – the 'ought'). To relate the rationality → technology →

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[15] In Gordon's view, Chatterjee's originality lies in suggesting that Foucault's historically new form of governmentality was already being contested in post-colonial India.

subjectivity logic to a liberal land policy model, I use the prevailing process or cycle model of policy process adopted from Colebatch (2002, p. 50):
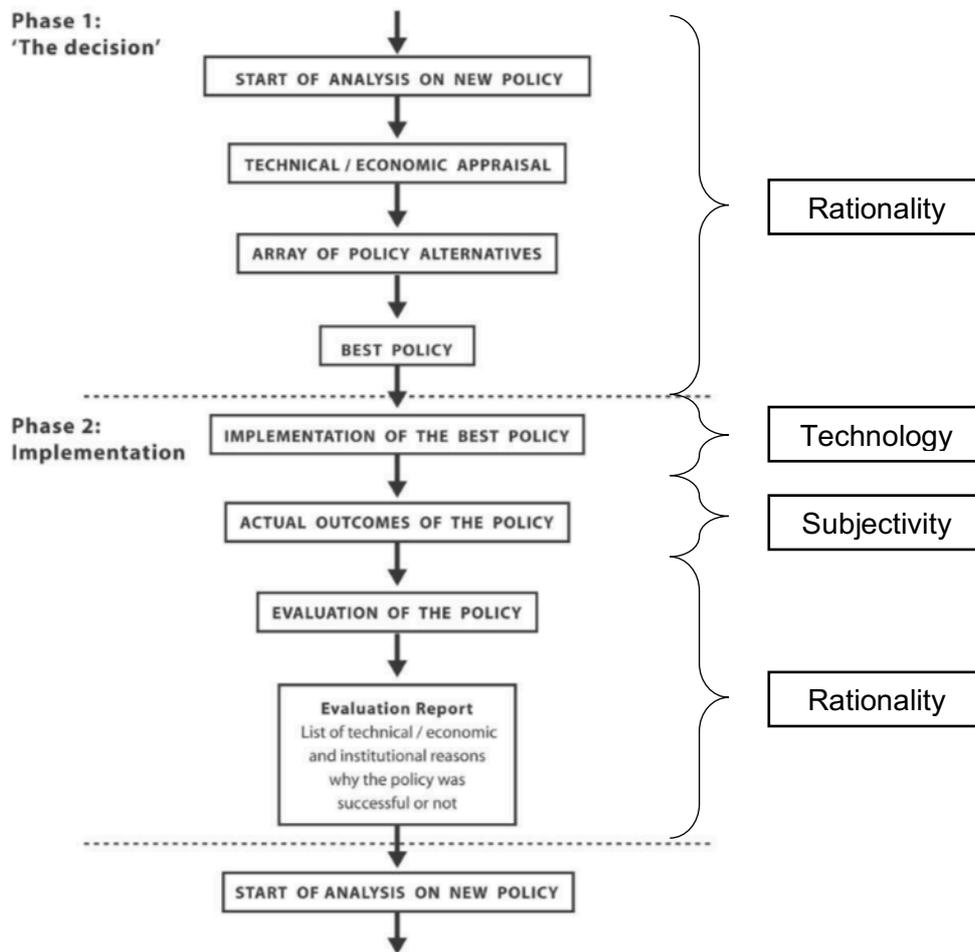


Figure 4: 'Rationality-Technology-Subjectivity' model of policy process adopted from Colebatch (2002, p. 50) and Nielson (2011)

By positioning categories of rationality, technology, and subjectivity alongside the processual model of policy in the above Figure 4, I demonstrate the links between governmentality interpretation of processual policy model. Accordingly, the phase 1 of the decision demonstrates the rational-calculative processes most often undertaken by policy-analysts and policy-makers (also shown in Figure 3 on page 84). Subsequently, the phase 2 of implementing the policy demonstrates the creation of governmental technology, subjectifying the population in the real-world and re-evaluating (i.e. re-rationalising) the impact of the policy with which the Modern policy-maker proceeds to create new governmental technologies. Incidentally, land is already imagined and evaluated as a thing in phase 1 by Modern policy-makers without the participation of the policy-subjects.

Despite the proliferation of governmentality studies, O'Malley et al. (1997, p. 501) suggest that Anglophone governmentality studies have narrowly rendered "government programmes as univocal and as overly coherent and systematic [as political rationality]" and "politics as 'mentalities of rule'". Furthermore, Shore and Wright contend that because 'rationality $\rightarrow$ technology $\rightarrow$ subjectivity' model of policy excessively focuses on subjectification by policy, the policy begins to appear as "authoritative instrumentality" (Shore and Wright, 2011, p. 2). For O'Malley et al. (1997), the narrowness of Anglophone governmentality studies arises from the fact that politics of social relations within and without the government programmes is virtually neglected, making policy analysis "techno-rationalist" (Shore and Wright, 2011, p. 2). Therefore, taking O'Malley et al.'s (1997) criticism seriously, Nielson (2011) calls for a need to people policies.

The need for 'peopling' policies brings the discussion of this section to the equally influential tradition of interpretive and ethnographic approaches to policy studies because of their people-centric[16] approach. DeLeon (2009) claims that the real-world/ policy-world split inherent to positivist policy studies shifted to interpretive studies by the late 20th-century Anglophone academia (e.g. Fischer and Forester, 1993; Hajer, 1993). As Yanow (2007) summarises, interpretive analyses of policies and policy-making processes attempt to undo the positivist claim that the theorist (the cogito/ knower) can know the real-world without reflexively questioning the theorist's own meaning-making processes.

Furthermore, Yanow (2007) articulates two distinct traditions within interpretive policy studies that derive from Continental philosophies of phenomenology and hermeneutics, respectively. On the one hand, the phenomenological approach aims to expose how "lived experiences bring different people to perceive the same event, or the same policy, in different ways [pluralism]" (Yanow, 2007, p. 113). On the other hand, the hermeneutic approach aims to show how "people imbue the artifacts

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[16] By people-centric, I mean the focus not only on the discourses and practices but also on how 'people' interpret the discourses and practices, including the allure to ethnographic analysis.

[including policies] they create with meaning and/or project meanings onto those artifacts as they engage them" (Yanow, 2007, p. 114). However, inherent to both the traditions of interpretive policy studies is a linguistic analysis (e.g. Fischer and Forester, 1993; Hajer, 1993), that focuses on lived experiences and meaning-making practices through language.

In this section, I reviewed prevalent Anglophone literature on (Modern) liberal land policy framework and two responses via governmentality (poststructuralist) studies and interpretive (postmodern) policy studies. In preparation for analysing the phenomena of PLP in and for postcolonial democracy of Pune, I develop the interpretive and ethnographic policy analysis using a concept of land subjectivity and analytic framework of Marathi/Hindi linguistic categories in Chapters 3 & 4. However, before proceeding to do so, I undertake a review of the Modern concept of 'participation' in the following section.

## 3.3 How does anyone participate in Urban Land Policy?

Like the concepts of land and land policy, participation is a concept that is closely tied to the Modern theories of the state. In line with a critique of Modernity undertaken so far in this chapter, I now critically review the Modern assumptions in the notion of participation using Western democratic theories. Consequently, I end this section by showing the need to broaden the definition of participation if the multiplicity of people's praxis in postcolonial democratic Pune is to be read without the ethnocentric[17] violence of Modern norm-deviant thinking.

### 3.3.1  De-fining Participation

Participation as a concept and practice in Development, and governance in general, is closely linked to the theories of liberal democracies. While etymologically linked to Latin *pars-* (meaning part or division) and *-cip-* (from *capare* meaning to take), participation means to take part in something. Given that this research is about the making of PLP in postcolonial Pune, India, it might be worth rethinking the definition of participation through its Marathi or Hindi translations. Participation translates as '*sahbhāg'* in Marathi and '*sahbhāgita'* in Hindi. While *bhāg* literally means 'part', the prefix *sah-* means *com-* (from Latin *cum-* denoting 'together'). Therefore, the word *sahbhāg* denotes complicity along with a mere act of taking part in something. In other words, I consider a difference between the mere act of partaking (with or without complicity) and being complicit to something. Either way, the term participation does not by itself allude to any theory of policy or state, making it amenable to multiple interpretations. In the following part of this section, I briefly recount the Modern interpretations of participation derived from liberal, egalitarian, and hierarchical social contracts as the most dominant forms of justifications of the Modern state (with capital M).

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[17] I wrote my understanding of ethnocentrism as a doctrine where another culture is evaluated, judged or studied based on one's own culture as a norm (here Western Modernity) in footnote 13 on page 56.

In a representative democracy, supported by a liberal social contract, citizens participate in the state by electing their leaders. This model of representative democracy is implemented in India since 1947 without a break except for the period of Emergency between 1975-77, under Indira Gandhi's regime. The liberal participation through elections already takes place in India and continues to be a rationale for justification of state-led land policy-making and implementation as I reviewed in Chapter 1. The criticism against participation by electing leaders arises both from theoretical and pragmatic considerations. Theoretically, as Rousseau (1968, p. 141) famously said, "[t]he English people believes itself to be free; [but] […] it is free only during the election of Members of Parliament; as soon as the Members are elected, the people is enslaved, it [freedom] is nothing". In this respect, at least in liberal democracies, the Rousseau-inspired critique of electoral democracy is not necessarily considered a dismissal of electoral democracy, but a call to deliberate on the status of the social contract between elections (Bertram, 2018).

Therefore, between elections, the state takes the form of popular sovereignty if the sovereign listens to and acts upon the general will of the people. One interpretation of Rousseau's social contract denotes that the people (as one collective body) is always already participating in the state through the general will of the people. In Rousseau's (1968, p. 61) words, "[i]mmediately [after a putatively signed contract], in place of the individual person of each contracting party, this act of association creates an artificial and corporate body". As Rogozinski (2001, p. 43) contends, the instantaneity of Rousseau's social contract "erases [like magic] [...] the temporal, differential [in other words, the actually signed] origin of the convention [i.e. contract]". To realize the erased origin of the social contract in the flesh inaugurates the theory of direct democracy in addition to representative democracy, to which I now turn.

One dominant interpretation of participation originates from the idea of hierarchical administrative structures (state or non-state) in the lines of Hobbesian social contract. In Hobbesian social contract, since individuals participate by obeying the laws created by the sovereign on their behalf because of the originary social contract. In consonance with the Rousseau's critique of electoral democracy, in a real-world

liberal democracy in India, citizens are expected to follow the rule of law between elections. Consequently, it is possible to argue that the citizens are participating in the state by following the rule of law. However, not only can the originary social contract justification suffice given Rogozinski's (2001) contention against the erasure of the process (making the contract ahistorical), but also makes the contract insignificant in India where the Modern state arrived with the British rule.

In fact, within an extended criticism of authoritarian states and electoral democracies, Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009, p. 212) note that participatory democracy has been advocated throughout the 20th century. Consequently, another interpretation of a Rousseau-inspired definition of participation leads towards advocacy of direct and deliberative democracy. As Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009) suggest, direct democracy advocates for extending people's participation in addition to the elections. Some forms of advocated direct participation (the ought) include dialogic forums, neighbourhood assemblies, workplace involvement in decisions, economic (labour) cooperatives, and extending spaces for participatory decision-making such as participatory budgeting, to name a few.

Theoretically, an advocative reading of Rousseau's social contract conceptualises participation as an instrument for "discovering the truth about the public interests [the general will of the people, through communication, and thereby] render the authority of the state legitimate" (Bertram, 2018, online). In line with the Rousseau-inspired idea of democracy, Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009, p. 215) note that "[d]emocratic theory took a deliberative turn around 1990" advocating for a non-coercive communicative process between 'reflexive' individuals. In a deliberative democracy, both the government and the people participate in the decision-making through dialogue and both learn from each other. Development theory and practice have taken participation seriously at least since the 1960s and reflect the 1990s deliberative turn as traced by Reed (2008) in the following table:

| | Year | Phases of conceptualising Participation as: |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1960s | Awareness raising |
| 2 | 1970s | Incorporating local perspectives in data collection and planning |
| 3 | 1980s | The development of techniques that recognised local knowledge |
| 4 | 1990s | Increasing use of participation as a norm in sustainable development agenda |
| 5 | 2000s | Disillusionment over the limits and failings of participation |
| 6 | 2010s | Post-participation consensus over best practice; learning from the mistakes and successes of this long history |

Table 3: Changing approaches to participation (Source: Reed, 2008; Ng'ombe et al., 2012)

While the 1990s deliberative turn in democratic theory continues to inform various participatory processes in the world, theoretically various academics have shown the limitations and failings of communicative participation. Either way, given the dominance of Anglophone liberal democratic countries in Development practice, a widely accepted definition of participation remains as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank, 1996, p. xi). Therefore, process and affecting the decisions are important for some action to be considered as participation.

Given the liberalising and democratising context of India, it is the Rousseau-inspired deliberative (i.e. talk based) democratic conception of participation applied to land policy that I now critically analyse in the following section through 20th-century Anglophone academic literature on participatory land policy. To reiterate, the focus on liberal Anglophone literature arises from the fact that liberalisation and democratisation remain strong forces in postcolonial India as I argued in Chapter 2.

### 3.3.2 Participating in Land Policy

As Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009) note, the social contract justifications (the ought as the always already is) shifted towards advocacy (only the ought) in the late 20th century, thereby making direct and deliberative democracies as projects. The British land policy theorists incorporated participatory advocacy in the land policy (synonymously treated as land planning) theories. Below, I refer to Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin's (1980) model of participatory land policy in planning as I read it to be exemplary of the Modernist land policy imagination prevalent in Anglophone land policy theorists such as Koenigsberger and Groák (1980), Willcox (1980), and Barrett and Healey (1985). Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin's (1980, p. 32) model of land policy in planning is as follows:
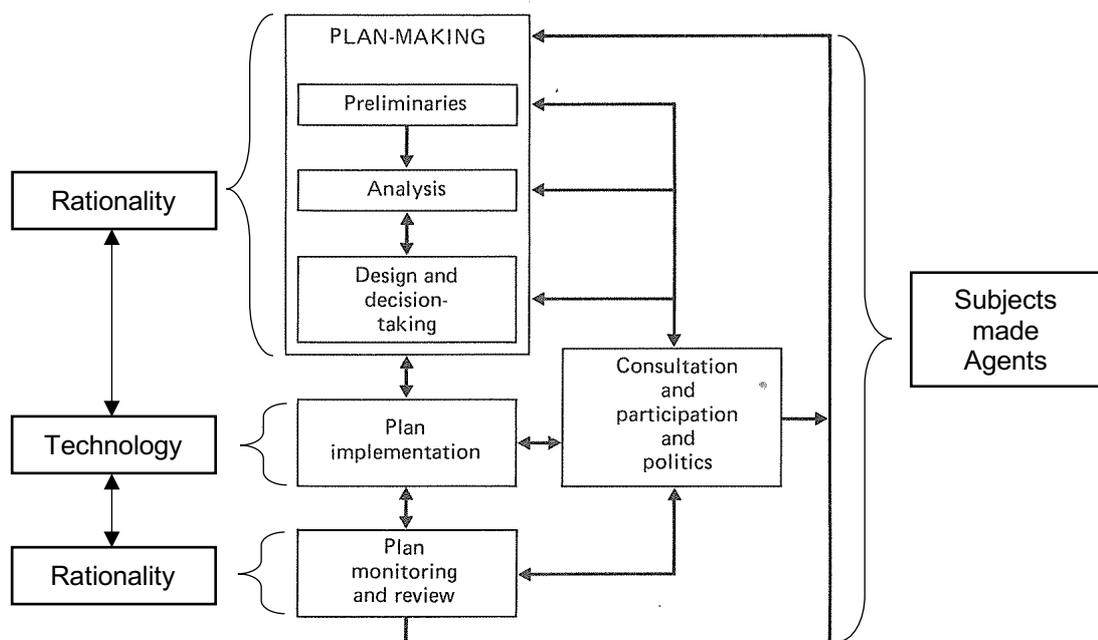


Figure 5: A model of the plan-making process adopted from (Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin, 1980, p. 32)

Various land policy theorists have advocated for the participation of project-affected people in the policy process at different stages (Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin, 1980; Barrett and Healey, 1985; Ng'ombe *et al.*, 2012). However, in line with the techno-rationalist processual model of land policy (as shown in Figure 4 on page 89), participation appears in Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin's model as an addition. As Shore and Wright (2011, p. 9) argue, advocates of participatory democracy see participation

as a "solution[-] [the 'ought'] to something that is deemed lacking in the population [the undesired 'is']".

Moreover, since to consult means to seek information or advice, Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin's (1980) model including consultation-participation-politics resonates with the awareness-raising (the 1960s) and local knowledge recognition (the 1970s-80s) phases of participation from Reed's (2008) chronology (Table 3 on page 95). Furthermore, predating the putative deliberative turn of the 1990s, Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin's (1980) model of consultative land policy (or planning) also prescribes deliberation in decision-making. It is this model of consultative and participatory land policy (or planning) that has been prevalent in Development and land policy studies.

In India, the various State planning policies have incorporated participation of people by consultation since the late 20th century. For instance, Town Planning Schemes (TPS) have been prevalent among urban planners as a participatory, democratic, equitable, inclusive, transparent, non-disruptive, and non-coercive planning approach (Ballaney, 2008). In regards to participation, Sanyal and Deuskar (2012, p. 152) praise TPS for cultivating state transparency and accountability, and providing spaces for dialogue between the landowners and governments. Alternatively, the mandate for seeking people's suggestions and objections to development plans (DP) is also already constituted in many Indian states, including Maharashtra. Likewise, Dubey (2016) and Ghertner (2011) provide evidence on the state-led participatory programmes in Delhi. Effectively, the liberal and dialogic forms of participation appears to be already instituted in the Indian state.

While many scholars have demonstrated benefits of participation in land policy, others have also criticised participation along differing lines in the early 21st century as seen in Reed's (2008) chronology (Table 3 on page 95). I briefly review the benefits and critiques of participation in the following sections.

### 3.3.3 Benefits of People's Participation in Land Policy

Some of the perceived benefits of participation originate from the theories of representative and deliberative democracies, while others originate from the practice-led literature in Development studies (e.g. Chambers, 1992). Notwithstanding the source, Ng'ombe et al. (2012, p. 1789) summarise some of the perceived benefits of participation as evident in the literature on participation. Ng'ombe et al. (2012, p. 1789) show that both the implementing institution and the community are seen to benefit from participation as follows:

|   | Implementing Institution | Community/ beneficiary |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Allows identification of alternatives and needs based on empirical evidence rather than assumptions | Empowerment |
| 2 | Breaks down barriers between planning staff and stakeholders | Sense of project ownership |
| 3 | Access to communities' 'insider' tacit knowledge improves the agency's service provision | Gain awareness of decision making |
| 4 | Addresses issues of power imbalances | Gain practical skills and knowledge |
| 5 | The community's sense of ownership of the project increases chances of its success | Builds self-esteem and self-awareness |
| 6 | Reduces conflict while increasing trust | Gaining confidence in voicing own opinion |
| 7 | Sustainability of the initiative | Move towards self-help |
| 8 | Communities are better placed to monitor outcomes | Receive services appropriate to their needs |
| 9 | Communities act as watchdogs against poorly defined and implemented services | Develops social capital which is very vital in tackling exclusion |

Table 4: Perceived benefits of participation (Source: Ng'ombe et al., 2012, p. 1789)

In consonance with Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin's model of participatory land policy, Grover et al. (2007) suggest that participation as part of a good governance framework is necessary for a successful land policy. The reasons to facilitate participation in land policy, according to Grover et al. (2007), include promoting

ownership of the policy, encouraging transparency and exchange of ideas and accountability. Likewise, Ng'ombe *et al.* (2012) suggest that land policy is a process that can benefit from the bottom-up inputs (through talking) from stakeholders, including but not limited to communities, public sector agencies, NGOs, CSOs and the private sector.

Consequently, according to Wehrmann (2007), people's participation in land inventory (categorising in discrete entities), boundary mapping (making land as a territory), land adjudication (politics of recognition of property/territorial control) and land-use zoning (anthropocentrism) or planning (control of land) is necessary for ensuring transparency, protecting people's rights (linked to land as property) and preventing fraud and corruption (the 'ought' instead of the 'is'). If what is discussed in the talk-based democracy pre-emptively supposes land as property, territory (as Wehrmann (2007) does), or commodity or nature, then land is essentialised even before opening the state spaces for dialogic participation. Moreover, the non-coercive communicative forums for participating theoretically resonate with Habermas's Modern theory of communicative action (Kapoor, 2008). Not only is the process of participation via communicative action a process derived from Modernity, but so is the substance of what land is.

Although Deininger (2003, p. 3) suggests that generating a sense of participation and belonging is generally considered to be a precondition for good and democratic governance by researchers, Reed's (2008) chronology (Table 3 on page 95) shows a disillusionment of participation and the consequent post-participation paradigm in the early 21st-century literature on participation. In the following section, I briefly review the critiques of participation to pave my way for conceptualising participatory land policy beyond the Modernist frameworks I have critically analysed so far in this chapter.

### 3.3.4 Critiques of Participation in Land Policy

Participation, as a form of Development practice, has been a subject of critique at least since Arnstein's (1969) publication of 'the ladder of Citizen Participation'. Arnstein's (1969) ladder places different types of participation along a scale from non-participation to citizen control. In consonance with the Modernist norm-deviant model, Arnstein's (1969) ladder claims citizen control as the norm and all other types of participation as deviant from the norm to varying degrees.
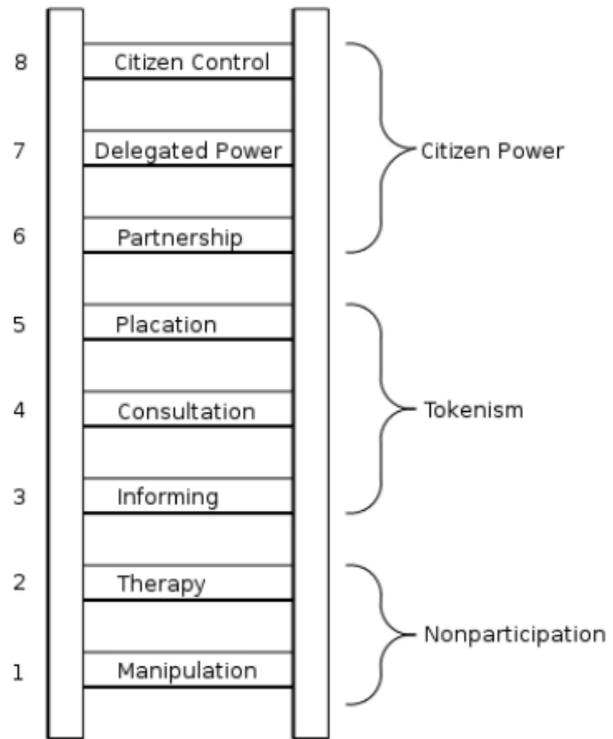


Figure 6: Ladder of Citizen Participation
(Arnstein, 1969, p. 216)

However, more recently, participation has been substantially criticised along "the technical limitations of the approach […] [and] the theoretical, political, conceptual limitations to participation" (Cooke and Kothari, 2001, p. 5). The technical limitations of various talk-based participatory approaches focus on flexibility (or rigidity), context specificity, and inclusivity (of difference and diversity) of the participatory practices. Accordingly, Deininger (2003, p. 3) warns about the difficulty of generating participation in the context of insecurity and inequality.

Given that land policy, in most countries, remains the domain of the government, authors have also pointed at the friction between community norms and government policy (Tanner, 2002; Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). Consequently, Angel et al. (1983) suggest that the support from important centres of power is necessary given that any change in government policy regarding distribution and use of urban land attracts a high amount of attention. In a similar vein, Deininger (2003, p. 3) argues that attempts to decentralisation have failed due to "lack of fiscal discipline" and failing

to allow local communities to raise their voices and "effectively articulate their demands". Therefore, critiques of technical limitations to participation appears to have advocated for external intervention to facilitate the participatory processes, may it be in the form of Development agencies or planners.

Alongside the practical and technical limitations of implementation, participation has been criticised on theoretical grounds. For instance, acknowledging that "thinking about participation [in Development] […] has lacked the analytical tools […] and an adequate theoretical framework" (Shepherd, 1998, p. 179), Hickey and Mohan (2005) argue that this has helped "mainstream co-option and depoliticization" of participation. Likewise, Dubey's (2016, p. 55) study of a participatory programme in Delhi shows that conflict arose in the project implementation due to "differing interpretations of the concept of 'participation'". In this respect, Cooke and Kothari (2001, p. 7) call for a "more fundamental critique of the discourse of participation and to recognise that some of [the methodological concerns] do emerge out of technocratic concerns". Unlike the critiques of talk-based participation over the technical issues, I have opened a theoretical critique to Modernist participation by calling for a need to rethink participation in and for a postcolonial democracy of Pune on three grounds.

Firstly, the idea of participation as based on communicative action is itself derived from Modernity which remains as only one domain of political praxis in postcolonial India. In this vein, Kapoor (2008) reviews the Habermas-Mouffe debate over Modern-postmodern democratic theory by first acknowledging that both Habermas and Mouffe critically demonstrate the limits of liberal democratic institutions. However, Kapoor (2008) criticises the Modern-postmodern democratic theory for not having paid enough attention to the subaltern, erasing the effects of Western imperialism, and relaxing the relevance of the state for the marginalised populations in postcolonial contexts. Similarly, Williams (2004) reinforces the need for (re)politicising the discourse of participation instead of either celebrating individual liberation or subjection to the system, characteristic of the liberal land policy model read through the lens of governmentality. Consequent to the critique of Modernity, I

suppose that a postcolonial approach to participation can begin from acknowledging complicities drawing from the translation of participation as *sahbhāg* as com-partaking (see Kapoor, 2008).

Secondly, another criticism against Modern participatory development discourse arises from the empirical evidence that Modern participatory land policy pre-emptively forecloses communication around essentialist meanings of land. I suggested in this chapter that land is most often imagined as a *thing* in Modern essentialist framework, be it property (alienable or inalienable), commodity (real or fictitious), territory (inclusive or exclusive), nature (intuited or determined) or resource (e.g. as argued by Wehrmann, 2007). As I argue through this thesis, when slum-dwellers are asked to consent for slum rehabilitations in Pune, they are effectively being asked to consent for making land into a property and a commodity, among other things; even though the slum-dwellers are not aware of this fact in these precise terms. Yet, Pune's postcolonial democratic arena is not confined to the liberal democratic procedures, and participation means various things to different people (Ghertner, 2011; Dubey, 2016).

Thirdly, by demonstrating the benefits of participation, a norm is produced and sustained through scholarly debates and advocacy. Normative claims to 'participation' begin to reify the Modernist norm-deviant model that relegates a deviant status to any action that does not fit a certain definition of participation. If the postcolonial criticism of Modernity is to be taken seriously, then I argue that neither a liberal nor a dialogic form of participation may suffice to read the complexity of postcolonial political praxis already evident in India (Chatterjee, 2004, 2008; Kapoor, 2008). Consequently, I contend the need to reimagine the theory of PLP if postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities are to be read and recuperated. Before proceeding to do so in the next chapter, I briefly recount below my strategic rationales for recoding PLP as a postcolonial sensory field.

In Figure 5 (on page 96), I showed that participation is mostly considered by development and planning policy scholars as a normative solution to deliberately make subjects into agents in order to empower them. Postcolonial theory has long

demonstrated the coloniality inherent to such prescriptions originating from normative superiority of Euro – North American Modern theories (with capital M). In Modern theory of participatory democracy, the subjects are expected to become agents as one step closer to becoming fully rational self-reflexive autonomous citizens. In this thesis, I work towards decentring such normative ideals inherent to concepts such as participation. Therefore, instead of using participation as a normative prescription for making subjects into agents, I propose to treat human beings in Pune as always already 'beings with agency'. Having conceptualised people as subject-agents, I propose the concepts of subjectivity and policy (as in, *nīti*) as two visible sides of the same subject-agent. Subjectivity corresponds to the subject-formation and policy corresponds to the subjects' intentional conduct.

However, all subject-agents do not have equal access to the field of power called government from where agency is exercised to govern people's conduct. To separate this unequal access to the field of power called government, I mobilise the concepts of *rājnīti* (policies of government) and *loknīti* (policies of the governed). The purpose behind invoking these abstract concepts is to allow the possibility of recognising that, while the field of power called government produces written policies through the apparatus of the modern state institutions to rationalise its conduct, people too have their policies. More importantly, mobilising the concepts of *rājnīti* and *loknīti* strategically helps in decentring political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment. That is, the concepts of *rājnīti* and *loknīti* are located "[on] the plane of governmentality", where "populations do not carry the ethical signification of [Modern state, civil society and] citizenship" (Chatterjee, 2018, p. 50).

On the plane of governmentality, I then mobilise the concept of participation as being complicit to shaping land subjectivities and policies at various encounters between government and the governed, without treating any encounter as better or worse than others. Once again, the purpose behind broadening the definition of participation is to allow postcolonial and subaltern subjectivities to be read and recuperated through the social making of PLP. I elaborate on the theoretical discussions that support the proposed postcolonial sensory field in further detail and depth in Chapter 4.

## 3.4  Conclusion

In this chapter, I critically reviewed prevailing Modern frameworks of participatory land policy by decoding the Modernist tendencies latent in some of the prevailing conceptualisations of (urban) land, policy, and participation. While showing that land is essentialised in Modernity (section 3.1), I demonstrated that the prevailing urban land policy frameworks retain the Modern originary social contract assumptions (section 3.2). Likewise, the Modern theories of liberal, egalitarian, or hierarchical originary social contracts condition the prevailing definitions of participation (section 3.3). Overall, I demonstrated three critiques against Modernity through this chapter, namely: ontological (i.e. of essentialist land concepts and originary social contracts), epistemological (i.e. of anthropocentrism and ethnocentrism), and normative (i.e. of violence of norm-deviant thinking on the deviant).

Evidently, one productive answer to Modernist tendency to essentialise land arises from the call to pluralise the socially constructed meanings of land (e.g. Williamson *et al.*, 2010; Davy, 2012). While useful for postcolonial contexts, I also argued that pluralising the states, social contracts, or lands does not necessarily allow rethinking of the "whole liberal paradigm of autonomous individuals, social contract, and rights" (Anker, 2017, pp. 286–292), which is equally relevant to the postcolonial critical project. Consequently, if an alternative sensory field of participatory land policy in and for postcolonial democratic India is to be construed, it must avoid the pitfalls of Modernist tendencies of essentialising, assuming originary social contracts, and the norm-deviant thinking.

To do so, I use the same vocabulary of participatory land policy but change its meaning, even if such a change in meaning is perceived as catachrestical – i.e. apparently incorrect. In the next chapter, I elaborate on my construal of a postcolonial sensory field geared towards visualising the social making of participatory land policy in a way that helps uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

# 4  A POSTCOLONIAL SENSORY FIELD

"""The field" is a clearing whose deceptive transparency obscures the complex processes that go into constructing it. In fact, it is a highly overdetermined setting for the discovery of difference" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, p. 5).

In this chapter, I present a recoded conceptual rubric of participatory land policy (PLP), geared towards uncovering postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities during slum rehabilitation projects in Pune. To be clear, I recoded the rubric of PLP through the back-and-forth process of linking and relinking my ethnographic data with 'theory'. The purpose of this chapter is to show to the development and planning policy scholars that PLP is always in the making and seeing the socially made PLP can help uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. I present the recoded conceptual rubric of PLP under the title 'a postcolonial sensory field' for four following reasons:

First, I use the term postcolonial as an injunction to look beyond concepts, theories and practices tethered to political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment (i.e. Modernity with capital M). In this regard, postcolonial means an ethical and epistemological strategy. Second, I use the term postcolonial to hint at my reliance on postcolonial theory and subaltern studies that have explicitly worked towards demonstrating the colonising effects of Modernity on populations living in post-colonial countries (Guha, Chatterjee and Pandey, 1982; Spivak, 1988, 1993, 2008; Guha and Spivak, 1988; Chakrabarty, 1995, 2002, 2008; Chatterjee, 1997, 2011, 2018; Raghuramaraju, 2011, 2013). In this second regard, postcolonial refers to a taxonomic category of the Euro-North American academia. Third, the term postcolonial hints at "the defining paradox of the colonial/postcolonial condition — [i.e.] to have to claim both tradition and modernity in the same breath" (Banerjee, 2013, p. 32). Inclined towards anti-essentialism, I use the postcolonial condition as a contextually held subject-position from where I construct the sensory field and read the subjectivities of those socially making a PLP through slum rehabilitations in Pune.

Note that I call the subjectivities derived from participants' narratives as postcolonial because of my theoretical strategy to displace (not replace) political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment and simultaneously allow the so-called 'pre-Modern' or the 'non-Modern' to be expressed without prejudice. Banerjee (2013, p. 32) calls the colonial/postcolonial condition a paradox – a seemingly contradictory claim. The postcolonial epistemological lens that I present in this chapter (in the first sense of the word) seeks to work through the postcolonial ontic contradictions (in the third sense of the word) experienced by the postcolonial subject-agents. In other words, I work through the ambivalences and simultaneities of postcolonial subjectivities to produce vocabularies that can help conceptually bridge the gap between Modern concepts (with capital M) performed through the SRP and the postcolonial and subaltern subjectivities of those engaged in the making of PLP, including the governors and the governed.

Fourth, the term 'sensory field' is meant to remind the readers and myself that sometimes the postcolonial and the subaltern land subjectivities remain simply felt and sensed – both by those partaking in slum rehabilitations or by me-as-a-researcher. Here, the point is to let feelings be felt and expressed. Moreover, the theory presented in this chapter is intended as a method to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. The term 'field' used in the title of this chapter is meant to hint precisely at the "highly overdetermined setting for the discovery of difference" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, p. 5). In other words, the people engaged in slum rehabilitations are not essentially bound by the field I develop in this chapter and they can (re)mobilise the conceptual rubric of PLP differently upon encounter with this text. The proposed postcolonial sensory field is guided by my research aim to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

The postcolonial sensory field I elaborate in this chapter can perhaps best be captured by the following rap-track excerpt from the recently released movie *Gully Boy* (Akhtar, 2019).

| | |
|---|---|
| इस दुनिया की क्या स्टोरी | What is the story of this world? |
| किसके हाथ में इसकी डोरी | In whose hands is its cord? |
| राईट में बिल्डिंग आसमानो को छुरी | On the right, a building is touching the sky |
| लेफ्ट में बच्ची भूखी सड़को पे सोरी … | On the left, a girl is sleeping hungry on the streets … |
| अब देखो तो हम पास है लेकिन | In a way we look so close but |
| सोचो कितनी दूरी है | Think how distant we are… |
| -    (DIVINE and Akhtar, 2019) | -    (DIVINE and Akhtar, 2019, Author's translation) |

The movie *Gully Boy* (Akhtar, 2019) shows Murad – a young college-going boy from Dharavi – rapping the lyrics cited above. The state institutions have declared Dharavi as a 'slum'. To understand Murad's journey towards becoming a rapper, Akhtar (2019) discloses life in Dharavi and consequently in Mumbai from Murad's perspective. Accordingly, relevant to the story of Murad becoming a rapper is Murad's perception of his own potential and ability to produce rap music and the possibilities that the world presents to him. Murad's journey to becoming a rapper is entangled with the life-worlds of many people around him. Moreover, the movie re-presents Murad's journey towards becoming a rapper through the opportunities and barriers the governmentalizing world throws at Murad.

Apart from the political undertone of the lyrics, the rap-track also presents ontic and epistemic claims about the world that Murad experiences in Dharavi. I read the rap-track to be suggesting that this world is narrated *as a story* and the possibility of recounting this story is a question of power controlled through "the permission to narrate" (Said, 1984). *Gully Boy* (Akhtar, 2019) shows the possibility of multiple narratives through a view from the streets of Dharavi; and not as a characteristically Modern/colonial synoptic view of the city seen from the top. Whereas one narration re-presents the skyscrapers and hungry homeless children close to each other, another narration re-presents the equally real and experienced distance between

those living in skyscrapers and the hungry homeless children living on streets. It is these kinds of experienced and lived narratives about land – as in, people's articulated land subjectivities – that I make visible through the socially made PLP. While seeking to learn to narrate the story of land from those engaged in slum rehabilitation projects, I must present how I narrate my and their stories as an ethical responsibility towards the informants of this research.

In the rest of this chapter, I elaborate on the postcolonial sensory field. In section 4.1, I first expound on the idea of decentring Modernity to allow re-presentation of alternative and postcolonial ways of being modern. In this decentred field, I propose to read the politics of slum rehabilitations through the concepts of *rājnīti* (policies of government) and *loknīti* (policies of the governed) (section 4.2). Consequently, I expound on the conjoint concepts of land subjectivities and policies in section 4.3, including the distinctively postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. Lastly, to locate the moments when government and the governed meet each other, I mobilise the concept of participatory encounters in section 4.4. Together, the sensory field helps see that PLP is socially being made.

## 4.1  Decentring Modernity (with capital M)

> "It is incumbent upon those who are still marginals in the world of [Western] modernity to use the opportunities they have to invent new forms of the modern social, economic, and political order"
>
> (Chatterjee, 2011, p. 52).

Speaking to the formerly colonised peoples, Chatterjee (1997, 2011) refers to the peculiarly Western modernity to allow other peoples to become 'modern' in their own terms. Note that Chatterjee (1997, 2011) refers to two senses of the term 'modern' – one that he calls Western modernity in the singular and other in the plural. Here, Western modernity (i.e. political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment for this thesis) is not an empirically existing consistent body of knowledge. Rather, Western modernity is a name given to the vast theoretical debates that took place in the geopolitical region called Europe since the 16th century, that deliberately sought to Modernise (with capital M) the geopolitical region of Europe and its colonies by violently rejecting the past (see e.g. Gaonkar, 1999; Mohanty, 2003, pp. 120–121; Chakrabarty, 2008, pp. 3–4; Raghuramaraju, 2011).

Because political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment deliberately Modernised Europe and later its colonies, and continues to do so even today, I write Modernity with capital M to persistently remind the readers and myself of Modernity's violence and coloniality (not colonialism). Colonialism was "a system of political, economic, and cultural domination" of one people over another that brought Modernity to India, whereas coloniality is a form of power that "endures, long after the formal systems of colonial rule have disappeared" (Alonso Bejarano et al., 2019, p. 22). In other words, Modernity with capital M is colonial, whereas modernity with small m is the non-coercive experience of the present-day. Note that this latter definition of modernity (with small m) is also produced in the Euro-North American postmodern critiques of Enlightenment modernity (see e.g. Gaonkar, 1999). In Euro-North American literature, societal modernisation is contrasted with cultural and aesthetic modernisation; and whereas Enlightenment modernity is associated with

the societal-cultural side of the axis, cultural-aesthetic modernity is theorised as more fluid, emancipatory, and avant-garde.

However, in this thesis, I explicitly do not cite Euro-North American literature on the status of Enlightenment modernity in Europe during what is sometimes referred to as the postmodern times, usefully elaborated by Gaonkar (1999). As Guha (2001, p. 41) remarks:

> "postmodernism as a critique can never be adequate to itself unless it takes colonialism into account as a historic barrier that reason can never cross; and […] the colonial experience has outlived decolonization and continues to be related significantly to the concerns of our own time".

Therefore, given the focus of this thesis on postcolonial subjectivities, I engage with the postcolonial critique of Enlightenment modernity originating from a historical experience of Modernity as colonialising and still being performed during slum rehabilitations in Pune, India.

In this vein, notwithstanding whether those occupying the subject-position called 'Europeans' see 'their' history through the category of Enlightenment political modernity, Chatterjee (1998, 2011, p. 51, emphasis added) suggests that "the postcolonial love [and fear] for the West flows out of a *concept* of the West". In this sense, the project of colonialism still makes the colonial/postcolonial subjects think of the West as a coherent entity guided by a coherent body of knowledge. Following Chatterjee (1997, 1998, 2011), it is the *concept* of Modernity, and not any empirical entity, that I seek to decentre in this thesis. More precisely, I seek to decentre concepts and practices derived from Modernity still being performed in slum rehabilitations in Pune, despite their incompleteness (Chakrabarty, 2002, 2008).

That is, this thesis is not a comparative political analysis between the geopolitical regions called 'the West' and 'India' or their attendant political systems named as 'Western democracy' and 'Indian democracy'. Rather, what I call postcolonial democracy, following Chatterjee (2011), is a grounded reality experienced in India readable after analytically decentring Modernity and its foundational binaries.

This idea of pluralising various ways of being modern, including the postcolonial ways, arose out of de-linking the concept of modernity (non-capitalised in the literature on the concept) from its geographical fixedness in Europe (or the West) and historically 'sequencing' the experience of modernity (Mohanty, Russo and Torres, 1991; Massey, 2001; Robinson, 2006; Chatterjee, 2011; Raghuramaraju, 2011). Theorising modernity sequentially poses dangers of saying that the West is ahead of the non-West, giving rise to categories such as the First-world/Third-world, with pejorative effects of the non-Western populations (Mohanty, Russo and Torres, 1991; Massey, 2001). To escape these dangers, various scholars have argued for plural and alternative modernities (Gaonkar, 1999; Raghuramaraju, 2011; Jazeel, 2013).

Within these plural ways of being modern, I invoke the peculiar experiences of the participants of this thesis that retain within them the tension between being modern and being traditional. Moreover, in the context of this thesis, being modern (as in, the non-coercive experiencing of the present-day) is intractably enmeshed with political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment given the deliberate implementation of the SRP using Modern (with capital M) ideas of land, policy and participation. In such a context, Chatterjee's (1997, p. 20) remarks are highly instructive in furthering the exploration of postcolonial subjectivities, as follows:

> "The same historical process that has taught us [the formerly colonised] the value of modernity has also made us the victims of modernity. Our attitude to modernity, therefore, cannot but deeply be ambiguous. […] But this ambiguity does not stem from any uncertainty about whether to be for or against modernity. Rather, the uncertainty is because we know that to fashion the forms of our modernity, we need to have the courage at times to reject the modernities established by others".

It is the subjectivities that retain the ambiguities, tensions, and simultaneities between M/modernity and the traditional which refer to what Banerjee (2013) calls as the postcolonial condition (see Hirblinger, 2015 in the context of land subjectivities in Africa following Achille Mbembe). Raghuramaraju (2011) elaborates on this simultaneous experience of modernity and the traditional (or the pre-Modern) in

contemporary India. The problem with Modernity (with capital M) is that it violently proceeds by "clearing the debris of the dismantled pre-[M]odern societies" (Raghuramaraju, 2011, p. 1). Instead, alternative ways of being modern are many and are hoped to come into being without coercion (Chatterjee, 1997, 2011; Gaonkar, 1999; Robinson, 2006; Jazeel, 2013). In my stylistic differentiation between Modernity and modernity, I present political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment as Modern with capital M to account for its coloniality and violence, and the otherwise non-coercive experience of the present as modern with small m.

Note that this idea of questioning political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment (Modernity with capital M in this thesis) was also debated in the nationalist debates in India as evident from Nehru – Gandhi debate (Prakash, 2002). Likewise, Ambedkar (*CAD*, 1949) demonstrated the paradox of the postcolonial condition (although not in terms of 'postcolonial condition'), as follows:

> "[W]e [Indians] are going to enter into a life of contradictions [in 1950]. In politics we will have equality [Modern Democratic Constitution] and in social and economic life we will have inequality […] How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions?" (Ambedkar in *CAD*, 1949, para. 11.165.325).

While the nationalist debate over modernity looked for an original way of being 'Indian' (Prakash, 2002), I do not seek to look for any 'original' way of being Indian in this thesis. Instead, the proposed sensory field is meant to provide a way to theorise "the urban now" (Robinson, 2013) in India; or in Chatterjee's (1997, p. 20) terms "'these days' of our [Indian] modernity". As Prakash (2002, p. 6) suggests, the recently witnessed 'urban turn' in the scholarly debates in India provides "an opportunity to rewrite the history of Indian modernity". For clarity, I am working towards one re-reading of Indian modernity among many others, one that is deliberately not tethered to the political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment. More specifically, I foreground the Advaita (non-dual) inspired bhakti tradition in Marathi literature that has explicitly questioned the power/knowledge structures of Brahmanical patriarchy since the 13th century in Maharashtra (see e.g. Lele, 1980;

Novetzke, 2007; Quack, 2012). Here, I am deliberately foregrounding grounded ideas that have worked against once rigid, dominant, orthodox regimes as my ethical standpoint to foreground non-violent philosophies from the region of Maharashtra for the purposes of exploring the social making of PLP.

Notably, the bhakti saints and poets from the 13th to the 18th century assisted in social reform. Dnyāneshwar, ostensibly the founder of the bhakti tradition in Maharashtra, can be read to have interpreted Advaita to democratise knowledge or sciences (Śāstra), to which the Brahmins had formerly sustained a privileged claim. Anecdotally, of course, Dnyāneshwar is said to have made a buffalo recite the Vedas to demonstrate that the Vedas (the then high-theory from the perspective of Advaita) were accessible to all humans and non-humans.

The consequence of interpreting Advaita as democratisation of knowledge created a thousand-year-long bhakti movement, and the Wārkari sampradāy (community) in Maharashtra, that has persistently maintained a critique of authoritarian regimes even in the 21st century (Lele, 1980; Novetzke, 2007). Moreover, Quack's (2012) ethnographic account of the 'rationalist movement' in Maharashtra demonstrates the persistent influence of bhakti literature on the 21st century Maharashtrian population. As a critique of rigid traditions, Lele (1980) claims that the bhakti movement was indeed a process of modernisation (not tethered to Modernity with capital M) in India – one that proceeded by aesthetically building people's capacities to question orthodoxy.

In the language of contemporary postcolonial and decolonial critiques of Eurocentric Modernity, I seek to decentre Modernity not by the "denial of reason as such [which was the hallmark of European Enlightenment], but rather denial of the violent, Eurocentric, developmentalist, hegemonic reason" (Dussel, Krauel and Tuma, 2000, p. 473). That is, Modernity (with capital M) is problematic because it treats anything non-Modern as deviant (e.g. Chatterjee, 2011). Because Modernity violently rejected the pre-Modern, Raghuramaraju (2011, p. 1) claims that "its 'ought' rejected the earlier 'is' and installed in its place its own 'is' which consisted of citizenship, individualism, rationality, and nationalism" (also Chakrabarty, 1995, 2002, 2008;

Dussel, Krauel and Tuma, 2000; Nandy and Jahanbegloo, 2006). Consequently, Chatterjee (2011, p. 207) argues that "the normative models of the Western [Modern] political theory have, more often than not, only served to show non-Western practices as backward or deviant". In this thesis, I work towards re-presenting various so-called pre-Modern or non-Modern ideas, practices, knowledges without presenting them as deviant. Therefore, where I encounter Modernity/non-Modernity difference in my ethnographic work, I methodologically examine my participants' responses to that difference to help construct conceptual infrastructures so that Modernity can be constructively and contextually challenged.

The following sections present a sensory field where Modern concepts of land, participation, and policy are decentred and constantly renegotiated, like other concepts originating from Modernity. Here, I mobilise the concepts of **government** as 'conduct of people's conduct', **land subjectivities** as 'people's contextually held relations to land', **land policies** as 'people's intentional conduct regarding land', and **participation** as 'being complicit in shaping land subjectivities and policies at the bodily, material and textual encounters'. Together, these concepts create a visible field of the social making of PLP. The following schematic presents the recoded conceptual rubric of the socially made participatory land policy (PLP).
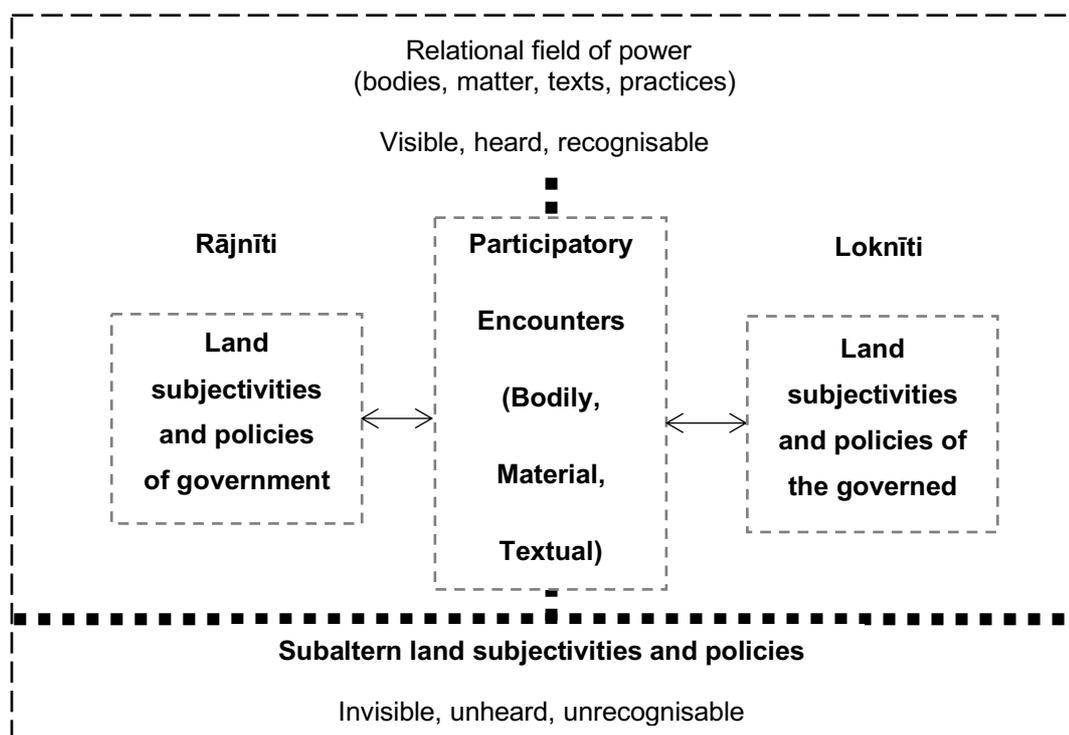


Figure 7: A postcolonial sensory field of a socially made participatory land policy

## 4.2  Rājnīti | loknīti

In this section, I introduce the theoretical concepts of policies of government (*rājnīti*) and policies of the governed (*loknīti*). The purpose behind invoking these concepts is twofold. First, the concept of *nīti* translates as policy and therefore directly relevant to the primary readers of this thesis. Second, the concepts of *rājnīti* and *loknīti* helps decentre Modernity by recognising that policy is not a privileged domain of 'the state'; that the governed too have policies of their own; and that the governed participate in socially making policy. Moreover, focusing on people's articulations of their own land policies methodologically sheds light on how land enters people's imaginations and actions regarding land. Consequently, given that people narrate their own *policies*, along with those that appear to govern them, postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities can be recovered through people's own terms and vocabularies. Moreover, the shift towards *nīti*-inspired political debate befits the historical narrative of India's postcolonial democracy:

> "In the last three decades or so, […], a different style of politics has rapidly made a place for itself in India's democratic arena. I would say that the more the will of the subjects has shifted from an engagement with sovereignty [the motivation for independence from the British rule] to a concern for the daily nitty-gritty of governmentality, the more the principles of *dharma* have yielded to those of *nīti*" (Chatterjee, 2011, p. 65)*.*

India's political regime has experienced many changes throughout its history, pre-colonial and post-colonial. I briefly reviewed pre-colonial and post-colonial debates on land in Chapter 2 to situate the SRP at the liberal democratic (Modern) conjuncture of India's land governance in the 21st century. However, given that I seek to decentre Modernity, I use Chatterjee's concept of the plane of governmentality, including the 'politics of government' and 'politics of the governed' as relationally constituted, yet autonomous, domains of political action in postcolonial democratic arena.

This empirically-existing postcolonial democracy of India, conceptually encompasses both the domains of the institutional/popular or the formal/informal binaries

foundational to the Modern (with capital M) *theory* of liberal democracy. In other words, the Modern foundational binaries are decentred in the visible field of postcolonial democracy. Seen from this postcolonial perspective, the empirically-existing democratic arenas of the geopolitical region called the West may as well be read as postcolonial democracies – a claim this thesis is not geared to make (see Chatterjee, 2017, for 'a postcolonial view of Western democracy'). By decentring Modernity in the case of India, Chatterjee (2011) makes it possible to read the historically changing principles of political debates in the geopolitical region of India through another intellectual tradition. Chatterjee (2011, p. 65) writes that the discursive principles through which politics takes place in India's postcolonial democratic arena have shifted from the principles of dharma to those of nīti.

At the risk of simplification, dharma means a "fixed position of duty and of right, in the sense of what is proper and normative" (Bilimoria, Prabhu and Sharma, 2007, p. 24; Chatterjee, 2011); and *nīti* means policy. Here, dharma does not mean 'religion' as "an identifiable system of doctrine-scriptures-beliefs, a *thing"* (Jazeel, 2013, pp. 13–14), but a categorically righteous conduct (Chatterjee, 2011). In other words, dharma-inspired political debate is a political debate based on *fixed* normative ideals that putatively originate from other-worldly places, like the ongoing debates in India between the fundamental right to property originating from God or Reason (Wahi, 2016; Mitra, 2017) (see section 3.1.1). Dharma-inspired justifications can be read as sufficiently equivalent to the normatively inspired justifications arising from Modernity.

For instance, on the one hand, the advocates of Brahmanical patriarchy professed the fixed principles from Dharma Śastras (sciences of dharma) to hegemonize public discourses in pre-colonial times. On the other hand, Modernity (with capital M) professes itself to be superior to all other ways of being modern (with small m) given the allusion to transcendental normative reason and scientific rationality – thereby exercising the violence of coloniality (Dussel, Krauel and Tuma, 2000; Chatterjee, 2011; Raghuramaraju, 2011, 2013). My shared contention in this thesis is against the normative fixedness of both Dharma Śastras and Modern theories.

Instead of the *dharma*-inspired politics, Chatterjee (2011) links the political domains of those who govern and those who are governed on the plane of governmentality - to visualise the politics of *nīti*. Here, government means 'conduct of people's conduct', and not an institutional entity called the Government of India (GoI). More specifically, "government [of people's conduct] operates by educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs" (Li, 2007, p. 5). In other words, government of people's conduct operates by shaping how people think about various social, material and discursive (land) relations. Here, government is a field of power that is conceptually distinct from Modern liberal democratic state (with capital M). As Chatterjee (2018, p. 50) writes, "[on] the plane of governmentality, populations do not carry the ethical significance of [the Modern state, civil society and] citizenship".

Historically, kings, colonisers, elites, and the putatively behemothic entity called 'the nation-state' are re-presented as exercising governmentality. Guha (1982, p. 6) suggested that "the structural dichotomy that arose from [… the non-integration of the subaltern in bourgeoise hegemony] is a datum of Indian history of the colonial period, which no one who sets to interpret it can ignore without falling into error". In other words, the position of the governors was materially and discursively appropriated by colonisers and nationalist elites, as well as the putatively behemothic Modern state (with capital M) in India. Despite the structural divide, however, Guha (1982, p. 6) also claimed that the elite and subaltern domains were never "hermetically sealed off from each other" in the real political field in India, despite being "autonomous". Moreover, in the 21st century, the governed are already in dialogue with government (including, but not limited to, India's porous modern state institutions) through "the daily nitty-gritty of governmentality" (Chatterjee, 2011, p. 65).

This plane of governmentality constitutes of discourses and practices that are used as means for conducting people's conduct. However, these discourses and practices also have an agency of their own and govern people's conduct. In this context, the governing actors do not need to be human beings or institutions – like the porous state bureaucratic institutions. Abstract ideas like 'Modernity', 'the behemothic top-

down nation-state' or 'the invisible hand of the market' can and often do govern people's conduct in liberalising and democratising India, as shown by the growing literature on South Asian governmentalities (e.g. Appadurai, 2001; Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Chatterjee, 2008, 2018; Roy, 2009a; Varman, Saha and Skålén, 2011; Dhananka, 2016; Heath, 2018; Hodges, 2018).

To account for the intentions behind government, I mobilise the concept of *rājnīti* (policies of government). Here, modern state institutions (with small m) are treated as a permeable apparatus through which governors conduct people's conduct. In the 21st century, along with the phantasmal and performed idea of the Modern state (with capital M), businesspeople, advertisements, religious texts etc. also govern people's conduct in India, within, between or outside the bounds of Modernity (with capital M). To account for all the various ways in which people's conduct is governed, I mobilise the term *rājnīti* (policies of government), which includes, but is not limited to, the policies written by the modern state institutions (with small m), such as the SRP.

However, as I have suggested in this thesis, the governed on the plane of governmentality are not dormant, just as "margins [of the state] are not inert" (Das and Poole, 2004, p. 19). To account for the politics beyond the nation-state installed in India by colonisers and nationalists, the Subaltern Studies Collective opened the possibility of studying the "politics of the people" (Guha, 1982, p. 4), and later the "politics of the governed" (Chatterjee, 2004). To stretch the point further, the governed too have policies of their own, even though these policies are not always written-down as the policies from the M/modern state institutions often are. Consequently, I invoke the term *loknīti* to account for the policies (as in, *nīti* or an intentional conduct) of the governed. As I have argued through this entire thesis, the purpose is to learn to narrate people's subjectivities and policies from their own perspectives.

The concept of *nīti* originates from Kautilya's treatise on *Arthaśastra* (Science of Wealth) and *Nītiśastra* (Science of Policy) (see, Liebig, 2013 for Kautilya's relevance for contemporary India). Drawing from *nīti*-literature, Chatterjee's (2011) use of the concept of *nīti* originates from Nrisingha Prasad Bhaduri's avowal that the word *netā* (meaning, politician) shares its etymological root √*nī* with the term *nīti* (meaning,

policy). Furthermore, the Hindi or Marathi verb *nena / neńe* (meaning, to take something somewhere) also shares the root √*nī* with *nīti*, suggesting that "[b]oth words [*netā* and *nīti*] carry a sense [of] pulling forward, driving or steering" (Chatterjee, 2011, p. 71). Consequently, the concepts of *rājnīti* (policies of government) and *loknīti* (policies of the governed) enable reading intentionality behind the conduct of those who govern and those who are governed – with a sense of pulling forward, driving, or steering something (for this thesis, land) somewhere.

Inclined towards anti-essentialism, I focus on encounters between various actors during slum rehabilitation projects to ethnographically position subject-agents and their policies within the analytical domains of either *rājnīti* or *loknīti*. In this sense, the field of power called 'government' and 'the governed' are treated as contextually, temporarily, and relationally held positions from where *nīti* (as in, policy) is performed.

For instance, in the context when the GoM demolishes buildings it deems as 'illegal', the GoM occupies the position of the governors and those affected by the demolition become the governed. Therefore, I would consider GoM's demolition policy as *rājnīti* (policy of government). Simultaneously, however, those who are subjected to *rājnīti* act with their own intentions either to rework their lives in the face of government policy or to resist it. It is to these intentional actions of the governed that I refer to as *loknīti* (policies of the governed).

As I suggested earlier, the purpose behind invoking the term *loknīti* (policies of the governed) is to acknowledge that the governed are not dormant and to recognise that sometimes the governed rework or thwart the policies of government. When the governed rework or thwart the policies of government, the governed access the field of power called government – no matter how temporarily. For instance, if a group of people succeeds in halting the GoM's demolition squad, then the group's intentional actions (*nīti / policy*) temporarily governs the GoM's demolition squad. Therefore, the intentional actions of the otherwise governed temporarily occupy the position of *rājnīti* (policy of government).

Additionally, conceptualising politics on the plane of governmentality in terms of *nīti* hints towards instrumental politics. However, Chatterjee (2011) suggests that this politics on the plane of governmentality is not devoid of its own ethical principles. In other words, people formulate and articulate ethical principles instrumentally and contextually and these principles are negotiable. The ethnographic narratives that I recount in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are replete with people's ethical and instrumental justifications for their intentional conduct. However, the point here is that people articulate ethical principles to justify their political actions in terms of policies-as-*nīti*. It is thus that people have their own policies and they contribute to the making of PLP during slum rehabilitation projects.

Note that I am deliberately not invoking the planning theory literature that analyses urban politics in India by productively (un)doing Modern binaries such as formal/informal (e.g. AlSayyad, 2004; Sundaresan, 2013; Roy, 2016; Jatkar, 2018; Marx and Kelling, 2018) or the institutional/popular (Benjamin, 2008; Chattopadhyay, 2012; Sud, 2019). Instead, I have invoked another abstract, relationally constituted, and contextually read binary of policies of government (*rājnīti*) and policies of the governed (*loknīti*) to read postcolonial and subaltern subjectivities.

Whereas various scholars have argued to focus on 'the informal' and 'the popular' to recuperate 'the subaltern', Spivak (2005, p. 481) clearly demonstrates that "chronicling the popular is not subaltern studies". This is so especially when the so-called 'informal' and 'the popular' can easily become complicit to perpetuating the dominant governmental logics, either by consenting, reworking, or even while opposing to it. Instead, focusing on *rājnīti* and *loknīti* helps acknowledge the variegated visible and recognisable dialogues and complicities between the governors and the governed, and locate the subaltern beyond all visible and recognisable dialogues between the governors and the governed. Moreover, decentring Modern binaries and invoking policies of government (*rājnīti*) and policies of the governed (*loknīti*) helps focus on the effects of governmentality and sites of participation broadly in terms of bodily, material and textual encounters.

## 4.3 Land subjectivities and policies

If policy is conceptualised as *nīti* – as in, a person's intentional actions of steering something somewhere – then land policies are people's intentional actions that steer land somewhere. In other words, people have their own land policies and act intentionally in everyday life to affect the life of land. However, people's land policies are relationally constituted within the field of power called government. Since government shapes people's conduct in regards to land, government affects people's land subjectivities which in turn affect (but not completely determine) people's policies. I arrive at the link between subjectivity and policy from postcolonial interpretations of Śankara's philosophy of Advaita (non-dual) (see e.g. Yadav, 2009). The following quote directly links subjectivity to policy:

| | |
|---|---|
| जातिनीतिकुलगोत्रदूरगं | Bodily distant from race, **policy**, kin, and lineage; |
| नामरूपगुणदोषवर्जितम् । | Devoid of name, form, merit, and demerit |
| देशकालविषयातिवर्ति यद् | Beyond country, time, and sense-object, |
| ब्रह्म तत्वमसि भावयात्मनि ॥ २५४॥ | **Think of yourself [subjectivity]** as *that Brahma*, in sentient being ‖254‖ |
| - (Śankara, no date, v. 254 VCM) | - (Śankara, no date, Author's translation) |

Sometime in the eighth century, Śankara claimed a theoretical split between the subject and all socially held subject-positions to allow for people's liberation from socially constructed and imposed relations. In the Eurocentric language of governmentality, the subject is not only governed by governors but also socially, materially, and discursively constructed relations. For Śankara, these socially constructed subject-positions included race, **policy**, kin, lineage, name, form, merit, demerit, country, time and the sense-object (like land). After negating all the socially constructed subject-positions, the void that is left is named 'the subject'. In Śankara's terms, 'the subject' is equitable to *Brahma,* definable as the domain of the "transcendental semiotic" (Spivak, 2008, p. 187) inaccessible to the worldly humans. In short, no one can exclusively make a claim to the transcendental world of gods,

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goddesses or reason – neither Dharma Śastras nor Modernity (see Raghuramaraju, 2013). This mystical subject has worldly policies and is related to sense-objects like land. Because the subject has policies, the subject is also an agent of change.

That is, I do not mobilise Śankara's (no date; VCM) theory of subjectivity via Foucauldian theory of subjectivity as an "anti-subjective theory of the subject" (Mansfield, 2000, p. 9). In other words, I do not work within the late 20th century Euro-North American anti-Humanist tendency to focus on discourses and "inscription devices" (Li, 2014), as though 'outside' the subject, to study land subjectivities. Instead, I focus on how the subject-agents, i.e. participants of my research, encounter the discourses around them and use their agency to question, challenge, rework, or thwart those discourses and produce new ones. Moreover, I focus on how the postcolonial subjects exercise creativity in the face of colonialising discourses of Modernity still being performed in India (in the present continuous) through policies such as the SRP. In the language of contemporary Euro-North American academia:

> "[S]ubjectivity, [is] both […] [the] states of mind of real actors *embedded in the social world*, and […] [the] *cultural formations* that (at least partially) express, shape, and constitute those states of mind" (Ortner, 2005, p. 46, emphasis added).

In line with the postcolonial interpretation of *advaita*, I read Śankara's (no date; VCM) theory as based on a principle of *adhyāsa,* meaning 'superimposition' (Johnson, 2009) or 'mis-predication' (Yadav, 2009) of all social identity, including subject's relations to land. Śankara's (no date; VCM) almost impossible recommendation to the problem of mis-predication was that the subject should learn to divorce itself from all social identity. Notwithstanding the impossibility of the task, contemporary Euro-North American theories of subjectivity deliberate over the question "Do We Still Want to Be Subjects?" (Guzzoni, 1996, p. 201) also ending with a negative answer. In my reading, Śankara's mis-predicated subject can be sufficiently read alongside Euro-North American postmodern multiply divided subject, re-presented in various discourses as advanced by Laclau and Mouffe (2001) and Torfing (1999). The purpose of citing these literatures from very distinct theoretical spaces is to draw

links between them, and demonstrate the relevance of local histories of thought for contemporary academic exploration of the social making of PLP through slum rehabilitations.

To use Kalebai's example, what can Kalebai do when the GoI is telling her that she is a slum-dweller in need of rehabilitation? Śankara's advice was that she must learn to divorce herself from the subject-position that the GoI has constructed for her and question it, rework it, change it, and transform it. Kalebai appears to be already cautious of such advice, not necessarily coming from Śankara, when she questions:

> "Now, this house of mine is old. Can anybody remove me from here? […] One hundred years! What? Were you [the GoI] sleeping?" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18).

However, to read her precise relations to land ethnographically, I mobilise the concepts of land subjectivity and policy. In the above citation, Kalebai was speaking about their vasti-residents' policy (i.e. *nīti*) of asking people from an older generation about what to do. In the process of narrating her own land policy, Kalebai spoke about her land subjectivity, which I read through my ethnographic work as suggesting an inseparability between spatial morphology (her solid house) and alienation from land (can anyone remove me from here?). In this theoretical space, the causal link between subjectivity and policy cannot be determined. That is, I read subjectivities and policies (along with other relationally constructed subject-positions) to be the two sides of the same coin.

Theoretically, the point is the following: whereas Eurocentric governmentality literature in policy-studies (reviewed in section 3.2 on page 89) ends with demonstrating how people are made subjects of various governmental rationalities, people too have their own agency in changing the governmentalizing discourses, practices, and policies. In other words, Śankara demonstrates that people too have policies of their own. The purpose, I suggested, is to account for the fact that people – like Kalebai – are not dormant. Moreover, by conceptualising the subject-agent with subjectivities and policies of their own, I decentre the Modern (with capital M)

"universal and secular vision of the human" (Chakrabarty, 2008, p. 24) as an completely independent sovereign self.

The image of the human as a relationally entangled subject-agent is already prevalent in the critical theories of subjectivity within the Euro-North American academia since the 20th century (Mansfield, 2000) and also in postcolonial theory and subaltern studies (e.g. Porter, 2016; Jazeel and Legg, 2019). To be sure, as Śankara (no date; VCM) suggests, humans are subjects of various socially and relationally held subject-positions. To simplify the concept of multiply held subject-positions, I use the concept of discourse as "a differential [and relational] ensemble of signifying sequences [material or linguistic] in which meaning is constantly renegotiated" (Torfing, 1999, p. 85; see also Howarth, 2000; Laclau and Mouffe, 2001).

Land, being matter itself, already appears to condition the possibilities of the discursive construction over it. For instance, land is already seen as a solid surface of this earth that "you cannot roll […] up and take […] away" (Li, 2014, p. 589). Nonetheless, as I showed in Chapter 3, land has been articulated as many other *things*, such as nature (intuitive or determined), property (alienable or inalienable), commodity (real or fictitious), or territory (inclusive or exclusive). Consequently, by articulating land as some-*thing,* subject-agents signify objects such as land that concern them. In other words, I treat 'land' as enmeshed in various discourses that are tied to the materialities of land through signifying sequences. I imagine language and materiality as both entangled in the signifying sequences that form the text-ile of a discourse of the governmentalizing world. More importantly, since the concept of land is materially and discursively destabilised, its "meaning is constantly renegotiated" (Torfing, 1999, p. 85) and *nīti* (as in, people's policy) regarding land appears as constantly made and remade.

### 4.3.1  Postcolonial land subjectivities and policies

This thesis is aimed towards decentring concepts from Modernity (with capital M). However, I have also hinted at the fact that Modernity is performed in India and I am calling development and planning policy scholars to learn from the lived experiences of the people engaged in slum rehabilitations about what to do with Modernity if and when they encounter it during everyday politics in Pune. The purpose behind learning from people living in postcolonial contexts is to unlearn the privilege given to Modernity and Euro-North American academia and let alternative ways of being modern appear in their own terms.

People's land subjectivities are postcolonial because of my reading of these subjectivities as explicitly different from Modernity, but constructed while facing it. In other words, I will explicitly not read people's narratives using the Modern concepts of land such as property, commodity, territory, and nature treated as discrete alienable (or inalienable) things. For instance, returning to Kalebai's words:

> "Now, this house of mine is old. [Kalebai banged on the solid wall of her existing house]. Can anybody remove me from here? [She asked me a rhetorical question and directed the rest of her speech to the Government of India]" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18).

I can read Kalebai claiming her individual right to her land as alienable property when she said "This house of mine is old. Can anybody remove me from here?" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18). However, in doing so, I will inadvertently be using Modern concepts of an individual sovereign, Kalebai, normatively claiming for herself a right to property as an act of possessive individualism – ideas foundational to the Modern *theory* of liberal democracy (Macpherson, 1978; Singer, 2014; Pellissery and Jacobs, 2017). However, instead of making a normative claim to her right, Kalebai explicitly articulated her relations to land with an instrumentalist tone – making it a *nīti*-inspired political justification. Kalebai eventually said, "[w]e have [people] from the old generation, who are there to take decisions" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18). In Chatterjee's (2011) schematic, it is this political demand of the governed as a response to a

governmental practice of rehabilitating Kalebai from the slum that places Kalebai's comment on the plane of governmentality without the normative significations of citizenship or fundamental human rights.

In short, Kalebai is not demanding her *right* to land – but is instrumentally using her materially and discursively felt relations to land, to open a dialogue about who would take decisions regarding land and the vasti. Moreover, she is also hinting that the vasti-residents have policies of their own – i.e. the capacity to intentionally act and decide. It is to such land subjectivities articulated in an instrumental tone and not tethered to Modern (with capital M) and normatively defined subjectivities, that I call postcolonial land subjectivities. As I have suggested, these postcolonial land subjectivities are sometimes only felt. It is my task, as a researcher from a British institution, to bring these felt land subjectivities into re-presentation using 'reasonable' language to foster further democratic dialogue. With strategic clarifications and an imposed necessity of creating a reasonable discourse, this thesis is made complicit to Modernity (with capital M).

Likewise, I call those land subjectivities as postcolonial land subjectivities that retain within them a tension between the Modern and the traditional (Raghuramaraju, 2011; Banerjee, 2013). For instance, Ramu kaka, a resident of Kelewadi, told me about his decision to consent for the SRP as follows:

> "Our [life] has become good [prosperous] on this place [land]. […] It is our *Laxmi* [a Hindu goddess of wealth] here. We have become gold [prosperous] here. Why leave this place? [We/I] feel this. Now, this is god's place [land] […] of the Peer baba, of Pathan Baba [a Muslim saint]. Truly, it is god's place [land], even if the landowner was doing [constructing on] it. Pathan baba is a god's temple […] So the place [land] is good. [This land is] Pathan baba's; it is landowner's, or else it will be somebody else's, what is it to us?" (K_VR_2, 08/03/18).

Visibly, Ramu kaka appears as straddling between the so-called pre-Modern (with capital M) and the rational-calculative sovereign decisions (the trademark of

Modernity with capital M) he must make in the here and the now (as in, modern with small m). It is to these subjectivities, which retain within them the tension between the Modern and the traditional, that I call postcolonial land subjectivities. Modernity may call Ramu kaka's comment and feelings as unclear and irrational. Yet, I deliberately seek to read registers through which Ramu kaka or Kalebai articulate their postcolonial land subjectivities to make modern (with small m) ways of thinking about land visible. Ramu kaka is visibly at "the colonial/postcolonial condition — […] claim[ing] both tradition and modernity in the same breath" (Banerjee, 2013, p. 32).

The registers of these postcolonial land subjectivities are derived from my ethnographic work and analytical procedures I explain in Chapter 5. Given the contextuality and fluidity of subjectivities, there is no analytical structure that binds these variegated registers through which land subjectivities are further coded in Chapter 8. However, I draw from theories of subjectivity from Euro-North American literature on the concept, namely from Ortner (2005), Meneley (1999), and Rogozinski (2001), that are not tethered to Modernity (with capital M). Here, the purpose remains to decentre Modernity from the conceptual rubric of participatory land policy (PLP) and uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

Some of these postcolonial land subjectivities are already being discussed and debated in the postcolonial democracy without my or development and planning policy scholars' presence. However, despite the constantly negotiated land subjectivities and policies, some land relations are not expressly visible in either the institutional or the popular domains of postcolonial democracy. To uncover these unrecognisable and invisible land subjectivities, I invoke the term 'subaltern'. Moreover, I seek to uncover subaltern land subjectivities from the variegated and fragmented narratives that reflect postcolonial land subjectivities. Methodologically, while the term postcolonial helps look beyond concepts tethered to Modernity (with capital M), the term subaltern helps look beyond all contextually available modern vocabularies (including the institutional and the popular) to help articulate those subjectivities that remain silent and unrecognisable in the visibly cacophonous politics in the postcolonial democratic arena. I elaborate on this in the next section.

### 4.3.2 Subaltern land subjectivities and policies

| | |
|---|---|
| ती आदिवासी म्हातारी | That old tribal woman |
| प्राणांतिक भयाने धडपडत | Stumbling with life-threatening fear |
| डोंगराच्या कडेला गेली | Went to the mountain cliff |
| आणि चिकटून उभी राहिली | And stood there stuck |
| पाळीसारखी, खडकाला. | To the stone, like a lizard. |
| उघडीवाघडी | bare-naked |
| हजार सुरकुत्यांच्या कातडीत कोंबलेली | stuffed in the skin of thousand wrinkles |
| हाडांची जीर्णाकृती. | a decaying skeletal figure. |
| मी क्षणभर आदिवासी झालो | I became tribal for a second |
| आणि तिच्याकडे पहिले, | And looked at her, |
| अहो आश्चर्य - | O Wonder – |
| तिच्या एका थानाच्या गाठोळीवरून | From one of her breast sacks |
| लोंबत होतं आपलं पार्लमेंट | Hung our (inclusive) parliament |
| आणि दुसऱ्या गाठोळीवरून लोंबत होतं | And from the other sack hung |
| आमचं साहित्यसंमेलन | Our (exclusive) literary Convention |
| - कुसुमाग्रज (2012, p. 42) | - Kusumāgraja (2012, p. 42, Author's translation) |

I begin elaborating the concept of subaltern land subjectivities and policies with Padma Bhushan Kusumāgraja's poem, because it shows that some voices remain silent even in the putatively inclusive politics among the governors, the governed or the knowledge-producers writing about the politics – like me. In fact, the poem shows the long-standing debates regarding the subaltern, limits of representability in the performatively practiced *theory* of Modern liberal democratic state[18] in India. This Modern liberal democracy is performatively practiced in India through elections, judiciary systems, the bureaucracy, and justified through popular sovereignty (Chakrabarty, 2002; Chatterjee, 2011, 2019a; Ho, 2019). I read the old tribal woman in Kusumāgraja's poem as a figure of the subaltern who appears vulnerable and silent to Kusumāgraja. In the last part of the poem, Kusumāgraja demonstrates the limits

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[18] The tribal woman in the poem is seen to be silent, while the parliament and the literary convention continues to produce various discourses about and despite her. Furthermore, Kusumāgraja's poem (first published in 1984) is analytically very close to Gramsci's understanding of the state and the subaltern as written in his Prison Notebooks.

of representation where M/modern liberal democratic institutions and literary conventions appear to symbolise the places where decisions concerning the old tribal woman are made. The poem thus exemplifies the problem of the "permission to narrate" (Said, 1984), where putatively 'liberal' democratic state institutions and literary conventions speak on behalf of the old tribal woman, denying her the possibility of speaking.

Modern liberal theory of representative democracy is founded on the assumption that an elected leader can represent a group of people and take decisions on their behalf (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009). I re-emphasise that the contention is against the foundational and totalising (not totalitarian) elements of the liberal democratic *theory* and not the geopolitically named 'liberal democracies of the West'. Rather, this thesis is geared towards learning from the particularity of political praxis in slum rehabilitations in Pune to read the social making of PLP in the face of Modernity vividly performed, and being reified (in the present continuous), through the SRP.

Rehearsing the all-too-well-known fact that Modernity and the Modern state is performed*,* but not completely reified, in India allows acknowledgment of the "banality of [state] power" (Mbembe, 1992, p. 1) experienced on the plane of governmentality. By the term 'banality of power', Mbembe (1992, p. 1) takes the analysis beyond the multiplied and plural forms of bureaucratic (in)formalities and the routines, to demonstrate the predictability of power "precisely because it is made up of repeated daily action and gestures". Similarly, Deshpande and John (2010) and Ghertner (2010) demonstrate the persistent governmentalizing effects of the census and enumerations on populations in India.

Likewise, some of the participants of this research had to put their lives in danger and live under the constant threat of eviction, because either their names did not appear on the election lists or the governors, such as corporators and politicians, did not help them. By concerning myself with the question of 'who shall bear the cost of their lived experiences?', I try not to dismiss the "banality of [state] power" (Mbembe, 1992, p. 1). It is the putatively secular and apolitical practise of writing people, photographing them, documenting them, that I consider to be exercising the Modern/colonial state

governmentality (with capital M) on the people. Moreover, acknowledging that the Modern state (with capital M) ideas are performed in India's empirically porous modern state (with small m) helps to situate the subaltern as outside both Modern and modern ways in which political action visibly takes place in India. I briefly explain the trajectory of the concept of the subaltern below for conceptual clarity.

The concept of the subaltern comes from Gramsci's prison notebooks. Gramsci (1971, p. 202, emphasis added), critical of structural Marxism, conceptualised "the subaltern classes [who], *by definition*, are not united and cannot unite until they are able to become a "state"". Notice that the subaltern is, *by definition,* outside the state. Gramsci was writing against Italy's totalitarian state in the early 20th century using a definition of bourgeoisie cultural hegemony of the civil society associated with the totalitarian state. Working with this definition, Guha (1982; 1988) noticed the silenced peasant voices in the counter-insurgency historical texts about India. He further formulated a historiographical methodology of locating silences, gaps, contradictions in the very same texts that worked to silence the peasant voices – as sites from where peasant histories can be read and recuperated. That is, the same text that narrates the peasants is considered as the text that works towards silencing them. Like Kusumāgraja (2012, p. 42) noticed the democratic paradox after "becoming tribal for a second", Guha's (1982) methodology requires the interpreter to 'step in' for the subaltern to speak.

In Gramsci's (1971) and Guha's (1982) terms, the subaltern is an empirical figure that is excluded from the totalitarian and the bourgeoisie state. However, Spivak's (1988) influential essay 'Can the subaltern speak?' helped bring the concept of the subaltern from "an empirical (normative) subject/object to an analytical (conceptual) domain", "which wrenched subaltern subjectivity from its humanist moorings and positioned it, instead, within chains of signs" (Jazeel and Legg, 2019, pp. 13, 17). For the purposes of this thesis, I invoke the analytical concept of subalternity and not an empirical concept of the subaltern as the poorest or the most vulnerable or the most marginalised. One reason for invoking the analytical concept of the subaltern is to account for the 21st century phenomenon where the governed are already in dialogue

with the governors through "daily nitty-gritty of governmentality" (Chatterjee, 2011, p. 65). In this vein, Spivak (2000) indicates towards an empirically 'new subaltern', one that is already in dialogue with the centres of power. My empirical cases show that the real-estate developers physically go and talk to the vasti-residents, and the vasti-residents go and speak to the state-bureaucrats and politicians to get Government policies and programmes changed. The corporators sometimes assist in changing policies and programmes of the modern state institutions – so long as it fits their own subjectivities and policies, whatever they may be.

Consequently, using the concept of the subaltern to write about the visible and the self-aware politics of the governed is to betray the aim to recover the voices of those who remain silent and cannot speak-up against government (as in, conduct of people's conduct). Notice that I am neither treating the Indian state as totalitarian nor as bourgeoisie; but as porous informal unfixed entity (see Benjamin, 2008; Roy, 2009b; Sud, 2019) that performs coherence for the purposes of conducting people's conduct, precisely through policies such as the SRP. Likewise, using the concept of the subaltern to write about postcolonial subjectivities is also antithetical to seeking unheard voices. Postcolonial theory is already part of the hegemonic Euro-North American academic project with its attendant analytical manoeuvres that I am using in this thesis. In this context, the analytical concept of the subaltern helps to tap into the subjectivities that remain unheard and unrecognisable within the dialogue between the governors and the governed, as well as inaccessible to me as a researcher seeking to decentre Modernity (with capital M).

This analytical concept of "[s]ubalternity is where social lines of mobility, being elsewhere, do not permit the formation of a recognisable basis of action" (Spivak, 2005, p. 475). Strategically, this analytical concept of the subaltern serves to theorise the "vanishing points at the limits of itineraries of recognition" (Roy, 2011, p. 235). Here, all recognisable lines of social mobility together form a field of power named government, including the politics of the governed. This government (as in, conduct of people's conduct) has its own politics, it works with porous bureaucracy (Benjamin, 2008), and informality (Roy, 2009b; Jatkar, 2018), it is permeable if the governed find

a privileged access to the governors, and if the governors are influential enough to get the state-policies and laws changed. Sami's (2013) ethnographic exploration of urban politics in Pune demonstrates that the farmers in Pune coalesced with the politicians to get state's planning instruments changed. Here, the united farmers, with special access to high-level politicians, have become 'a state' in Gramsci's terms, or found access to the field of power called government in the language of this thesis. All farmers and slum-dwellers in Pune do not have this kind of privileged access to the field of power called government. Some subjectivities always remain outside the visible politics of the governors and of the governed.

Consequently, the analytical concept of the 'subaltern' mobilised in this sensory field must seek-out vocabulary that is unknown to both the governors and the governed. Yet, the new vocabulary must try to reach out to those voices that remain silent and conceptually unrecognisable. Therefore, I am mobilising the analytical concept of 'subaltern subjectivity' because it helps name those subjectivities which do not yet have a name and thus remain silent in postcolonial democratic politics.

For instance, Kalebai worked for the local corporator during my fieldwork. Therefore, she had a slightly more privileged access to the governors than other vasti-residents who were not politically active like Kalebai. Here, Kalebai cannot be *essentially* and totally be called 'subaltern' because of her privileged access to the governors. However, when it comes to taking decisions about the vasti, her voice is mediated and dominated by the male-dominated politics within the vasti. Therefore, her gendered voice is subalternised (silenced/ made unrecognisable) within vasti-politics, even though she occupies the position of the governor when she actively and consciously participates in governing other vasti-residents' conduct via the corporator's office.

Note that in situations where Kalebai's gender-identity does not impede her from participating in taking decisions, her gender-position will cease to be 'subaltern'. In Spivak's (2005, p. 477) terms, "[n]o one can say 'I am a subaltern' in whatever language. […] subalternity is a position without identity". Thus, Kalebai cannot call herself subaltern by strategically essentialising herself as a woman, just as I cannot

claim subalternity in the name of being an Indian or a postcolonial. Self-consciously and recognisably elaborated subject-positions are not subaltern, including the postcolonial subjectivities I seek to uncover in this thesis by decentring Modernity. It is thus that I differentiate postcolonial land subjectivities from subaltern land subjectivities.

I retain that the analytical concept of the subaltern denotes an abstract position from where agency cannot be exercised to bring about visible political change and thus cannot be directly and empirically located. In this regard, the subaltern can be located even in the Parliament of India, if the scholar is interested in paying heed to that which remains unheard and unrecognisable in the loud politics. To recuperate such unrecognisable positions, I suggest methodologically focusing on people's narratives about the communication taking place between government and the governed at various encounters. I treat people's narrations themselves as a production of a text that works to silence certain voices. Embedded within these narratives about participatory encounters (institutionalised or otherwise) are latent meanings of land. Here, encounters between government and the governed provide a methodologically and empirically useful entry point, which I elaborate in the next section.

## 4.4 Participatory encounters

In a theoretically and empirically postcolonial democracy, how exactly can one locate the effects of the nitty-gritties of governmentality and the attendant *nīti*-inspired politics on people's conduct regarding land? Moreover, how exactly can one analytically locate the postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities? To locate land subjectivities and policies, I invoke the concept of encounters as a site of participation, in a way that is not tethered to a Modern idea of participation.

I argued through Chapter 3 that a Modern concept of participation is intractably imbued with a normative tone, either as a reading of the world that is always already existing (the 'ought' treated as an already existing 'is') or as a deliberative normative project (only the 'ought'). Social contract theorists suggested that politics begins *after* curtailing the originary infinite freedom (Locke) or violence (Hobbes) with which people are essentially assumed to be born (Davy, 2012). Consequently, an instituting of 'the Modern (civilised) state' (with capital M), including the putatively apolitical bureaucratic ordered societal structure, is either considered violent (Marso, 2017) or emancipatory (Chattopadhyay, 2012) depending on one's politics.

To this end, everyday state theorists (e.g. Hansen and Stepputat, 2001; Das and Poole, 2004) have ethnographically demonstrated the phantasmal and imagined character of this 'Modern state' (with capital M) by focusing on encounters in the everyday state practices. Theoretically, Mitchell (2006) argues that the state (M/modern) is an effect made real through practices and everyday encounters. Elsewhere, using the concept of urban informality (AlSayyad, 2004; Roy, 2009b; Marx and Kelling, 2018), I focused on practices that informalize the putatively formal state in Maharashtra (Jatkar, 2018). Yet, this thesis is geared towards people's subjectivities, not towards an ethnography of an 'object' called 'the state'. Contrariwise, I focus on how the governed encounter government on the plane of governmentality. In this thesis, I use the concept of encounters which provides a useful avenue to get past the normative assumptions of liberal theory and other social contracts, and to get past calling India's democratic arena a deviant-informality. That

is, I do not treat any encounter as a better or a worse form of participation in a theoretically postcolonial form of democratic arena made up of the plane of governmentality and decentred Modernity. In this theoretically *postcolonial* form of democratic arena, I use the following definition of encounters as a non-normative form of participation:

> "[S]ometimes dramatic and sometimes mundane encounters […] illuminate a complex field of affects [and relationally constituted subjectivities] that could be configured differently to encourage and create new material [and discursive] conditions" (Marso, 2017, p. 24).

Here, freedom to affect land subjectivities and policies arise from "ambiguity, contingency, situation, and nonsovereignty" (Marso, 2017, p. 2) that characterise encounters. That is, government cannot be said to be inherently violent and the governed cannot be considered as inherently subjugated. Instead, Marso (2017, p. 4) suggests that by focusing on encounters, "we [researchers?] notice that individual subjectivity and individual or group agency do not exist prior to but rather emerge from encounters".

To imagine such encounters, I reinvoke a scene from the movie *Gully Boy*, where 'foreign tourists with cameras' are undertaking a 'slum tour' and enter Murad's house. Murad is a young college-going male being raised in a Muslim family living in Dharavi sector 17. When Murad sees the tourists, he notices Nas, a U.S. rap artist, on one of the tourist's t-shirts. When the tourist begins to explain to Murad who Nas is, Murad recites a rap song by that artist he knows by heart. The scene ends with the tourist taking Murad's photograph on his bed while Murad covers his face with his hand. The scene brusquely shifts to Murad's life as usual when the tourists leave his house.

The insignificance of Murad's single encounter with the tourists only becomes noteworthy when the movie shows Murad being subjected to various bodily encounters with the rich and the foreign. He not only continues to notice the difference between his life and those of others, but he is also repeatedly subjected to trivialising and denigrating experiences at his encounters with the rich and the foreign. Because

the movie shows Murad as subjected to the difference between the rich (other) and the poor (himself), he is governed by the materially and discursively constructed difference between the rich and the poor. However, it is at the encounter that a possibility of Murad's freedom from the governing difference between the rich and the poor become apparent to Murad and the audience.

Here, government of Murad's conduct is not guided by any institutionally written policy-document. However, in all of Murad's encounters with the rich and the foreign, a policy of government (*rājnīti*) and a policy of the governed (*loknīti*) is analytically readable because of the abstract character of the concepts of *rājnīti and loknīti.* For instance, Murad's father asks him to take up the job of a private driver. When his employer asks him to chauffeur them to a night club, he is asked to park the employer's car in the parking area and wait for the employer's daughter to return from the night club. Here, the rich have their un-written policy of not allowing drivers to enter the club, a policy that governs Murad's conduct. Here, Murad's policy (*nīti*) to graduate as an engineer and become a rapper is deferred, and therefore governed, because he spends the nights waiting for his employers.

However, this same encounter with the rich incites Murad to write a rap-song while waiting in the parking lot. Here, Murad's agency to change his life and express his rage against the visible inequalities arise through encounters. Here, Murad's awareness of the social, material, and discursive relations as subjugating and the possibility of his freedom from them arises out of encounters, and *rājnīti* and *loknīti* becomes readable to Murad and the audience.

Therefore, encounters provide a window onto discerning who occupies the positions of the governors and the governed in the theoretically and empirically postcolonial democracy. Likewise, encounters also provide an insight into how subjectivities and policies (as in, *nīti*) of government and the governed get shaped. Having decentred institutional/popular or formal/informal binaries foundational to Modernity, I ethnographically explore the encounters through three registers of the bodily, material, and textual as evidently visible in India's postcolonial democratic arena.

### 4.4.1 Bodily encounters

"If as bodied social creatures we walk always within the contours of a culture, shaped by its codes and disciplines, how do we realise in the flesh any gesture of resistance? One current and productive answer to this question is "performance"" (Doyle, 2001, p. xi).

India's postcolonial democratic arena is replete with bodily encounters between various subject-agents. Working on the plane of governmentality, Heath (2018) shows how torturing criminals was an important manner in which colonial powers governed Indians. On the contrary, while speaking about 'subaltern' agency in India, Spivak (1988) suggested that Bhubaneshwari Bhaduri made her body into a text to speak against governmentality. In a similar vein, I seek to demonstrate through this research that bodily encounters have effects on people's land subjectivities and policies and thereby assist in socially making a PLP. Moreover, by focusing on people's narratives of the bodily encounters, I also suggest that postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities can be made visible. In short, the focus of this research is on how bodies shape and communicate land subjectivities and policies of government and the governed and eventually assist in socially making a PLP.

### 4.4.2 Material encounters

"If matter is a remainder outside and barred from the cultural [or subject?], how can we know anything about it? […] Why should it acquiesce to being sculpted by social and cultural imperatives?" (Graham, 2014, p. 20).

Matter is an important instrument through which political action takes place in India as made evident through the literature on politics and governmentality in India. For instance, Hansen (2001) demonstrates that destroying state-owned property is an important part of political action in Maharashtra. Likewise, Hodges (2018) demonstrates how the materiality of plastic plays an important role in the government, i.e. conduct of conduct, of the caste-society in India. Moreover, Hodges (2018, p. 191) suggests that "plastic is both a material that governs as well as a material that

is governed through". Therefore, matter also conditions the possibility of political action, and shapes land subjectivities and policies. To explore the work matter performs in socially making PLP, I suggest methodologically focusing on material encounters, such as show-flats, religious structures, and apartment buildings.

### 4.4.3  Textual encounters

> "Meaning […] forces interpreters [and humans?] to connect the text with other texts and […] invites them to read signs by using inferential systems oriented toward the cultures in which the texts originate […] The meaning that matters for people does not lie at the surface of things […] Cultures are always deceptive and mendacious "texts"" (Bibeau and Corin, 1995, pp. 7, 48).

Like bodies and matter, texts form an important part of the politics of slum rehabilitations in India's postcolonial democratic arena. After all, M/modern state (with capital M) is performed as much through writing as through ordering and controlling of populations (Das and Poole, 2004). Textualizing information about populations, including mapping people, writing about them, and categorising them, are practices that originate through Modernity (with capital M) and are still performatively practiced in India.

Furthermore, texts are often politicised, exemplified by debates surrounding whose written histories or truth-claims are more valid and whose are not. For instance, Deshpande and John (2010) demonstrate how a putatively mundane M/modern state practice of not counting caste exercised power on caste-identities and triggered numerous political debates in India in 2011. Likewise, Ghertner's (2010) study on slum enumeration in Delhi demonstrates the persistent use of calculating slums in governmentalizing slums, despite its triteness. This politicisation of textualization of the governed can take place when the governed encounters the text it later politicises. Therefore, I explore the role of textual encounters in shaping land subjectivities and policies of the people involved in slum rehabilitations and thereby socially making PLP.

## 4.5  Conclusion

In this chapter, I elaborated on a postcolonial sensory field to demonstrate the social making of PLP during slum rehabilitation projects in Pune in such a manner that makes postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities visible. Crucial to the sensory field are the separate – yet relationally co-constituted – domains of policies of government (*rājnīti*) and policies of the governed (*loknīti*). To further visualise the relational interface between the domains of government and the governed, I suggested focusing on bodily, material, and textual encounters as a site where participation between government and the governed takes place and land subjectivities and policies are shaped.

Some of these land subjectivities are distinctively *postcolonial* because they are derived from an analytical manoeuvre of explicitly looking beyond subjectivities tethered to political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment (or Modernity with capital M). They are postcolonial also because they are ambivalent and straddle between M/modernity and tradition. Furthermore, since some land subjectivities remain silent in the everyday politics of slum rehabilitation, I mobilised the concept of subaltern land subjectivities. Uncovering the postcolonial and the subaltern land subjectivities is meant to foster further democratic dialogue between government and the governed, so that alternative modernities can be recognised for what they are without being considered deviant from the Modern (with capital M) ways of organising democracy and conceptualising land. To reiterate, capitalising does not mean giving a superior status to political modernity rooted in European Enlightenment, but denotes its singularity, its own self-referential normatively superior status, and hegemony, as experienced through the SRP implementation despite its incompleteness.

Theoretically, then, participation does not need to be an institutionalised practice in 'the state', policy does not have to be the privileged domain of governmental rationality of 'the state', and land does not have to be a *thing* alienable or forever inalienable from the people. If Modernity is decentred, then, how else to visualise a

PLP in a manner that helps uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities? This chapter laid a path to visualising an alternative form of a socially made PLP by proposing the following postcolonial sensory field:
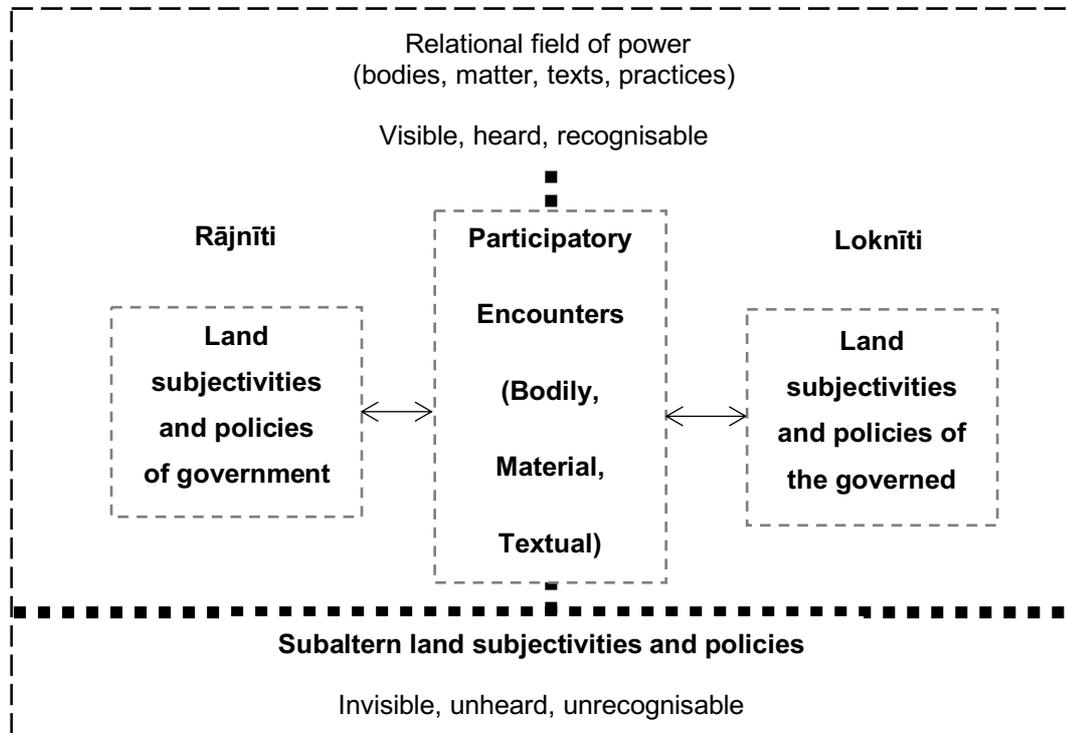
Figure 8: A postcolonial sensory field of a socially made participatory land policy

I reiterate that the proposed sensory field is postcolonial because it relied on the postcolonial theoretical manoeuvres to decentre Modernity (with capital M) by catachrestically re-coding the conceptual rubric of PLP. In other words, I used the same vocabulary to recreate another way of looking at PLP – thereby decentring the Modern liberal democratic imagination of PLP already performed and practiced in India, through policies such as the SRP. With this proposed postcolonial sensory field, the rest of this document presents my ethnographic work that empirically demonstrates the social making of PLP through slum rehabilitations in such a way that makes postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities visible. In doing so, the rest of this document tests the usefulness of visualising the socially made PLP through the proposed postcolonial sensory field.

# 5  FIELDING THE RESEARCH

While the previous chapter expounded on my postcolonial sensory field, this chapter elaborates on the process by which the sensory field is put to test. Given the procedural character of testing the sensory field, I refer to this methodology as 'fielding the research'. In line with the outlined sensory field, this chapter first illustrates the research strategy, positionality, methodology (section 5.1), and data generation methods (section 5.2). Successively, I elaborate on the analytical process (section 5.3) used to analyse the generated data. Given the politically animated context of Indian postcolonial democracy, I further explain the ethical considerations (section 5.4) that steered this research.

## 5.1  Research strategy

I position this research within an abductive research strategy. The aim of the abductive research strategy is "to describe and understand social life in terms of social actor's motives and understanding […] [to] develop a theory and elaborate it iteratively" (Blaikie, 2007, p. 68). The postcolonial sensory field elaborated in the previous chapter was a result of the abductive reiterative process of analysing ethnographic data and linking it back to theory. This research strategy is based on the ontological assumptions of subtle realism and epistemological considerations of constructivism. The ontological assumptions of subtle realism emerged to overcome some of the shortcomings of idealism and positivism (Blaikie, 2007, p. 17). Hammersley (1992, p. 52) argues that subtle realism maintains the existence of the independent reality while asserting that it cannot be constructed without assumptions and purposes conditioned by cultures and positionality. Therefore, subtle realism leads to the epistemological assumptions of constructivism.

Constructivism supposes that, epistemologically, it is impossible to reach reality unencumbered by the conceptual lexicon with which 'we' (as theorists and humans) experience and articulate reality. For constructivists, both the social actors and social scientists construct their worlds (Blaikie, 2007, p. 23). Blaikie makes a clear

distinction between what he names radical constructivists and social constructivists. For Blaikie (2007), radical constructivists believe that reality is in the individual's mind (idealism), while social constructivists believe that reality is socially, i.e. (inter)subjectively, constructed. While people's constructions of the reality are considered valid, subtle realism allows the researcher to either construct their reality through observations or to verify people's constructions of reality. In line with the hermeneutical tradition then, the task of the researcher is to 'interpret' the world of social actors through their own constructions. Before proceeding to the interpretive strategies employed through this thesis, I briefly sketch my positionality relevant for fielding the research.

### 5.1.1  Positioning my subjectivities

While I have already positioned this research within the sub-disciplinary fields of 'development and planning policy studies' and 'postcolonial theory and subaltern studies', this section elaborates on positioning of my subjectivities while fielding the research. To elucidate further on my apprehension of my positionality, I first begin with an anecdote I remember having heard in my childhood – which I recently learnt to have come from the Purānas. The anecdote is of the polar star – Dhrūvatārā.

Dhrūva was one of king Uttānapāda's sons. While playing one day, Dhrūva was sitting on his father's lap. His 'evil' step-mother comes in the room, and seeing her step-son on his father's lap becomes envious and forcefully removes Dhrūva from his father's lap. Dhrūva, humiliated by the incident, prays to Vishnu (a Hindu god), and asks Vishnu for a place from where no one can ever remove him. After years of worshipping, Dhrūva eventually gets a place among the stars which would never move, the polar star. I remember having heard the moral of Dhrūva's story that to achieve moksha (liberation) from the politics of worldly life, one requires devotion and dharmic life. Clearly, as I was educated in the Modern sciences (with capital M), I demoted Dhrūva's story to an anecdote without empirical validity, since it denoted a mythical impossibility of becoming a polar star. Indeed, I think the feminist and

postmodern insistence on the impossibility of a view from above or a view from nowhere was at work in that childhood story.

Incidentally, although reflexivity and positionality have been much debated in the Euro-North American social sciences at least since the 1930s (Salzman, 2002), navigating positionality in the real-world postmodern contexts "can be simultaneously exhilarating and overwhelming" (Bettez, 2015, p. 932). As far as the rationale for reflecting on my positionality is concerned, Scholte (1972, p. 431) writes:

> "Anthropological activity is never only scientific. […] As anthropologists, we cannot simply take this *Lebenwelt* [life-world] and its attendant scientific traditions for granted. We must subject them to further reflexive understanding, hermeneutic mediation, and philosophical critique".

Reflexivity, as Salzman (2002, p. 807) suggests "distinguishes postmoderns from those more modernist, objectivist, empiricist, realist, and positivist inclination, who are less likely to present themselves at stage front or to believe that their personal characteristics determine their findings". Although I remain inclined towards self-reflexivity, I cannot say if I possess the necessary sovereign skills to make my subjectivities fully and transparently apparent to myself at my own volition. Here, I share my failures with feminist scholars Gibson-Graham (1994) and Rose (1997). I have come to realise, if this realisation were to be tentatively fixed, that my subjectivities become apparent to me in the face of radical alterity and moments of disorientation and constantly shift themselves to my own surprise. In this respect, I am at least sure that I have failed to undertake the sovereign task of forcing my subjectivities in one place throughout this research, let alone my entire life. They are tentatively fixed in this text, much like the tentative fixing of the subject-positions of the research participants.

From another register then, this very indeterminacy and fluidity of my subjectivity refers to postcolonial-postmodern subject-positions. On the one hand, having been brought up in a post-colonial context of India conditions my postcolonial sensibilities as I articulated so far in this thesis. On the other hand, having lived in multiple

countries, the crisis of postmodern identity does not appear to me as an exaggeration. Nonetheless, I do not consider these crises as a failure but imbued with immense possibilities towards the planetarity to which Spivak (2003)/ Dnyāneshwar (1290) refers. In line with Śankara's (no date; VCM) Advaita, Dnyāneshwar proclaimed:

हे विश्वचि माझे घर । ऐसी मती जयाची स्थिर

किंबहुना चराचर । आपणची जाहला ।।

– (ज्ञानेश्वर, 1290, v. 12: 213)

This universe [is] my home | whose [such] thought [is] stable

Almost universe | Oneself becomes ||

- (Dnyāneshwar, 1290, v. 12: 213, Author's translation)

The above precept shows that Dnyāneshwar would have claimed fluid subjectivities in need of contextual steadying. In other words, I read Dnyāneshwar's aphorism as saying – 'to become one with the world, one needs to stabilise the thought on the idea that this universe is my home'. Part of the stability on the idea that the universe is my home requires that I see other planetary beings as my cohabitants. And therein lies the crux of the challenge of 21st century calls for planetary solidarities, either among specific groups such as transnational feminist (Mohanty, 2003) or among "all other human beings" (Rorty, 1989, p. 190). In my view, solidarity with all planetary beings as my cohabitants is a moral debt with which I gladly proceed learning from Dnyāneshwar. However, my anxiety with achieving solidarity with "all human beings" arises from a methodological challenge of identifying with the suffering of "all other human [or planetary] beings" (Rorty, 1989, p. 190). In other words, to identify with the suffering of other human beings, I proceed to construct infrastructural bridges that would assist me to comprehend the Other.

With the postmodern claim of fluid subjectivities then, achieving planetary solidarities with "all human beings" (Rorty, 1989, p. 190) not only becomes an impossibility (although still morally desirable) but also a methodological challenge towards which this thesis aims to contribute. Learning from Spivak (2005, p. 482), I claimed my task as a researcher to "learn to learn from the [others] […] to build [conceptual] infrastructure" for meaningful communication. Therefore, I proceeded by the methodological quandary to field the research without pre-emptively fixing my political

subjectivities, except for the desire to build solidarities, however short-lived, "without identitarian exploitation" (Spivak, 2005, p. 482).

Consequently, this thesis does not produce 'their' theory, nor does it aim to re-present 'them', although it is indeed a re-presentation of the politics that socially makes PLP in Pune. In this sense, this thesis is my/participants' reading of the phenomenon of socially made PLP, which the research participants taught me. That is, I read the social making of PLP mediated through my and my participants' subjectivities as appearing to me through the subject-positions that I and they were asked to occupy contextually. Through such transitory, fluid, and contextually determined subjectivities, I fielded this research.

As a preparation for the fielding, however, I learnt from the literature on the methodological considerations for ethnographic and anthropological research. The literature on research methodologies has frequently pointed at issues of identity (Finch, 1984), power (Hammersley, 1995), access (Emmel *et al.*, 2007), trust and ethics (Miller and Bell, 2012), re-presentation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000), and research fatigue (Clark, 2008). In the following sections, I will elaborate on some of these considerations that guided this research.

### 5.1.2 Nonlocal ethnography of land

The purpose of this research is to explore the social making of PLP through slum rehabilitations, such that it helps uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. Accordingly, I conceptualised PLP as an open political field of encounters between government and the governed that shapes land subjectivities and policies of those involved – and, in turn, society's intentional conduct regarding land. Furthermore, I demonstrate the postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities being shaped in the making of PLP. Given the openness of the field of socially made PLP, I undertook a nonlocal ethnography of land in Pune. Consequently, I elaborate the rationales and consequences of this below.

Ethnography as a methodology has a long history in social sciences, with origins in colonial social anthropology of the 19th and the early 20th century (Creswell, 2012, pp. 462–463). Conventionally, the main aim of ethnographers has been to provide an ""objective" account of what they saw and heard" (Creswell, 2012, p. 462) about "primitive humanity [sic] in its natural state" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, p. 6). However, Gupta and Ferguson (1997, p. 1) have further argued that "[i]ntellectually, ethnography has long ceased to be conceived of as "mere description", raw material for a natural science of human behaviour". After substantial feminist and postmodern critiques of perfect knowability and objectivity on the part of the researcher, the contemporary ethnographic research practices work towards situated knowledges, including an emphasis on self-reflexivity, positionality, and theory (Gibson-Graham, 1994; Rose, 1997; Spivak, 1999; Robertson, 2002; Kapoor, 2004; Creswell, 2009; Massey, 2011; May, 2011; Maxwell and Reybold, 2015).

In a more recent postcolonial turn in ethnography, the debates on hyper-self-reflexivity (Kapoor, 2004) are taken forward in multiple different directions. For instance, postcolonial ethnography demands writing thick descriptions in a way that makes visible how "the strategic clarifications and separations [conceal] the complex and intangible history hidden in full view" (Carter, 2018, p. 352). It is this concealment of facts and feelings that remains engrained in the ethnographic practice despite the infinitely reflexive exercises. A postcolonial ethnographic recuperative strategy

suggests foregrounding the unsaid and the peripheral in the very practice of writing ethnography. Another postcolonial strategy includes providing auto-ethnographic accounts by the formerly colonised – a strategy still contested within Euro-North American academia (Pathak, 2010). Likewise, efforts are made to bring into re-presentation the sensory by writing the auto-ethnographic experiences of the researcher during the fieldwork (Pink, 2009; Coleman, 2017).

Despite the emphasis on the self-reflexive researcher, calls to decolonise ethnographic practices persist in the contemporary Euro-North American academia (Adams, 2014; Datta, 2018; Manning, 2018; Alonso Bejarano *et al.*, 2019). As Alonso Bejarano et al. (2019, p. 19, original emphasis) suggest, "[f]rom a decolonial perspective, [decolonising ethnographic practice is needed] […] not merely because of anthropology's emergence within the era of *colonialism* but because of its inherent *coloniality*". The postcolonial and decolonial critique calls to persistently 'learn to unlearn' Eurocentrism by decentring the focus on the ethnographer as the main producer of knowledge and granting 'native-informants' the status of "the producers of knowledge and theorists of their own experience" (Alonso Bejarano *et al.*, 2019, p. 136).

Likewise, González (2003) proposes four ethics as a recuperative strategy in postcolonial ethnography, namely (i) accountability, (ii) context, (iii) truthfulness, and (iv) community. Together these four ethics in postcolonial ethnography imply that we-as-researchers "open one's self to see, hear, feel, taste and smell everything about another's experience" (González, 2003, p. 85). In effect, what is required is "exposing and dismantling ethnography's deep coloniality" (Alonso Bejarano *et al.*, 2019, p. 20). Consequently, I proceed to undertake postcolonial ethnographic work in this research by learning to learn from the participants of this research and exposing the strategic clarifications and theoretical manoeuvres that help me and the participants theorise their politics (Spivak, 1988, 2005; González, 2003; Adams, 2014; Carter, 2018; Datta, 2018; Alonso Bejarano *et al.*, 2019).

In parallel, while ethnography meant, for the most of its 19th and 20th century legacy, immersing oneself in 'native' societies and thus bound to a place (see, e.g. Desmond,

2014), various authors have argued for multi-sited, nonlocal ethnographies geared for the globalising world (e.g. Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Marcus, 1998; Feldman, 2011). In a similar vein, Feldman (2011) articulates a methodology of nonlocal ethnography geared towards policy-worlds in a neoliberal globalised world. Nonlocal ethnography, overlapping with multi-sited ethnography (e.g. Marcus, 1998) is an attempt to reconcile, not evade, the tensions between the local (micro) and the global (macro) levels of analysis. If the socially made PLP is imagined as an open field of power tied together through "anonymous constellation of control" (Feldman, 2011, p. 39), then the task of ethnography is to foreground and analyse the modalities through which that constellation of control operates and affects subjectivities.

Given my articulation of PLP as an open field of political action, policy unfolds at various locations with varying degrees of accessibility to actors, including the researcher. In such an open field of political action, Gusterson (1997, p. 116) argues for "polymorphous engagement […] with informants across number of dispersed sites […]; and collecting data eclectically from a disparate array of sources in many different ways". In a similar vein, Gupta and Ferguson (1997, p. 37) argue for considering the bounded anthropological field as "one element of multistranded methodology".

Critiques of ethnography as participant-observation have cogently argued about ethnography's limits in re-presentation and legitimacy (e.g. Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Hammersley, 1992). In contrast, however, Feldman (2011) argues for retaining the epistemological advantages of participant-observations, namely displacement and contingency, tailored for location-specific fieldwork without overly being tied to place as such. Nonetheless, the task of studying a field, without being tied to a place as such, necessitates delineating a field of discourses for pragmatic considerations. In line with Marcus' (1998, p. 81) suggestion of "[s]trategies of quite literally following connections, associations, and putative relationships", I followed land in the field of discourses to explore "circulations of signs, symbols and metaphors" (Marcus, 1998, p. 82). Consequently, in the following section, I elaborate on the field of this research.

### 5.1.3 The Field

The concept of the field lends itself to a long-standing debate in social sciences, particularly anthropology. Gupta and Fergusson (1997) undertake a genealogical study of a field science in anthropology. They note that the term "fieldwork" entered anthropology via the discourse of naturalistic sciences and later became a dominant disciplinary practice. The colonial legacy of fieldwork is imbricated with Modernity's legacy of the scientific assumption that the researcher (with cogito) can wholly know the native informant. Alternatively, in postcolonial contexts, Comaroff and Comaroff (2003) expose the awkwardness in the term 'postcolonial ethnography', precisely because the postcolonial critique of Modernity unsettles the perfect knowability about the native informant without exercising epistemic violence. Learning from postcolonial critique of Modernist cogito, I mobilised the concept of the field in three ways as I describe below.

As Massey (2011, p. 85) suggests, 'the field' is "a spatial concept, with material, practical effects". Consequently, all three ways in which I mobilise the concept of the 'field' are spatially imagined. Firstly, the 'field' refers to the geographical location where I carried out the 'fieldwork'. Secondly, the 'field' relates to the spatiality of the field that delineates the material and discursive contours of the socially made PLP. The latter form of spatiality is not geographical, but refers to the political topological contours. And thirdly, I propose the concept of 'fielding' the research as an agential task of playing within the field under study, in line with Gupta and Fergusson's (1997) suggestion that 'field' is a process.

The 'field' in anthropology was linked to the site where the research was carried out. Given that the field has a history of being located 'abroad', there has been a substantial debate on the implications of closeness and distance of the researcher to the site being studied. The implications of the cultural foreignness of the field amplify the intensity of this debate, especially given the much-documented effects of living in other cultures on the researcher. Massey (2011) summarises this debate as one between objectivity that is leant to the researcher through distance (cabinet), and the verisimilitude that 'being out there' (field) provides. Having been born and brought up

in Pune, holding Indian citizenship, having lived in various countries, and presenting this research to British academy in English, I cannot participate in this debate with ease.

Consequently, as Subedi (2006, p. 574) suggests, my task as a "halfie researcher" was to "be more accountable to how [I] have researched and written about the people with whom [I think I culturally] affiliate". In other words, I could not declare myself as an outsider giving accounts about a culture that I still consider my home. Yet, given the poststructuralist critique of Humanism, I also could not declare a transparent understanding of whatever may pass as my culture. Consequently, I proceeded to situate the cultural references and their meanings auto-ethnographically in this research, while verifying them through participants' narratives.

However, the field also refers to the spatiality of the postcolonial democratic arena of Pune. Political geographers have also referred to it as state topology (see, e.g. Ghertner, 2017). To this topologized contoured political field of PLP made through slum rehabilitations, I remain a foreigner, both from a perspective of academic discipline and lived experience. I have not undertaken policy ethnography as an architect, and I have not participated in the politics of making PLP through slum rehabilitations. To approach this field, I needed to follow the task of constructing the field of study as I elaborated in the previous chapter. Desmond (2014) claims that no ethnography can start without first construing the object of its analysis. In his articulation of what he calls relational ethnography, Desmond (2014, p. 547) suggests "studying fields rather than places, boundaries rather than bounded groups, processes rather than processed people, and cultural conflict rather than group culture". Given my articulation of the postcolonial sensory field as socially made PLP, Yanow (2011, p. 306) suggests:

> "we [as-policy-anthropologists] exchange the boundedness of place (and of time) for a relatively more open domain of a policy issue and the processes through which it comes onto the public agenda (or does not), is legislated (or not), implemented successfully (or not) and resurfaces later (potentially) reframed in a different guise".

I have already delineated this relatively open domain of a policy issue by framing it as a socially made PLP in the previous chapter. To reiterate, the material, discursive, and political contours of PLP comprise of bodily, material and textual encounters between government and the governed, shaping land subjectivities and policies of those involved. Participatory encounters and land subjectivities are the objects of my ethnographic analysis, socially making PLP.

I conceptualised the process of undertaking the fieldwork literally as fielding the research-work. The concept of fielding the research borrows from Massey's (2011, p. 87) suggestion to treat "fieldwork as an engagement" and the vocabulary of the game of cricket. As a fielder in this research, I imagined my tasks as both political and technical. The technicalities of fielding the research were to follow land through the field of power made of bodies, matter, texts and practices, while simultaneously delimiting the boundaries of the field itself. For instance, I presumed that there are locations where land discourses are being produced without ever encountering me as a researcher and/or the participants of this research. Those sites were not part of the ethnographic field that I fielded.

For example, I considered the legal and policy discourses that narrate land subjectivities and policies of the participants of this research as already produced discourses. They were excluded from ethnographic observations for practical purposes. It is precisely due to this limitation that nonlocal ethnography suggests using multiple discourses as themselves a site of ethnographic knowledge. Consequently, legal and policy documents affecting land subjectivities and policies of the participants were included as part of the secondary literature. I had to draw and field other boundaries around empirical cases, time of the fieldwork, methods of generating the data, and data analysis techniques. I now review them below.

### 5.1.4   Choosing the cases

I chose the two cases based on the research aims and questions. As I wrote in Chapter 1, the reason for studying the social making of PLP through slum rehabilitations was to directly confront the liberal democratic governmentality

exercised by the Indian state. That is, Modern interpretation of PLP as state-written land policy-document that seeks people's participation is already part of the Indian state-led discourses and practices. If distinctively postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities are to be recognised and recovered, then social making of PLP must be visualised in a way that recognises how people already participate in making society's land policy in their own terms.

SRA's Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) is liberal democratic given its clause to seek written consent from 70% of slum residents. Moreover, the SRP is also economically liberalised given that it allows real-estate developers to undertake slum rehabilitations (Patel, 1995; Singh and Das, 1995; Bapat, 2012). My initial discussions with the local experts working on slum rehabilitations hinted that most of the slum rehabilitations were taking place on privately owned lands. This was not surprising given that 75% of the slums in Pune were located on privately owned land. In line with Modernity (with capital M), landowners have exclusive rights to their lands, enforceable through modern state institutions. In this vein, the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) has specific clauses to compensate the landowners for giving away their exclusive ownership rights in land.

Additionally, various scholars have noted the presence of environmental discourses in Mumbai (e.g. Vedula and Bodhankar, 2017) and Pune (e.g. Mahajan, 2011), directly affecting lands on which slum rehabilitations are underway. What the environmental discourse in Pune has promoted is the protection of the ecologically sensitive areas in the city as nature-zones (i.e. land-as-nature-territory). Using colonial planning culture of land-use zoning to protect nature is also a performance of Modernity (with capital M). With the aim to analyse the making of PLP to uncover subjectivities untethered to Modernity, I chose vastis adjacent to environmentally sensitive areas in the city. Together, the following criteria guided the case selection:

1. Government has declared the land as a slum area
2. The land is adjoining an environmentally sensitive area
3. The land is privately owned
4. A real-estate developer is undertaking slum rehabilitation on the land
5. SRA is facilitating a slum rehabilitation on the land

The scoping study mainly involved two tasks, that of reviewing the existing database on slums in Pune and undertaking interviews with local experts. The first task involved referring to the list of declared slums by SRA Pune and the survey undertaken by MASHAL, named 'Slum Atlas'. Although these documents include the list of slums approved for redevelopment, the precise status of various projects had to be verified through interviews with academics and policy experts from Pune. This process also involved gauging the possibility of accessing the sites and participants.

Based on the above criteria, following case studies were selected:

| | Name of the vasti | Kelewadi | Dandekar pool vasti |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Area | 319,702 sq. m. | 9460.44 sq. m. |
| 2 | Number of households | 4833 | 204 |
| 3 | Year of establishment | 1950s | 1970s |
| 4 | 'Slum' declaration | 1984 | 1983 |
| 5 | Land owner | Private/ Muslim Trust | Private |
| 6 | Environmentally sensitive area | Hill-top Hill-slope | Rivulet/ Water stream |

Table 5: Information on the selected case studies

### 5.1.5 Accessing participants

Accessing participants was a task of mobilizing actors to participate in this research, a task that cannot escape the risk of theoretical essentialism. In reading Spivak (2005) and Lugones (2010) together, I would say that my task as a researcher was to undertake an impossible, yet obligatory, task of identification without essentialising. Such a strategy of essentialism had to be abandoned at some moment. That moment was the moment of the encounter – "as coalitional because the fractured locus is in common, […] [and precisely] where we [as researchers] need to dwell, learning about each other" (Lugones, 2010, p. 753, original emphasis). In this thesis, this fractured locus corresponds to "the colonial/postcolonial condition – [i.e.] to have to claim both tradition and modernity in the same breath" (Banerjee, 2013, p. 32).

The process of identification was guided by the literature on land policy and negotiated through snowball sampling. The literature on land policy identifies some actor identities. These include institutions such as local, state, or national level governments, regional or global international organisations, and civil society members including NGOs, private businesses, professionals, academics and concerned citizens (Kivell, 1993; Davy, 2012). In order to access individuals within these categories, I had to first identify gatekeepers (e.g. Miller and Bell, 2012). In keeping with the snowball sampling technique of accessing participants, I identified gatekeepers through the initial scoping interviews with academics and policy experts from Pune.

In Kelewadi, the project had found resistance from the community with the support from corporators. The ongoing contestation regarding the project was a hint at targeting corporators as gate-keepers. While effective, this strategy also meant navigating through the power-relations that shape political networks and coalitions in the community. As a strategy, I accessed participants through two corporators from opposing political parties. One of the elected representatives (corporator$_{K1}$) directed me to his vasti office and instructed them to support me in 'whatever' I required. The head of the office designated a person from the vasti to introduce me to residents of the community. I followed the snowball technique of selecting interviewees from thereon. The other corporator was less cooperative, yet provided me with relevant support to undertake my field-work.

In Dandekar pool vasti, the project was already underway and being overseen by the developer. One of the staff members from the developer's office introduced me to the landowner, Rafiq bhai, who lived in the transit camp with other vasti-residents. He provided me with contact details of other vasti-residents. Given that the community was small and organised because of the ongoing project, it was easier to access both women and men from the community through snowball sampling.

Within the tenets of the nonlocal ethnography of a socially made PLP, I was following the land, not people. However, for most of the fieldwork, I found myself following-up with people to persuade them to participate in the research and allow me access to

data. In my understanding, the inescapability of the 'human', while studying the making of a 'non-human' thing called land, was a warning against hasty separation between the material and the discursive. The snowball sampling was the method of selecting participants, while I decided on the number of participants based on the concept of theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2006).

Theoretical sampling is a technique often used in grounded theory and it defers from other sampling techniques used for theory testing in that the purpose of sampling is to saturate the concepts and their meanings used for building the theory and not get a representative data profile. While Guest et al. (2006) suggest that twelve interviews exhaust most codes, Creswell (2012) deems twenty to thirty interviews sufficient for grounded theory. Based on these recommendations and keeping in mind multiple data sources, I undertook the following number of interviews as per five identity categories.

| | *Identity category* | **Interview category** | *Male* | *Female* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *1* | Vasti Residents (K_VR / D_VR) | Non-elite | 16 | 16 | 32 |
| *2* | State actors (S) | Elite | 9 | 1 | 10 |
| *3* | Private actors (Pr) | Elite | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| *4* | Concerned Citizens (CC) | Elite | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| | Total | | 38 | 22 | 60 |

Table 6: Stratified data of participants of this research

The selection of participants was highly contingent on their availability and willingness to participate in this research. For instance, I tried to access the developer in Kelewadi by calling at his office and sending emails to the personal assistant for weeks. I was rereferred to speak to his daughter, who overlooks the slum rehabilitation projects in Pune. However, because she did not live in India at the time, our meeting was postponed several times. Given the pragmatic constraints, I decided to speak with anyone from the office who would be able to speak with me regarding the project.

However, I was told one day by the personal assistant that "I suggest you drop the idea of this research, no one from this office can help you regarding that". When I responded by asking if I could speak to anyone who can even briefly tell me about the project, the personal assistant said they had given the Kelewadi project away to another company, and no one from their office could help me. During my various visits to the developer's main office, I had the opportunity to speak with the employees briefly. I supplement the data gathered from these brief encounters with the official documents the company has published online.

The problem of non-response to interview requests was relevant when conducting elite interviewees, where certain decisions about slum rehabilitation projects were dependent on the person being interviewed. In regards to the issue of non-response by vasti-residents, I had to resort to keep selecting additional interviewees. However, choosing diverse interviewees did not mean that the vasti-residents were treated as fungible, i.e. replaceable and repeatable. On the contrary, I wish to acknowledge here that the individuals participating in this research condition the constructed knowledge. In keeping with the metaphor of the cricket, I could not have fielded this research without the participation of each being involved. Given the contingent character of the fieldwork, I conducted the fieldwork over seven months from December 2017 to July 2018 to allow enough time to do pilot interviews, select case studies, approach participants, and collect relevant data. In the following section, I articulate the data generation methods that guided this research.

## 5.2 Data generation methods

Within the framework of nonlocal ethnography of land, the purpose of the fieldwork was to generate data that could provide insights into participatory encounters and land subjectivities, ultimately allowing me to read latent perspectives on land. To this end, I used three data generation methods, namely: in-depth unstructured interviews, observations, photographic documentation, and collecting secondary documents which I elaborate in this section.

### 5.2.1 In-depth semi-structured interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews have widely been used in social research on "people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings" (May, 2011, p. 131). In opposition to recounting past events, in-depth interviews are also useful when researching ongoing processes of social transformation. In keeping with abductive research strategy, the primary purpose of selecting this method was to allow participants "to answer questions within their own frame of reference" (May, 2011, p. 136). While abductive research strategy advises the researcher to avoid imposing his/her subjectivity on the respondent, "a self-conscious awareness on the part of the interviewer is needed to let the interview 'flow'" (May, 2011, p. 140). In this regard, the author suggests mediating the distance between the interviewer and the interviewee to "socially situate the responses" (May, 2011, p. 140). To facilitate focused interviewing process, I prepared an interview guide attached in Annex B and C.

May (2011) articulates three main methodological concerns relating interviews, namely: accessibility, cognition, and motivation. While I designed interview questions anticipating the scope of participant's knowledge, I also verified the participants' knowledge through the interview process. I asked participants how they knew specific facts to record the source of their information. Moreover, in case the participants did not have the solicited information, I asked them to direct me to individuals who may be able to provide me with that information. This strategy also facilitated the recruitment of participants through snowball sampling.

To make the interview questions intelligible to the participants, I translated the interview guide in two local languages, namely: Marathi and Hindi. The interview guides were tested through a pilot interview to validate whether the translated interview questions were clear to the participants. As the interviews progressed, I subsequently prepared alternative ways of asking the interview questions to make them comprehensible to the participants. The choice of language between Marathi, Hindi, or English, was given to the participants. Language preferences differed between participants. While some professionals and private sector representatives preferred to speak in English or a hybrid between Marathi, Hindi, and English[19], *vasti* residents preferred Marathi or Hindi depending on their regional backgrounds. May (2011, p. 141) further suggests that "clarification" of the research questions and motivation is "not only a practical, but also an ethical and theoretical consideration".

I used the consent-taking procedure to build rapport with the participants simultaneously. I encouraged the participants to ask questions regarding the research project and responded to their queries before asking the main questions. This rapport-building process provided room for discussing both research-related and personal questions. Participants asked me research-related questions, including political affiliations, policy implications, and ethical questions regarding their participation; while they also asked me personal questions, ranging from how it was to live in London to how to pursue post-graduate studies abroad. I encouraged and answered both types of questions to ease further discussion.

To facilitate the process of reflexive analysis, I audio-recorded the interviews. Given the epistemological assumptions of social constructivism, the interview data was being generated within a context, which I recorded through field-notes. While field-notes aimed at recording the depth, feeling, and the incidental traces of the data generation process; audio-recorded and transcribed interviews aim at retaining the "nuances of [...] language and meaning" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 34). I solicited prior

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[19] Kothari and Snell (2011) have undertaken a comprehensive study of the growing phenomena of 'Hinglish' in India.

consent from the participants for audio-recording. While most *vasti* residents gave consent for audio-recording, most elite participants refused to allow audio-recording their interviews. In that case, I resorted to taking written notes of the interviews.

Following rapport-building questions, I explored three main open-ended themes. These themes included participant's interpretation of the role of land, the participatory encounters instrumental in changing land decisions, and how these participatory encounters have affected changes in their own land subjectivities and policies. To facilitate recalling the past events, I employed a strategy of sequential interviewing to probe responses in a chronological order in which they had unfolded (May, 2011, p. 146). Additionally, I used Google maps of the vastis over the last two decades and the available images of the rehabilitation process to probe participants' memories of various participatory encounters and their changing land subjectivities and policies.

### 5.2.2 Observations

To supplement the in-depth interviews, I carried out observations. Ethnography has a long tradition of participant-observation, where the researcher immerses themselves in the social scene to experience life as close to the lives of the studied participants. Creswell (2009, p. 179) summarises four approaches to ethnographic observations, namely: researcher as a complete observer, participant-observer, observant-participant and complete participant. Given that I conceptualised the PLP as fragmentary and episodic, I resorted to making complete observations without participation per se.

The process of making observations included carrying out transect walks and photographic documentation of various material encounters that have relevance to the social making of PLP. Ethnographic photographs are those which provide meaningful and purposeful visual information to the ethnographer (Pink, 2011a; Edwards, 2013). The practice of taking photographs was driven by the research purpose to document those aspects of the vasti, and the bodily, material, and textual encounters that form part of the social making of PLP and help uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

Similar to the concerns noted in in-depth interviews, May (2011, p. 187) suggests that observations should not be thought of as a disengaged production of "untainted data". May (2011, p. 188) thus emphasises on reflexivity, biography and theory to be at the core of ethnographic research practice. Abductive research strategy suggests starting with people's everyday meanings and concepts and reiteratively link them to theoretical ideas – either to question, support or refute existing theories and build new ones (Blaikie, 2007). In line with the abductive research strategy's emphasis on everyday meanings and concepts, I used interview data to identify and observe material encounters that were perceived by the participants as relevant. In this regard, I produced visual material as a source of ethnographic data indirectly in collaboration with the participants of this research (Pink, 2011b, pp. 41–42). Various references by the participants provided a guide to notice the objects for further observations, providing me with further probes into ethnographic observations. For instance, participants referred to various material encounters such as double-storey houses, temples, conjunctural public spaces, the lack of space for toilets, or public water tanks.

Participants of this research used these references to produce their narratives of the socially made PLP. By taking a hint from these references, I guided my transect walks to observe these material encounters. The intertwining of people's narratives and my own observations also worked in reverse. That is, I used some of my observations to probe the discussion in the interviews. For instance, I immediately noted the presence of Ganapati mandals, Shivaji statues, political posters as I walked through the neighbourhood. Asking participants about these material encounters served the purpose of probing certain aspects of their experiences of the PLP. For instance, when I asked the participants about the Ganapati mandals, the participants told me narratives about how mandals were made an important point of negotiation between the real-estate developers and the vasti-residents – thereby telling me how their land subjectivities were constructed and their land policies were shaped. The choice of the number of observations was decided based on theoretical sampling, where various observations saturated the three categories of encounters and the three registers of land subjectivities.

### 5.2.3 Documents

As noted earlier, the PLP is conceptualised as a fragmentary and episodic field of bodily, material, and textual encounters. Here, policy-related documents, "read as the sedimentations of social practices, have the potential to inform and structure decisions which people make […]; they also constitute particular meanings of social events" (May, 2011, pp. 191–192). May (2011, p. 196) summarises at least three ways in which documents have been analytically classified in literature, namely primary, secondary, and tertiary; public and private; and solicited and unsolicited sources. While the first classification utilises the trope of proximity and distance, the second alludes to the accessibility of documents, and the third refers to the epistemological implication on the production of documents.

Within these broad categories of documents, I produced primary, private, solicited documents based on in-depth interviews and observations as elaborated in previous sections. Additionally, however, I sought secondary and tertiary, public solicited and unsolicited documents that were noted as relevant for the PLP. Informed by the postmodern theories of language and discourses, May (2011, p. 199) suggests using "our own cultural understandings in order to 'engage' with 'meanings' which are embedded in the document itself". This is a move towards hermeneutics and making explicit the analytical schema through which one reads/interprets documents. With the emphasis on reflexivity, the researcher thus cannot remain a detached reader of documents representing an independent reality. Intertwined with the interviews with experts and snowball literature review, I gathered publicly available policy reports, minutes of the meetings, policy and legal documents, government pamphlets, survey documents, and newspapers articles that inform the PLP in different ways. The list of documents is provided in Annex D.

Scott (1990 quoted in May, 2011) summarises four issues relating to the sources of documents, namely: authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning. The PMC publishes relevant documents under the Right to Information Act. Instead of relying on these documents to be representing an untainted reality, I treated them as constructed through knowledge/power relations. A certain amount of loss of

information is expected in using publicly available unsolicited documents. Whatever is published, however, was treated as credible, as far as I did not find alternative accounts. In keeping with poststructuralist theories, I do not claim that these documents are representatives of a larger discourse, but are treated as means to follow meanings of land. That is, I do not hold the documents wholly accountable for the meanings I read through them. Moreover, any new document presented can be expected to either provide further support or challenge earlier documents. Likewise, meaning of these documents is dependent on my reading and guided by the analytic framework. I elaborate on the procedures of data analysis in the following sections.

## 5.3  Data analysis

The gathered data was analysed in relation to the theoretical framework and the methodological choices explicated in previous sections. In line with the abductive research strategy, the process of data analysis was guided by constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). I employed two coding techniques. The first was initial coding that began immediately after the first interview/ observation and successively guided my discussions with subsequent participants (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). This process also helped to keep an eye on additional codes that would lead towards reaching theoretical saturation. The second coding technique was done after returning from the fieldwork. First, I transcribed the interviews in the original language of the interviews. These interviews, along with other documents, field notes and photographs were uploaded in a computer software programme NVivo to facilitate data management and coding. This data was coded using an analytical framework guided by the theoretical framework, I further elaborate below.

### 5.3.1  Analytical methodology

De Certeau (1984) suggests exposing the strategies of reading along with the reading to make explicit the analytic framework. Given the theoretical framework articulated in the previous chapter, the task of the analytical framework was to locate various participatory encounters and land subjectivities. Broadly, I used Hepburn's (2000) categories used for reading subjectivities, namely: (i) Subjectivity construction, (ii) Normalizing techniques, (iii) Figuration. Within the discipline of discursive psychology, Hepburn's (2000) articulation of these themes refers to functional role of the construction of mental entities, strategies of normalising the constructed ideas, and the role of figuration in making the text 'work' respectively. To further guide my analysis of postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities, I drew from Spivak's (2005, p. 481) suggestion that "agency [is] the play of self-synecdochising in a metonym". Consequently, the subject's articulatory agency provides the subject with the possibility of (re)constructing subject-positions, normalise them, and use figuration to make the (re)construction work.

The broad framework mentioned above guided the task of transcribing and coding the data. Methodologically this meant undertaking close-reading of the texts being analysed. Spivak (2006, p. 1612), in her articulation of an ethical basis for close-reading, argues that the purpose of close-reading is to "make it possible for *other* people to learn their languages, and not only for ethnographic purposes". DuBois (2003, p. 2) traces the origins of the term close-reading in "New Criticism, a mode of Anglo-American scholarship that began between the World Wars" and means "something understandable and vague like "reading with special attention"". DuBois' (2003) synthesis of the intellectual developments in close-reading refers to the use of notions such as texture, ambiguity, paradox, irony, tone, tension, and tropic, imagistic, thematic and metaphoric motion.

Geared towards a theoretically critical project, de Man (1982, p. 15) writes that "literature is not a transparent message […] and more problematically, it implies that the grammatical decoding of a text leaves residue of indetermination that has to be, but cannot be resolved by grammatical means, however extensively conceived". In my understanding, this means the necessity of learning to *read* the meaning of the text, acknowledging that "a text is an artifact that stimulates meaning" (Ruiz De Castilla, 2018, p. 137), and "reading is […] misprision – or misreading – just as writing is falsification" (Bloom, 2001, p. 70).

With the focus on participatory encounters and land subjectivities, I undertook close-reading of the data. This meant reading the data multiple times to uncover different interpretations and purposely focusing on crucial words, sentences, and paragraphs that were indicative of participatory encounters and land subjectivities. These texts also included critical gestures and emotional responses of the participants. While sensitive to the context in which the text was produced, I also took reference from grammatical categories to undertake the task of close-reading. The grammatical categories and some strategies are elaborated in the following sections.

### 5.3.2 Textual analysis

Analytical procedures of close-reading pay particular attention to words and their 'business' in the text and do not make a priori distinction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Hepburn, 2000; DuBois, 2003; Ruiz De Castilla, 2018). The analysis also does not claim a unique and the only interpretation of the text. In this vein, deviant accounts are deemed especially useful for challenging generalisations or for providing further support (Hepburn, 2000). To locate the subject-positions land occupies in various texts, I draw from the grammatical categories of Marathi and Hindi.

Marathi and Hindi retain some of the syntactic structure from Sanskrit, including grammatical cases. Cases denote the grammatical agreement of nouns, pronouns, and words with verbs and other nouns, pronouns, and words. In other words, grammatical cases express the word's relation to other words. While Sanskrit grammarians used ordinal numbers to denote cases, Ganeri (2011) demonstrates their link with kārakas to craft the matrix below:

|   | *Numeric cases* | *Names* | *Kāraka (semantic relation between verb and noun* | **English translation** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *1* | *Prathamā* [First] | Nominative | *kartr* | Agent |
| *2* | *Dwitiyā* [Second] | Accusative | *karman* | Patient |
| *3* | *Tritiyā* [Third] | Instrumental | *karana* | Instrument |
| *4* | *Chaturthi* [Fourth] | Dative | *sampradāna* | Target |
| *5* | *Panchami* [Fifth] | Ablative | *apādāna* | Donor |
| *6* | *Shashti* [Sixth] | Genitive | *sambandh* | Possession |
| *7* | *Saptami* [Seventh] | Locative | *adhikarana* | Place |

Table 7: Sanskrit grammatical cases based on the theory of kārakas (except Sashti)

For the purposes of this research, the theory of *kārakas*, linked to grammatical cases, indicate the subject-positions land takes in various discourses. These subject-positions are already indicative of a meaning-relation with other words and contextualized within the grammatical tenses. Dhongde (1974) has systematically categorised temporal, aspectual, and modal notions that grammatically characterise

Marathi while positing that these appear in Marathi in an entangled manner. Together, these verbal forms make thirteen (compound) aspectual tenses: five imperfective, five perfective, and three prospective; four unspecified non-tense forms and one non-aspectual form (future) and one non-aspectual non-tense form (past habitual) and so the following matrix appears:

| | Imperfective (habitual & continuous actions) | Perfective (completed actions) | Prospective (anticipated or predicted actions) | Unspecified |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| indicative present | √ | √ | √ | - |
| indicative past | √ | √ | √ | - |
| presumptive | √ | √ | √ | - |
| subjunctive | √ | √ | - | - |
| contrafactual | √ | √ | - | √ |
| imperative | - | - | - | - |
| unspecified | √ | √ | √ | - |

Table 8: Marathi grammatical tenses

To retain the nuanced meanings articulated by the participants using specific words, specific syntactic structures, as well as unique phrases, I transcribed the interviews by translating them from Marathi/Hindi to English word-by-word. As will be evident through the following chapters, the word-by-word translation appears clumsy to the English-readers since the syntactic structures of Marathi/Hindi and English are very different. However, retaining the Marathi/Hindi syntax into English instrumentally allows retaining the nuances of the meanings expressed through texture, ambiguity, paradox, irony, tone, tension, and tropic, imagistic, thematic and metaphoric motion of the sentences (DuBois, 2003). Here, the ethical reason to retain the Marathi/Hindi syntax is to draw the attention of the Marathi/Hindi speakers to their own languages so as to "make it possible for other people to learn their languages, and not only for ethnographic purposes" (Spivak, 2006, p. 1612). To further retain the nuances of meaning, I also noted participants' relevant gestures in my field-notes and noted people's audible emotional reactions while transcribing the interviews.

After reading the texts multiple times, I created thematic codes that fit into the three registers of bodily, material and textual encounters. Thematically coding the texts in

these categories helped reading how people narrate about the construction of their land subjectivities that further shape their land policies. I produced numerous codes about land subjectivities in the first stage of reading the interviews sentence-by-sentence. I then categorised these numerous codes into more focused categories that analytically referred to the various registers through which land subjectivities were narrated by the participants. For instance, while the first stage of coding included codes such as 'lifts', 'proximity to shops', 'two-storey constructions'; the second stage of coding included codes such as 'infrastructure', 'location', 'housing', 'social bonds', 'emotional bonds'.

I then abstracted the focused codes into three registers of subjectivities explicitly linked to the theories of subjectivities, along interpersonal – material – (non)rational axis. I named these axial codes as interpersonal subjectivities, morphic subjectivities and chiasmic subjectivities. I elaborate on these subjectivities in Chapter 8. Furthermore, the way I sub-categorise these subjectivities in Chapter 8 do not refer to the preliminary and focused codes. Instead, I re-read the interviews through the abstracted registers of interpersonal, morphic and chiasmic subjectivities and sub-categorised them along the temporal, spatial and emotional typologies. The main purpose behind nuancing these subjectivities was to give them temporary structure – to demonstrate that the ambivalences of people's articulations of postcolonial land subjectivities (i.e. those straddling between modernity and tradition) are not completely (dis)ordered in need of ordering. Note that ordering the slums is part of the rationale of implementing the SRP (as an embodiment of Modern state) put into motion by India's porous state institutions. It is to decentre Modernity (with capital M) that I foreground one possible contextually formulated structure readable through people's articulations of postcolonial land subjectivities.

### 5.3.3  *Visual analysis*

Writing specifically about "social life in contemporary Western societies", Rose (2001, p. 6) suggests that "meaning is [often] conveyed by visual images". Likewise, Pink (2013, p. 3) writes that in the 21st century Euro-North American academia, the visual

has become "more acceptable, more viable and more central to qualitative research practice". In keeping with the contemporary ethnographic practices of observations and photographic documentation, I took various photographs as part of the data-collection process. The task of visual anlaysis was carried out after returning from the field, where I treated photographs and other visual images as a source of ethnographic data.

Rose (2001, pp. 15–16) develops a critical approach to visual analysis, which (i) takes images seriously, (ii) thinks about the social conditions and effects of visual objects, (iii) considers researcher's own way of looking at images. Here, Pink (2011a, pp. 67–68) notes that "no visual image or practice is essentially ethnographic by nature. Accordingly, the ethnographicness of photography is determined by discourse and content". Consequently, I treated photographs and other visual images as text in context. Likewise, in line with visual discourse and content analysis using grounded theory methods (Konecki, 2011), I coded various photographs and visual materials gathered during the fieldwork. As mentioned earlier, the visuals included various primary data, including photographs of the material encounters, and secondary and tertiary data such as newspaper articles, published reports, and previously taken photographs by other actors. These images were analysed along four dimensions – (i) the context of creation, (ii) modalities of communication of those images, (iii) the image and its content, and (iv) reception of these visual images.

As a manner of re-presentation, I have sketched the various photographs to retain participants' anonymity as well as to retain uniformity. More importantly, I have traced the key elements from the photoghraphs to highlight the key aspects from the photographs. In keeping with Guha's (1982) methodology, I aimed to read and re-present the so-called slums against the grain of the hegemonic texts and recuperate the marginalised voices. In the context of this research, state-produced documents use slum-images to justify rehabilitating the slum-dwellers into apartment buildings. The trope that guides the rationale behind rehabilitating slum-dwellers is of upward mobility and of the inception of a desire to 'get out of slums'.

The state-produced documents show 'slums' in a negative light. However, vasti-residents experience the vastis differently, as I show through the following chapters. To give voice to people's lived experiences in the vastis and foreground those elements of the vastis that are marginalised in the state-produced documents, I sketched the photographs in a manner that highlight the way vasti-residents see their vasti. More strategically, these sketches also helped me foreground and demonstrate how certain materaility produces political effects on the land subjectivities and policies of the actors involved in slum rehabilitations, thereby socially making a PLP.

## 5.4 Ethical considerations

"Will you enter *rājkāran* [politics] with me? Tell me! Will you enter into politics? Tell me if you will, or else why shall I give you information?".

The author of this quote chose not to participate in this research, despite my repeated insistence on maintaining anonymity. However, this remark was a reminder that this research was political. Anticipating this fact, I had chosen to adhere to the British Educational Research Association (BERA) code of ethics during this research. The principles of the code of ethics acknowledge that social science is inclusive and respectful of privacy, autonomy, diversity, values and dignity of individuals, groups, and communities. Additionally, the code indicates that the social scientist acts with regards to their social responsibilities, maintains integrity, and aims to maximise benefit and minimise harm. Allmark et al. (2009) further recommend balancing between being relatively objective and being involved, and taking heed of the gender, ethnicity, sexuality, class, (and caste) of the participant. In keeping with the postmodern theoretical framework, I consider the politics of interviewing as guided by fragmented ethics, self-conscious and localised (e.g. Kong, Mahoney and Plummer, 2001). In the following part of this section, I elaborate on the ethical considerations that I maintained during this research process.

### 5.4.1  Privacy and confidentiality

Privacy and confidentiality have been considered a sensitive aspect of social science research (Allmark *et al.*, 2009). The issue of maintaining privacy and confidentiality of sensitive information has implications for data generation process and research publication. As I recruited participants based on snowball sampling, one participant generally referred to other potential participants. I was often asked by participants, including gatekeepers, of what the other participants had told me. This same question came towards me in the form of 'who told you about this (information)?'. These requests were sometimes innocent, sometimes motivated by good or bad intentions. Allmark et al. (2009) note that, in sensitive topics, some participants may wish to keep certain information private.

Throughout the research process, I maintained complete privacy and confidentiality between participants and of the information provided by them. To do so, I anonymised all the information in the publication of the research findings and did not share any sensitive information between participants (Allmark *et al.*, 2009; Gardner, 2011). Maintaining anonymity of the elites was not wholly possible given the possibility of locating the projects and tracing back the individuals. I informed such participants of such possibility and took their signed consent in this regard (Ensign, 2003).

### 5.4.2  Informed consent

To minimise harm and respect participants' right to voluntary participation in the research, I sought informed consent from the participants. I provided them with research information sheets and consent forms in their preferred language, Marathi, Hindi, or English. Along with providing the information sheets, I verbally explained the research project and explicitly indicated that the participants had the choice to withdraw from the research at any time during and after the interviews. Allmark et al. (2009) mainly refer to 'process consent' to make sure that participants are made aware of their right to voluntary participation and withdrawal repeatedly throughout the interview process. Furthermore, I ended the interviews by reminding the participants of their choice to retrieve their consent until six months after the interview, in case they changed their minds for some reasons. The information sheets and consent forms used in this research are attached in Annex E & F.

### 5.4.3  Harm during the fieldwork

Allmark et al. (2009) suggest being attentive to politics and power during interviews. Power relations between the researcher and the participant, and between participants matter in affecting the research and the participant. Among various power relations, gender relations were also significant. Since we know that sexed and gendered bodies matter, interviewing 'women' as a 'man' had to be carefully planned and mediated. Learning from feminist and queer insights towards interviewing (Oakley, 1981; Finch, 1984; Kong, Mahoney and Plummer, 2001), I refrained from over-involvement and maintained socially necessary boundaries

between participants and me. Although one-off, I treated the interview as a moment of empathic and emotional orientation towards the participant (Kong, Mahoney and Plummer, 2001). This empathic and emotional orientation had to be balanced against maintaining boundaries and noticing when the participant was comfortable or not comfortable to share information and how s/he emotionally respond to the questions.

While some participants treated me strictly as a data-gatherer, some were keen to build friendship however short-lived. While one of the male participants asked me for advice regarding tertiary education, another male participant was extremely sceptical of me gathering data throughout the interview. In another case, a male participant seemed extremely friendly before and during the interview and promised me to help with further access to participants and data. However, when I called him back to follow-up about the information he had promised to provide me, he never picked up the phone call again. After almost half a dozen calls over a two month period, I decided not to follow up further.

The experience with female participants was equally mixed. One female participant ended up inviting me to her daughter's wedding by the end of the interview, while another seemed very shut off throughout the interview. As a rule, then, I used queer interview recommendations of treating interview "friendships" as temporary and contingent, paying attention to shifting boundaries between the participant and me, and generally keeping an emphatic stance towards participants.

The emphatic and ethical relations with participants were vividly fragmented across sexualised bodies and genders. When interviewing women, I refrained from speaking with them alone unless provided with explicit consent. I was introduced to women participants in Kelewadi by a gatekeeper, a woman leader from the community. Most women were told about when I would speak with them and what information will be solicited in advance. Some female participants, on the other hand, voluntarily approached me to provide information when they saw me taking other interviews.

Some of the encounters with female participants required stronger ethical stances than others. In Dandekar Pool Vasti, a female participant agreed to participate in this

research. However, upon beginning the interview, her mother-in-law contemptuously reprimanded her against speaking with me without her husband being present. There quickly broke an intense argument between them. I chose to firmly intervene in the debate by reassuring both of them about anonymity, confidentiality, the participant's choice, and the research purpose. The participant's mother-in-law stormed out of the house without paying heed to what I was saying, and the participant kept speaking to her in contempt. Here, I reminded the participant that she had the choice to withdraw her consent and stop the interview, in keeping with feminist interview ethics (Oakley, 1981; Finch, 1984).

The participant apologised for her mother-in-law's behaviour and decided to continue with the interview, and I proceeded with asking questions. However, I noticed a change in her involvement with the interview after that incident. I perceived fear, confusion, embarrassment, and guilt, in the participant's behaviour. After the participant answered a couple of questions in one word or a sentence, I asked her if she was comfortable continuing or whether she would like to discuss her participation with her family members. This second time, she hesitantly asked me to come back later after she had spoken with her husband, to which I obliged. More generally, in seeking to avoid harm to the participants, I used process consent through the interviews (Allmark *et al.*, 2009; Gardner, 2011).

### 5.4.4 Personal safety

Given the contentious and political character of India's postcolonial democracy, my safety as a researcher was deemed as necessary as that of the participants I was engaging with during this research. Although this was initially based on speculation, the caution became of utmost relevance during the fieldwork. In both the projects, I had to work through my susceptibility towards violence.

Personal safety became critical from the moment of choosing the projects. One of the gatekeepers, a developer, had two ongoing projects. While I could have chosen either, one of the projects had become antagonistic during the time of the fieldwork. One of the informants reported that an auditing officer was beaten in the newly

redeveloped building and was in the hospital. One of the developer's employees told me that a tense situation had been created there. However, the other project was relatively less contentious at that time. Although this was indeed a temporary situation, it had to be considered while selecting the cases. Despite having selected the projects with care, the issue of personal safety had to be dealt with throughout the fieldwork.

Around mid-way through the fieldwork, I was once in the office of the corporator in Kelewadi. There, a female leader from Kelewadi told about an incident where two data-gatherers were beaten up for collecting data in one part of the settlement two weeks before. While other workers in the office were not aware of this incident, I was still cautioned not to go in that part of the settlement and stick to the participants to whom I was being introduced. I verified this story while speaking with other participants and some affirmed. With this caution thus, I refrained from reaching out to people from that part of the neighbourhood without explicit permission or prior introduction from someone else from the neighbourhood.

Similarly, in Dandekar Pool Vasti, I was told by a participant over the phone not to meet him in the neighbourhood after dark. He mentioned that there would be men at the *addā*[20] drinking (alcohol) after dark, who may create trouble. He thus asked me to meet him during the day near the vasti. I agreed to this participant's advice and did not venture into their vasti after dark without explicit permission. Many such incidents and pieces of advice had to be recognised and acted upon during the fieldwork.

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[20] *Addā* means a neighbourhood place for gathering for a chat. *Addā* is where neighbourhood politics is discussed, gossips are shared and is often a male-dominated space.

## 5.5  Conclusion

In this chapter, I have elaborated on the research strategy along with the methodological, analytical, and ethical considerations that guided the fielding of this research. Most importantly, I have suggested a variety of ways in which the research findings were conditioned, including due to my positionality as contextually constructed. As I have argued so far, there is always a surplus of subjectivity that escapes the bounds of (inter)subjective fixation. During this research, I tried to self-synecdochise myself with some metonyms when necessary and when possible, to build a meaningful relationship with the participants. For instance, one male participant freely spoke with me about '*how it is different with women';* while some male or female participants spoke with me about '*how it is different with other castes'.* I allowed myself to self-synecdochise with some metonyms while deliberately rejected others. Some of the specific implications of the considerations of fielding the production of knowledge are explicitly articulated throughout the following empirical chapters.

Chapter 6 elaborates on PMC's governmental practices of controlling land through the SRP in Pune and the existence of alternative historical, geographic, and future narratives of two selected cases, namely: Kelewadi and Dandekar Pool Vasti. Successively, Chapter 7 shows three registers through which *rājnīti* (policies of government) and *loknīti* (policies of the governed) encounter each other making from the ground up a 'participatory land policy' (PLP), namely: bodily, material, and textual encounters. Having explored the political contours of PLP through 'encounters', I elaborate in Chapter 8 three registers through which participants of this research articulated their land subjectivities, namely: interpersonal land subjectivities, morphic land subjectivities, and chiasmic land subjectivities. Consequently, Chapter 9 concludes by articulating my/participants' interpretation of three subaltern perspectives of land latent in participants' narrations of land subjectivities and thusly concluding this thesis.

# 6 RĀNĪTI & LOKNĪTI IN PUNE

I now recount the context that engenders the possibility of instituting the SRP and incites people's struggle to live with it. To do so, I begin this chapter by elaborating on how the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) attempts to govern slums (section 6.1) and land (section 6.2) in Pune. Consequently, I explicate on how the PMC has attempted to coalesce national slum policies with the land management instruments available at its disposal. Narrating PMC's attempts to govern land and implement national slum policies, later facilitates interpreting corporators', developers', landowners', and vasti-residents' land subjectivities and policies. PMC's efforts to regulate land also simultaneously demonstrate how land continues to be articulated through Modernity, specifically as property, territory, nature, and commodity – a *thing*, in the state-led discourses and practices of *rājnīti* (policies of government).

The state-led discourses on land, however, do not exhaust the field of discursivity that inform corporators', developers', landowners', or vasti-residents' land subjectivities and policies. To supplement the state-written discourses on land, I further narrate the history of land ownership, history of vasti*'s* growth, and the proposed real-estate developments in the two vastis independently (section 6.3 and 6.4). These situated histories of land and proposed development further allows understanding the context that shapes peoples' land subjectivities and policies.

## 6.1 Discourses of *rājnīti*

### 6.1.1 Slum policies in Pune

Slum is primarily a category and a nomenclature. As far as names go, slum has a long and contested genealogy, particularly given its negative connotation (Gilbert, 2007). While slums are globally debated since the mid 20th century Development, the definition of slum appears to have remained the same in the Indian state laws and policies. In Chapter 2, I showed that the definition of slum is both negatively articulated and linked to areas of the city, and therefore to land-as-territory. In this

section, I elucidate how the very act of naming Pune's areas as slums reproduces specific Modern governmental logics and rationales (with capital M). Through the analysis of state statistics of slum areas in Pune, I demonstrate the context that supports the formulation, rationalisation, and implementation of the SRP in Pune. In the context of India's postcolonial democracy, I suggested in Chapter 4 that acknowledging the Modern state governmental rationalities is as crucial as recognising the workings of *loknīti* (policies of the governed), if postcolonial subjectivities are to be uncovered.

Evidently, the Slum Areas Act (SAA) 1956 states that a competent state authority should first name certain areas of the city as slum areas before diverting state resources assigned under slum policies. Moreover, the Modern/colonial state practice (with capital M) of naming areas of Pune as slum areas also dictates the government statistics about slums. With conspicuous support from the state institutions, a local NGO MASHAL conducted and published a thorough survey of slum areas in Pune in 2011. According to MASHAL's survey, the proportion of Pune's total population living in slums has grown from 7.63% in 1951 to 32.84% in 2011. Many authors argue that slum areas started growing in Pune since 1972 when a large number of the population migrated to Pune during the 1972-73 draughts (Drèze, 2008; Kalamdani, 2011; Mahajan, 2011). The following graph shows the population growth in Pune, along with the proportion of people living in slum areas.
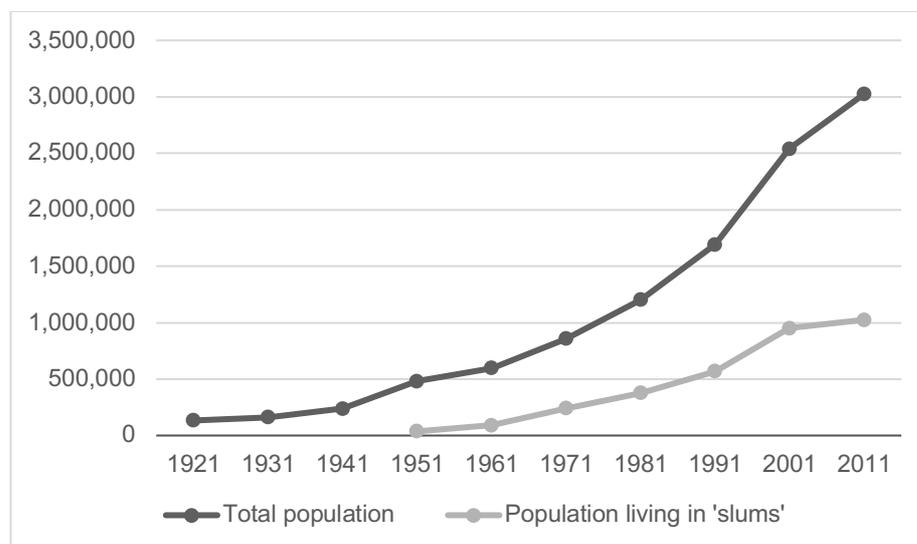


Figure 9: Population growth in Pune (Source: MASHAL, 2011b)

As re-presented in Figure 5, 32.84% (204601 families) of Pune's total population lived in slum areas in 2011, and occupied about 2.34% (525 Hectors) of land under the jurisdiction of PMC (MASHAL, 2011b, p. 15). In 2018, there were a total of 564 slum areas in Pune according to government statistics. Notwithstanding the nomenclature 'slum-areas', the above statistic also re-presents densely populated areas of Pune. According to MASHAL, there were a total of 1,60,681 slum structures in 2011, of which about 23,542 were located on the hills in Pune. There are about nine hills in Pune, and the land-use category of 'Hill-top Hill-slope' has recently been a topic of public and political debate. The existence of a popular demand to protect hills is often attributed to Punekars'[21] emotional attachment to the hills and to the political pressure from various environmental NGOs[22] to safeguard hills for trees and a Biodiversity Park (Kulabkar, 2002, p. 83; MASHAL, 2011b, p. 23). However, the fact that a land-use category has been created to protect hills from encroachment demonstrates the ongoing performance of Modernity (with capital M) in PMC's governmental practice.

In addition to slum as a land-use category, slum areas are also analytically categorised as per land-ownership, mainly public and private. The following table shows the government statistics on slum areas on public and private lands, declared and undeclared:

| | Government notification / Land ownership | *Declared* | *Undeclared* | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *1* | Public lands | 60 | 70 | 130 |
| *2* | Private lands | 293 | 141 | 434 |
| | Total | 353 | 211 | 564 |

Table 9: Number of 'slum areas' in Pune (Source: PMC, 2019)

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[21] *Punekar* is an identity category of the residents of Pune. The question of who gets to call themselves *Punekar* and when is a sensitive cultural topic. P. L. Deshpande humorously portrays regional identity politics in Maharashtra.

[22] Environmental NGOs/Groups in Pune include Parisar, Centre for Environment Education (CEE), Centre for Development Studies and Activities (CDSA), among others.

The declared and/or surveyed slum areas are scattered across Pune and vary in areas and population sizes. The following map shows the locations of declared 'slum areas' within the administrative boundaries of PMC.
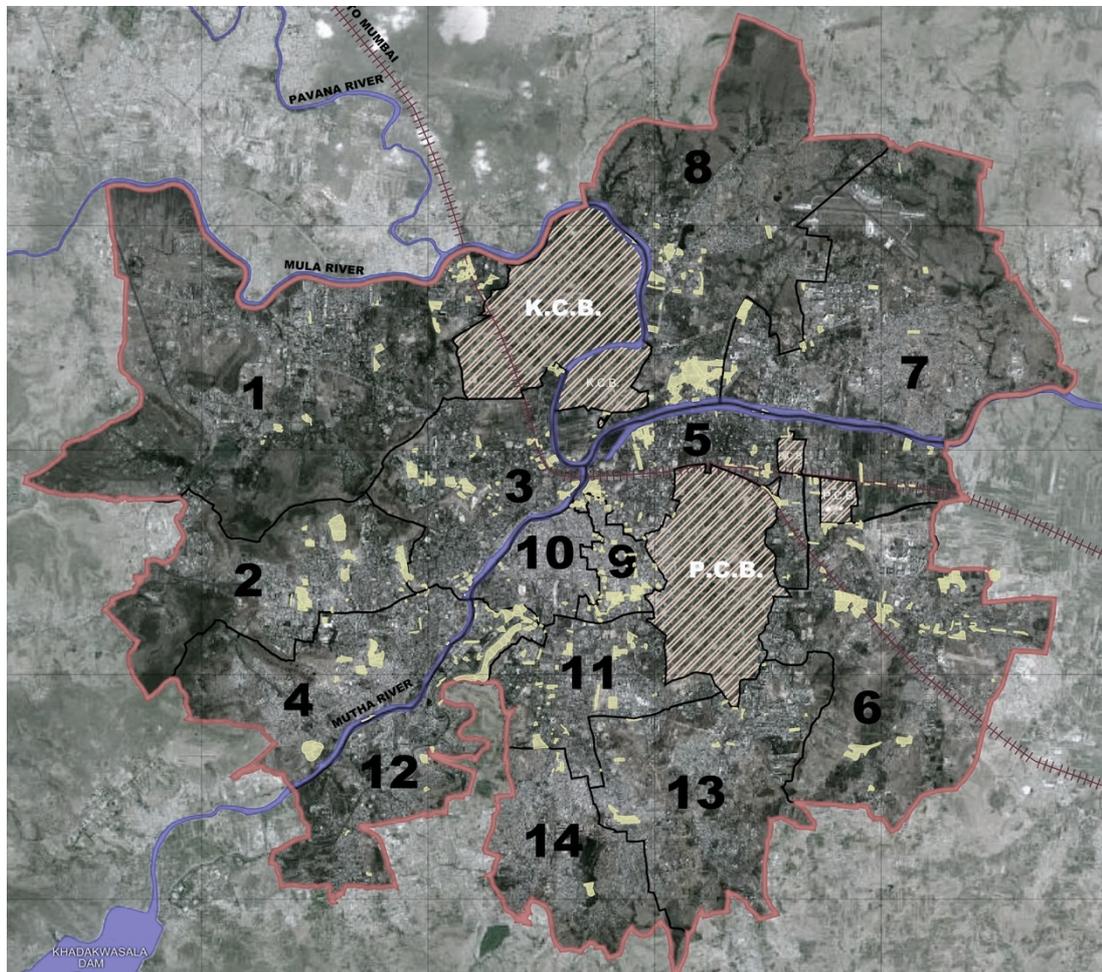


Figure 10: Map showing the location of 'slums' in Pune in Yellow (MASHAL, 2011b, p. 15)

Along with showing the historical growth, location, size, and land ownership distribution of slum areas in Pune, the statistics shown above are also expected to ease the implementation of state policies by providing technical support. In the words of an ex-mayor of Pune, "the success of such grand and ambitious goal [of a slum-free city] depends on having comprehensive data of slum pockets in Pune and throughout India" (MASHAL, 2011b, p. 7). Such an overt political justification for collecting slum-dwellers' data and categorising them to assist state policies shows a conspicuously articulated Modern governmentality (Chakrabarty, 2002). Furthermore, the very articulation of the category of slum areas marks a moment where a subject-position is created and sustained through repetition.

This thesis is similarly complicit in reproducing the category of 'slum' and consequently sustaining its discursive position, even while demonstrating the social making of PLP. Furthermore, however inadvertently, I justify the importance of this research because the sheer number of people subjected to the SRP is large. Therefore, I also consider it crucial to acknowledge the complicity of numbers and categories in reproducing specific logics, subject-positions, and their effects on the quantified subject-agents. It is through such repetitive discursive and material practices that Modernity continues to be performatively practiced in Pune. Accordingly, I demonstrate how state-led discourses supporting the SRP perform Modernity through the category of slum-land, and how the subjects of the SRP resist their subjection to the slum-land. To further this argument, I will now recount PMC's land policy instruments that help sustain the category of slum in the following sections.

### 6.1.2 *Performing Modernity (with capital M) by slumming land*

As I wrote in section 2.4, the category of slum got linked to the concept of land-as-territory since the drafting of the SAA 1956. Successively, the fates of those residing in slum areas became dependent on the changing attitudes towards slums and land. The term slum did not lend itself to a spatial or territorial imagination at the time of its appearance for the first time in the English vocabulary. However, the term was linked to housing, and therefore made spatial, by the 19th century in England (Gilbert, 2007). By the mid-twentieth century, when the Indian state was drafting its SAA, thinking of slums as areas or territories of decrepit housing appears to have become commonplace.

As I already wrote in section 2.4, the SAA 1956 and the following state policies reflected the socialist tendencies of the Indian state until the 1990s. Accordingly, the Indian state first evicted the slum-dwellers from the land on which they resided until the 1980s. Since 1980s, the Indian state policies also included slum upgrading schemes under the influence of the World Bank. However, in the post-liberalisation and democratising India, slum and land are peculiarly linked to each other in the discursive domain of *rājnīti.* Below, I demonstrate the link between land and slum at the liberal democratic conjuncture of the Indian state through one opening quotation of the SRP info-booklet.

In line with the post-liberalisation trend in the state-led discourse to view land as a resource, the introduction to the SRP info-booklet explicitly says:

> "The government has brought into force SRP by utilizing land of the slums as a resource [*sādhansampatti* = instrumental-wealth], by permitting extra Floor Space Index [FSI], to give the families of the neglected parts of economically powerless community [*samāj*] the house of their dreams for free. Under the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme, the Government aims to raise the living conditions and standard of living of slum dwellers by providing them with the ownership house with necessary amenities for free" (SRA, 2015, p. 1).

The introductory statement quoted above relates slum to land in unique ways. Firstly, while acknowledging that the slum uses land, land is first imagined as separate from the slum. Later, land is assumed to include air-space above it and is equated to both a development right and an instrumental-wealth or capital. Furthermore, as a development right, additional Floor Space Index (FSI) is sanctioned to provide free houses to economically powerless people.

Besides, there is an implicit assumption that a state-recognised free-ownership house would improve the living conditions and standard of living of the economically powerless people. This assumption resonates with de Soto's (2001) claim that legalising tenures in informal settlements would unleash the dead capital in the developing world and improve the lives of the poor populations. Consequently, the following chain of equivalences and differences appears to be inherent to the SRP.

People living in slums ≡ slums ≠ the families of the neglected parts of economically powerless *samāj* (community) ≠ land ≡ air-space above land ≡ resource ≡ development right ≡ FSI ≡ dream houses for the families of the neglected sections of economically powerless *samāj* (community).

Within this long chain of equivalences and differences, land appears mainly as a resource, property, and a commodified development right. Moreover, performing the link between slum and land through resource necessitates other discursive changes. In the following section, I recount how PMC changed some of the available land policy instruments to facilitate the implementation of the SRP and further re-inscribed the link between slum and land in the discursive contours of state's *rajnīti.*

### 6.1.3  Land policies in Pune

PMC, to date (2019), does not have a coherent written-document called Urban Land Policy or a Participatory Land Policy. I wrote in Chapter 1 that this thesis does not advocate that the PMC should have such a document. Rather, this thesis seeks to draw development and planning policy scholars' attention to the already existing participatory land policy being socially made through slum rehabilitations. In this regard, PMC has used various policy instruments to govern urban land. Additionally, PMC has also acted in the shadow of the party-politics at national and regional Governments. In the following sections, I discuss three important policy instruments used by the PMC to intervene in land governance, namely: preparing and implementing development plans (DP), and the regulation of Floor Space Index (FSI) and transfer of development rights (TDR). The combination of these policy instruments encompasses the technical means by which the SRP is made implementable in Pune under the changing state directives.

These policy instruments also demonstrate the discursive limits of land subjectivities of those implementing the state policies under state directives. Even though various authors have demonstrated the porous boundaries of the state (e.g. Benjamin, 2008; Roy, 2009b; Sami, 2013; Sinha, 2019; Sud, 2019), the purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate how Modernity is still performed in Pune. The point is to demonstrate the effects of the Modernity on constructing people's subjectivities and how those living at the margins of Modernity are sometimes stuck in the opaque parts of the porous state still performing Modernity. Seen from the postcolonial sensory field developed in Chapter 4, the Modern practices of governing land through DP, FSI, or the TDR appear decentred and therefore contestable by my participants and development and planning policy scholars. The point of this thesis is to construct conceptual infrastructures so that the gap between peoples' ideas and Modern ideas become bridgeable – and then leave the task of crossing that bridge to the people and the context. Before proceeding to do that, I recount the Modern practices below.

### 6.1.4  Development Plans (DP)

One of the instruments through which the PMC has aimed to govern land in the city is through development plans (DP), following Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act (MRTP) 1966. The DP is "primarily a [desired] land-use map" (Bapat, 1990, p. 1502) expected to be prepared and implemented every twenty years by a legislated authority. Historically, GoM authorities situated in Mumbai prepared Pune's DP until the 74th Constitutional Amendment devolved the powers to urban local bodies in the year 1992 (Jha, 2013). Consequently, although GoM prepared the 1987-2007 Pune DP (Kulabkar, 2002, p. 83), the PMC prepared the 2007-2027 DP for the first time in 2007. The PMC comprises of the executive branch and the legislative branch, with respective tenures of up to three and five years (Kulabkar, 2002). While technical aspects of preparing and implementing the DP is a responsibility of PMC's executive branch, the legislative branch approves the DP. Consequently, since the 74th amendment, the DP is now open to local party politics.

The technicalities of making the DP have traditionally included conducting surveys to determine existing land-use patterns, estimating future demographic changes and population needs, preparing a draft land-use plan with development control rules, publishing the plan for seeking objections from the public, revised sanctioning of the proposals as a statutory document and its implementation (Bapat, 1990; Kulabkar, 2002). The plans are also meant to be updated every ten years to accommodate changed demographic parameters. Notwithstanding the scheduled procedures of the DP, the evidence on its execution demonstrates many delays and low rate of implementation in Pune and many other cities in India (Kulabkar, 2002). Resonating the socialist inclinations of the pre-liberalisation Directive Principles of State Policy (DSDP), the DP has traditionally aimed at:

> "orderly development, for ensuring availability of land for public purposes (by compulsory acquisition of land), for paying fair compensation to the landowners (at the market value), for preventing excessive reservation of land and for ensuring regulated development (including powers to remove unauthorised development)" (Bapat, 1990, p. 1503).

Consequently, the DP reserves land in the city for required amenities as per planning rationales. No other construction is allowed on the reserved lands. In case that the reserved land is already occupied, the existing land-users are provided with compensation to vacate the land.

The process of preparing the 2007-2027 DP began with a series of consultation meetings between various local institutions, organisations, and the PMC. The vision statement of the draft Development Plan (2007-2027) aspires Pune to become "an economically vibrant and sustainable city with diverse opportunities and rich culture; where all citizens enjoy safe and liveable environment with good connectivity". Later in the document, the draft DP specifies its policy towards slums and low-income affordable housing, similar to the previous DP prepared by the GoM (Kulabkar, 2002). While acknowledging that "slums are solutions found by the urban poor for satisfying their housing needs" (PMC, 2007), the DP proposes following policy objectives:

1. Bringing the existing slums within the formal system and enabling them to avail of the same level of basic amenities as the rest of the town;
2. Redressing the failure of the formal system that lies behind the creation of slums; and
3. Tackling the shortage of urban land and housing that keep shelter out of reach of the urban poor and force them to resort to extra-legal solutions to retain sources of livelihood and employment (PMC, 2007)

Modern foundational binaries of formal/informal, legal/illegal are part of PMC's present-day vocabulary. Consequently, PMC used following policies in 2007:

1. Slum Redevelopment/ Rehabilitation schemes
2. Lok Awas Yojna
3. Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna
4. Basic Services for the urban poor (BSUP) under JNNURM
5. Rajiv Awas Yojna[23] (PMC, 2007)

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[23] Since 2014, a new Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna (PMAY) has come in force, including: (1) In-situ Rehabilitation of existing slum dwellers using land as a resource through private participation; (2) Credit Linked Subsidy; (3) Affordable Housing in Partnership; (4) Subsidy for Beneficiary-led individual house construction/ enhancement.

Notwithstanding the variety of Government schemes available for low-income housing provision, a market-led, in-situ, liberal democratic policy, i.e. Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) was brought into force to achieve the objective of slum-free cities. Furthermore, to facilitate the implementation of the SRP, one of the trustees of MASHAL told me that they recommended the creation of a new land-use category called 'slum improvement zones' (SIZ) in the DP during the consultative meetings with the PMC (CC_2, 20/02/18). Consequently, the draft DP proposes SIZ as a zone in which "slums shall be rehabilitated on the same site […] [except in case of] ecologically sensitive areas like river banks, nallas, hill top hill slopes […] [and] [s]lums on sites required for vital purposes" (PMC, 2007).

This change in the land-use category means that now slum rehabilitations can take place on the same plot of land without completely vacating the land for reserved land-uses. The SRP specifies that in case of previously reserved lands, 'slum rehabilitation' can happen on 60% of the area, while 40% will continue to be reserved for the already stipulated land-use. Additionally, the creation of a new land-use category of SIZ means that the state can advance the vision of the slum-free city with less technical hassle. Ostensibly, most non-government organisations in the city support this policy, including the environmental NGOs. On the one hand, a trustee of one local NGO told me, "we proposed the category of SIZ to the PMC to ease the implementation of slum rehabilitations" (CC_2, 20/02/18). On the other hand, the head of a local environmental NGO told me, "there is no organisation in Pune that, in principle, would support 'slum evictions' to protect the ecologically sensitive areas" (CC_6, 26/04/18).

The creation of a new category called SIZ in the DP shows a moment at which the concepts of slum, improvement and land-as-territory get discursively linked. Not only is the category of slum repeated and sustained, but also remains associated with undesirability in need of improvement. Furthermore, working within the Modernity's 'state - civil society – individual citizen' rubric, the creation of a new category is justified through the consultation with NGOs, representing the civil society at the state.

MASHAL, a local NGO, participates in the consultative meetings with the PMC in the capacity of a civil society organisation. MASHAL's aim to achieve community development through people's participation drives MASHAL's efforts at creating a data-base of slums and proposing a category of 'slum-lands' for the implementation of slum policies. MASHAL's efforts resonate with what Roy (2009a) calls "civic governmentality". MASHAL's efforts towards changing slum-dwellers' lives and affecting their conduct contextually and provisionally places them in the domain of government. Moreover, their use of Modern practices of government, such as creating a census and proposing a land-use category called 'slum-land', positions MASHAL's policies in the analytical domains of *rājnīti* exercising Modern governmentality.

For many planners, PMC's consultative meetings with the local organisations and NGOs would count as a moment of participation (e.g. Ballaney, 2008), and yet the subject-agents of the SRP, such as the landowners, residents, and developers, remain excluded from these consultation meetings. Calling the consultation meetings among various actors capable of having a rational discussion and capable of taking decisions on behalf of slum-dwellers like Kalebai means performing Modernity (with capital M). More importantly for this thesis, notwithstanding the level of participation on Arnstein's (1969) ladder (Figure 6 on page 100), the consultations help justify and sustain the discursive equivalences between slum, undesirability, improvement, and land-as-territory. Effectively, these consultations are primarily encounters.

In addition to the DP, PMC also utilises two other policy instruments to control the amount of buildable area in the city, respectively Floor Space Index (FSI) and transfer of development rights (TDR). In the following section, I will show that the category of slum also finds its way to latch onto the concepts of FSI and TDR, further linking itself with other signifiers in the discursive domain of *rājnīti*.

### 6.1.5  Transfer of Development Rights (TDR)

The concept of transfer of development rights (TDR) was introduced in the DCR of PMC in June 1997 (MASHAL, 2011b, p. 21) and has since been tied to the concept

of Floor Space Index (FSI). FSI is a concept that calculates the percentage of a buildable area on the land, and effectively governs the quantity of floor-space buildable in the city. The concept of FSI was itself introduced in the planning law since the MRTP Act 1966.

$$\text{Floor Space Index (FSI)} = \frac{\text{Total buildable area including all floors}}{\text{Total area of land}}$$

The Government retains the right to fix the FSI for any given plot of land in the city. Before 1997, the FSI from one plot of land could not be used on another plot of land. However, with the introduction of the concept of TDR, a landowner can now transfer the development rights (here referring to FSI) on the land they are expected to surrender to the Government for public purposes. In one way, the concept of TDR can be seen to free land from its geographical fixedness via development rights to allow for a TDR market (e.g. Williamson *et al.*, 2010). Therefore, the concept of TDR commodifies the development rights over land, making them (and in effect, land) transferable, negotiable, and quasi-fungible (i.e. conditionally replaceable and repeatable). In other words, the state has economically liberalised land by letting a land market, yet continuing to control the land market through deciding the conditions for its fungibility.

Initially, to control the transfer of the buildable area from one plot of land in the city to another, PMC created concentric TDR zones. Since using TDR means adding usable floor-space in addition to the permitted FSI on a given plot of land, a free market of TDR could have defeated the purpose behind restricting buildable areas through FSI. Therefore, the TDR zones permitted the state to retain some control over the amount of floor space built in the city, and consequently, Pune's urban morphology.

The TDR zones are built on an assumption that higher amount of built space means higher number of people living in a given zone. Therefore, the DCR initially restricted using TDR in zones that were already considered high-density (S_9, 28/05/18). Since the historic core of Pune was the most densely populated, the DCR only permitted transferring the FSI from inner rings to outer rings, barring FSI transfer in the innermost circle (the old city area).

The TDR zones not only restricted the transfer of FSI but also conditioned the Slum Rehabilitation (SR) ratio as explained in the following formula. In effect, the SR ratio denotes the fraction of buildable floor space that can be sold in a free housing market through the SRP. The SR ratio is tied to the amount of floor space needed to rehabilitate existing eligible slum-dwellers.

$$\text{SR ratio} = \frac{\text{Area required for rehabilitation (Rehab)}}{\text{Total permitted buildable area (Rehab + Sale)}}$$

The following table explains the zone-wise SR ratios and TDR consumption ratios:

| TDR zones | SR Ratio: Rehab: Total before 2014 | SR Ratio: Rehab: Total after 2014 | TDR consumption in addition to permitted FSI |
|:---:|:---:|:---:|:---:|
| A | 1:2.0 | 1:1.5 | Nil |
| B | 1:2.5 | 1:1.75 | 0.4 + 0.2 |
| C | 1:3.0 | 1:2.0 | 0.4 + 0.2 |
| D | 1:3.0 | - | 0.4 + 0.2 |

Table 10: Zone-wise TDR consumption ratios in Pune (MASHAL, 2011b, p. 21)

The above table shows that while the inner zones permitted low SR ratio, the outer zones permitted higher SR ratio. The second and third columns shows the Slum Rehabilitation to Total built-up area ratios, while the fourth column shows the permissible TDR consumption. The number 0.4 in the fourth column denotes TDR permitted for the surrendering of land for all public purposes, and the value 0.2 denotes TDR permitted for the surrendering of land specifically for slum rehabilitation projects. The following map demonstrates the concentrically drawn TDR zones, including Red (zone A), Green (zone B), Orange (zone C) and the recently added twenty-three villages under PMC's jurisdiction shown in Yellow (Zone D).
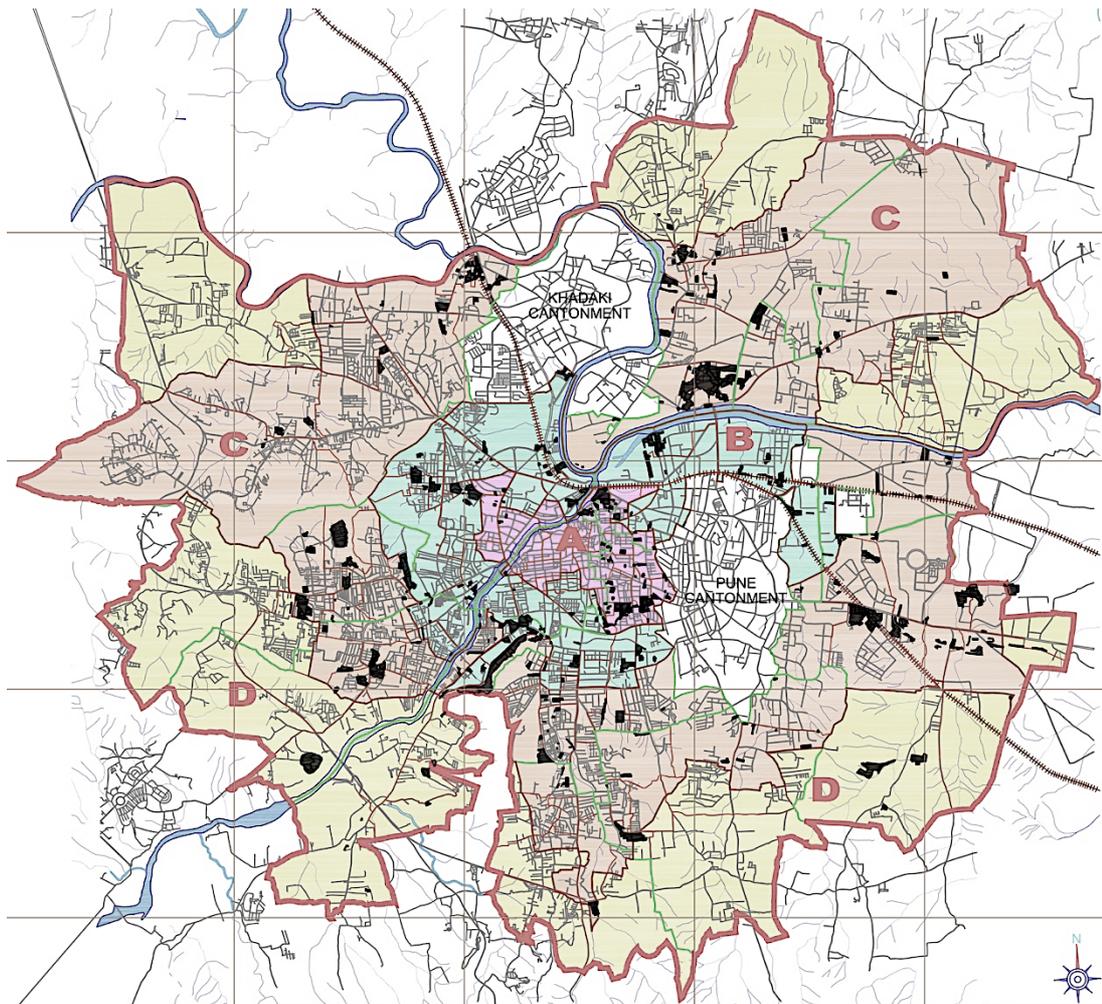
Figure 11: Map showing TDR zones in PMC (MASHAL, 2011b, p. 21)

During my fieldwork, I interviewed one of the PMC officials regarding 'slum rehabilitation', when they spoke of 'slum TDR'. The concept of 'slum TDR' denotes to 0.2 TDR obtained from Slum Rehabilitation projects, shown in the fourth column of Table 10 (on page 189). The PMC official told me that "TDR is as good as land value" (S_9, 28/05/18). I infer from their comment that TDR denotes a commodification of land in an alienated value-form. However, the PMC official also enunciated a concept of slum TDR which explains the linking of the concepts of slum and land in the discursive contours of *rājnīti*. The PMC official was not the only one articulating the category of slum TDR, because one of the developer_D's employees also explained to me the workings of the SRP using the category of slum TDR.

Since land is being liberalised in India, TDR generates a market without direct state control. While initially the TDR zones allowed certain degree of state control on the

locations where TDR could be used and therefore sold, the PMC official (S_9, 28/05/18) told me that the TDR zones were perceived as an obstruction to the TDR market, and so the 2017 Pune DCR removed the TDR zones, freeing the use of TDR on any plot of land in Pune. Consequently, TDR remains a favoured instrument in most real-estate development projects, including slum rehabilitation projects.

A real-estate developer told me that the TDR rates were at the discretion of the TDR brokers who frequent developers' offices to negotiate the rates. When asked about the TDR ratio, the developer said, "government wants low cap for TDR rates and private sector wants higher cap […] but we would like transparent trading, e.g. prices displayed on a website" (D_Pr_4, 30/06/18). The relaxing of the TDR zones and the developers' wish to seek transparent information about TDR rates resonate the MOUD's recommendations for urban land policy (Kshirsagar, 2007) I cited in section 2.2.3.

However, the very existence of a TDR market testifies to the fact that land is made a commodity in Pune. Furthermore, slum TDR conditions the perfect fungibility of slum lands since, unlike generic TDR, slum TDR "must be compulsorily used" (S_9, 28/05/18). In other words, the concept of slum TDR liberalises the land on which vastis are located by commodifying it in an alienated value-form. However, the perfect transferability of this alienated value-form is controlled by the state institutions no matter how imperfectly. Given the conversion of land into an alienated value-form, Modernity is performatively practiced in Pune.

In this section, I showed that unlike the SAA link between slum and land-as-territory, the PMC-led land policy discourses and practices have slummed land beyond its territorial meanings. That is, land is not only itself made a property through state-legislated development rights and a commodity through the transfer of TDR, but it has also simultaneously been slummed in its propertied and commodified registers. However, the state discourse on slum land does not stop at land liberalisation but also simultaneously narrates liberal democratisation of land. The institutionalisation of liberal democratisation of land arrives to the two vastis, not through PMC's land policy instruments, but through the SRA's Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP). In the

following section, I now briefly recount the liberal democratisation of slum lands in Pune through the SRP.

### 6.1.6 Liberal democratisation of slum lands through the SRP

I wrote in Chapter 2 that land and slums have been democratised in the 21$^{st}$ century Indian state. I also noted that the democratic reforms were neither politically nor academically unanticipated in India. For instance, in her comprehensive report on Pune's "market-based slum redevelopment" projects, Bapat (2012, p. 1) suggests that "[c]learly, the scheme needs to be participatory and flexible".

However, in Pune, the provision for obtaining slum-dwellers' consent for slum rehabilitation was already inscribed in Appendix T of the DCR in Pune in 2004 (Joshi, 2007, p. 10). The same clause is also now included in the SRA's slum rehabilitation policy guidelines. The clause requires that 70% of the occupiers of slum areas shall consent for slum rehabilitation and the real-estate developer undertaking the said rehabilitation. Although the SRA prepares a list of registered developers, the SRA does not initiate the dialogue between the developers, landowners, and the slum-dwellers, nor takes the responsibility of obtaining consents. In case the real-estate developer or at least 70% of the residents come forth with a proposal for slum rehabilitation, the SRP stipulates a clause for compulsory participation of the landowner.

With the prevailing mandate for consent-seeking, I would claim that the slum rehabilitations in Pune have been institutionally made liberal democratic and reinforce the performance of signing a textual social contract. Consequently, herein lies the crux of this thesis. While the discourse of the SRP indeed works with the Modern concepts of land-as-property, land-as-resource, and land-as-commodified-development-right, the participation of the residents is sought by asking their signed consents for slum rehabilitation, also resonating with Modernity (with capital M). Firstly, by asking vasti-residents to provide a liberal consent (although asked as a joint signature by a couple), the SRP assumes a Modern liberal theory of a sovereign individual. Secondly, in principal, although the vasti-residents are asked to consent

for the whole package of slum rehabilitation and the real-estate developer, the SRP does not provide a talk-based democratic forum for questioning or contesting the meanings of land as a state-controlled-property and a developer-controlled-commodity. In many ways, the seeking of a liberal consent and at the same time conditioning the possibilities of obtaining that consent resonates with the Indian state's liberal-illiberal conjuncture (Sud, 2012). Moreover, the Indian state policies and practices appear to be exercising a liberal democratic governmentality on the subject-agents of the SRP, as is evident through people's response to the SRP I recount in the next chapters. Moreover, it is precisely because people are still subjected to Modern (with capital M) liberal democratic discourses and practices, that postcolonial subjectivities (i.e. those straddling between Modernity and tradition) can be made visible on the plane of governmentality.

Given the focus of this thesis on the social making of PLP to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities, I delineated the domains of *rājnīti* and *loknīti* on the plane of governmentality. By far in this chapter, I have interpreted two Modern (with capital M) meanings of land as prevalent in the discursive contours of *rājnīti,* namely: property and a commodity. Although the extended state practices indeed work with other concepts of land, the purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the persistent reification (in the present continuous tense) of Modernity (with capital M) in Pune. Moreover, to elucidate the discursive contours of *loknīti,* I now turn to alternative narratives about land as recounted by those who are made subjects of the SRP, namely: landowners, vasti-residents, and real-estate developers. The narratives by landowners, vasti-residents, and real-estate developers begin to show distinct bodily, material, and discursive contours with different signifiers. Consequently, the following narratives provide the context in which I undertake my reading of the participatory encounters and land subjectivities in the later chapters (Chapters 7 & 8). To do so, I begin by recounting the narratives about two selected settlements in the rest of this chapter.

## 6.2 Discourses of *loknīti* (Kelewadi)

To explicate the context of Kelewadi, I will first contextualise the geographical and administrative boundaries in which land is situated (section 6.2.1), narrative history of the land (section 6.2.2), and the narrative history of the settlement (section 6.2.3), and lastly the proposed rehabilitation (section 6.2.4).

### 6.2.1 Discursive geographical and administrative context

Kelewadi is located in the south-eastern part of Pune at the foot of one of nine hills in Pune now part of a Biodiversity Park (BDP) earmarked in the DP. Consequently, part of Kelewadi lay under the hill-top hill-slope category. The settlement only occupies around 30.88 acres of the total land to be developed. However, according to MASHAL, about 3500 out of 4833 'slum structures' are built on the hill-slope (MASHAL, 2011b, pp. 22–23). In terms of the FSI and TDR regulations, those owning lands under the hill-top hill-slope category were not allowed to build on their land beyond 0.04 FSI (i.e. 4% of their land), except for residential land-use (0.08 FSI) until 2018. Consequently, considering residential rehabilitation in Kelewadi, Kelewadi landowners would have had to reserve 92% of the land occupied by 3500 slum structures for hill-top hill-slope.

However, the draft DP 2007 announced a Biodiversity Park (BDP) including the hill-top hill-slops in Pune, triggering a policy debate and a public debate regarding the permissible construction on BDP. While all political parties wanted to permit 4 - 10 % construction, environmental groups advocated for no development in BDP. After subsequent debates, Pune's guardian minister announced 8% TDR on BDP land, while banning all construction in BDP (Khairnar, 2018). Therefore, Kelewadi landowners would now have to surrender their land rights over the land occupied by 3500 slum structures to the state. However, land on which Kelewadi lies has alternative narrative histories that, while being enmeshed within the state discourses, escape the bounds of the liberal democratic state discourse of land I have analysed so far in this thesis. I elaborate on Kelewadi's alternative narrative histories in the following sections.

### 6.2.2 Discursive history of land ownership

A Muslim Trust affiliate, to whom others called Qazi[24], told me a history of Kelewadi's land as I interviewed him in his house along the banks of river Mutha. The moment I opened the topic of Kelewadi's history, Qazi excitedly began recounting the past since the pre-colonial times. While he almost told me the entire history through his memory, Qazi also showed me the Trust's genealogical chart that was hanging on the adjacent wall.

According to his records, Kelewadi's land was given to Peer Sayyad Nizāmuddin Chisti as *ināi* (reward) by *Pant Sachiv* of Bhor State, under the rule of Rājashri Shāhu Chatrapati[25] of the then Kolhapur State. Instantaneously, Qazi said that there was no such thing as 'land value' until the first city survey happened in Pune. He recalled a famous supreme court case where the court ruled in favour of land users (perhaps referring to the land to the tiller state policy?). Consequently, the Qazi deduced from the court case that the revenue from the land on which Kelewadi was located, was to be kept for the sustenance of the Peer community. According to Qazi's records, when the Indian state institutions conducted the first city survey, the land was given to Thorlā Sheikh Sallāh Dargāh Trust. He recalled that since the city survey, "for revenue purposes, place [*jāgā*] became owner's, while land [*jameen*] remained Trust's" (K_Pr_4, 03/05/18). Qazi's articulation hints that the very acts of creating a city survey and property allocations, i.e. Modern practices of government (with capital M), alienated land from the place. The Thorlā Sheikh Sallāh Dargāh, located in a different part of the city, was built around 1358 (Phadnis, 2017) and is managed by a Trust.

Qazi recalled how the Trust could not afford to build a fence around this piece of land to protect it from encroachment. The existing settlement of Kelewadi started growing on this land at least since the 1940s (Brahme, 2011). The growth of Kelewadi was

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[24] Qazi is a name for an Islamic legal scholar and judge.

[25] Rājashri Shāhu Chatrapati (1874 – 1922) was the first Mahārāja (king) of the princely state of Kolhapur and is often venerated as a social reformer.

not wholly settler-led. A study undertaken by Centre for Development Studies and Activities (CDSA) in Pune, shows that the growth of Kelewadi was assisted by the then corporators, who systematically made plots on this land and rented it to people migrating to the city (CC_3, 20/06/18).

In the early 1960s, Qazi recalled establishing a union of residents from the lately established settlement to avoid any loses to the Trust. Qazi did not speak of the experiences of working with the union in a pleasant tone. He told me that the Trust had asked for help from the police and various politicians to stop further encroachment on their land. However, Qazi remembered that the police and the politicians, bound by the anti-eviction law, would only act if 'roofs were not yet built' on the land.

As the Trust was seen to be losing revenue, the trustees decided to lease the land to a real-estate developer$_{K1}$ in 1982. Being a Muslim Trust, the Maharashtra Waqf board could have claimed the Trust's land as immovable property. However, because the Trust was given a choice to remain under the District commissioner's authority, the trustees stayed with the District commissioner's authority. Nonetheless, as a charity organisation, the Trust could not sell the land but could give it away on a long-term lease of 99 years. All these institutional practices of categorising land-as-property performatively reifies the Modern/colonial concept of land-as-property. However, Qazi stressed that the main reason for giving away land to the developer was that:

> "Sometimes, 50 people would come in front of the house in the mornings – saying 'build us houses'. That is why we looked for a *builder* [developer$_1$] and put the blanket[26] on his neck. It was getting out of control. The Trust was losing a lot […] See, it is like this, ancestors have given us this cauldron, you fill it with dung or make biryani in it [we don't care]" (K_Pr_4, 03/05/18).

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[26] The word he used for a blanket (ghongda) is also used colloquially in another proverb 'soaking blanket' which is used in the context when something is seen to be lingering for too long without much change and perhaps on its way to deterioration.

Incidentally, in 1984, the settlement was declared slum area by the PMC (KUDL, 2012, p. 4). The developer$_{K1}$, to whom all the vasti-residents remembered as the original landowner, attempted to redevelop Kelewadi. Some residents remembered that the landowner had placed security guards to protect the land from further encroachment. However, the residents also told me that the guards made no difference to the growth of the settlement. While developer$_{K1}$'s intention to redevelop this land was well known to the residents, two of his sons had divided opinions. The vasti-residents remembered developer$_{K1}$ as a reasonable landowner since he would not proceed with the development by evicting the existing residents.

However, after developer$_{K1}$'s sudden demise, his sons sold the land to a partnership of three developers in 2005. Only one of the three developers were undertaking the redevelopment project in 2018 (developer$_{K4}$). One of the other two allegedly died due to bankruptcy caused by a political party leader in 2008 (Brahme, 2011). While the land lease had been transferred from one developer to another, the Trust made a legal complaint against developer$_{K4}$ for violating the original agreement with the Trust. That legal conflict over the validity of the land lease and the compensation to the Trust was still ongoing in 2018, as the developer$_{K4}$ had begun undertaking the rehabilitation.

### 6.2.3  Discursive history of the vasti

The history of the vasti has become its own narrative in the shadow of the legal battles over land ownership. Many older vasti-residents remembered how they came to settle on this land. They recalled that the area was vacant and covered with congress grass[27].

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[27] Congress grass is a common name for Parthenium hysterophorus, also known as bitter weed, carrot weed, broom bush (India); whitetop, escobar amarga, and feverfew (Caribbean) and; false ragweed and ragweed parthenium (USA) (Patel, 2011; Kaur *et al.*, 2014). The grass is mainly known for spreading fast and hazardous to health.

The first settlers had to remove the menace of the congress grass and build the first houses. Since there was plenty of land vacant, the residents remembered that the first settlers could build more than one room for themselves and that is why they had bigger houses in 2018. As I noted earlier, some parts of the settlement were developed with assistance from a corporator. Alternatively, other parts of the settlement grew more gradually as some early settlers built several houses on vacant land and started renting them to new migrants. The settlement had slowly grown over the years to accommodate over 4833 households in 2018.

Kelewadi residents identified different parts of the vasti by different names. The identity of each neighbourhood in the vasti is also drawn from the year of the neighbourhood's establishment. Recent surveys of Kelewadi also map it along the locally-identified boundaries. The following table enumerates areas and populations living in Kelewadi along the locally-identified borders.

|   | Name | Area (sq.m.) | Tenements | Structures | Population | Density of population |
|---|------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Rautwadi | 16730.95 | 498 | 623 | 3115 | 1862 |
| 2 | Hanuman nagar | 28278.65 | 1125 | 1104 | 5520 | 1952 |
| 3 | Rajiv Gandhi Park | 8615.39 | 985 | 354 | 1770 | 2054 |
| 4 | Kelewadi | 39194.27 | 1145 | 1801 | 9005 | 2298 |
| 5 | Vasant nagar | - | 571 | - | - | - |
| 6 | Wadar wasti | - | 488 | - | - | - |

Table 11: Information on Kelewadi (MASHAL, 2011a, p. 10; KUDL, 2012, p. 5)

### 6.2.4  Discursive proposal of the slum rehabilitation

The narrative proposal of Kelewadi's slum rehabilitation is entangled within its narrative of land ownership, although not so much within the equally cogent narrative history of the vasti. Developer$_{K4}$ was undertaking the proposed slum rehabilitation in 2018, whose corporate policy included linking social and livelihood restoration plan, helping the vulnerable groups in the settlement, accommodating all families through

a national policy titled Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), and implementing a gender-sensitive approach.

To finance the project, the developer$_{K4}$ has acquired a loan from the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Given developer$_{K4}$'s policy to align with ADB guidelines, the developer$_{K4}$ hopes to leave no resident homeless, whether eligible or ineligible, subject to approval from SRA (KUDL, 2012, p. 65). According to the survey conducted by the developer$_{K4,}$ around 45% of households would become ineligible with the cut-off date of 1995 (KUDL, 2012, p. 48). Consequently, the developer$_{K4}$ expects to house ineligible vast-residents through other state housing policies or to give them adequate monetary compensation.

Conforming to the SRP guidelines, the developer$_{K4}$ plans to provide eligible households with a flat of 25 sq. m. carpet area with an additional balcony and 25 sq. m. carpet area for displaced shops and commercial establishments. The phase I of this project included eight buildings, which were already built during the time of my fieldwork. According to the developer$_{K4}$'s calculations, phase II of the project would consist of at least twenty-one buildings of eleven floors with thirteen flats on each floor. The developer$_{K4}$ is expecting to provide additional furniture to the residents at extra cost, which they have been told is well received by the vasti-residents (KUDL, 2012, p. 72). Having initiated the project, the developer$_{K4}$ had already constructed two buildings in Kelewadi without balconies, yet no vasti-resident had moved into the new buildings.

The rest of the proposed rehabilitation include the provision of basic services such as lifts, parking arrangements, water supply and storage system, sewage disposal system, power supply and backup system for lifts and water pump, firefighting system and rainwater harvesting. Along with these services, the developer$_{K4}$ intends to provide five society temples, three gymnasiums, two libraries, one self-employment centre for women, two playgrounds, one primary and one secondary school, thirteen Day-care centres, two crèche or Anganwadi, one multipurpose community hall, one senior citizen recreation centre, thirty-nine Ganapati mandirs, six Vitthal mandirs, and one Sai mandir (KUDL, 2012, p. 73).

## 6.3  Discourses of *loknīti* (Dandekar Pool Vasti)

To elucidate the historical context of Dandekar pool vasti, I will first contextualise the geographical and administrative boundaries in which land is situated (section 6.3.1), narrative history of the land ownership (section 6.3.2) and the narrative history of the settlement (section 6.3.3), and lastly the narrative proposal of the slum rehabilitation (section 6.3.4).

### 6.3.1  Discursive geographical and administrative context

Dandekar pool vasti situates on land admeasuring 9460.44 sq. m. of an area in the southern part of Pune close to the *gāothān* (the old city). It is located at a walking distance from Pune's primary intercity bus terminus, and close to schools, colleges, and hospitals with well-connected public transport. This land parcel abuts a rivulet that connects to one of Pune's three rivers. Except in monsoons, unregulated sewage flows through the rivulet. The residents of the settlement used this water-stream for open defecation until the PMC built public toilets. The rivulet floods in the monsoons affecting a few houses at the edge of the rivulet.

In the late 1970s, the rivulet flooded more than usual disrupting many houses on this land. The flood prompted PMC to act quickly and construct a wall on both sides of the rivulet to protect the settlements from inundating. Given that the DP has earmarked all areas within the flood-lines of all water-streams as ecologically sensitive area, part of Dandekar Pool Vasti is considered as land under reservation. Consequently, the state would acquire the land and compensate the landowners in proportion to the surrendered land. While the developer had already started constructing buildings in Dandekar Pool Vasti in 2018, about fifty households still resided on the land demarcated as ecologically sensitive, seen beyond the barricades drawn in Figure 15 (on page 233).

### 6.3.2 Discursive history of land ownership

This land was given to the Patel family in 1867 by Queen Victoria as *inām* (reward) for their services as entertainers and given their statute as dervishes. The landowners possess a copper-plate land copy-hold that continues to provide them with a legal claim to the land. Rafiq bhai, who is currently overseeing the rehabilitation, is one of the ten siblings who have inherited the legal ownership of this land. When I interviewed Rafiq bhai, he told me that his family owned more land than they currently own. Acknowledging the fact that there was no such thing as land value in the old days, Rafiq bhai said with lamentation:

> "Now, our father, there was no working person in our house, people did not have that mind, no education, so as much land was left, meaning they distributed land to people, as in the past they would give away land as *choli bangadi* [clothing or bangles] […] as in by a brother to a sister […]" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

Everyone called Rafiq bhai's father *chāchā,* meaning uncle. *Chāchā's* land policy of giving away land as a gift was guided by his land subjectivities. By giving away land as a gift to relatives on festivities or weddings, the siblings were left with less land than what their ancestors held. While the nine brothers have maintained territorial control over those who reside in Dandekar Pool Vasti, it was their father (i.e. *chāchā*) who helped establish the vasti on their land in the early 1970s. Rafiq bhai migrated to Saudi Arabia for work in 1976. He told me that his encounter with a dissimilar context prompted him to consider doing something with their land. As I interviewed him, Rafiq bhai remembered promising his mother (*chāchi*) that he would provide her with a better house before her last days. Although he was proud to have constructed an RCC (Reinforced Cement Concrete) house for themselves, he disliked that he could not redevelop the vasti before their mother's passing, despite his best efforts. Incidentally, Rafiq bhai's attempts to redevelop their vasti began in 1988, when the state had commenced upgrading Pune's slums, including Dandekar Pool Vasti.

Unsure of what the state-led slum upgrading would mean to their ownership status, Rafiq bhai recollected having a heated discussion with the then city-mayor. He had then sought a written proof from PMC specifying that the state would not renounce Patel family's private land ownership title in return for providing amenities in the settlement. Recounting his efforts to get PMC's permission, Rafiq bhai told me:

> "So, then I had told them that give us permission; we will build the buildings. This filth that is there will automatically go away" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

Consequently, at the then mayor's word, Rafiq bhai remembered going through the trouble of preparing building plans and getting them approved from the PMC. However, since the land was declared a slum area, there was an administrative barrier to allowing Rafiq bhai to construct the buildings. While Rafiq bhai continued his efforts to get a no-objection certificate from PMC's slum department, the mayor changed and the political support towards getting the building permissions diminished. Although Patel family's efforts to mobilise the vasti-residents to agree for rehabilitation persisted, Rafiq bhai told me:

> "But nothing of that sorts happened, so since it did not happen then even we started quarrelling [landowners and tenants]; there were a lot of attacks on our head too. So, we helplessly got compelled, and we gave that away to [the developer], that, "[here!] you develop!" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

In the late 1990s, Vandana Chavan became mayor of Pune and was later elected as a corporator of the ward in which Dandekar Pool Vasti is located. The residents told me that Vandana Chavan had supported them in their quarrel with the landowner. As the quarrel persisted until the next corporator was elected, Patel family could not do "*vyavahār* [business] for this [scheme]" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).The rehabilitation could begin only when the landowners found the real-estate developer they liked, corporator changed, and the SRP was announced.

In the meanwhile, two corporators had approached the Patel family with a proposal for a joint slum rehabilitation with the adjacent settlement. However, that coalition did not come into fruition because the Patel family did not agree to the conditions of the proposed deal. Apart from this instance, Rafiq bhai told me that no corporator again approached them. He said:

> "Yes, because see, how is it with us, we were not really civil/gentlemen; […] because our life was spent in the 'slum' with everyone. So corporators knew us […] we used to walk on the path of truth, that is it! Nothing untrue! There used to be a lot of quarrels, some people used to instigate [rumours], and people used to blame us that we have taken control over the 'slum' by force" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

Rafiq bhai sees these instigated rumours and unnecessarily ignited quarrels as a reason his continued efforts to redevelop the vasti did not come to realise. In 2005, the land was finally leased to the developer for slum rehabilitation under the SRP.

### 6.3.3  Discursive history of the vasti

While the land remained mostly vacant until the early 1970s, *chāchā*, the then owner of the land helped establish the Dandekar Pool Vasti. In 1972-73, the state of Maharashtra experienced consecutive years of drought due to low monsoon rains. As the government machinery failed to provide for the rural population, the droughts caused one of the worst famines the state had experienced (see Drèze, 2008). The 1972-73 famine resulted in large-scale migration of people from rural areas of Maharashtra to the towns and cities, when people were reported to have moved in search of livelihood and survival.

*Chāchā's* son told me that the migrants moved to the city and started staying on the sidewalks. It was *chāchā* who asked these people to move into *his* land and build houses in return for some rent. *Chāchā's* son told me that people used to see him as a god-like figure, because it was his benefaction that, in effect, had allowed them to

settle in Pune. By 1976, the settlement was established on this land. The son further remembered that *chāchā* was very lenient on rent,

> "Our father's habit, that even he had seen the days in poverty, […] so when our father used to go and ask for rent, you can take a survey even today, go ask them, […] they used to call him *chāchā* (uncle), […] then he would go into the house and see if they had eaten meals or not, if everything is in its place [everything is ok], then he would say ok, you can pay me rent; and if there was no food in the house then he would himself give them 1 or 2 rupees, first feed your children and then […] meaning this was his nature" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

*Chāchā's* wife, *chāchi* (aunty), took over the responsibility of collecting rents after *chāchā's* demise in 1978. The vasti-residents remembered *chāchi* to be much stricter on rent than *chāchā.* The settlement was not declared as a slum area in 1978 and PMC's efforts to actively intervene in the context of 'slum areas' started in the 1980s. Following this shift, the settlement was declared a slum area in 1983. Notwithstanding the Government's nomenclature, Rafiq bhai remembered that the area was always called a *zopadpatti* (slum). However, the state's recognition of the settlement as a slum area meant that many slum policies of the government could now be directed towards this settlement. Successively, the vasti-residents were given a choice to move elsewhere in the city under a slum-resettlement scheme in 1988. The scheme comprised of giving people land-parcels in one part of the city, where people would construct their own houses.

Many residents from Dandekar Pool Vasti chose to move to the new scheme which lay in the outskirts of the city then. Those who chose not to participate in the scheme, stayed because either they thought the resettlement location was too far or that they could not afford to invest in building their own houses despite the bank loans provided against mortgage through the scheme. As some residents moved away, the PMC was quick to demolish the vacated houses. While the settlement never became as populated as it was in 1988, the landowners continued building houses and renting them. This time, the new residents were single men coming from outside

Maharashtra. They preferred staying in shared houses and could afford to pay substantially more rent than what the earlier residents could. The arrival of high-rents paying tenants prompted *chāchi* to seek higher rents from the previous residents. As *chāchi's* son returned from Saudi Arabia and wanted new development, the vasti-residents, already weary of *chāchi's* demands for higher rents, chose not to assist the landowners for redevelopment.

Meanwhile, the corporators had begun providing basic amenities and services to the settlement, including public toilets, drainage lines, and paved roads. Vandana Chavan, an activist lawyer and an ex-mayor of Pune, was also elected as a representative of the ward under which the settlement lays. The residents went to the corporator regarding their plea against the landowner's demands. The corporator assured the residents of their right not to be evicted without proper compensation. Consequently, the residents chose to file a legal complaint against the landowners for unlawfully charging them rents. The legal dispute was no pleasant experience for either the tenants or the landowners. In 2018, no one preferred talking about this period, especially with me. I could notice fear, disappointment, guilt, and melancholy on the faces of people whenever they sparingly hinted at those days. They spoke of violence, incarcerations, police cases, and unnecessary communal tensions. Rafiq bhai told me:

> "Among ourselves, right? I told you, whatever quarrels used to happen, some quarrels happened due to rents, '[we] do not want to pay rents!', 'stop the rents!', the situation had advanced till scuffle. Then, even the municipal authorities used to come, if [someone] builds *pakkā* [solid] house then [the corporation] would come to break it, that would create quarrels, this tradition was on, something or the other, something or the other…" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

However, the dispute was all past them in 2018. The landowner reasserted that their tenants were not the culprits. Instead, he believed that "it was the politicians and elected representatives who had 'poisoned their minds'" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18). The residents also held nothing specific against the landowners in 2018. The new

development is expected to have sorted all those unnecessary misunderstandings. It was all a mistake. In 2018, the vasti-residents, who could prove their residence status before 1995 and later before 2000, had been moved to a transit camp in walking distance from this land. They were awaiting the construction of their new house.

|   | Name | Area (sq. m.) | Structures |
|---|------|---------------|------------|
| 1 | Dandekar pool/ Kasim-bhai zopadpatti | 9460.44 | 204 |

Table 12: Information on Dandekar Pool Vasti

### 6.3.4  Discursive proposal of the slum rehabilitation

Following the SRP, the residents will be provided with a house of 25 sq. m. carpet area. However, in addition to the SRP guidelines, the developer has provided one balcony adjoining the living room and one dry-balcony connecting to the kitchen. While the corridor is made broader than the state-specified guidelines, the developer has left around 30 sq. m. double-height space on each floor as a multi-purpose community hall (as I show in Figure 24 on page 285). Both the developer and the vasti-residents appeared content about these 'community spaces' when I interviewed them. The vasti-residents expect to gather in the community halls to celebrate festivities and family reunions.

At the time of the fieldwork, all the eligible vasti-residents had been relocated into transit accommodation about half a kilometre away from Dandekar Pool Vasti. Ultimately, the developer would accommodate all vasti-residents in one of the three 12-storey buildings being constructed on the site. The developer expects to use one of the other two buildings for eligible residents from other slum areas and put the third building on the free-sale real-estate market. The shared space between the three buildings will be made into a public open space. The developer is also expected to construct an independent 5-storey building, and reconstruct a *masjid* for the landowners. The two buildings allocated for existing residents will be provided access through an adjacent settlement, while the free-sale building will have access from the main vehicular road.

## 6.4  Conclusion

In this chapter, I expounded on the discursive contours of *rājnīti* (policies of government) and *loknīti* (policies of the governed). In this chapter, I provisionally fixed the Modern state (with capital M), with all its phantasmal and performed character, as occupying the position of government and people engaged in slum rehabilitation projects, including landowners, vasti-residents, and real-estate developers, and even the corporators, as occupying the position of the governed. On the one hand, I referred to the written policies produced by various modern state institutions, such as the PMC or the SRA, to elaborate on the discursive contours of *rājnīti.* On the other hand, I developed grounded histories and futures of land and the vastis to draw out insights into the discursive contours of *loknīti* (policies of the governed). Given the limited scope of this research, these presented narratives cannot be expected to exhaust the discourses that inform policies of the governed. However, I think that they provide a useful insight into understanding how the socially made field of PLP shapes people's own land subjectivities and policies, shedding light on the postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

To summarise, I suggested in this chapter that the SRP links 'slum', 'undesirability', 'improvement', 'land' – using Modern concepts of 'development rights', 'resource', 'commodity', and 'property', as well as the 'liberal consent'. Effectively, I argued through this chapter that *rājnīti* operates with Modern concept of land-as-property and land-as-commodity, among many others, which is further 'slummed' in its commodified and propertied registers. As I wrote in Section 3.1.1, land-as-property is foundational to the theory of liberal democratic state at least since John Locke, and continues to remain "the law [or foundation] of [liberal] democracy" (Singer, 2014) in the 21st century Western countries as well as in the narratives and practices of Modernity performatively practiced in India. Moreover, land as commodity is further linked to the concept of property through ideas such as transfer of development rights. In other words, the theory of the Modern liberal democratic state is being reified (in the present continuous tense) in Pune by inscribing the ideas such slum lands,

land ownership, transfer of development rights, and liberal consent-seeking onto the discourse of the Indian state through various institutional policies and practices.

More importantly, people's narratives about land are crowded with references of interpersonal relationships, emotional attachments, hopes, necessities, potentialities, as well as subjunctive-prospective futures. These multiple registers through which people narrate land are not necessarily tethered to the Modern concepts of property and commodity as an alienable thing. Yet, people engaged in slum rehabilitations must not only live with the Modern concepts of property and commodity, but also struggle against it through their political praxis, whenever necessary. In this thesis, I seek to bring into re-presentation people's own land subjectivities and land policies that are not tethered to the Modern concepts of property, commodity, territory, nature, or religion as alienable discrete *things*. The situated histories of land ownership, land habitation, and subjunctive-prospective futures of the vasti, explored in this chapter, ethnographically helps shed light on people's contextually made and remade land subjectivities and land policies.

More such narratives will follow in Chapter 7 where I recount how communication, struggle, and cooperation takes place between those who contextually govern and those who are governed through the medium of bodies, matter, and texts. Together, these narratives assist in reading the registers through which people narrate their land subjectivities and land policies in Chapter 8, which I refer to as postcolonial land subjectivities. Embedded within these narratives lay those meanings of land that remain unheard in the dialogue between government and the governed. I speculate on these unheard, i.e. subaltern, land subjectivities in Chapter 9. The making and remaking of land subjectivities and policies at the various encounters between government and the governed demonstrates that slum rehabilitations are socially making a participatory land policy.

# 7 PARTICIPATORY ENCOUNTERS

In this chapter, I elaborate on the various encounters that affect land subjectivities on the plane of governmentality during slum rehabilitations in the two vastis. In Chapter 4, I characterised these encounters as the site where participation takes place and complicity in shaping various land subjectivities and policies can be discerned. In line with the three registers articulated in Chapter 4, I first elaborate on the bodily encounters (section 7.1) where bodies meet and perform to shape subjectivities; second, on the material encounters (section 7.2) where matter becomes a register through which subject-agents influence each other's decisions; and third, on the textual encounters (section 7.3) where texts affect the subjectivities of various subject-agents. In each section, I first begin by accounting for the encounters that are deliberately triggered by various subject-agents as a response to the state's SRP. However, I also account for the unexpected encounters in the latter part of each section.

## 7.1 Bodily encounters

### 7.1.1 Deliberate singular encounters between bodies

In this section, I elaborate on two instances when bodied subject-agents deliberately meet one another because of the SRP. First, I narrate a Modern state practice of documenting the vasti-residents and the vasti-residents' response to these practices. Later, I provide two narratives of bodily encounters between the vasti-residents and the developers to demonstrate their effects on shaping people's land subjectivities.

Residents in the slum areas (viz. vasti-residents) are often subjected to documentation and surveying by the Modern state institutions in Pune. Since the GoM actively started intervening in slum areas from the 1980s, the PMC has conducted numerous surveys to document the slum-dwellers. Indeed, Modern developmental states are known to undertake surveys and collect census data to

formulate policies suitable to their subject-citizens. However, the practice of documenting the slum-dwellers takes a peculiar form as I expound below.

In the 1980s, the PMC distributed photo-passes to legitimise slum-dwellers' presence on the land on which they resided. This practice of documenting slum-dwellers and distributing photo-passes has been decisive in making slum-dwellers eligible for various state policies. However, despite the multiple surveys in addition to the census, the SRP stipulates an eligibility criterion whereby the slum-dweller is required to prove their bodily presence in their slum-structure before a specified cut-off date. Additionally, the actual practice of making an eligibility list requires the physical presence of the slum-dwellers in their houses at the time of the survey. Unlike the state-led photo-pass distributions, developers help prepare eligibility lists for the SRP.

The developers in both the settlements prepared eligibility lists by surveying the existing residents. In one of the two settlements, the developer photographed various slum-structures along with the bodies that resided in them. During the fieldwork, a worker in the developer's office showed me photographic documentation of an eligible family. The photograph showed the entrance of the house with a newly marked house number and at least one family member residing in it. In line with guidelines of the SRP, this developer had also obtained residents' biometric data. Where houses were not already numbered, a member of a family was asked to hold a slate with the house number written on it. This practice of photographing slum-dwellers in front of their houses echoes with other slum projects depicted in MASHAL's Slum Atlas.

I suggested in Chapter 6 that the SRP has constructed a subject-position of slum-dwellers to facilitate the implementation of the SRP. That is, the success of the SRP depends on the recruitment of bodied subject-agents who can fill in the position of slum-dwellers. Furthermore, I theoretically claimed that the recruitment of bodied subject-agents is political because the recruitment requires changing the subject-position from being vasti-residents to being slum-dwellers. In section 4.3, I suggested that because subjectivities are already relationally embroiled within discourses, the

subject's disagreement with a subject-position is simultaneously a disagreement with the discursive relations that produce the subject-position.

The practice of photographing bodies on their land indeed appears as a policy-practice *(rājnīti)* of recruiting the bodied subject-agents as slum-dwellers. Photographic surveys are one bodily encounter between vasti-residents and the developers during slum rehabilitations. Murad, from the movie Gully Boy, questioned the discourses the society had constructed for him. Likewise, a long-time resident of Kelewadi also questioned their categorisation as a slum-dweller by asking me, "tell me, do you see *slum* here [in the vasti]?" during my fieldwork. That rhetorical question channelled my gaze towards the clean paved streets, *pakkā* (solid) painted houses with grilled balconies, planters, and television antennas. Indeed, I could not see the 'slum'. Kalebai, another long-term resident of Kelewadi, was more explicit about her disagreement with the practice of surveying.

Kalebai came to reside in Kelewadi after she got married. In 2018, she lived with her children and grandchildren in the house left to her by her husband. While she used to teach in the past, she worked for corporator$_{K1}$ when I interviewed her. She mediated between vasti-residents and corporator$_{K1}$ conveying their demands and responses. While she mostly spoke of her relationship with the vasti-residents and the corporator$_{K1}$ congenially throughout the interview, her tone drastically changed when she began speaking of the SRP and the practice of surveying:

> "Now, this house of mine [she banged on the solid wall of her house] is old, can anybody remove me from here? [rhetorical question] You [the government], by taking our signatures, are making our solid proof here, what difference is it going to make to us? […] One hundred years, what you were sleeping? In 100 years, so many times, SRA people must have come and taken the proofs away […] There are strong [people], we have [people] from the old generation […] they are there to take decisions" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18).

In her comment, I read a frustration regarding the practice of repeated surveying, which she peculiarly linked to two different facts. Firstly, she claimed a relationship between the solidity of her house and her bodily existence in the vasti. Secondly, she bent the purpose of the surveys to support the possibility of maintaining that relationship. In other words, while the purpose of the eligibility lists is to make residents eligible for the SRP, Kalebai wants to use the survey documentation to retain the possibility of resisting the SRP. On the one hand, Kalebai logically disparaged the repeated practice of surveying by saying, "what difference is it going to make to us?" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18). However, on the other hand, by swiftly proceeding to say that "the old generation […] are there to take decisions" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18), Kalebai appears to be discursively confiscating the decision-making power from the state. Perhaps, while the SRP has very recently mandated 70% consent, her experience of state-led evictions from the past appears to make her suspicious of the Government surveys.

In effect, Kalebai was questioning the SRP's Modern (with capital M) liberal democratic governmentality of recruiting bodied subjects to populate the subject-position of slum-dwellers using their 'liberal' consent. At the practice of the survey, Kalebai was annulling the liberal democratic governmentality and transferring the responsibility of the decision from the state or the market onto the old generation, mostly men. I read her to be suggesting that perhaps the surveys, instead of facilitating the state to force them into new buildings (thus alienating them from their land/house/vasti), could instead be used by the vasti-residents to resist the SRP.

Kalebai shared her general frustration against documentation with other residents in the settlement. As I wrote in Chapter 5, participants of this research told me about an incident where some vasti-residents 'beat up' two young surveyors while writing down their information. At least in the eyes of the participants of this research, their neighbours' violent reaction against the surveyors was a reaction against collecting information without explicit permission. In my view, this anecdotal reference was a warning to me just in case I was trying to seize their information for political or economic gains without their approval. Despite a long history of documenting the

residents and failed attempts at rehabilitation, participants regretfully told me that 'they' (the developers?) had again started collecting information to restart the rehabilitation process. Overall, I noticed that the residents of Kelewadi were not wholly against sharing information with the Government institutions or the developers. Instead, they disagreed with repeated surveys which had not significantly amounted towards anything so far in their view.

Along with the repeated documentary surveys, the SRP also brought about bodily encounters between the vasti-residents and the developers. The SRP's mandate for seeking 70% of residents' consent means that residents would have to be convinced for approval. The subject-agents of the SRP have historically dealt with the Government institutions before economic liberalisation. With the appearance of the developer as a new subject-agent, the residents are asked to fill a different subject-position. In these changed circumstances, bodily encounters appear to matter to the subject-agents of the SRP. In this vein, both the developers held meetings with the vasti-residents to facilitate the process of the SRP with distinct outcomes. In the following part of this section, I show two different results of bodily encounters in the two settlements.

In Kelewadi, the residents did not remember meeting the developer except for one gathering in the early 2000s. Consequently, although the developer's personnel encountered with the vasti-residents, the developer himself (the head of the organisation) had not met the residents. At the time of the gathering, the then corporator had invited the developer to tell the residents regarding the proposed rehabilitation scheme. The participants of this research remembered that a 'big stage' was built and hundreds of chairs were arranged in the local school ground. The participants told me that the corporator had already spoken with the vasti-residents before the meeting.

Both the corporator and the developer attended the meeting to inform the residents about the rehabilitation scheme. However, the residents recalled that the developer differed from what the corporator had told them. The discrepancy arose regarding the size of the new flat as far as the participants remembered. Given the disagreement,

the meeting did not end well despite the grandeur of the set-up and the deliberated bodily encounter. As the corporator gauged resident's eminent reaction to the changed terms of the scheme, he decided to flee the scene; while the developer had to witness the residents' frustration and anger.

Decades since the gathering, residents now joked about how the mob broke the chairs and the stage and how the developer 'ran away'. Participants of this research grinned when they told me that the developer was only once sighted by the residents in the vasti since then. Even then, he had fled immediately. Indeed, some residents complained precisely about the fact that the developer had never met with them and that nobody even knew who he was. The latter comment was rhetorically articulated with sarcasm since some residents did know about the developer. However, both the comments came as a complaint that the developer had not met with the residents enough.

In Dandekar Pool Vasti, the developer also made an explicit attempt to meet with the vasti-residents physically. Given that the landowners in Dandekar Pool Vasti had previously failed to redevelop the settlement, Rafiq bhai thought that the residents would not trust the Patel family with redevelopment again. Consequently, the Patel family requested the developer to meet with the residents in person. When interviewing Javed, a vasti-resident, he spoke highly of the landowners, and cheerfully told me that the developer had personally visited them once in the vasti along with the developer's family. While recounting his many encounters with the developer and the developer's team, Javed said:

> "I had gone to their office many times […] [but] no questions, such [humble?] language, he [the developer] lives in such a way as if he has nothing there [smiling with surprise] […] such man is [almost] impossible to meet" (D_VR_1, 10/03/18).

Not everyone in Dandekar Pool Vasti was as affable towards the developer as Javed. However, none of the participants of this research spoke against the developer either. Most male participants of this research recalled personally meeting the developer or

his team on several occasions, while the female participants had at least seen him once. The bodily encounters between the developer and the residents, alongside their cordial dialogues, had left little room for the residents to disagree with the developer.

The above two narrations of the bodily encounters between the developer and the residents demonstrate a peculiar emphasis regarding the effects of deliberated singular bodily encounters. While the residents wished that their demands be heard, discussed, and ideally met, they also emphasised on seeing and meeting the developers. By viewing and meeting with the developer, the residents could have the possibility of knowing him, judging his worth and perhaps entertaining the possibility of building a relationship of trust. The developer in Dandekar Pool Vasti explicitly told me that it was of utmost importance that "they [the developers] build trust with the residents in these [slum-related] projects" (D_Pr_4, 30/06/18). Both the developers' efforts to build this trust triggered their deliberated bodily encounters with the residents with two very distinct outcomes.

### 7.1.2  Deliberate habitual encounters between bodies

In this section, I recount two narratives where residents deliberately and persistently encountered landowners, and how these encounters affected the decisions and actions of residents as well as landowners. In Chapter 6, I described the bodily encounters between trustee members and Kelewadi residents. To reiterate the narrative in the Qazi's words:

> "That is why we looked for a builder [a developer] and *put the blanket*[28] *on his neck.* It [the management of Kelewadi] was getting out of control. The Trust was losing a lot [of revenue] […] See, it is like this, ancestors have given us this cauldron [land], you fill it with dung or make biryani in it [we

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[28] The word he used for 'blanket' (ghongda) is also used colloquially in another proverb - 'soaking blanket'. The proverb is often used in situations when something is seen to be lingering for too long without much change and on its way to deterioration.

don't care] […] we are *white-collar* people; owning land is not *white-collar* people's cup of tea" (K_Pr_4, 03/05/18).

Qazi's remark linked three concerns during the narrative. Firstly, the trustee members, including the Qazi, did not physically reside on the land and the Trust collectively owned the land. Therefore, Qazi's relation to the land was already alienated to a degree. This alienation was readable in his indifference to what the developers would do with land after the Trust had been appropriately remunerated. Secondly, even though the Qazi lived at least 5 km away from Kelewadi, he remembered that the residents repeatedly met with him to seek the Trust's assistance. Qazi mainly spoke of the nuisance created by bodies in front of his house, directly inciting him to consider leasing their land to the developer. Thirdly, Qazi articulated a stark difference between '*white-collar* people' and those who have the competence for owning land. During the interview, Qazi repeatedly mentioned *goondagiri* (hooliganism) from which he explicitly stayed away. Owning land, in Qazi's terms, requires the capacity to deal with hooliganism and the putatively civilised manners of resolving land ownership disputes via the M/modern state institutions cannot suffice in the business of owning land in Pune.

Being a Qazi, the narration of his decisions regarding their land resonated with *dharma*-inspired political accounts. The Qazi recounted that the trustees had helped Kelewadi residents make a union to facilitate the Trust's dialogue with them, and had sought help from the police as well as politicians to deal with hooliganism. I notice two *dharmic* reasonings in the two actions of helping create a resident union and seeking help from the police. On the one hand, the Trust's efforts seem directed at resolving the legal dispute without having to evict the residents, thereby protecting their rights not to be evicted. Given that the trust had filed a legal complaint against the developer_K4 for violating their original agreement for compensation, it is possible to find some *nīti* (i.e. goal-oriented policy) behind the Trust's actions. However, Qazi articulated them in terms of *dharma* (i.e. the 'right' and the 'lawful' thing to do). On the other hand, he suggested that *nīti* motivated the residents' actions, because the residents 'wanted something' from the Trust. Qazi's conviction that *white-collar*

*people* cannot partake in the business of owning land is a result of his repeated bodily encounters with the residents of Kelewadi, who most often acted as *goonda* (hooligans) in his perspective.

However, unlike the Qazi, the Patel family resided within Dandekar Pool Vasti. Rafiq bhai told me that their bodily presence in the vasti allowed them to maintain control over the settlement and collect rents. This bodily presence and many years of living together had not helped Rafiq bhai in gaining his tenants' trust when he had decided to redevelop their vasti in the 1980s. However, since the developer started implementing the SRP, Rafiq bhai chose to use his bodily presence and existing relationships with the residents to facilitate the process of rehabilitation. Rafiq bhai stayed among the residents in the transit accommodation despite owning another house. Rafiq bhai recounted his reason for staying among the residents as follows:

> "My relation with the people is more, meaning whoever people, poor etc., I have grown among them. So, my friendship [with them] grew […] And how is it? Not all our brothers agree with everyone; people get scared […] and I am inclined to live amidst [among – in the locative case] them, so these people themselves ask me to stay. So even I thought that until [we/they] go [in the new buildings], I will stay among them. That is why I stay here, once it [the rehabilitation] happens, I will go" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

While the residents themselves often meet with the developer, Rafiq bhai told me that he resided among the residents in case there were disagreements or misunderstandings. Many residents also found it useful to have Rafiq bhai bodily present among them in the transit accommodation. In other words, not only did Rafiq bhai's bodily presence bolstered residents' trust in the SRP but also allowed Rafiq bhai to gauge and resolve periodic concerns and potential disagreements.

The above two narratives demonstrate the effects of bodily encounters between residents and landowners. While in the first case, Qazi's further alienation from the land resulted from his bodily encounters with the residents; in the second case, Rafiq

bhai's estrangement from the vasti-residents was deferred given the perceived benefits of his presence.

### 7.1.3 Subjunctive-prospective bodily encounters in store

In the previous two sections, I narrated about bodily encounters between subject-agents that affected their decisions concerning land. In this section, I describe two instances where bodies were made means of a political struggle, either symbolically or physically.

As I was still interviewing Kalebai after a long transect walk through Kelewadi, her fervour to speak about her vasti and the problems of the SRP had not tempered. Along with her response to the practice of documenting slum-dwellers stated in section 7.1.1, Kalebai made another reference to bodies in a very different register. She said:

> "When *janatā* [people] rises with fire [anger], then everyone will rise; but if you [the Government/ developer?] are going to remove us by burning [our houses?], then what is the use? Even if you [the Government/ developer?] take out the bulldozer, even then each household has ten – ten people. You [the Government/ developer?] cannot crush ten people under the bulldozer. Nowhere has there been made any law like that" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18)

Kalebai's comment regarding the possibility of making bodies work against a potential threat of demolition is (thankfully) enunciated in the subjunctive-prospective. However, her strategic calculations regarding possible future scenarios included bodies. During the interview, Kalebai recognised that crushing residents' bodies by a bulldozer, operated by another body representing an institution (Government/ private firm), was quite different from setting the houses on fire. Accordingly, Kalebai's conditional response involved suitable tactics and counter-strategies. In the case of fire, she anticipated that bodies *could not* help, while in the case of a bulldozer, she imagined bodies to become a means of a counter-strategy against eviction. Her

speculative imagination perhaps came from vasti-residents' past experiences regarding GoM's or developer's strategies to eradicate slums. However, neither could she predict GoM's or developer's strategies, nor could she guarantee residents' response. Nonetheless, her speculation suggested that bodies were and could conditionally become instruments of resistance.

Like Kalebai, Ashish from Dandekar Pool Vasti also knew of the possibility of making bodies work for political struggle. However, unlike Kalebai's subjunctive-prospective response, Ashish (unfortunately) told me his story in the indicative past. Furthermore, unlike Kalebai's speculative use of bodies to resist the SRP, Ashish's narrative referred to securing a subject-position in the SRP. Indeed, I was introduced to Ashish by a developer's employee since Ashish was the only person who had disallowed the developers from demolishing his house until his name appeared in the SRP eligibility list. Although Ashish stayed far away from the settlement after moving out of the vasti, he agreed to meet with me upon request.

I met Ashish in a local theatre where he was organising a convention on environmental activism. Ashish moved to Pune from another town in Maharashtra in search of livelihood and sought rental accommodation when he got married. As I interviewed him, Ashish explicitly told me that he was not a slum-dweller although he lived in a slum. He supplemented his argument by asserting that he came from a 'good' family. This dismissal of a subject-position is a dismissal of the discourse that surrounds the subject-position of slum-dwellers. I infer from Ashish's rejection of the subject-position of slum-dweller to mean the need to change the discourse on slums. Yet, Ashish was not against slum rehabilitations as visible from his use of bodies during the process.

As we continued discussing, I asked Ashish why he had moved out the last from the settlement. He looked at me inquisitively for a few long seconds and responded with a grin, "Why do you think? [You tell me]" (D_VR_12, 16/05/18). It was a rhetorical question that immediately followed with his story of *why* he moved out last from the vasti. Ashish told me that when the SRA made the first eligibility list, his name did not appear in the list because he lacked the necessary 'official documents' required to

prove his residence before 01/01/1995. However, he was resident in the settlement since the early 1990s. He told me that his daughter's birth certificate had their address written on it, but the GoM officers would not accept birth certificates as proof. Ashish told me that he frequented the SRA and the developer's office many times to try to find a solution to a problem which he knew was only a bureaucratic hurdle. Because the bureaucracy did not respond to his concern, Ashish decided not to move from the vasti until a solution was found. The Indian state bureaucracy was not so porous, informal or unfixed for Ashish. He calmly told me with a stern look:

> "I told you right in the beginning, I am true, my place [land] is proven, my
> *astitva*[29] [existence/being] is there; to prove this I will remain exactly where
> I am, this was my main thought" (D_VR_12, 16/05/18).

I read in Ashish's comment, an estimation that the Government or the developer would not dare violate his body or the bodies of his family. It was Ashish's way of making tactical use of bodies to ward-off potential eviction. He had decided to stay put while being vigilant of the political changes around him. Although neither Ashish nor the developer's team wished to provide me with the exact details of the situation, I noticed an unease when they spoke of this incident.

On the one hand, the developer could not have made an easy exception for him as other ineligible residents had moved out of the settlement. On the other hand, the SRA has the authority to use physical force (violence) in case of non-compliance from the ineligible slum-dwellers. Fortunately, the necessity to use physical force did not appear as GoM changed the eligibility cut-off date from 01/01/1995 to 01/01/2000. With the change of eligibility criterion, Ashish could finally claim his flat in the rehabilitation, and as the last remaining bodies from the vasti relocated, the developer

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[29] As a native Marathi speaker, I would never use the word *Astitva* colloquially. In my view, *Astitva* is an existential state with a transcendental, even theological, connotation often used exclusively in literature. I cannot fathom why Ashish would have used this word, but I would read Ashish to be referring to his felt existential threat in the face of eviction from the settlement. In a way, Ashish was saying that eviction would bring a threat to his existence.

could begin constructing the new building. It costs time and money to unmake and remake India's modern state practices – a cost that Ashish bore by risking his and his family's life. By focusing on bodily encounters, it becomes possible to recognise the potential violence of Modern state (with capital M) still being performed in India.

Both the above narrations exhibit singular instances where subject-agents made bodies work for a political struggle, either in subjunctive-prospective or in indicative past. They both indicate a calculative *nīti* anticipating potential threats and making bodies a means for counter-strategies. Thereupon, not only do these narratives show the ways of making bodies work for political action, but also demonstrate situations that shape subject-agents' land-related conduct.

### 7.1.4  Whither the non-human bodies?

So far, in this section, I have accounted for the encounters between human bodies. Certainly, the SRP has only constructed subject-positions for human subjects. However, non-human bodies did encounter human bodies, particularly in Kelewadi, and affected the social making of PLP. In this section, I recount two narratives that articulate human encounters with non-human bodies.

Kalebai took me to show her former student's house while walking through Kelewadi. Her student, Raja, lived in the same house since his childhood and now had his own family. Kalebai wanted to show me the cow-shed adjacent to Raja's house. Raja's family had been rearing cattle for two generations. While introducing me to Raja, Kalebai told him:

> "I told him [me] that ours is like a village. [We have] everything: buffalos, cows, cow-sheds […] The builder [the developer] should think of them too […] because this thing [she pointed at the cattle] is more important than everyone. […] [Now speaking to me] So these are villagers" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18).

Raja was listening to Kalebai and nodding while working; while his son Ritesh*,* also now married, was preparing fodder in the narrow alleyway that led to the cow-shed.

Listening to our conversation, Ritesh laughed and said, "first provide facilities to them [the cattle] and then to us" (K_VR_11.5, 25/04/18). He further added twice that rearing cattle was their primary livelihood. Ritesh was supporting Kalebai's claim that the possibility of rehabilitation was, in their view, conditional on the future of cattle-rearing. As the SRP does not stipulate anything regarding cattle-rearing, the question of raising the concern of cattle-rearing in the dialogues with the SRP implementers remained unspecified. Raja's family was not alone in this predicament. Prashant, a young potential community leader from Kelewadi, told me about a resident from Wadarwadi, who had begun rearing sheep on the seventh floor of the new building, although he immediately added:

> "It is not their fault […] It is their livelihood; what can they do? […] Now, here [this remaining settlement] too, there are two or three cow-sheds, so now what [can one] do? Do we take cows on the seventh floor? [he laughed]" (K_VR_7, 08/04/18).

The mocking laughs of both Ritesh and Prashant reveal their manner of articulating incommensurability of the proposed development in the face of non-human bodies. Nevertheless, some residents of Kelewadi had figured a way to make space for the non-human bodies in the new development.

Rambhau, a resident of Wadarwadi, was a stone-cutter when his family moved into Wadarwadi; and like Kalebai, had begun working with the corporator$_{K1}$ since the stone quarry on the adjacent hill stopped functioning. After Wadarwadi got redeveloped, Rambhau moved into a first floor flat of the new building. While denying the account of a resident rearing sheep on the seventh floor, Rambhau began narrating his own connection with the cattle in the settlement. Rambhau told me that his family had cows before his birth. However, he had himself started rearing one cow since around three to four years after moving into the new flat. When asked if breeding cattle was his livelihood, he said:

> "No, no, no. In god's account. Nothing as a business. Now even the milk, I give the milk to the calf […] I bring her fodder, and four months [of

monsoon] I leave her on the hill. She comes back by evening" (K_VR_9, 12/04/18)

Rambhau had built a small shed in between a community temple and the rock-cliff of the adjacent hill. Rambhau's eyes glittered when he told me that the calf bawled every time it saw him approach. Over the years, he had grown fond of them. He remembered others in the community with sheep and cattle, but no one else had them in 2018 anymore except for him and his brother-in-law – Kedar. With excitement, Rambhau took me to a temple abutting his cow-shed and showed me where Kedar reared his sheep. Unlike Rambhau, raising sheep and looking after the ancestral temple was Kedar's livelihood. When I asked Kedar if I could take a photograph of the temple, he replied with frenzy:

"Not mine, not god's. People have taken away many photos. [We] cannot say what they have in their minds. Do not take offence, take sheep's [photograph]" (K_VR_9.5, 12/04/18)

Rambhau's narrative tells me that while the future of most cattle in the settlement appears uncertain, Rambhau had managed to carve out space for the non-human bodies in the left-over spaces of the new development. Within the SRP guidelines, the developer had not provided for the cattle, yet some residents had contextually reworked the material-discourse of the new development to make room for cattle. At least a few non-human bodies had managed to find a place in the changed urban morphology.

The above four sections together demonstrate four registers in which bodies encounter one another. While bodies, both human and non-human, signify and are made significant as they face each other, they also become a register through which political struggle over land takes place, either in subjective-prospective or in the indicative. In the following section, I articulate material encounters as another register which shapes land subjectivities.

## 7.2 Material encounters

### 7.2.1 Deliberate singular material encounters – "show-flats"

In this section, I develop two narrative instances when 'matter' was deliberately used by subject-agents to shape land subjectivities. In the first part of the section, I analyse two types of real-estate advertisements as a site of the construction of subject-positions. Later, I explain orchestrated material encounters between vasti-residents and show-flats as sites where the struggle against occupying the subject-position takes place. Reading the two material encounters together, I contend that the discursive difference and a relation constructed by real-estate advertisements is reinforced and contested at and through the show-flats.

As I drove through the traffic in Pune, I noticed soaring real-estate advertisements all over the city. Most of the real-estate advertisements I spotted from the vehicular roads, occupied rentable hoardings managed by the PMC's Skysign and License department[30]. However, the advertisement's message and the placement drastically changed as I walked near the settlements. I suggested in Chapter 3 that Murad's story in the movie *Gully Boy* portrays his struggle against the appeal for occupying the subject-position constructed for him by society. More importantly, this struggle was provoked by the repeated encounters with the world alien to his own despite being inconsequential in their singular instances. I read the different real-estate advertisements as discourses imbued with various subject-positions constructed by the society with an appeal for occupying them. To convey this point more drastically, I analyse the following sketched image:

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[30] PMC's Skysign and License department "approves the erection of different types of advertising hoardings and flexes at various places in the city as per section 244 of the Maharashtra Municipal Corporation (MMC) Act 1949" and "remove[s] unauthorised hoardings […] as per section 245" (PMC, 2019).
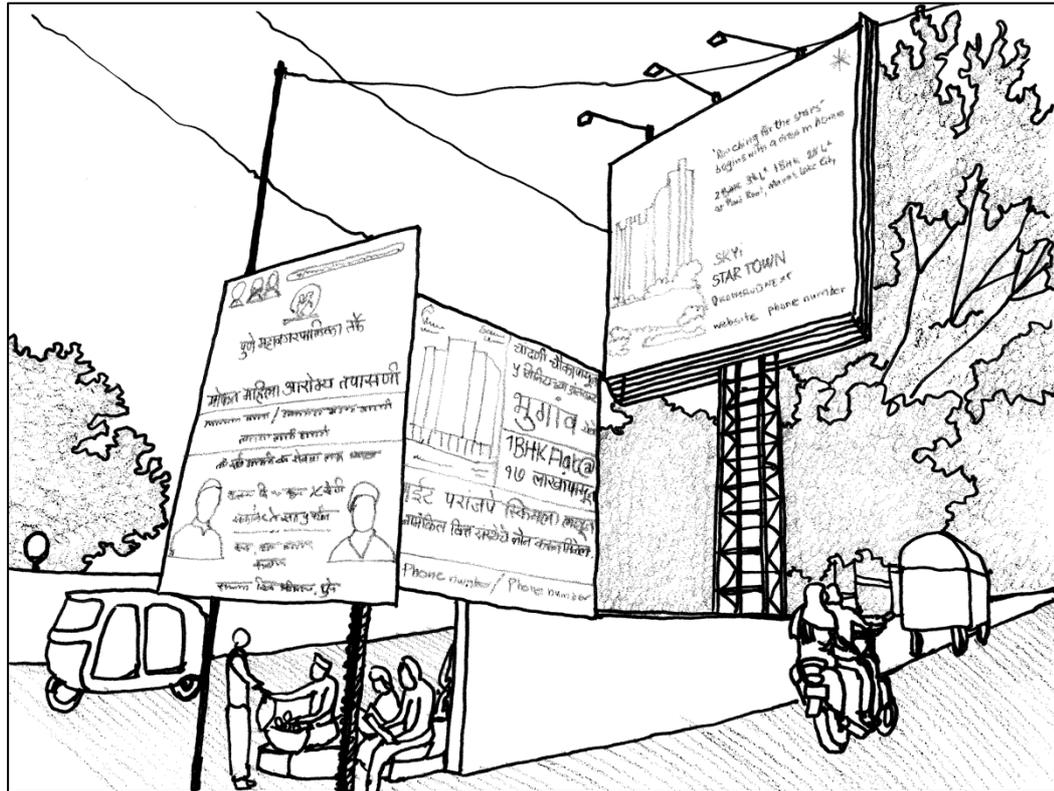
Figure 12: Sketch drawn near Kelewadi (Source: author, 29/03/18)

I sketched Figure 12 from a photograph at a Y-junction where the only vehicular street leading into Kelewadi (on the right) meets one of the main vehicular roads in the city (on the left) where GoM is constructing a new Metro-line for Pune. Two out of the three hoardings visible in the photograph are real-estate advertisements targeted at two different audiences recognisable from the context of the hoardings.

Firstly, I notice that while the top-right advertisement is placed substantially high and oriented towards one of Pune's main vehicular thoroughfares, the bottom-centre advertisement is positioned much lower and directed towards Kelewadi. The placement of the hoardings seems to suggest that while the top-right advertisement is expected to be seen by anonymous and numerous subject-agents from a substantial distance, the bottom-centre advertisement is explicitly targeting residents of Kelewadi. Secondly, I observe that the top-right advertisement is supported by metal scaffolding equipped with electrical supply and floodlights making the core message of the advertisement visible during the night. Alternatively, the bottom-centre advertisement stands on a bamboo tied by a rope to a steel-section supporting another hoarding and an adjacent compound wall; and is visible at night only by the

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public street-light. The difference in the cost of the materials supporting the advertisements reflects the purchasing power of the expected audience, more directly visible in the text of the advertisement. Thirdly, I observe texts of the advertisements graphically re-presented as follows:

| [a sketch of distant high-rise building with open space in the front] | 'Reaching for the stars' Begins with a dream home.<br><br>2 BHK ₹ 34 L* \| 1 BHK ₹ 26 L*<br>At Paud Road, Manas Lake City<br><br>SKYi<br>STAR TOWN<br>Kothrud Next<br><br>[website]　　　[phone number] |

Figure 13: Schematic re-presentation of a real-estate advertisement (Source: author)

| Vighnahartha Developers | Sadguru Apartments | 5 minutes away From Chandani Chawk |
|---|---|---|
| [a rendered colour image of the apartment building] | | At Bhugaon |
| Your's Dreams Comes in True! | Your Budget Homes 1BHK | 1 BHK Flat @ From 17 Lakhs |
| Site is adjacent to Paranjape schemes Will get a loan from a reputed financial institution | | |
| *Contact* | | |
| [mobile number] / [mobile number] | | |

Figure 14: Schematic re-presentation of a real-estate advertisement (Source: author)

There are three differences to note in the two advertisements. Firstly, the former hoarding advertises one-BHK and two-BHK (Bedroom-Hall-Kitchen) costing ₹ 26 lakhs and ₹ 34 lakhs respectively, while the latter hoarding advertises one-BHK costing ₹ 17 lakhs. Secondly, the former hoarding is written in English, while the second communicates mainly through Marathi. And thirdly, there is an explicit reference to the availability of loans from a reputed financial institution in the latter advertisement. The historically inscribed structural dichotomy between elites and subaltern (Guha, 1982) is reiteratively performed through hoardings for the English-speaking rich (elites) and local-language speaking poor (subaltern) even in the flattening world.

However, there are also specific points of discursive convergences between the two hoardings. Both the advertisements refer to a 'dream' of owning a house, and despite the difference in costs, the hoardings advertise apartment buildings located about 12 to 8 km in the same direction from where I took the photograph, respectively. Chattopadhyay (2012, pp. 1–3) claims that the real-estate advertisements in India demonstrate a vision of the 'world-class' living, by maintaining a desire for global competition and "conspicuous consumption of suburban space". The above examples show that while metaphors such as 'prosperous, progressive, global, luxurious, wellness homes, green, desirous' do indeed refer to the 'world-class' living, there is a more dominant allure to the dream of owning a house.

Residents of Kelewadi encounter these hoardings every time they enter or exit the settlement. Yet, none of the participants of this research explicitly referred to these hoardings when they spoke of the SRP. I consider this lack of explicit equivalence between 'hoardings' and the 'SRP' to denote the banality of the overdetermined effects of their encounters with the hoardings. However, as in the case of Murad, repeated encounters can be expected to have sedimented effects that coalesce to become consequential in a different context. In the following part, I articulate the developer's deliberated *nīti*-practice, where residents encounter a material-discourse in which the subject-agents can be seen to respond to the social construction of their subject-position.

I already suggested that the mandate for seeking 70% of residents' consent means that residents would have to be persuaded to accept the development. During this research, participants repeatedly reminded me about show-flats as a site where the developers and residents encountered each other, at least allegorically if not bodily. However, in this section, I elaborate on the encounter between the residents and the orchestrated matter of the show-flats.

In both the vastis, developers constructed show-flats that demonstrate the allure of a 'dream home' portrayed in the real-estate advertisements. The residents were asked to visit these show-flats before consenting to the development. When I saw the show-flats, a developer's employee showed me all the niceties of a desirable lifestyle, such as sofas, wall-paintings, television, cooking counters, painted walls, and tiled floors, all fitted in 25 sq. m. carpet-area. These are what Śankara (no date; VCM) suggested as subject-positions that the society constructs for the vasti-residents. However, residents from both the settlements had varying responses when they encountered the show-flats.

In Kelewadi, the developer constructed show-flats in a previously constructed building and put-up an office adjacent to it. With the help of corporator's *kāryakarte* (workers/ volunteers)*,* the developer invited vasti-residents to see the show-flats and sign the consent forms in the adjacent office. Ramabai's response was exemplary of the subject's struggle towards occupying the subject-positions socially constructed for them:

> "It is [flats] only our liking [eagerness/enthusiasm?]. Now, [they] built those [buildings], [if I/we] go, [then I/we] will get [the flat]. Everyone, whether boys, whether humans, whether build; then human [obviously] feels. '*Building',* meaning, human feels big […] [but] rooms [are] only this much [small] […] Everyone has this [eagerness/enthusiasm], right? Now [we] like it [or] not like it. If everyone goes, we have to go, right?" (K_VR_12, 26/04/18).

Ramabai's response articulated the effect of and a struggle against the material-discursive construction of a desire for 'one's own new flat'. Although she knew the difficulties in occupying the subject-position constructed by the SRP, she acknowledged the effect of the allure of the new flat. However, her narrative also explicitly de-articulated the equivalence between 'new flats' and the desire of a dream home as constructed by the developers and the real-estate advertisements. However, despite acknowledging the emptiness of the signifier 'flat', Ramabai had consented to the SRP because she perceived a threat of eviction as a counterfactual, expressed by the statement "if everyone goes, we have to go, right?" (K_VR_12, 26/04/18). Yet, other residents were more evocative and theatrical with their struggle against the subjectivity construction. For instance, while vehemently telling me about her disagreement with the proposed rehabilitation, Kalebai told me that:

"What we did, we took a bed, and arranged it there; we picked up the builder [a metonym for a worker from the developer's office?], we made him sleep there. We were there then; I was myself there. If we have a second guest in our house, then where shall we make him sleep?" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18).

Indeed, most participants from Kelewadi disliked the proposed rehabilitation. Like Kalebai, Sunita said:

"They [the developers] had made something like junk there, now whomever those builder's people were showing us, we told them that we have made our household [things] big, so what shall we do? Where to keep our household [things]? […] So [they] say: instead of furniture use *dabbe* [utensils] to sit. That is how that man [one showing the show-flats] had said, and I had a huge quarrel with him. Then, I asked "has anyone asked you for it [the flat]? In whichever situation we are, we are neat. Meaning [our existing] house is all neat and to break the household and go into *flats*. […] It was all recorded on camera, [she laughed], so I thought to let it go wherever [far] as it [the recording of the quarrel] wants" (K_VR_13, 26/04/18).

Likewise, Fatima, another life-long Kelewadi resident, remembered that the developers recorded their visits to the show-flats on cameras and distributed *laddus* (sweets). She remembered bringing back a few *laddus* while reiterating on her disagreement with the material-discourse presented by the show-flats.

On the one hand, the above three narratives demonstrate the fact that Kelewadi residents disliked the SRP mainly because of the size of the new flats (viz. 25 sq. m.). As interpretive policy-studies have shown, "lived experiences bring different people to perceive […] the same policy, in different ways […] [and] people […] project meanings onto […] [policy] artifacts as they engage them" (Yanow, 2007, pp. 113–114). On the other hand, the narrations also demonstrate how the subject-agents, developers and Kelewadi residents deliberately used matter to communicate about the SRP. That is, whereas "[show-flats are] both a material that governs as well as a material that is governed through" (Hodges, 2018, p. 191), show-flats are also the material through which people respond back to the government.

In addition to the show-flats themselves, the developer's employees used utensils to show alternative possibilities of household management (or homemaking) and cameras to record the dialogues. Contrariwise, the residents arranged additional beds in the show-flats to dislocate the purpose of the show-flats and use it to invalidate the SRP. Given that the SRP continues to unfold still in 2020, the effects of residents' performances at the show-flats remains to be seen. However, these instances demonstrate a critical fact that show-flats become a site of material encounters, where participation takes place through performance, video documentation, and agitated quarrels, in addition to opening a possibility of liberal consent giving. In Dandekar Pool Vasti, the developer arranged for the residents to travel to another 'slum rehabilitation scheme' assisted by the landowners. A female participant told me that:

> "First, in the beginning, [they] took all boys-boys. Meaning whoever was a young boy like yourself [me], they [the developers] showed them that this is how we [the developers] will do the scheme. Then boys also agreed to it [the scheme]" (D_VR_11, 15/05/18).

Another female participant from Dandekar Pool Vasti, Kesha, also told me that:

"I hadn't gone, my husband went [to see the show-flats] […] Felt nice. How will it feel [rhetorically]? We will get good houses, to go to *flats* from a *slum,* then anyone will feel good" (D_VR_7, 15/05/18).

While the developer told me that these site-visits were crucial in shaping people's decisions about rehabilitation, the residents stated that it assured them that the developer would deliver on his promises. In the building now constructed on the land of Dandekar Pool Vasti, the developer has modified the layout of the flats and prepared additional two show-flats, one furnished and another unfurnished, to show to residents of other settlements. Having visited these new show-flats, the participants of this research seemed satisfied with what the developer had delivered. Rafiq bhai, having failed to mobilise the residents himself in the 1980s, considered the developer's efforts laudable:

"They [developer] showed, meaning what did they themselves practically showed: that we have done this [kind of development] here. So, they [developer] used to take our people to the site in vehicles, to the developed site, by telling 'we will build and provide you like this', they won the hearts of people" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

'Winning the hearts' of the vasti-residents seems precisely the purpose behind constructing show-flats. Nonetheless, the two cases together demonstrate that the residents indeed respond to the construction of subject-positions. While in Kelewadi, the residents continue to disagree with the proposed flats, the residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti seem satisfied with the proposed apartments.

In this section, I articulated show-flats as a site where subjects physically encounter a material-discourse of the otherwise ubiquitously present allure to own a 'dream home'. I also suggested that conjoined with the subject-position constructed by the SRP, the material encounter between residents and the show-flats become the site where the struggle over subjectivity construction takes place, thereby making it a site of participation.

### 7.2.2  Habitual material encounters – walls and doors

In this section, I describe two accounts where land subjectivities are affected by encountering walls and doors. These encounters are both deliberated and happenstance, either triggered by residents, landowners, developers, or state institutions.

In Modern theory, walls denote a physical barrier that separates and divides Cartesian three-dimensional space and demarcates territories. Indeed, walls do function to separate humans and non-humans in both the settlements. For instance, early settlers built Kelewadi at the border between the city and the adjacent hill, which now abruptly ends at the compound walls placed by landowners of adjoining land parcels, both private or public. A resident of Kelewadi (K_VR_4, 29/03/18) also told me that most playgrounds in the vicinity had been walled in recent years, thereby blocking their access to play areas.

Contrarily, in Dandekar Pool Vasti, there existed a wall on one side of the settlement since before independence, while PMC constructed another wall along the adjoining rivulet to protect the settlement from getting flooded. I suggested in Chapter 4 that materiality acquires meaning through language, and in turn, affects the decisions and actions of subject-agents. Hence, I now recount subject-agents' articulation of differences and equivalences between various signifiers to distil the registers through which walls get signified. For instance, when I asked Rafiq bhai about the settlement abutting Dandekar Pool Vasti, he told me that:

> "Everyone was together. […] Our land, there was a wall [through the settlement] since before. […] So that wall, […], was from the time of the British, we used to believe that was our border. […] That was our guess […] [otherwise we] believed [the settlements as] one. But just that the people on [the other plot] did not pay us rent, and theirs was not ours. That quarrel used to happen, nothing else [he smiled]" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

I notice in the above quotation an articulation of two subject-positions – that of 'vasti-residents' and 'rent-payers'. More importantly, the Modern (with capital M) equivalence between 'wall' and 'separation' only appears when constructing the subject-position of 'rent-payers'. Therefore, there is a vivid inconsequentiality of the wall's separating function when treating people as 'vasti-residents'. In fact, many participants found my question regarding 'adjacent settlement' incomprehensible outside the context of rents or the SRP.

However, since the developer has begun constructing the new buildings, he has fortified the construction site with an almost 4 m tall corrugated metal sheets, guarded by security. The houses inside the walled 'territory' were already demolished in 2018, and a 12-storey building had been constructed instead. In this new context, the wall undeniably appeared to signify separation by materialising a distinct morphology guarded by security.
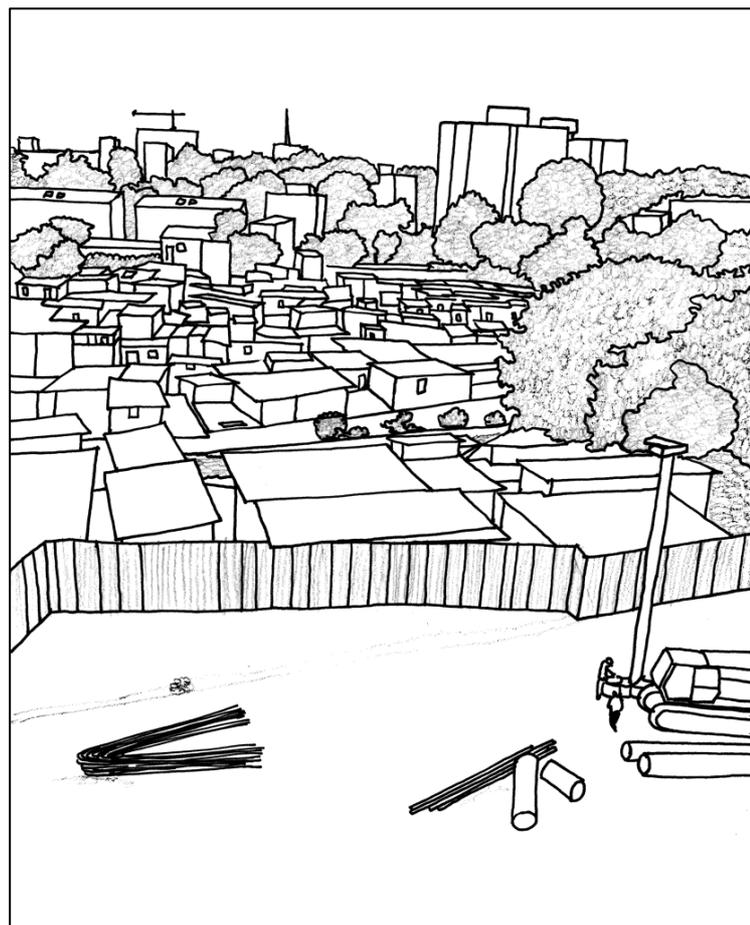


Figure 15: Sketch drawn from the newly constructed building overlooking adjacent settlements (Source: author, 28/06/18)

As I noted in Chapter 6, there are about fifty households still residing alongside the rivulet adjoining Dandekar Pool Vasti on land now demarcated as an ecologically sensitive area. To access their houses, the residents of these fifty households had to cross the construction site through two gateways guarded by security personnel. None of the participants in this research spoke explicitly of the walls and the gateways, reminding me of the banality of their everyday encounters with walls and doors. Quite plainly, the walls and doors did not mean anything to them while narrating the process of the SRP to me. However, the sedimented effects of these encounters retain the possibility of affecting subject-agents' decisions and actions elsewhere. Furthermore, some subject-agents make these material encounters a site of struggle towards reworking the socially constructed subject-positions. This was the case of Rambhau from Kelewadi.

During a transect walk through Wadarwadi, Rambhau told me a story of his struggle for securing an access road and a temple in their settlement by shifting a proposed compound wall a few feet sideways. Listening to my numerous questions about the SRP, Rambhau suggested that we walked through the vasti to see the conditions of new buildings. Consequently, as we came towards the border between their completed rehabilitation buildings and the free-sale building still under constructed, I could hardly hear Rambhau amidst the sound of drilling through the basalt rock of the hill. The construction workers were building the foundation for a concrete wall that would separate the rehabilitation buildings from free-sale buildings.

Rambhau told me that "the builder is building the wall for his benefit; the wall is not for our [residents'] benefit" (K_VR_9, 12/04/18). His suspicion that the developer gains something out of constructing a wall was supported by another private developer's account. The developers 'know' that the price of a free-sale flat in slum rehabilitation schemes are lower than the price on non-slum lands in Pune. Their knowledge comes from the fact that the demand for flats adjoining 'slum rehabilitated' buildings is usually less than in other projects, and reflects middle-income buyers. I suppose that the material encounter with the *wall* triggers and perpetuates the construction of the subject-position of 'slum-dwellers' even after having moved into

new flats. In effect, the developer is constructing a wall to separate the free-sale housing units from rehabilitation units to attract rich buyers. Modernity's territorial divisions (with capital M) are being performed and reified through walls. More importantly, Rambhau was aware of this fact as he narrated his story:

> "Meaning, he [developer] had brought this wall till here [he gestured with his hand to show an imaginary line on the ground], so what happened, he said 'remove all this' [he pointed at Kedar's temple]. Then again, I quarrelled. […] But I have an intention that, with the help of the corporator, we are getting to use this road. He [the developer] was not allowing us to use this road, the corporator quarrelled and got permission for it" (K_VR_9, 12/04/18).

Rambhau's narration demonstrates his struggle towards reworking the material-discourse of the SRP presented to him, i.e. Rambhau's own land policy. By securing themselves an access road and a temple, Rambhau's struggle modified the new morphology and safeguarded a continuance of a religious practice that he considered non-negotiable. Rambhau's narrative tells me that walls not only acquire and consolidate meaning in the SRP, but they also become a site and means of a struggle towards reworking the subject-positions constructed by the SRP. In the next part of this section, I narrate another register through which walls and doors acquire meaning through the policy process and become political.

I noted in section 7.1 about the SRP directive for documenting the bodily presence of the residents in their homes. Additionally, the GoM provides one flat of 25 sq. m. to one slum-structure under the SRP, irrespective of the number of bodied subject-agents residing inside the structure. With regards to the SRP eligibility criteria and flat-provisions, many participants of this research parsimoniously told me about other vasti-residents' *nīti*-practice of securing flats through the SRP using walls and doors.

Imaginably, the vasti-residents do not perceive the SRP to be a spatially just policy because the SRP provides 25 sq. m. flat to all eligible residents irrespective of the size of their existing house and the number of household members. Most elite

interviewees of this research were aware of this injustice. However, none explicitly told me about strategies of circumventing this injustice, except some residents. I was interviewing Mukesh kaka from Kelewadi in his house, while his wife Menaka was rolling *pāpads* in the same room. Mukesh kaka told me:

"What had they [developers] told? That, let us assume, I have two kids, you put a partition, show two houses […] We [the developers] will also put numbers, we will give two houses for two sons of yours, so people became quiet […] What people did, they built walls and built on top. It has been ten years since then; now some people have demolished the walls, it started becoming cumbersome, then what to do? Let us see when it happens" (K_VR_10, 24/04/18).

Mukesh kaka's account demonstrates the residents' compliance with the developer's suggestion to tactically use walls to affect the material-discourse of the SRP. Consequently, using walls to increase the number of slum-structures with eligible families has substantial effect on the future of the SRP. In effect, the developer can build more flats, which proportionately allows them to get additional slum FSI saleable through the instrument of TDR in other parts of the city. Likewise, the residents can secure additional flats as per the household need.

Using walls to add flats to the slum rehabilitation scheme can be read as subterfuge, spatially equitable practice, and/or a normatively the right or the wrong conduct depending on one's politics. On the one hand, using walls to add additional flats is a *nīti*-practice that tricks the state. On the other hand, by giving residents the choice of securing equitable (i.e. as per the household's need) space by bending the SRP, the subterfuge is itself spatially just. Notwithstanding the various theories of justice, Mukesh kaka thought that the developer articulated the use of walls "so [that] people became quiet" (K_VR_10, 24/04/18). Therefore, Mukesh kaka articulated the practice of constructing walls as a *nīti*-practice, without alluding to any *dharma*-account.

Another fieldwork encounter elucidated the noteworthiness of walls for the SRP. Shamabai (K_VR_1, 08/02/18), a resident of Kelewadi, was showing me her house

when she loudly called and asked her daughter-in-law to make sherbet. Shamabai's daughter-in-law was not in either of the two rooms in which we were. After a few minutes, Shamabai's daughter-in-law passed the sherbet from a small window in one of the walls of the house. Noticing the bewilderment on my face, Shamabai told me that they had separate kitchens (a metonym for a household), although it was the same house.

The room on the other side of the wall had a different door. Shamabai did not tell me why they lived separately, yet this separation meant that the SRP eligibility survey would count their houses as independent slum-structures. Unlike Shamabai's case, vasti-residents who have constructed two floors to accommodate their growing families cannot claim separate flats in the SRP, as the PMC does not permit two-storey constructions in slums. Moreover, although Shamabai could indeed secure two flats for her two separate, yet single, houses, the new flats may not remain adjacent to each other, given the lottery-system institutionalised in the SRP.

The narratives stated above primarily show that the context gives meaning to walls and doors. While Rafiq bhai's story suggests that walls only mean a specific thing in certain registers, Shamabai's account shows a distinct meaning-making practice. Either way, walls and doors become material encounters where participation takes place using matter, a site where matter governs, is governed through, and is used as a means of a struggle against being governed. Likewise, I narrate another type of material encounter relevant for politics of the SRP in the following section.

### 7.2.3 Religious material encounters - Masjids, Mandirs and Mandals

In this section, I describe four instances where subject-agents encountered religious structures, which affected their land subjectivities. These encounters were both deliberated and contingent.

As I walked through the vastis, one of the first things I noticed were the numerous religious structures, including *masjids, mandirs and mandals*[31]*,* geographically scattered throughout the vasti. During the interviews, I inquired explicitly about who constructed the religious structures, and participants' narratives were instructive in understanding the effects of religious structures in shaping land subjectivities related to the SRP.

Vithoba had been living in Kelewadi since he moved to Pune from his village in search of livelihood. He came to Pune with his wife and had three sons, all married and with children of their own by 2018. When speaking of the vasti's growth on the hill, Vithoba brought forth the topic of growing temples across the road that divides the settlement and the hill. He told me that many residents had constructed temples on the hill-side, including himself. However, while corporators had assisted the construction of some temples, his story was somewhat different. Vithoba began building his temple by first securing a piece of land in the settlement and seeking electricity connection from the city electricity board. Vithoba anticipated that a state-recognised electricity connection would secure the tenure of his temple. However, when I probed further on his earlier remark about corporators, he told me:

> "Corporator asks [he spoke with a loud, deep voice]: "With whose permission [did you] construct? Why did you not ask me?" So then, [he lowered his voice] [I say that] "I have brought material, I was going to come to you, and now that you have come, what do I do? Otherwise, I have everything complete". […] Meaning, everyone's collaboration, asking everyone is our necessity […] what? Our [actions] are not stuck without them; just we [should] keep going […] like Gandhi" (K_VR_8, 10/04/18).

Vithoba's narration was suggestive of corporator's encounter with mandirs in the settlement and Vithoba's claim to his mandir with or without corporator's help.

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[31] The term *mandal* can be loosely translated as a club/ organisation. In the context of this narrative, *mandals* signify organisations made to facilitate the celebration of various religious as well as non-religious festivities.

However, the corporator's material encounter with the mandir brought forth corporator's performative assertion over his territorial control in the settlement expressed through the loud voice. Moreover, Vithoba also remarked that constructing mandirs was not necessarily dependent on the corporator; and yet he insinuated to a socially constructed necessity for collaboration. Furthermore, I read a mimicked reference to bhakti (devotion), when Vithoba changed his tone while narrating his encounter with the corporator. That is, Vithoba derisively caricatured devotion to the corporator.

Using Advaita's doctrine of adhyāsa (mis-predication), Vithoba de-predicated the socially constructed equivalence between corporator's collaboration (māyā) and the mandir construction. In other words, Vithoba both denied and accepted the obligation to collaborate with the corporator in the same performance. Notwithstanding Vithoba's taunting undertone, corporator's territorial claim over Kelewadi was performatively reproduced through their encounter with the mandir. In other words, corporator's performance weighed more than Vithoba's, since Vithoba did eventually accept corporator's demand for collaboration.

The phenomenon of mandals further boosts the growth of Mandirs. Mandals are created to organise and fund various festivities in the settlement, most of which are religious celebrations. In the analysis of a religious festival in West Bengal, Spivak (2008, p. 187) claims that the dvaita (dual) episteme in the bhakti (devotion) mode guides the arrival of the Devi (goddess) from "the transcendental semiotic" into the world. In Pune, I imagine a similar dvaita episteme guiding the descent of various transcendental entities into the world during the festivities. However, as Spivak (2008) suggests, the descent undoes the dvaita structure of the world to give way to Advaita (nondual) world, where the transcendental-world and real-world blend into each other.

Most religious festivals that work with this episteme end with a practice of immersing the material statues of the transcendental entities in water to allow their ascent back into "the transcendental semiotic" (Spivak, 2008, p. 187). In Maharashtra, the Ganapati festival has particularly outsized other celebrations, primarily due to the

importance it acquired since Balagangādhar Tilak made it public during the independence struggle. As the dvaita structure dictates, the statues of Ganapati need to be immersed in water to allow for his ascent to the transcendental semiotic.

However, big Ganapati statues cannot be immersed in the shallow waters of river Mutha flowing through Pune, and the state has banned immersion of statues in the river for environmental reasons. There may be many instances where this ban is not followed given that the state is a very informal and unfixed entity. Yet, many statues from Kelewadi-mandals were not immersed in the river following the state directive. The non-immersion of big Ganapati statues means that Ganapati does not fully ascend to the transcendental semiotic at the end of the festival. To store these material statues through the year without reducing them to junk, I suspect that the mandals construct pakkā (solid) structures in the settlement to protect the statues from wear and tear. These structures occupy spaces between houses along roads and alleys, according to the size of the statues.

Some of these structures acquire a full status of a *mandir* by what is often referred to as *jirnoddhār*[32]. Shri Durgāmātā mandir (Shri mother Durgā temple) on the main vehicular road near Kelewadi was exemplary of such a transition from structures accommodating festival-statues to acquiring a full status of a mandir. The mandir was constructed in 2014 by a 20-year old 'Akhil Paud Road Navarātra Utsav Samiti' (All Paud Road Navarātra festival committee) beside Shiv Sena public relations office. The mandir imitates basalt-stone temple architecture from the Maratha period demonstrating an appeal towards pakkā (durable) structures.

Additionally, the names of the founding members, also written on the Shiv Sena office door, is inscribed on the entrance of the mandir in gold letters. Once materialised, the mandirs solidify the sedimented discourses that support their existence, and the developers are obliged to pay heed to their material presence. In Kelewadi, the

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[32] *Jirnoddhār* can loosely be translated as renovation; however, in the context of mandirs, jirnoddhār marks a significant event in the life of a mandir and the deity residing in the mandir.

developer had agreed to provide thirty-nine Ganapati mandirs, six Vitthal mandirs and one Sai Baba mandir in the proposed development at Kelewadi.

In Dandekar Pool Vasti, the landowners constructed a masjid on their land sometime around the beginning of the 21st century. Rafiq bhai told me that some area stood vacant when vasti-residents moved to another location under the 1988 state scheme. He told me that there were no masjids in the vicinity and they would spend at least an hour visiting masjids every time. Thus, the Patel family decided to construct a masjid, which he remembered being attended by 200 to 500 people when built. However, Rafiq bhai told me that, in 2018, the masjid was frequented by almost 2000 to 5000 people. The materialisation of the masjid and the sedimented signification that it has acquired over the years affected land subjectivities and policies during slum rehabilitation. The developer of Dandekar Pool Vasti, like in Kelewadi, has agreed to construct a 600 sq. m. masjid in the new development at landowner's request.

Likewise, Rajesh was a resident in the remaining fifty households in the ecologically sensitive area demarcated around the rivulet and had recently constructed a 'Shri Laxmi mandir devasthān' (Shri Laxmi temple god-place) on the rivulet bank behind the flood-protection wall. Like the Durgā mandir in Kelewadi, this Laxmi mandir was constructed in pakkā (solid) materials, with brick plastered walls, tiled floor, and was ornamented resembling temple-architecture in Maharashtra. Moreover, I did not notice any of the remaining fifty houses in the ecologically sensitive area constructed in similar durable materials.

Furthermore, a small area was cleared off in front of the mandir as an open-to-sky *sabhāmandap* (gathering hall), encircled by corporator-funded metallic benches and trees. One participant told me that this entire area floods in the monsoons, and yet this was the only place Rajesh could find to construct a community mandir, in the face of imminent relocation or resettlement. The future of this mandir remains uncertain since the proposals to rehabilitate these fifty houses are pending with the SRA.
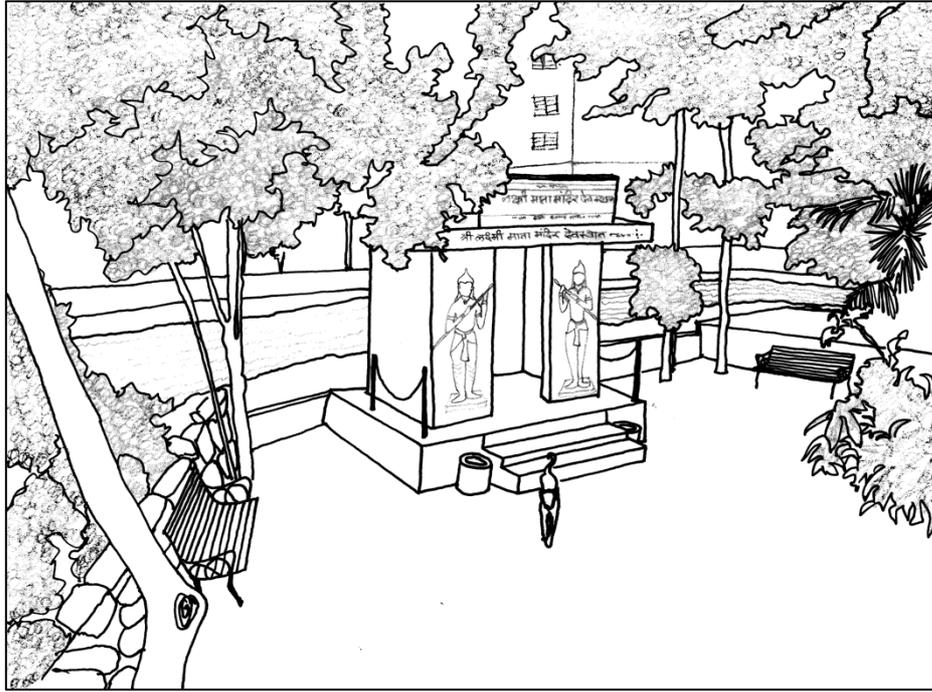
Figure 16: Sketch of a newly built temple on the bank of the rivulet (Source: author, 28/06/18)

In this section, I developed three types of material encounters that affect land subjectivities in the making of PLP during slum rehabilitations. While real-estate advertisements, masjids, mandirs and mandals denote unexpected encounters, constructing show-flats, making and breaking walls and doors become orchestrated material encounters. Irrespective of whether they were deliberate or unplanned, these material encounters shape subject-agents' decisions and actions over land, i.e. people's land subjectivities and policies. In the following section, I will articulate another (textual) register that subject-agents encounter each other on the plane of governmentality, and which become a site of a struggle over the occupation of socially constructed subject-positions.

## 7.3 Textual encounters

### 7.3.1 Deliberate singular textual encounters – Posters

This section describes how texts construct subject-positions and call the subjects to occupy those subject-positions. Theoretically, I claimed in Chapter 4 that the subject-agents retain the possibility of (re)articulating the subject-positions constructed for them. Consequently, I demonstrate deliberate and contingent textual encounters in this section, where subject-positions are constructed and contested.

I wrote in Chapter 6 about the SRP requirement to seek 70% of residents' consent for the rehabilitation and the developer. I also showed how developers deliberately engaged in material practices to convince the vasti-residents to consent to the rehabilitation. Likewise, the Government has its own way to lure the residents into occupying the SRP-formulated subject-positions. The following poster summarises the message from the state to the residents:



Figure 17: Government poster advertising the SRP
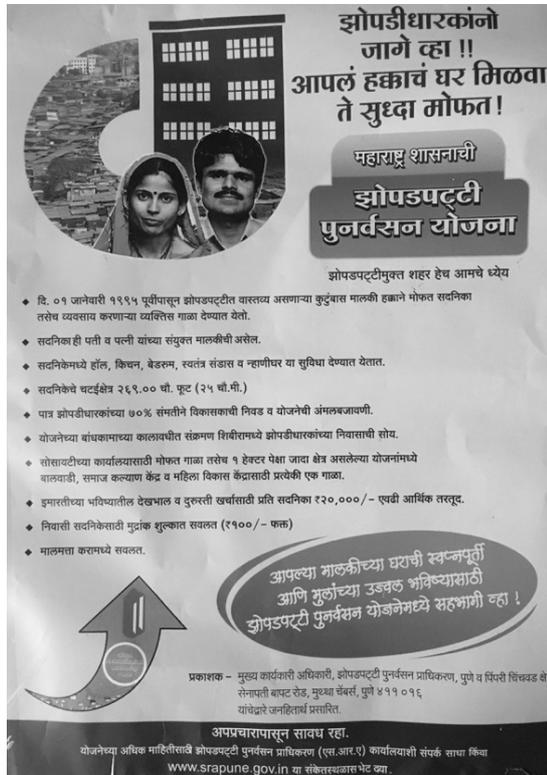
Hey slum-dwellers,
Wake up!!
Get your own rightful house,
That too free!

Government of Maharashtra's
Slum Rehabilitation Policy
A slum-free city is our goal
…
…
For your dream of homeownership and the bright future of your children
Participate in slum rehabilitation policy

Beware of rumours
Please visit our website
www.srapune.gov.in

(Author's translation)

While the SRA has prepared this poster, I stumbled upon it in one of the developer's office. The poster hung on the wall opposite to the entrance of the office, exactly from where the so-called slum-dwellers would visit the office for bureaucratic purposes. One of the developer's employee told me that the posters are also placed at different locations in the vasti to be seen by the residents. I read a loud and clear message in the poster that the SRP is designed for a subject 'for its own good'. Furthermore, at least this specific poster calls the attention of a young Hindu heterosexual married couple with children. Additionally, the subject is expected to 'wake-up' to participate in its own occupation of the subject-position willingly.

The message in Figure 17 (on page 243) reminds me of the British military service recruiting posters at the outbreak of the First World War. Perhaps the most famous of them was of Lord Kitchener pointing at the reader and saying 'Your Country Wants You'. Of course, Lord Kitchener's allure for the British subject to enrol in the military used tropes of morality, nationality, and duty. However, in the case of the SRP, the appeal used metaphors of 'dream of homeownership', 'free – house', and 'bright future of children'; resonating similar tropes of 'dream homes', 'affordable', and 'prosperity' visible in real-estate advertisements mentioned in the previous section.

While the critical message is written in bold with graphics, the poster communicates details of the policy, such as the flat-area and eligibility criterion, in a smaller script without infographics. More importantly, the message of the undesirability of the 'slum' and the desirability of an apartment building is vividly expressed twice on the same poster. This poster is not unique in the conveying the desirability of apartment buildings. For instance, the SRA has prepared an information booklet in Marathi to explain the SRP. The front page of this booklet is printed in colour and shows two distinct images – a photograph of an existing settlement and a rendered image of a five-storey apartment building with green open space in the foreground.

A regular trope that seems to guide these depictions is of 'upward ( ↑ ) mobility'. The existing settlements are always shown to be at the bottom and the image of the new development above. The arrow that leads from slum to the apartment-buildings is also depicted to enlarge progressively. The vision of this kind of progressive

Modernity (with capital M) is not only a gift of the world to these residents, but also performatively reiterated by the Indian state institutions. While the SRP has constructed a subject-position of slum-dwellers, it reaches the residents through textual encounters with graphics such as the one shown above. Either way, I have suggested throughout this chapter, that such encounters with the socially constructed subject-positions provides the subject with a possibility of freedom to question that construction. Two comments from the vasti-residents uncover the effect of the social construction of subject-positions on the subject-agents. While rearticulating alternative possibilities for the SRP with ardour, Sunita told me:

> "Yes, then we will do it, if we get someone true [good enough] then if the corporation gives 50%, then we will spend 50% ourselves and will build our houses ourselves, meaning we will construct [them] according to our liking. [You] do not want *slum,* right? Then we will get according to our manner. [They] have only one thing, [they] don't want slums in Pune, now metro etc. is going on, so then they are saying 'don't want slums near [the metro]'" (K_VR_13, 26/04/18).

Likewise, I already recounted Rafiq bhai's efforts to redevelop Dandekar Pool Vasti on his own. In similar vein, he told me:

> "I had told them [PMC] that you give us permission, we will build buildings. This filth [the settlement] that is there will automatically go away" (D_VR_5, 08/05/18).

Both these remarks indicate that the subject-agents are aware of the social construction of equivalence between 'slums' and 'undesirability' further equated to their own subject-position as 'slum-dwellers'. However, more importantly, the remarks also show the subject-agent's articulation of (un)making the chain of equivalence articulated by the SRP. In these comments, the subject-agent is seen to suggest a temporary acceptance of the equivalence between 'slums' and 'undesirability', while explicitly resisting their own positioning as 'slum-dwellers' – a

*bhakti* strategy of performatively demonstrating the mis-predicated identity of the subject as I explained in the previous section.

The subject-agents are also seen to retrieve agential (re)making of the existing equivalence between 'slums' and 'undesirability' by articulating alternative material-discourses that 'they' can produce. Clearly, both Sunita and Rafiq bhai seemed aware that production of alternative material-discourses would require supplementation by resources and mobilisation of various actors. Nonetheless, the subject-agents notably appear to have constructed alternative material-discourses in the face of a governmentalizing discourse of the SRP. In a similar vein, in the following section, I recount another instance where subject-agents encounter texts that affect land subjectivities.

### 7.3.2 Habitual textual encounters – Documentary proofs

I wrote in section 7.1 that the residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti were given photo-passes to prove their residence on the 'slum-area' like all the slum-dwellers in the city in the 1980s, despite paying rents to the landowners. However, the SRP requires that the residents prove their residence prior to a specified cut-off-date. At the time when the two rehabilitation projects began, the cut-off-date was 01/01/1995, while the date has subsequently changed from 1995 to 2000 and recently 2011. As part of the policy requirement, the residents' names needs to appear on the electoral voting list of the cut-off-year. However, residents of both the settlements remember being asked to submit various documentary evidences in addition to the electoral list. One of the participants remembered the types of documents they were asked to provide:

> "Yes, they had taken documents from us, meaning whatever we had of the house, then electricity bill, ration card, then my and my brother's 'leaving certificate', mother's whatever documents [we] have election voting card, pan card etc., all these documents they had taken" (K_VR_5, 29/03/18).

Incidentally, while electricity bills hold the name of the family head, ration cards specify the names of all the family members. In line with the SRP's guideline to provide new flats in the joint name of the married partners, the spouse's name and proof of marriage are sought through some documentary evidence. These are further supplemented by 'whatever' documents the children or other family-members can provide.

Earlier in this chapter, I recounted Ashish's story of resisting potential eviction by staying put in Dandekar Pool Vasti until he was guaranteed a flat in the new scheme. I also recited his insistence on the fact that he indeed resided in Dandekar Pool Vasti before 1995 based on his daughter's birth certificate. Acknowledging the fact that he did not have his name in the electoral voting list of 1995, he brought forth another equivalent documentation to supplement his eligibility. Ashish's narrative demonstrates the subject-agent's questioning of socially articulated equivalences between 'vasti-residence' and 'electoral voting list'.

I interviewed a local environmental activist, a development practitioner, and an educator, regarding the environment-related concerns debated at state-level politics in relation to the SRP. Like Ashish, she too questioned the logic of equivalating the SRP eligibility and electoral voting list while speaking with me. Indeed, the residents are aware of some of the equivalences that position them in a material-discourse of the SRP. When asked about water-tax in the vasti, one of the Kelewadi residents, Mukesh kaka, told me:

> "No, no that kind of thing [water-tax] here. To show they [PMC officials] would show, [we] have put lights on the streets, people sweep here, you drink water, for all this – as a tax – because you stay here. [But] there is no relation between you and this place; tomorrow *by chance* if it occurs [in the mind] of the municipality and [they] knockdown [the houses] then there is no relation between the house-tax and that [the knocking down]" (K_VR_10, 24/04/18).

In this quote, the subject-agent is reading of the Government policy of taxing and articulating his dismay regarding *how* and *why* the state does not further accept the relation between 'residents' and the 'place/land'. Mukesh kaka's frustration suggests to me an articulation of potential linking between 'water-tax' and 'vasti-residence'. However, like in the case of Ashish, these alternative articulatory equivalences and alternative land policies of the people are thwarted by the SRP.

The above three examples show another type of textual encounter where subject-positions are produced, reworked, or thwarted. These textual encounters suggest a manner of constructing subject-agents' relations to the land and the articulatory politics of the construction of discourses.

### 7.3.3  Deliberate singular textual encounters – Consent forms

In this section, I detail another textual register through which residents are made to encounter the idea of the Modern state (with capital M) symbolically. I further show how this textual encounter triggers logics through which subject-agents mediate between *dharma*-inspired and *nīti*-inspired politics.

The mandate of acquiring 70% consent from the eligible vasti-residents is materialised by taking vasti-residents' signatures on a stamp-paper. The responsibility for seeking signed consents is left to the developers or the landowners. The policy also stipulates that in case the developer succeeds in getting 70% consents from the residents, the landowner is "obliged" to "participate" in the rehabilitation scheme. In such a situation, the landowner gets compensated by 25% of the market value of the land as per 'Annual Statement Rates[33]' (ASR).

In both the settlements, the SRP brought about political coalitions, and encounters, with a sole purpose of obtaining vasti-residents' signatures. A third-party mediator

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[33] Annual Statement of Rates is published by the Joint Director of Town Planning and Valuation, Maharashtra State. The statement shows average rates of lands and buildings in various Tehsils, Municipalities, and local body areas. These rates help in the "determination of true market value of [immovable] property".

assisted developers in both settlements in seeking resident's consents. While in Kelewadi, corporator$_{K1}$ actively assisted the developer in mobilising and convincing residents to sign the consent-forms, this role of mediation was taken-up by the landowners of Dandekar Pool Vasti. In my interview with a developer$_{K4}$'s employee, I was reminded of the necessity of a mediator in slum projects. One of the developer$_{K4}$'s employees said:

> "As *'developer'* we only sit on the chair and give them *guidance.* They [*kāryakarte*] bring the people. It does not happen without their [corporators' / *karyakarte's*] consent" (K_Pr_2).

Likewise, another developer (D_Pr_3) told me that the corporators are connected to the people by an 'umbilical cord'. He further linked this fact to suggest that corporators' involvement in the implementation of the SRP is necessary. The manner of corporators' participation in the SRP is a concern of distinct political analysis. However, Prashant had a curious response to the textual practice of taking signatures on the consent forms. He said:

> "Yes, meaning agreements [consent taking] began, or business of rooms began. Meaning, *actually,* there is no permission to sell here [in slum areas]. Buying selling does not have permission here. These things do not happen *legally,* […] you only get it written on a stamp-paper that [I/we] are buying this house […] and they [developers/government] did the *same.* Meaning we say *power of attorney,* right? Meaning [I/we] give all the rights of this house to them etc., they took *legally* in writing. Otherwise, there is nothing *legal* as such. Meaning *legal* only for name's sake, meaning its written on 500 Rupees stamp-paper, only that much *legal,* nothing otherwise" (K_VR_7, 08/04/18).

Firstly, I notice in the above quotation Prashant's reading of an equivalence between the extra-legal house/land transactions and the developer's practice of getting signatures on the consent forms. Secondly, he suggested an extra-legality of the consent forms at the virtue of them being *similar* to the otherwise unrecognised

house/land transactions by the state-law. In principle, then, I read Prashant to be (de)articulating the equivalence between 'legality' and 'the consent forms' that provides the SRP with its liberal democratic (consensual) legitimacy. To reiterate, as Chatterjee (2019a, p. 85) writes, "[t]he normative ideal of [liberal] representative democracy is the ethical state in which […] government functions with the consent of the governed". Later in the interview, Prashant told me about his attempts to (re)articulate the material-discourse of 'slum rehabilitation' by bringing forth alternatives to 'slum upgradation schemes' and the *Gunthewāri* law. Being politically active, Prashant also told me about his numerous visits to the municipality (bodily encounters) to discuss alternatives to the SRP, which had not found any credible response until 2018. Once again, the state is not so porous for Prashant. However, other subject-agents were less conspicuous in exercising their articulatory agency towards (un)making material-discourses of the SRP.

Ramu kaka was a resident of Kelewadi since he bought a house in the settlement after moving to Pune with his wife. In 2018, Ramu kaka's family had a flat elsewhere in the city, while he had rented out his house in the settlement and continued to own a vegetable shop in the settlement. Ramu kaka responded to the practice of getting consent forms as follows:

> "If you do not do agreement [sign consent forms] then nothing, then where to go? If the Government people come to break the house, they break it. So, a person feels in the stomach that if we had done something, seized it [the flat/ the opportunity?]. So, a person goes with another person [by contagion?]. After all, they had demolished slums, everywhere, right?" (K_VR_2, 08/03/18).

Firstly, I read in Ramu kaka's articulation a perceived threat towards eviction and homelessness in the subjunctive-prospective where he said "if [they] break the house, […] where to go?" (K_VR_2, 08/03/18). Secondly, he also explicitly articulated interpersonally made decisions that led him to agree to the SRP. I further read, in this articulation, an analytical challenge to the rational/emotional, liberal/communitarian dyads. Notice that Ramu kaka's emotional "feeling in the stomach", and metonymic

synecdochising with other subject-agents (a person goes with another person) is part of his rationale behind his performance of a liberal task of individually signing an agreement with the developer. This latter logic was also recurrently articulated in Ramabai's interview, "whatever happens to the world/ everyone, will happen to us" (K_VR_12, 26/04/18). Both Ramu kaka and Ramabai were articulately placing the responsibility of their liberal decision onto other things/people, thereby decentring the Modern liberal democratic requirement for individual sovereign decision-making.

Furthermore, another incident decentred the processual character of liberal democracy. In Kelewadi, corporator$_{K1}$ had collected all the signed consent forms on behalf of the developer. While the corporator$_{K1}$ had kept the consent forms with himself, the developer$_{K4}$ commenced with the construction of two 11-storey buildings. The residents of Kelewadi felt deceived because the developer$_{K4}$ constructed 11-storey buildings when "the guess was of 5 stories" (K_VR_2, 08/03/18). On the one hand, the corporator$_{K1}$ found no *artha* (meaning) in people's disapproval of 11-storey buildings and yet he told me that he was discussing the concerns with the developer. On the other hand, some residents speculated that the corporator and the developer were *quarrelling* over profit-sharing. Either way, given the unanimous disapproval of the proposed rehabilitation, the corporator asked the vasti-residents to retrieve the signed consent forms. Factually, the SRP does not stipulate a procedure for reclaiming the consent forms once signed.

The sufficiency of a single act of consent is, in fact, the hallmark of Modern liberal democracy that assumes a sovereign rights-bearing individual citizen-subject (Chatterjee, 2018, 2019a). Corporator$_{K1}$'s decision to retrieve consent forms, and the residents' compliance with the corporator's decision, undoes the processual character of Modern liberal democracy. To put it plainly, the corporator$_{K1}$ and vasti-resident's actions are a postcolonial praxis of bending the Modern liberal democratic state institutions to work for the postcolonial context. Furthermore, some Kelewadi-residents told me that they had *not* yet retrieved the consent forms from the corporator$_{K1}$'s office. Sunita corroborated this fact while sneering:

"It [the consent forms] is dropped-fallen in one full room. Where to find [her consent form] in that [mess]? Let it go! What? Those our proofs, whatever there are, they are mouldering away by taking-taking Xeroxes. Give us [proof] of this, give us [proof] of that [she laughed] […] Therefore, scheme does not happen, we do not go [she laughed]" (K_VR_13, 26/04/18).

Without negating the corporator's decision to reclaim consent form (since she did not mind retrieving them), Sunita further articulated an *indifference* towards what happens to the consent forms. Sunita compared the consent forms to other documents she had been asked to provide for the SRP many times over. By associating with the unjustified repeated demand for seeking documentary pieces of evidence, it appears to me that Sunita is rationalising her *indifference* towards the consent forms, which founds the legitimacy for the SRP's liberal democratic reform.

The above narratives demonstrate the political upheavals through and around textual encounters between various subject-agents in the SRP. In line with the argument of this thesis, these political upheavals happen at the level of subjectivity formation on the plane of governmentality, where Modernity (with capital M) remains decentred but still performed. The narratives also demonstrate the way subject-agents respond to the socially constructed subject-positions at the textual encounters.

## 7.4 Conclusion

This chapter showed that the bodied subject-agents encounter one another through bodily, material, and textual registers in Pune's postcolonial democratic arena. As I have suggested earlier, I call Pune's democratic arena a postcolonial arena because colonial Modernity is still performed in Pune, but appears as constantly renegotiated when read on the plane of governmentality. On the plane of governmentality, bodies are made to matter deliberately. For instance, the developers and the vasti-residents met one another to discuss the rehabilitation. Residents of both the vastis considered it significant to physically meet the real-estate developer because they thought that seeing the developer allowed them the possibility of knowing and therefore judging the developer. Knowing this necessity, developers in both the vastis had arranged for meetings with the vasti-residents to inform and convince them of the benefits of the proposed rehabilitation. Similarly, neither are all bodily encounters deliberated nor do they predetermine the outcomes of the encounters. For instance, Kelewadi residents' persistent meetings with the Trust-members, to seek their assistance in service-provision, resulted in the Trust leasing the land to the real-estate developers. Consequently, the residents had to rearrange their subjectivities in the changed context and deliberate on different bodily encounters.

Like bodies, materiality also becomes a site and means through which subjectivities are shaped. For instance, constructing 'show-flats' is a common practice among real-estate developers in India. Consequently, residents' narratives demonstrate how the desire for middle-class living, visible through the real-estate advertisements and the 'show-flats', becomes influential in deciding whether (or not) to consent for the SRP. Other less conspicuous use of matter include *walls* and *doors* that deliberately affect the SRP. Likewise, although *masjids, mandirs* or *mandals* are not constructed for the purposes of influencing the SRP implementation, they acquire noticeable significance while taking decisions about the SRP.

Textual encounters are mostly deliberated and form the core of the liberal democratic procedures of the GoM. The GoM started distributing photo-passes to slum-dwellers

in the 1980s. In addition to the photo-passes, the SRP stipulates a cut-off date for the eligibility of residents for rehabilitation. Although the cut-off date was initially set to 01/01/1995, it was later changed to 01/01/2000, and further to 01/01/2011. Furthermore, participants of this research told me that the GoM was rethinking about the cut-off date to make everyone residing on the land to date (i.e. as of 2018) as eligible. However, to prove their residence on the land, the resident's name needs to appear in the voting list prior to the cut-off date. Moreover, the SRP also requires that the residents sign a consent form to approve the implementation of the SRP on their land. The repeated production of documentary evidence of their residence, without any specific visible outcome of such a process, has a negative effect on the vasti-residents' attitude towards the Government and the SRP. Inversely, the residents also find ingenious ways to reassert their claims by mimicking or reworking the textual practices prescribed by the Government institutions. For instance, in Kelewadi, the corporator retrieved the consents by giving away the forms back to the residents.

Taken together, the bodily, material, and textual encounters illustrate modalities and sites through which *rājnīti* (policies of government) and *loknīti* (policies of the governed) interact in postcolonial democratic Pune, socially making a participatory land policy (PLP). The interaction between *rājnīti* and *loknīti* is an indicator that the historically inscribed structural split between the elites and the subalterns (Guha, 1982) is no longer as sharp and hermetically sealed off from one another as was experienced through the colonial period and the early decades since independence. Yet, the difference between *rājnīti* (policies of government) and *loknīti* (policies of the governed) remains starkly visible, given the Government's continuing allusion to Modernity. Having sketched the contours of participatory encounters, I now show three registers of postcolonial land subjectivities made relevant by the participants of this research during slum rehabilitations in the next chapter.

# 8  POSTCOLONIAL LAND SUBJECTIVITIES

This chapter elaborates on the postcolonial land subjectivities I derived from my ethnographic work. As I wrote in Chapter 4, land subjectivities denote subject-agents' contextually held relations to land either produced, reworked, or thwarted through participatory encounters. They are methodologically readable when people speak about how various encounters affect their own land policies. The three registers of land subjectivities that I illustrate in this chapter do not (and cannot) exhaust the field of land subjectivities during slum rehabilitations in either of the vastis. As I wrote in Chapter 4, the data analysis process was meant to assist in identifying participants' articulations of their land subjectivities that they make relevant during slum rehabilitations. More specifically, the registers illustrated in this chapter demonstrate postcolonial subjectivities that straddle between the Modern (with capital M) and the traditional – thereby hinting at alternative ways of being modern (with small m). This chapter uncovers and names these postcolonial subjectivities.

The following analysis is categorised in three distinct registers of land subjectivities, namely: interpersonal land subjectivities (section 8.1), morphic land subjectivities (section 8.2), and chiasmic land subjectivities (section 8.3). There is no analytical structure that binds these subjectivities together. The reason I foreground these registers, among others, is that my participants predominantly spoke of these subjectivities while recounting to me the political performances and participation taking place at various encounters during slum rehabilitations. Each of these registers of postcolonial land subjectivities further provide grounds for interpreting the latent meaning of land within the participants' articulations, which I consider in Chapter 9 to be subaltern land subjectivities – as being outside the recognisable vocabularies used by *rājnīti* (policies of government) and *loknīti* (policies of the governed).

## 8.1 Interpersonal land subjectivities

"[S]ubjectivity, [is] both […] [the] states of mind of real actors *embedded in the social world*, and […] [the] *cultural formations* that (at least partially) express, shape, and constitute those states of mind" (Ortner, 2005, p. 46, emphasis added).

A living subject is almost always related to some other bodied subject. Furthermore, in a relational field of discourses, where language and materiality are interwoven in 'signifying chains', the subject's relations to other bodied subjects is further linked to land. I refer to this overdetermined form of subjectivity, interpersonal land subjectivity. In this section, I demonstrate that interpersonal land subjectivities are neither fixedly 'individual' nor completely 'collective' in the sovereign sense of the words derived from Modernity. Instead, interpersonal land subjectivities are temporarily articulated to suit the purpose of the narration and the political demands of the governed. Moreover, interpersonal subjectivities are ambivalent and straddle between the Modern and the traditional. Eventually, they are articulated in terms of contextually relevant and often overlapping metonyms (as in, we-the-women, we-the-slum-dwellers, etc.).

The participants of this research articulated these interpersonal subjectivities as having already formed over the years (section 8.1.1), while some were produced, reworked, or thwarted during the implementation of the SRP (section 8.1.2). Subsequently, the subjects of the SRP, being agents and having policies of their own, sometimes acted towards sustaining their existing interpersonal metonyms through the SRP (section 8.1.3). Alternatively, if the possibility of acting had not arrived yet, the subjects articulated their interpersonal subjectivities in the subjunctive-prospective (section 8.1.4), as their own potential land policy. In this section, I show that the vasti-residents' interpersonal metonyms cannot be easily divorced from their land-related subjectivities and policies.

### 8.1.1 Developed interpersonal metonyms

I begin this section by recounting residents' articulations of developed, yet provisional, interpersonal land subjectivities. Later, I show residents' explicit efforts to sustain the sense of interpersonal metonym performatively. Almost all the references in this section display an instrumentalization of the interpersonal metonyms demonstrating *nīti*-inspired political articulations.

I interviewed Prashant from Kelewadi in a local dairy-shop, where he also introduced me to his colleagues. During this introduction, Prashant's colleagues bolstered Prashant's political leadership potential. Prashant cared deeply about Kelewadi's future. When I asked him about his views on the SRP, Prashant said:

> "Meaning 'house', many people have taken [bought] flats outside, but still people feel like living here because everything is close-by and all-around – like we say, 'people's settlement'. There is a good connection with everyone […] and in vasti part, people care for *relations* a lot, maintain [relationships] a lot. Meaning *as compared to* your [my?] *society* [name for middle-income housing complexes in Pune], or in buildings, *continuous* your door is closed, if anything happens in your house, then even one person from the *society* does not run for aid; but with us, even if someone stumbles, the entire *chawl* [here 'alley'] gathers, what happened, what happened, what happened, are you hurt? They will also carry you to the clinic. So, there is also good in this, right? There is someone to run [care] for us; there is someone to run. Then, there is one benefit" (K_VR_7, 08/04/18).

While expressing his views about the *vasti,* Prashant articulated a sharp difference between the 'inside' (their vasti) and the 'outside' (anywhere else). Furthermore, his justification for why people wanted to stay in the vasti included locational proximity to various amenities and people's '*relations'* with each other. While Prashant indeed suggested an instrumental use of these relations*,* he expressed them with a deep

emotional tenor. In doing so, he further articulated a difference between (middle-income) societies and 'their' vasti.

In comparison with the societies where 'doors are always closed', Prashant articulated an equivalence between 'open doors' and the existing social relations among vasti-residents. I have elaborately demonstrated the effects of modernising discourses on people's subjectivities in section 7.2.1. Apartment buildings and housing societies are presented by the real-estate advertisements and SRA's posters as progressive modernisation for 'the bright future of vasti-residents' children'. Prashant is one of these people whose bright future SRA cares about so much. Furthermore, in Prashant's view, Modernity is alienating – that it destroys relational ties among people and individuates people. Amid this governmentalizing field of discourses, Prashant spoke of the *vasti* with an unwavering 'us', which I read as a construction of an interpersonal metonym. Prashant was not alone in enunciating the collective (or metonymic) sense which the residents feel in the vasti. Yet, as context changes, different interpersonal metonyms acquire signification.

I encountered Babu during my interview with Dinesh in Kelewadi. Babu joined the conversation and told me about 'life' in the vasti. Babu had similar views as Prashant's and compared their vasti with the middle-income housing. He said:

> "Take an example of death/mourning: In *Brahmin* area, now I don't know where you come from, but where *Brahmins* have flats, the neighbour does not even know. That is *society*! Even if there is death in the adjacent *society*, they do not know. And here, if there is death across this *chawk* [square/ road junction], then even [people] from the hillside come. This is the *difference*" (K_VR_4.2, 29/03/18).

Likewise, Pramilabai living in transit accommodation in Dandekar Pool Vasti told me about her views on the vasti, where she had been living for the last fifty years. When I asked her about how she felt in the transit accommodation, she told me that she liked the old settlement:

"Even boys [the younger generation] feel; meaning, even boys have stayed together from the beginning, like that, never different – like; if [they had] to eat a meal, everyone will get plates in one house, will do this, everything […] There is unity only in that. *How* is it in flats? – If anyone falls sick, then no one even looks slightly. So, now towards [with] us, if something happens to someone, then everyone runs [to us], so there is no [worry]" (D_VR_11, 15/05/18).

The above three narrations indicate that vasti-residents value relations that they have built in the settlements over the years and consider those relations to have fostered a sense of interpersonal bond. More importantly for this thesis, Pramilabai considered her vasti as old and apartment buildings as modern, indispensably entangled with Modernity still being performed through the SRP.

Yet, these interpersonal subjectivities are not always universally applied to the entire vasti. Kalebai's narration was indicative of the contextuality of the sense of interpersonal metonym. When I ended the first interview with Kalebai, she spoke of another metonym linked with the spatial-temporal and social differences within the settlement. She said:

"And our part of the settlement is old, so there is a question; when we take up the question of moving, then they [the new-comers] would have to think, they are new, so they don't have a question. Now this person [pointing at a person sitting on the street kerb] was born here and is now this old, so they [government/developer?] must think, right? […] This side of the settlement is all our part; that upper part [towards the hill-slope] is not our question! […] So, whomever builder comes or whatever, when here we take up the question [in their part of the settlement], only then [there is a chance]. […] Here we are all one [together]" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18).

Kalebai was also overtly implying a sense of metonym like Prashant. However, Kalebai's collective sense was constructed on the oldness of the parts of the

settlement. Furthermore, she explicitly laid a stronger claim to the older-settler's decision-making about their vasti - i.e. first, older-settlers will decide, then new-settlers will decide. However, as I ended the interview and asked her for directions to the main vehicular road, Kalebai said the following:

> "Now, that part is all mātang samāj, for that, one goes this way [therefore you go out from this road?], otherwise here these are all our people, we can give you whatever information you want" (K_VR_11, 25/04/18).

While giving me directions to leave the vasti, Kalebai constructed another metonym based on caste affiliations, also coupling it with where I should or should not collect data. While there are many constative statements about constructed interpersonal metonyms, these metonyms are also performed. Below, I recount modalities through which vasti-residents perform interpersonal metonyms and how they shape people's land subjectivities and policies.

There is a long tradition of undoing caste and religious differences in Maharashtra that can at least be traced back to the *bhakti* movement. The tradition of undoing caste and religious differences continues even today, well befitting the liberal democratic goal of universal suffrage. Vinay from Dandekar Pool Vasti articulated this undoing quite explicitly during our interview:

> "Here in the *settlement,* meaning, even if we are in huts, we are *Konkani* [...] Meaning, others are also there; we live mingled [mixed/ together], we do not do a lot of *jaat-bhed* [race-difference]. [...] To stay there, then [people] used to call us *konakanāli* [*Konkan* lane], even now [in the transit accommodation] they call us *konkanāli.* Now, the third floor is *konkanāli* [...] Everyone here is *Konkani,* only two houses, one *Marāthā* and one *Jay Bhim*[34] [he abruptly lowered his voice], only that much. They are also in

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[34] Jay Bhim is a greeting which literally means 'Victory to Bhim' referring to Bhimrao Ambedkar. It appeared in Vinay's narration as denoting the community of Ambedkar's followers and consequently referring to other castes.

us [locative case], we did not throw [people] of other castes away; they are also ours [genitive case]" (D_VR_15, 06/06/18).

Vinay's narration referred to both the problem and a solution to the problem of social differences. Firstly, the fact that Vinay spoke of Jay Bhim with a toned-down voice can be read to denote his attempt at thwarting the caste differences by making a constative statement (i.e. a truth-claim) while performatively indicating its irrelevance. However, Vinay's ambivalent articulatory thwarting of social differences is more overtly performed at many public events in the settlement. In the previous chapter, I wrote about *mandals* and posters as material and textual encounters where subject-positions are articulated. In the following part of this section, I elaborate on two similar instances when the governed use their agency to articulate their metonyms and speak about their land subjectivities and policies (*loknīti*).

While speaking about the vasti with Prashant, he referred to a temporary archway constructed in Kelewadi on Ambedkar Jayanti. Prashant referred specifically to the five flags put upon the arch to signal towards communal unity in the vasti. When I visited Kelewadi to see this archway, I noticed the five flags to which Prashant was referring. The arch was covered with blue cloth, symbolising the *Bhim*-community and a poster hung on the top segment of the arch with Ambedkar's portrait on one side and Subedār Khandoji Mankar's portrait (Marāthā samāj) on the other side. The five flags placed on top of the poster symbolised five communities along the lines of religion and caste. The flags represented, namely: Mātang samāj (yellow flag), Dalit samāj (blue flag), Buddhists (multi-colour flag), Marāthā samāj (orange flag), and Muslim samāj (green flag). I notice an unequivocally articulated equivalence between different religions and castes as a performative practice of conjuring unity in a deeply divided society.

Likewise, while Rambhau, from Wadarwadi, was showing me the conditions of their newly constructed building, I noticed a poster put-up by a mandal in two different places. While one was placed abutting a compound wall of the adjacent land, the other was placed at the vasti-entrance in a manner that is publicly visible to all those passing by. The poster read as follows:
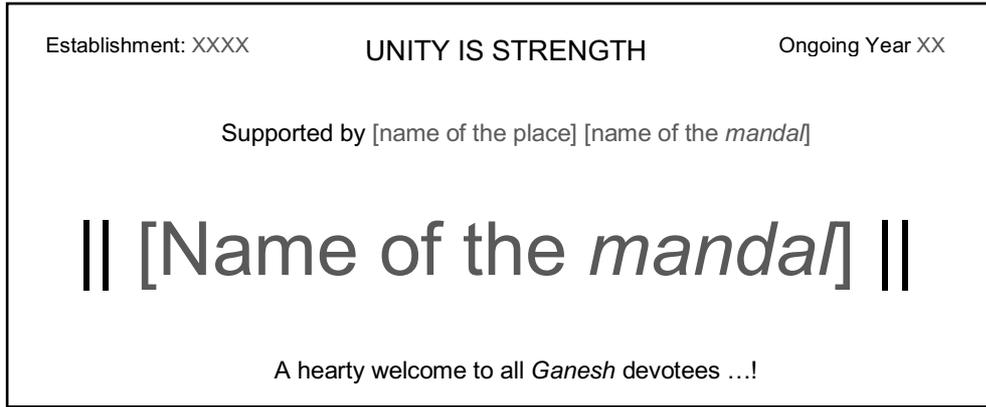
Figure 18: Schematic re-presentation of a poster put up by a mandal (Source: author)

As I saw the poster, I was reminded of Prashant's equivalence between five flags and the performative articulation of communal unity. The poster at the vasti-entrance was later covered with a provisional banner welcoming the pilgrims of *Wāri* in July 2018 as shown below:
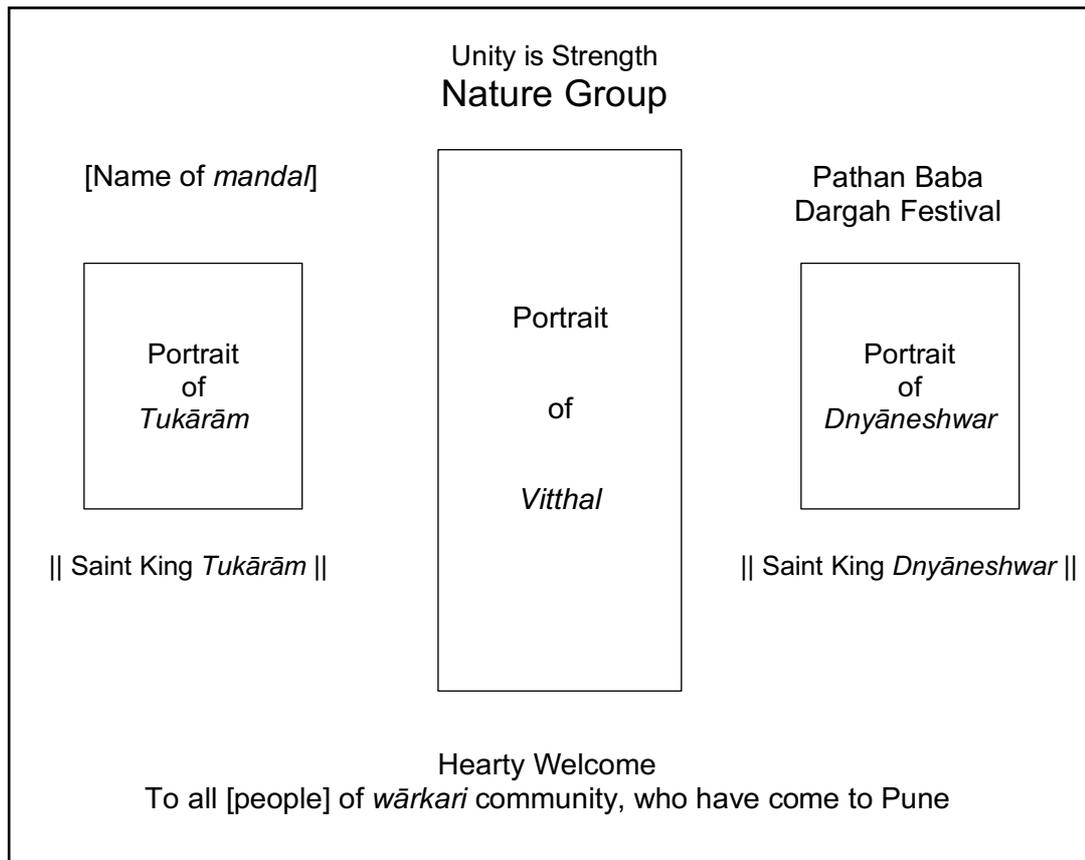


Figure 19: Schematic re-presentation of a poster put up by a mandal (Source: author)

*Wāri* is a pilgrimage where members of *wārkari* community, devotees of Vitthal - a deity local to Maharashtra – walk from an erstwhile town of Alandi and Dehu to Pandharpur. Alandi and Dehu are now part of the larger Pune Metropolitan Region. This pilgrimage tradition associates with the *bhakti* saints, Dnyāneshwar and Tukārām. In 2018, the media reported 300,000 people starting the pilgrimage from Pune. *Wāri* is a reiterative reminder of the legacy of bhakti movement which explicitly dismantled social differences and equated all humans in their spiritual access to divinity, despite their socially held subject-positions. The message on the above poster is not new to the *wārkari* community. Moreover, this mandal had put up a larger banner welcoming the devotees of Vitthal and presented a combined welcome from the mandal (formed for a Hindu festival) and the Pathan Baba Dargah (Muslim) festival trust to the *wārkari* (*bhakti*) pilgrims.

Both the instances mentioned above suggest that the Kelewadi residents reiterated the message of unity without flattening difference. In the former case, I read (following Prashant) the act of putting up the flags on the archway as an instance of constructing a material-discourse that conveys the message of 'unity in diversity'. In the latter case, the same material-discourse was articulated with different signifiers. The slogan 'unity is strength' reinforced the act of welcoming the wārkari community with the perspicuous equivalence between religious differences. Additionally, the text on the banner links social equality and political strength. Note that the use of religion as "an identifiable system of doctrine-scriptures-beliefs, a *thing*" (Jazeel, 2013, pp. 13–14) for ideological party-politics, territorial-politics, or adversarial-politics is explicitly undone to demonstrate unity without flattening difference. Here, another vague interpersonal metonym is performatively, temporarily, and contextually being constructed.

Whereas vasti-residents developed contextually relevant interpersonal metonyms for various occasions, I now recount one instance where a metonym was strategically created to aid the struggle against slum rehabilitation.

### 8.1.2 Deliberate interpersonal metonyms

I have argued through Chapters 6 and 7 that the SRP is a Modern developmental state policy (*rājnīti*) imbued with specific subject-positions, and that the subject-agents of the SRP have their own policy-practices (i.e. *loknīti*). In this section, I recount one instance where the vasti-residents formed a collectivity to resist the SRP and succeeded in deferring its implementation. Therefore, the vasti-residents momentarily occupied the field of power called government and their policy-practice temporarily occupied the position of *rājnīti*. Interpersonal land subjectivity was instrumental in shifting vasti-residents' position from being governed to becoming governors of their own land-related intentional conduct.

While speaking about PMC's routine checks on slums in Pune, a PMC employee (S_7, 11/04/18) told me that people keep coming individually to meet with the bureaucrats to resolve their concerns. However, he added that there is no response from the bureaucrats until a crowd marches on the municipality. He told me that a crowd often shakes the organisation up. India's independence struggle has set a decisive precedent towards the need for collective action in the face of colonial dominance. However, in consonance with Chatterjee's (2011) argument, the slum-dwellers march on the PMC to speak about 'daily nitty-gritties of governmentality'. Residents of both the studied settlements engaged in *nīti*-inspired politics of confronting the modern state institutions at different stages of the SRP.

I wrote in the previous chapter that when it came to encountering the PMC, the residents of Kelewadi took a *morcha* (march/ rally) on the municipality organised by corporator$_{K2}$ who lived in Kelewadi. When I interviewed corporator$_{K2}$, he told me that:

> "Our main purpose was people's awakening […], therefore thus, frankly SRA came to us after 2007, but many clever boys, they were young, they all came together and decided to oppose those [slum rehabilitation] policies; […] Now, how it is! any organisation, [if] there are no *beneficiaries,* then such organisations [of] people-movement get broken […] and [here] it was not anyone's individual [interest], or no one was a

beneficiary, […] Like that, people had participated voluntarily; but it is such in the outside world that whenever people come together, then there are many ways in which [other people] try to break them. All [sorts of] strategies are used; like that some of us select people came together, and we fought empowered" (S_2, 05/06/18).

I read in corporator$_{K2}$'s narrative the process of construction of a collectivity with an explicit purpose to ward-off the SRP. The young clever boys engaged in making other residents aware of the SRP and the type of housing the slum rehabilitation would provide them. The corporator$_{K2}$ told me that they had visited the buildings in Wadarwadi, and they felt the need to awaken the residents regarding the impending development under the SRP. As I asked the corporator$_{K2}$ about their efforts with respect to their awareness campaign, he told me about the morcha they led on the municipality in 2011.

"No, then people came by trusting us, we took a morcha of almost four thousand women. Ten-fifteen of us were on the *leading* [position], I was one of them, and it had happened spontaneously, many people woke up with a concept of 'what kind of one's house to have?' and there was good participation from people" (S_2, 05/06/18).

A few female participants of this research partially verified the corporator$_{K2}$'s narrative of 'good' participation from four thousand women from the settlement. However, one of the participants told me that some women were paid to participate in the morcha. Paying women to participate in the morcha partly complicates the narrative of spontaneous coming-together of the residents, while reaffirming the corporator$_{K2}$'s argument that only a handful of people were leading the morcha. Despite the instrumentality of this collective-formation, the four thousand women did march on the municipality, and the municipal authorities did 'listen' to (although not directly acted upon) the demands of the ten to fifteen leading members.

The corporator$_{K2}$ told me that their morcha helped towards stalling the project. Another leader of the morcha remembered that a municipal official explicitly told them

to take their concerns to the developer. The municipal authority had told them that the developer would have to listen to their demands given the size of their vasti. It appears that the state responsibility of listening to the demands of the vasti-residents was transferred onto the private developer. Here, both the PMC and the developer together appear to be governing the vasti-residents' conduct. Consequently, the PMC and the developers' own policies towards Kelewadi occupy the position of *rājnīti*.

Yet, with four thousand women, another interpersonal metonym was provisionally constructed and made to perform to affect *rājnīti*. Although the four thousand women did not have the same individual land policies, they briefly synecdochised themselves into a metonym of slum-dwellers, and let the leaders of the morcha speak on their behalf. As I elaborated in the previous chapters, different female participants of this research held different views about the SRP and had signed (or not) the consent forms. Consequently, notwithstanding the foundational assumption of perfect representability, the act of taking a morcha onto the municipality demarcates a moment of performing representative democracy outside the theoretical bounds of the procedures of elections.

More significantly for this discussion, slum-land became both a reason and an anchor around which interpersonal metonym was provisionally constructed and helped reverse the positions between *rājnīti* and *loknīti* – thereby socially making a participatory land policy. Furthermore, once performed, the anchored interpersonal metonym inscribed itself onto the history of that land and deferred the making of land into developer-controlled-commodity and a state-controlled-property. Moreover, as I show in the next section, not all interpersonal collectivities are provisionally constructed for resisting the SRP, but some only help articulate emotional attachment.

### 8.1.3  Sustaining interpersonal metonyms

The interpersonal metonyms I articulated in the previous two sections were born out of necessity and contingency of life in the vastis. However, having formed over the number of years, these interpersonal metonymic subjectivities became relevant

during slum rehabilitations and affected people's land policies. In this section, I recount a tale of how residents from Dandekar Pool Vasti maintained some of their existing interpersonal land subjectivities in their transit accommodation and hoped to sustain them in the new development.

I introduced Pramilabai in the previous chapter who remembered the vasti as collective living. The residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti told me that when their houses were demolished, they were given keys to the flats in the transit housing and asked to find themselves a flat in the buildings. As I probed further into how Pramilabai felt in the transit housing, she told me that:

> "Yes, the boys had decided. Even, meaning, the neighbours, those in front, everyone was there. So, this floor, all of them [from their alleyway] came and told [the developer] that give us this floor [...] that way if it happens there [in the new development], then it will be good. Because that [the new building] is permanent, this [the transit housing] is just temporary [...] [laughing] yes or no? That is how, unity is maintained, nothing else. Now even if we stay alone or two, then there is no fear" (D_VR_11, 15/05/18).

Pramilabai considered it worth their efforts to maintain the relations they had built in the vasti. She articulated it as a collective decision and suggested that their hope to maintain the same relations in the new building was mutual. Note that Pramilabai too argued for an instrumental use of the neighbourly relations for reducing the fear of being alone. Either way, her narrative suggests that the neighbourly interpersonal unity took precedence while choosing the houses in the transit accommodation.

Pramilabai stayed on the same floor as Vinay and all the residents on that floor were *Konkani* except two families. Among them lived Kesha, who told me her caste in a low voice, yet considered it good that they were staying together with their neighbours on the same floor. When I interviewed Kesha, she said:

> "Around us, how, there are twelve [many?] castes. Not of one caste. [but] Now we stay together, if anything happens, gone! Then [we] stay together

[…] [however] when we came, the [others] from the *gully* were here, everyone from every *gully* [alleyway] stayed in one-one passage [floor]. [We] did [it] like that" (D_VR_7, 15/05/18).

Unlike Vinay's interpersonal metonym articulated around caste or regional subject-positions, both Pramilabai and Kesha articulated the interpersonal collectivities around neighbourly gully relations. The above two narratives suggest that the residents considered it worth maintaining their neighbourly relations through spatial proximity in the transit housing. Furthermore, Pramilabai expected that their neighbours should stay together in the new accommodation. She added:

"Going coming is maintained, speaking walking is maintained. So even that the boys are thinking, meaning if [we] get one floor, then it will be very good, but now, that is in builder's hands" (D_VR_11, 15/05/18).

The SRP stipulates that the flats should be distributed with a lottery system to maintain 'fair' distribution of houses. Given that the SRP cannot guarantee Pramilabai's desire to stay together, she considered that the possibility of maintaining their neighbourly relations lay with the developer. If the developer allows for it, the vasti-residents can coordinate the distribution of flats in the new building according to their existing interpersonal collectivity sustained through spatial proximity.

Like in the previous section, land appears in the participants' own land policies in two registers. On the one hand, the gully laid out on the land becomes a spatial anchor around which the neighbourly interpersonal metonyms are formed and sought to be maintained. On the other hand, by insisting on keeping neighbourly relations through spatial proximity, the SRP prescription to provide one-flat for one-slum-structure through the lottery is unsettled. Land is not wholly made private property, but an interpersonally supervised space.

### 8.1.4 Subjunctive-prospective interpersonal metonyms in store

Unlike the already produced interpersonal metonymic collectivities, this section expounds on two instances where spatial anchors, other than a gully, help produce

interpersonal metonyms in the subjunctive-prospective. That is, the Kelewadi residents imagine alternative rehabilitations using anchored interpersonal land subjectivities.

In the previous chapter, I wrote about mandals as a material encounter that becomes relevant in the making of PLP through slum rehabilitations. Another material-discourse that the mandals produce is that of interpersonal land subjectivities. Babu's articulation of a potential social organisation in the new development is built around the spatial node of mandals. When speaking about his views about the slum rehabilitations, Babu said:

> "Now what they did, they took one strip [of houses] like this [he waved his hand to show one part of the vasti]. Meaning, they threw [gave] numbers like this. Meaning, these houses in front of us will go into another building. So, what was our say, that whichever mandals are there, take their *quantity* [count them], and make one building of [for] that mandal" (K_VR_4, 29/03/18).

I notice in Babu's quotation his disagreement with the way the Government officials had numbered the houses and proposed the distribution of flats. Additionally, Babu also articulated an alternative discourse built around the spatial node of mandals. To counter Babu's claims for a subjunctive-prospective future organised around mandals, another participant interrupted Babu and said:

> "But frankly speaking, if one village one Ganapati [metonymically a mandal] happens, we have no problem. But unity does not happen […] because Ganapati does not say that I want one and not another. Do one village one Ganapati, but everyone should approve" (K_VR_4.2, 29/03/18).

This modification of the narrative future kept open the possibility of equality and unity under Ganapati – always present in the "transcendental semiotic" (Spivak, 2008, p. 187). Here, I find a reference to bhakti tradition of asserting spiritual equality of all living beings, also reminiscent in Gandhi's spiritual socialism. However, the quotation

also referred to the impossibility of such a unity in the present-habitual. Another participant supported the impracticality of unity through a practical example:

"Now, [someone] from that mandal, we know [s/he] is *opposite* [as in, politically?], and now if he stays in our society [building] then his terror will stay in our society [building]. Meaning, he will intimidate [as in, bully] us. Instead, if our society has our people [then it is better]" (K_VR_4.3, 29/03/18).

The narration of an alternative material-discourse constructed around the spatial anchor of mandals is also imagined by Prashant. During the interview, Prashant said:

"But it is expected that there can be benefit of this [mandals]; that wherever there is whichever *vasti* [settlement], to give buildings there [in the same place], so that they can do [establish], their Ganapati, or whichever devasthān [god-place] they have there, inside the building or nearby" (K_VR_7, 08/04/18).

Prashant also spoke of mandals as instrumental in organising social relations in the new development. Although the above subject-agents were unaware of the fact that the developer had decided to provide them with thirty-nine Ganapati mandirs, six Vitthal mandirs, and one Sai baba mandir in the new development, their suggestion still referred to sustaining the already built interpersonal metonyms, rather than constructing new ones. Consequently, I do not think that the vasti-residents' narratives demonstrate a mere quantification of mandirs or an ideological-adversarial politics, but rather a possibility of considering mandirs/ mandals as a spatial anchor around which to organise vasti-residents' future, and in turn, the future of the land. In the narrative futures of their rehabilitation, land appears in two registers. On the one hand, mandals spatially located on the land become a node around which interpersonal metonyms are formed and sought to be sustained. On the other hand, the imagined future of the vasti needs 'land' as a place for anchoring interpersonal metonyms.

Together, the above four sections demonstrate that land is articulated as an **anchor** around which interpersonal metonyms are produced, reworked, and thwarted. Moreover, interpersonal land subjectivities anchored in land become the object and means of participation in making society's land policy (i.e. a socially made PLP). In the following section, I articulate another register through which land subjectivities and policies get shaped during slum rehabilitations.

## 8.2  Morphic land subjectivities

"[It is] impossib[le] [to] divorc[e] the structuring of subjectivities from the material contours in which they are shaped" (Meneley, 1999, p. 5).

It is now theoretically commonplace that space and materiality affect the formation of the subject. Indeed, Meneley's (1999, p. 5) "material contours" refer to an already morphed environment in which the subject is born and made a subject. The relations that the subject has formed with the morphology of its surrounding environment can be expected to be part of the subject's life-world and its intentional conduct. Furthermore, the subject's morphed surroundings are almost always located somewhere on this earth, I call this overdetermined form of subjectivity – morphic land subjectivity. I already showed in Chapter 6 that the SRP is a Government policy that prescribes a type of built-environment (material-discourse) which the subjects of the SRP are expected to consent. Yet, the SRP is built on a Modern discourse (with capital M) of land as individuated property – clearly separate from space on land and strictly dividable in private and public spheres of life.

The narratives that follow in this section demonstrate that morphic land subjectivities are postcolonial because they are not hermetically and easily separable into private and public spheres of life foundational to Modernity (with capital M). I demonstrate that participants' narratives express a sense of fluidity and indicates towards flows of bodies, affects, and relations between the private and the public domains of spatial morphology in the vasti. More importantly, I also call these morphic land subjectivities as distinctively postcolonial because they do not directly adhere to the strict analytical split between 'space' and 'land' characteristic of Modern theories of planning policy (with capital M). Once again, the narratives straddle between the rational and the emotional, and modern and the traditional – ambivalences referring directly to postcolonial subjectivities. For analytical purposes, I categorise the morphic land subjectivities into private (section 8.2.1), private-public threshold (section 8.2.2), and public (section 8.2.3).

### 8.2.1 Morphing private materiality

In the previous chapter, I introduced Sunita from Kelewadi. GoM authorities encountered Sunita when her family was constructing a second floor. When the GoM authorities tried to stop them from constructing the second floor, Sunita quarrelled with GoM authorities precisely because the construction of a second floor in the slum areas was not permitted. However, many residents in Kelewadi had constructed second floors on their original houses over the years. In this section, I articulate residents' propensity towards morphing the private materiality of their houses already located over a piece of land.

I met Mukesh on a major thoroughfare in the settlement, from where he took me to his house located in a smaller *gully* (alley). A staircase led directly from the gully to the second-floor where Mukesh and his wife lived during the time of my fieldwork, in 2018. As I entered his house on the second floor, Mukesh's wife, Menaka, was sitting on the floor rolling *pāpads*. Midway through the interview, as I was speaking with them about slum rehabilitation, Mukesh said:

> "Now, this construction we have done [of a balcony space above the stairway], here we can do this [i.e. Menaka's work of rolling the pāpads and drying them in the sun], this we cannot do there [in the new buildings]. [*Menaka* intervened and said, "Meaning, I will have to stop this work completely"]. We had also told them [developers] that, 'what facility are you going to give to the *pāpad* factory women?', then they had said, "let's see, we will do a building for the women of *pāpad* factory and provide them with a gallery [for work]"; but nothing like that [happened]" (K_VR_10, 24/04/18).

Here, I read in Mukesh's narrative a reference to the incremental nature of their existing house. Over the years, Mukesh had constructed three rooms adjacent to and above their original room and recently added a balcony above the stairway. He also pointed at the brick construction work happening a few meters in front of his house. His neighbours are not the only ones who have constructed additional floors, and Mukesh wittily told me that "now people take out terrace and build above 18-18 ft;
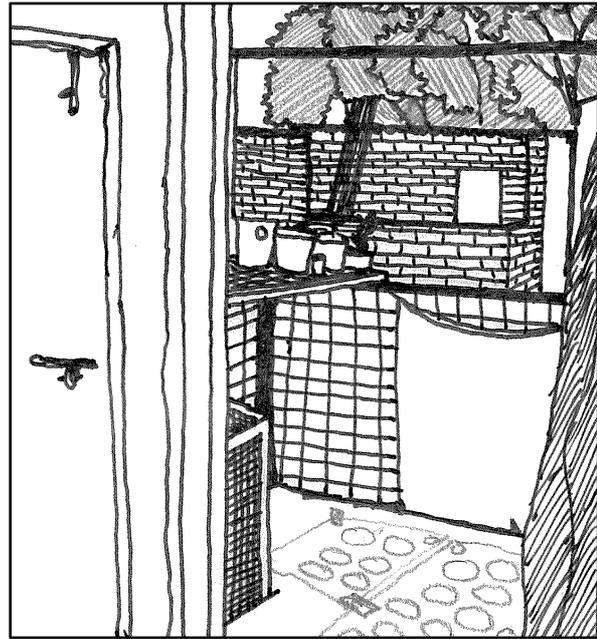


Figure 20: Sketch of an extended balcony and a second-storey construction (Source: author, 24/04/18)

before, meaning, no construction should [have] happen[ed] over 13 ½ ft" (K_VR_10, 24/04/18). Mukesh was referring to the earlier placed height restrictions that triggered the encounter between Sunita and the Government authorities. However, Mukesh told me that the height restriction had not mattered since the rehabilitation had begun. The proliferation of double stories in Kelewadi also conveys to the other residents that constructing a second floor is possible. Babu's subjectivities and policies were affected by such a discourse. While speaking of show-flats, Babu said:

> "There are three-three brothers, now if the three-three brothers get that much room [25 sq. m. as shown to him in the show-flats], so how will the three brothers stay? [...] Here [we] can do above and below [add another floor]" (K_VR_4.2).

Babu was speaking of his land policy in the subjunctive-prospective. However, the possibility of constructing an additional floor had already crossed his mind when thinking of the future. I think it is worth considering here that at least in Babu's articulation, the concepts of land and house are both subsumed under the metonym of 'place' denoted by 'here'. Babu was also articulating the morphology of their

existing houses in the context of his encounter with the show-flats. Unlike Babu, Sam and Prashant were more explicit than others in articulating their disagreement with the morphology of the newly constructed buildings. Sam told me that:

"Here we are staying, having done above and below [two floors], we are staying, but in there [new development], what above and below will we do? Neither below nor above, right? We can only stay in the middle, [or] outside […] we will have to sleep on the streets, when a new wedding happens, where to sleep?" (K_VR_4, 29/03/18).

Sam articulated the subjunctive-prospective possibility of curtailment of his freedom to construct additional floors and its negative implications on their life. While Prashant's views matched Sam's, he took the argument further to prescribe possible compromises to the situation. Prashant said:

"Now this that they [developers?] have built, like building a school, or like building a hospital, meaning we say right *railway dabba* [box]*,* that is how they have designed. So, you [developer/ government?] think a little, that build with the perspective that you yourself are going to stay, or do an architecture plan […] The house has 'it'! It has '*show*'! Meaning, give some improvement in the design. Let it be little/small, but let it be neat/proper. And in front, meaning do not build buildings in a line, give something like a society. Meaning this side two, this side two, this side one […] [and] in the middle [an open space?]" (K_VR_7, 08/04/18).

Both Sam and Prashant articulated their views on the SRP around their disagreement with the morphological confinement denoted by the metaphors of school, hospital, railway dabba, '*only* […] in the *middle'*. Accordingly, this shows that the vasti provided them with the bodily-material freedom to expand their houses for their own use. However, while Sam presented this morphic confinement to denote incommensurability of life in the proposed apartment buildings, Prashant prescribed modifications to the slum rehabilitations, including morphic 'opening-up' – literally making spatial room for manoeuvre. Incidentally, Prashant's vision of the

compromised alternative referred directly to the way most 'middle-income' housing societies are constructed in Pune. Modernity constructs people's subjectivities even when the discourse of Modernity does not directly originate from state institutions.

The residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti have formed their views about the SRP in a very different historical context. As I wrote in Chapter 6, the residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti could only build their houses in return for rent, and the landowners resided in the same vasti. Consequently, the possibility of doing any material change to their houses depended on the landowner's permission. When I asked Pramilabai about the developments in the settlement before the SRP, she told me:

> "Yes, we had to ask them [the landowners]. So, they used to take rent, right? So, nobody used to go ahead of them. Now it is their sons, but before it was their mother. They did not allow anyone to budge. That, even if we move a brick, they would break it. That way! Whatever place [land] they had drawn, we [could] only build that much" (D_VR_11, 15/05/18).

Pramilabai's remark was suggestive of very narrow freedom they had regarding the expansion of their house in the vasti. However, Sasane kaka thought that they could effortlessly do material changes inside their house with landowners' permission. When I asked him if they had to get landowner's permission, Sasane kaka said:

> "Yes, […] and they would give [permission], mostly! [The landowners would say,] "What? You want to do, right? You feel like living neatly, right? Then spend four paise [metonym for little amount] in your hand and get it done"" (D_VR_14, 03/06/18).

Sasane kaka's articulation suggests that the prospect of morphing the private materiality of their house was conditional on the landowner. Consequently, over the years, Sasane kaka had constructed a *potmālā* (a loft) inside the house and built a second room adjacent to their original one. However, none of the residents had built a second floor due to prohibition from the landowners and the Government. The fact that most families in Dandekar Pool Vasti had small houses, already restricted by the

context, meant that the disquiet against the confinement in the flats did not become significant in the PLP.

### 8.2.2  Morphing the private-public threshold

While the morphic impressionability on vasti-residents' private material domains resurfaced in the PLP, bodily-material practices at the threshold between the private and the public also became significantly politicised during the social making of PLP. In this section, I recount how the threshold between the private and the public was politicised in the PLP.  When I asked Pramilabai, from Dandekar Pool Vasti, whether she thought that the new development would bring change to their lives, she said:

> "Should I tell you truly? [in a soft honest voice], truly that old place used to feel good, but now if you see from a future perspective, then this is good. [...] Meaning, that first [place], meaning even if you sit in the door, then everything will happen from everywhere, there used to be an empty place in front, as the water taps were outside, we could wash clothes outside; now we must do everything in the bathroom. After waking up in the morning, when we could see everybody moving around, even we would get some energy/enthusiasm; but now, everybody's [business/activities] in their own houses. Meaning, it is like that! Even toilets used to be public, meaning for that purpose, everybody used to get out [...] Meaning, now, no! Everything is inside the houses [she laughed]. Meaning, the old used to feel good. But now since everybody's [lifestyle] is changing, then even we must change, right?" (D_VR_11, 15/05/18).

While holding an optimistic future, Pramilabai lamented the loss of the morphic character of their vasti. In her articulation of that lost morphology, I read a plastic nature of the private/public threshold, which could contextually be kept open or closed. A door kept open means keeping open the possibility of movement of bodies (seeing people move around), works (washing clothes), and affects (enthusiasm) between the private and the public. This door also maintains the possibility of opening and closing those movements when needed without inscribing a permanent

separation. Pramilabai also articulated the public toilets and taps as material nodal points around which life was lived. While lamenting about the loss of this morphic nature of their old settlement, she regretted the privatisation of the infrastructural utilities such as toilets and taps. Pramilabai's articulation, simultaneously emotional, hints at her acknowledgement of sovereign subject-agent's impossibility of taking alienated decisions. She began and ended her passionate articulation of past with a cautionary and open-ended note that "since everybody's [lifestyle] is changing, then even we have to change, right?" (D_VR_11, 15/05/18).

However, contrary to her lament towards privatising everything, I noticed that the doors in the transit accommodation were kept open almost all the times I visited the transit buildings. If not altogether, some residents would leave the doors half-open. Pramilabai was precise to notice, like many other residents from the settlements, that the middle-class families (which Prashant also equated to Brahmins) always keep their doors closed. The vasti-residents sought a different morphology.

Sunita from Kelewadi also brought forth the concern of open doors when I asked about what she thought of the change that the SRP would bring to their lives. She said:

> "From home, in flats, [one] does not get out, everyone's doors are closed, here [in the settlement] doors are open twenty-four hours. At night, in our *chawl*, doors are closed […] after 12 midnight. Meaning, the other person gets to know what is happening in everyone's house. Meaning, doors after going into flats, […] Meaning, our doors will not stay closed even after going into flats [she and other women laughed] […] yes, it is a habit […] even if [one] is not seen outside by the evening, the door is closed, […] then four times doors are banged; What? You did not come out? [...] Meaning, [one] fears to go into flats some times. This is how [we] are used to living free" (K_VR_13, 26/04/18).

Unlike Pramilabai, Sunita could still laugh about the morphology of the flat-system, yet she anticipated the fact that they would not close doors in the new buildings. While Pramilabai spoke of the movement of bodies and affects, Sunita articulated the ability to see/know the activities inside the house from the street. However, both the above narratives articulate an idea of freedom/openness that the subject-agents *feel* when speaking of the open thresholds between the private/public in the existing vasti. While Pramilabai seemed to have rationalised the
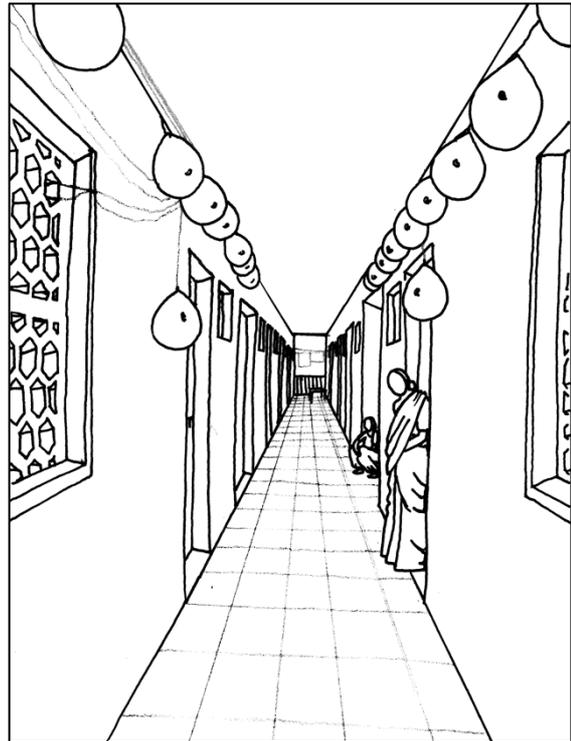


Figure 21: Sketch of a decorated corridor with open doors in the transit accommodation
(Source: author, 03/05/18)

impending material-discourse of the flats by locating a necessity for change, Sunita still feared that change. In addition to the private-public threshold, the vasti-residents also communicated to me the possibilities of morphing the public materiality of the vasti as I explain in the next section.

### 8.2.3 Morphing public materiality

The discourse constructed by the SRP is actualised by the developers in both the settlements. Vasti-residents' articulations amid the politics of PLP also brought forth a third aspect of the morph-ability of public materiality. In the previous chapter, I wrote about the material practices of putting up hoardings, constructing archways, and hoisting flags as material encounters where subject-positions are constructed and communicated. The following two narratives denote the contextually defined freedom to morph public materiality in the existing settlements.

I was speaking with Mukesh kaka about the SRP when he mentioned the following:

> "What we do, [if] there is Datta Jayanti, Ganesh Jayanti, if we have functions like these, then prepare meals etc, park vehicles obliquely this way [one end of the alley], park vehicles obliquely that way [another end of the alley], clean the road and sit [make seating for] people there to eat. Ok? Our village-like. Nobody says anything. Will go from the front, but nothing this [concern] […] It is possible to do family [functions] as well; but for that, how? If: Imagine, there [we] do function, then second day sweeping etc., if the plates are not removed then who will allow us or what? Then that is how it is" (K_VR_10, 24/04/18)

Mukesh kaka referred to the habitual practice where a public thoroughfare is temporarily converted into a place for celebrating festivities. He also articulated the conditions for that possibility to arise, namely blocking the two sides of the street to stop vehicular movement, cleanliness, and allowance by other members in the settlement. I notice that his narration changed to the necessity of cleaning the streets after the festivities when it came to private functions celebrated publicly.

First, the boundary between the private and the public is drastically blurred under the conditions of an acceptable and contextually verifiable social contract, which here only referred to the cleanliness of the streets - metonymically read to imply socially acceptable behaviour. What is important to note for the purposes of this discussion is that public street is seen as morphologically adaptable for the land-use it is expected to hold. The following sketch shows a similarly (provisionally) morphed public street for the purposes of the Holi festival celebrated in Maharashtra:
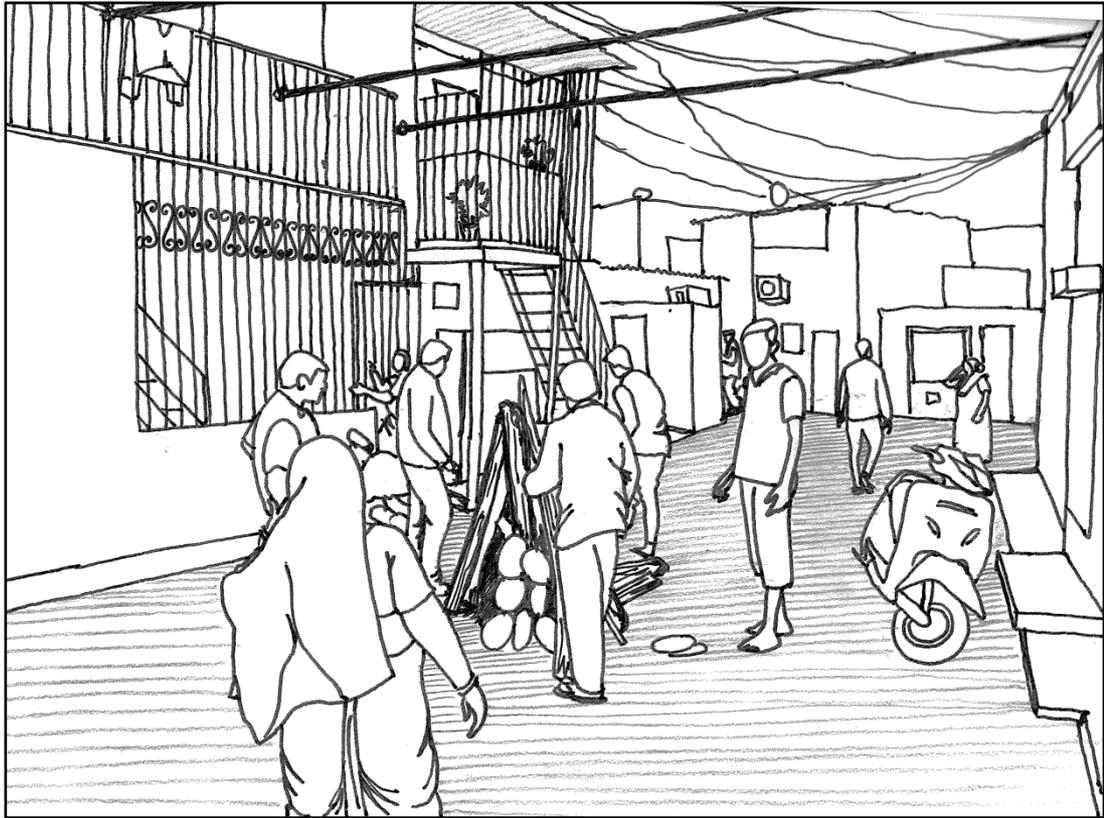
Figure 22: Sketch showing preparation for Holi in Kelewadi (Source: author, 01/03/18)

Mukesh kaka was not alone in narrating about the morphology of the settlement in a positive tone. Ramabai, too, considered it worth mentioning while reflecting on the impending the SRP:

"If [they] give [flats], build, ok! Now if we say of all world, is anyone going to say about a single person? Whatever happens to everyone will happen to us, right? What different to tell? Or do we have to stand in opposition to them? [Rhetorical question with a negative answer]. Then resist [as another option]. Not like that. You tell [us] whatever it is. What is it to us? And how is this? […] Free [open] feels good, right? The breeze comes, water, everything is there. Vegetable-*wālā* [seller] comes, everything-*wālā* comes. No climbing down, no climbing up… everything door - at the door […] It is all fun! Meaning, how? It is fine. Let it die [leave it? - the flat – with a sense of hopelessness]" (K_VR_12, 26/04/18).

I wrote in section 7.2.1 that Ramabai's hopes towards living in flats were raised due to her material encounters with the show-flats. However, here she was already

lamenting about the loss of the morphology of her existing vasti. Ramabai associated the notion of freedom with the openness of the existing vasti, the ability to move about without climbing stairs, and the possibility to access various amenities at her doorstep. Likewise, Vasu's wife told me towards the end of the interview with Vasu that "we [I/ exclusive] do not understand much about this, but however it is [in the existing vasti], that way [I] feel proper. It is free/open. And there [in the new building] it is tied-like [constrained]" (K_VR_8, 10/04/18).

I wrote in Chapter 6 that Kelewadi residents had already conveyed their disagreement with the 12-storey buildings to the corporator. The corporator explicitly told me that he did not find any *artha* (meaning/value) behind the residents' disagreement with the 12-storey buildings. Here, the corporator is complicit to state's Modernisation (with capital M) policy and colludes with the developer in convincing people to participate in the SRP. However, the residents told me about their reasons behind disagreement with 12-storey buildings, which I recount in the following part of this section.



Figure 23: Sketch of a street in Kelewadi
(Source: author, 27/04/18)

Prashant made an argument that supported his claim against the multi-storeyed buildings when he said:

> "Again, the same thing will happen, right? Now, how it happens in the *chawl* [their settlement]? Somebody's or somebody's door is open, coming going person is seen. Who is coming in the building and who is going, then in those two things stealing is increasing or [if] the people's doors are continuously closed, and then again people will [separate] from one another, when *relations* are slowly-slowly, slowly-slowly reduced, then there will be a *loss"* (K_VR_7, 08/04/18).

Like Pramilabai, Prashant associated the open doors with the possibility of *seeing* different people and thus maintaining relations, and he suspected that the high-rise buildings would eventually reduce social relations. Alternatively, other participants suspected that the multi-storied buildings would not suit their way of life as it exists in the vasti. The signifiers that were brought forth during these narrations mainly referred to the hassle of climbing up twelve floors because the experience from other slum rehabilitation schemes has shown the vasti-residents that 'lifts' mostly do not work. For instance, while asking Vasu about his views of the SRP, he told me:

> "Now in the twelve-thirteen floors, what will happen? Boys will tease girls [in the staircases] […] this [the new buildings] have built so big, now in this, this people in the 'slums' are disordered, even if [they/we] do [build] *lift,* [it] cannot endure too long. In that, if someone dies, then [we] will have to get them down in a bag. Or if we must take an older person to a clinic, then he [sic] will have to be carried on the back. So, this [we] do not want/ought to be this big [multi-storied]. We [inclusive] want like four floors, five floors" (K_VR_8, 10/04/18).

Vasu was judicious in his comment about lifts in the new buildings and cautiously acknowledged that it would take time for everyone to learn to live with unfamiliar technologies. However, he also anticipated that "boys will tease girls [in the staircases]" (K_VR_8, 10/04/18). Sunita's daughter told me that in the existing vasti

'boys' gather in the *chawks*, so the girls have to take alternative routes to avoid the boys. It appears through these narratives that one single staircase may not provide the possibility of dodging the situation of "boys […] teas[ing] girls" (K_VR_8, 10/04/18).

Besides, the height of the newly constructed buildings was one of the most common complaints of the residents. Like Vasu, Sunita also complained about the height of the buildings, yet her concerns were different. Sunita told me:

> "It is twelve storeys, nobody will agree, because there is no 'this', right? […] Now, we [exclusive] have ordinary [not-rich people]. Even to get one rupee's coriander, [we] must send the child to the store. Now, a woman will come home at around five o'clock in the evening [after work], if she tells the child to go down and get coriander, then at what time will the boy come [back]? Meaning, this is how it is, right? That is why we do not agree to it" (K_VR_13, 26/04/18).

Together, the three narratives recounted above demonstrate subject-agents' attempts at describing their concerns regarding the morphology of their settlement and the newly constructed buildings as per the SRP. The main signifier was, of course, the 'verticality' of the morphology presented to the residents through the SRP. However, while Prashant associated it to the loss of social relations, Vasu associated it to the hassle of carrying people up and down the stairs and Sunita associated it with the time it would take for their children to return from the shops.

Additionally, all the narratives show that the verticality was disliked for being cumbersome. I also read an undertone in all these narratives that suggest that the residents appreciated the ease that the existing vasti-morphology offers them. While Prashant can maintain his social relations, Vasu can perhaps bring the vehicle to the doorstep to carry the deceased, and Sunita finds solace in thinking that her child will return quickly if they stay on the ground floor. In other words, the residents consider it cumbersome and unnecessary to change the existing differential/relational

material-discourse into the one offered by the SRP. Moreover, Sunita considered it important to restate the fact at the end of her complaint regarding twelve storeys:

"We do not want to stay in 'slums', we want to go into flats, but we do not agree in this way [the twelve storeys] […] That is why we are still here" (K_VR_13, 26/04/18).

The developer$_{K4}$ still planned to construct 12-storey buildings and the residents insisted on their distaste. I wrote in section 7.3 that the corporator$_{K1}$ had asked the residents to retrieve their consent forms. Some residents considered this a result of their insistence on 'not wanting twelve storeys', while some thought that the corporator$_{K1}$ was trying to seek profits from the development.

In Dandekar Pool Vasti, the residents did not explicitly speak of the verticality of the new buildings when recounting their participatory encounters with other subject-agents. Pramilabai was the only one to mention the 'verticality' of the new buildings to be a problem towards social relations, while other participants worried about financial maintenance of the lifts. However, during my visit to the newly constructed buildings, I noticed that the developer$_{D}$ had provided about 30 sq. m. vacant space on each floor without specifying the use. The show-flats that the developer$_{D}$ had shown to the residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti did not have such a space on each floor. Although the architect from the developer$_{D}$'s office (D_Pr_1) told me that their decision to provide this additional space did not arise from their direct encounter with the residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti, the developer thought that providing such an area would add to the quality of life of the residents.



Figure 24: Sketch of the open space in a rehabilitation building (Source: author, 28/06/18)

Irrespective of the cause of such a provision, the residents from Dandekar Pool Vasti considered it very useful to have the additional shared space on each floor. The vasti-residents had already imagined that they could celebrate Ganapati festival on each floor and do family gatherings in this additional space. This morphic manoeuvrability made the residents *feel* good about the impending development and reinforced their trust in the developer.

In this section, I recounted a morphic register through which land subjectivities are articulated and form the basis of political contestation in the making of PLP. More importantly, private, public, and private-public threshold are all subtly politicised in the making of PLP. Like morphic land subjectivities, I recount another register of land subjectivity made significant through articulations of encounters in the PLP.

## 8.3 Chiasmic land subjectivities

"Perhaps the ruin of collective bodies and transcendent totalities [e.g. individual, citizen, nation, state etc.] will finally free the living flesh of community" (Rogozinski, 2001, p. 33).

Critical of Modernity (with capital M), Rogozinski (2001, p. 33) is opening another possibility of theorising that which skips Modernity's grip. Distinct from postmodern critiques of Modernity that demonstrate the fragmented and plural character of real-world subjectivities, Rogozinski (2001, p. 33) opens the possibility of theorising flesh of the community – also at the limits of Modernity. Rogozinski (2001, p. 33) claims that Modernity "doesn't yet touch the flesh receptive to the strangeness of the other pole (human and/or non-human?), which it does not reject as the abjection of nonflesh, but recognizes through the grace of the chiasm as flesh of its flesh". This operationalisation of the concept of chiasm originates from Merleau-Ponty's reflections on the limits of the visible, where he writes:

"[T]he idea of *chiasm,* that is: every relation with being is *simultaneously* a taking and a being taken, the hold is held, it is *inscribed* and inscribed in the same being that it takes hold of" (Merleau-Ponty, 1968, p. 266, emphasis added).

If the subject can be expected to have a relation with land that is not already inscribed in a text alienable from the self (e.g. as alienable property), then could that relation be a chiasmic relation? In fact, would it be possible that while the subject-agents maintain a hold on land, land holds them simultaneously, in manners that have not (or perhaps cannot) be textually inscribed in alienated forms? Does this inarticulability mark the moment of the subaltern, or does a logical inarticulability inaugurate the entry into the transcendental? To these overdetermined ambiguous forms of subjectivities, I refer as chiasmic land subjectivity.

Subjectivities themselves are not *chiasms,* but they articulate land in a chiasmic relation. Because chiasm marks the limits of the visible, plunging the subject into the

invisible, chiasmic relations do not appear in the Modern reason (with capital M), yet I bring them into logos through this research to interpret participants' narrations from Pune's postcolonial context. I refer to these subjectivities as postcolonial because they are ambivalent and straddle between the emotional and the rational-calculative and between the modern and the traditional. Consequently, in the first section (8.3.1), I recount a *dvaitin* (dual-world) chiasmic relation with land; while in the second section (8.3.2), I articulate an emotional relation to land. In the later part of this section (section 8.3.3 & 8.3.4), I articulate residents' efforts at maintaining and thwarting these relations in the face of the SRP.

### 8.3.1  Dvaitin (dual-world) chiasmic relations

In this section, I elaborate on the vasti-residents' narratives about positive and negative chiasmic relations to their land. In keeping with Merleau-Ponty's definition of chiasm, a chiasmic relation cannot be either positive or negative per se. However, with 'positive' and 'negative' I denote a manner of subject-agents' rationalisation of the chiasmic relation. In other words, when chiasm is made visible/ articulatable, it appears tainted with 'positive' and 'negative' tone. Likewise, I categorise the chiasmic relations articulated using the *dvaita* (dual) episteme that structurally sustains the presence of entities in the transcendental semiotic (Spivak, 2008) into a *dvaitin* chiasmic relation.

Ramu kaka had a vegetable shop on one of the main streets in Kelewadi. He had a house in Kelewadi, which he had now given on rent to another family. Ramu kaka told me that he bought a vacant piece of land from their neighbours in the settlement, cleared the land of congress grass, and constructed a two-room house all by himself. However, since the family grew and his sons started their own businesses, they decided to move into a new house. Ramu kaka's family, including his wife and three sons, now lived in other parts of Pune. When I asked why they rented their house in the settlement rather than selling it, Ramu kaka said:

> "Our [life] has become good [prosperous] on this place [land]. From ₹ 2.
> [Now] Money is ok! If we require it for some good work, it is ok! It is our

*Laxmi* here. We have become gold [prosperous] here. Why leave this place? [We/I] feel this. Now, this is god's place [land] [...] of the Peer baba, of Pathan Baba [...]. Truly it is god's place [land], even if the landowner was doing [constructing on] it. Pathan baba is a god's temple [...] so the place [land] is good. Pathan baba's, it is landowner's, or else it will be somebody else's, what is it to us?" (K_VR_2, 08/03/18).

Ramu kaka articulated important differences and equivalences in his narration. Firstly, he considered land to be their wealth because his family had prospered on that land. Secondly, Ramu kaka associated Pathan Baba Dargah (a Muslim Dargah) with *Laxmi* (the Hindu goddess of Wealth) and subsequently with gold. Thirdly, because he considers that the land is god's, he measured the landownership title as less relevant. And fourthly, he suggested that the fact that land is 'good' warranted his own thwarting of the possibility of leaving the land.

Ramu kaka was not the only participant who told me about Pathan Baba's influence on the land. While Ramu kaka himself believed in this narrative, Sunita remembered the same narrative being passed down from previous generations. Sunita added to this narrative by recounting examples of residents who have returned to Kelewadi after having moved out. Sunita spoke of her neighbour Sulekha who had bought a flat in Bhugāon. While Sulekha had moved to Bhugāon in 2016 with her husband and children, she had come back to stay in their old house in Kelewadi because she found the vasti location-wise convenient. By successively narrating Pathan Baba's and Sulekha's story, Sunita appeared to provide an evidentiary support to Pathan Baba's influence on the land. Like Ramu kaka, Sunita thought that Pathan Baba gave positive characteristics to the land, which held them on that land. Not everyone had a markedly positive and optimistic account of land holding them in that place.

Rambhau corroborated with Pathan Baba's influence on the land, but in a negative register. Rambhau had begun telling me about 'cursedness' of Kelewadi the first time I met him in the corporator's office. However, one of the corporator's *kāryakartā* shushed him because the *kāryakartā* did not think I needed to know that story. However, I asked Rambhau the second time I interviewed him to elaborate further

regarding the cursedness of land he had mentioned earlier. This second time Rambhau told me:

> "Here the decisions are like this, this place of ours is cursed. Survey number 44 has a Pathan Baba Dargah. Meaning, it is Fakir's *ināmi* [rewarded] place [land]; it is a cursed land […] Meaning, if you want to, then trust me, or do not! 'Whoever eats from a *fakir,* he [sic] will remain a *fakir.* Here everything is dirt value. It is dirt value. If someone gets lucky and he [sic] leaves the *vasti,* [then] his [sic] luck, but to die [one] must come again here. This is our tenancy-practice. Meaning, some people trust/ believe, some do not. Of yesterday-today [M/modern?]. But who eats from the *fakir* stays *fakir"* (K_VR_9, 12/04/18).

Rambhau's narration was a response to my question regarding his decision about staying in or leaving the vasti. I was asking Rambhau about his own land policy. Subsequently, like Ramu kaka and Sunita, Rambhau transferred the responsibility of that decision onto Pathan Baba's influence on the land. While Ramu kaka and Sunita considered the influence of Pathan Baba on that land to be a blessing, Rambhau considered it to be a curse. He further explained to me that this cursedness was bestowed upon those who stole from the fakir, because of the act of stealing – and not because of the religious affiliation of Pathan Baba. He subsequently added a list of examples of people who had suffered because of this curse. That list included vasti-residents as well as the numerous developers who have tried to develop this land.

While residents stole from the fakir at the virtue of being on his land and earning a livelihood without returning the gratitude in any manner, Rambhau considered developers to be stealing by trying to make money out of that land. Moreover, irrespective of the Modernist insistence on secular reason, Rambhau self-reflexively upheld the existence of Pathan Baba's influence on the land as a source of a hold land had on those who stole from the fakir. Rambhau's self-reflexivity is visible from his articulate reminder to me that it was up to me to believe him or not since he was aware that in the contemporary M/modern world ("of yesterday-today"), M/moderns

would consider his belief as superstition. It is possible that he directed this comment towards me since I told him that I was undertaking tertiary education (= Brahmin?) in London (= West?), and perhaps therefore that I was M/modern. Either way, Ramu kaka's *dvaitin* chiasmic relation was negatively tainted through his claim that "here everything is dirt value" (K_VR_9, 12/04/18).

During the interview, I did not disclose to Rambhau that this thesis worked with a theoretical position that tried not to place pre-Modern subjectivities as deviant from a norm of Modernity, including superstitions. In keeping with the aim to construct conceptual infrastructures to the Modern state, I am now claiming a chiasmic (a phenomenologically rationalised argument) of his *dvaitin* claim. In addition to that transferral of responsibility of the decision onto transcendental entities, I also read Rambhau's reiterative claim - "it is fakir's *ināmi* place" (K_VR_9, 12/04/18) - to denote a *bhakti* praxis of subverting dogmatic social constructions – here state law, by referring to the transcendental (spiritual) equality of all human being.

Here, religion is not used as "an identifiable system of doctrine-scriptures-beliefs, a *thing"* (Jazeel, 2013, pp. 13–14) for ideological party-politics, territorial-politics, or any adversarial-politics characteristic of Modernity (with capital M). Consequently, I mark these dvaitin chiasmic relations as postcolonial, because the subject is constructing this subjectivity while being subjected to the Modern-rational and non-Modern-superstition difference. After all, Rambhau could not have been clearer about the postcolonial ambivalence when he said, "some people believe, some do not – of yesterday-today [Modern or modern?]. But who eats from the *fakir* stays *fakir!"* (K_VR_9, 12/04/18).

Whether through Ramu kaka's and Sunita's optimism or Rambhau's pessimism, I read a *dvaitin* chiasmic relation in their narratives. As I suggested earlier, while they have held their claims on the land, the land appears to hold them back. Quite simply, there is something about that land that keeps them there. In this vein, the above narratives articulate that 'something' as an entity in the transcendental semiotic operating through the *dvaitin* structure, is holding the participants onto the land.

### 8.3.2 Emotional chiasmic relations

In this section, I write about emotional chiasmic relations denoting vasti-residents' emotional attachments to land. In section 8.1, I noted Prashant's views about the social relations he had built in the vasti over the years. When I asked Prashant regarding his views on the SRP, he expressed another attachment to land and the vasti. Prashant said:

> "Meaning, what is my say, that if you [Government/developer] are going to earn so much money, then you also spend some more, earn less, but get four people's additional blessing. People should say by themselves, that [s/he] gave, so gave good/well. Meaning, because of emotionally. Otherwise he [developer] is going to go according to the regulations [state law?], he is not going to go outside it, or SRA scheme; it is not going to happen according to my regulations [law?] because I say so, but I have an affection with my house […]. Meaning, when I was small, my mother tells me, first there used to be half-round gutters, open gutters. She told me that when I was young, I would fall into the gutters […]. Then, I also feel sad about this story, but I also feel happy that we have memory here, we are still here" (K_VR_7, 08/04/18).

In this narrative, Prashant seemed to be demanding emotional justice as "not the [land/place/vasti/rehabilitation] itself, but the artist's or author's or the character's [emotion] at it [to be] enjoyed [or recognised] for the sake of its appropriateness as an emotional reaction" (Chakrabarti, 2016, p. 160). While Prashant began his narration with a calculative response to the monetary and legal aspects of the SRP, he immediately moved towards the emotional relations he had with his house and the settlement.

Read between the lines, this sliding from the calculations (*nīti*) to emotions (tainted with categorical reasoning) suggests to me Prashant's reading of the limits of the calculative-rationalist (viz. monetary-legal) discourse that guides the SRP. In section 8.3.3, I explore Prashant's further calculative articulation of the morphological

possibility of doing emotional justice without stepping out of Government/developer's monetary and legal discourse. However, here I read a posing of an open-ended demand for emotional justice.

Additionally, Prashant ended his narration by an emotionally ambivalent relation to his house and settlement. While Prashant was unhappy that he fell in the half-open gutters, the memory of that falling connected him to the place and provided him with reassurance for his being in that place. In other words, his house and vasti (metonymically subsumed under the signifier of place) have an emotional hold on Prashant. Prashant is not alone in being held by this emotional relation. Like Prashant, Vasu told me of his emotional relation to his land when I asked him about the importance of that place (viz. land) in his life. Vasu said:

> "Here [in Kelewadi], our children were born, meaning our place [land] is very important for us, they say old is gold, right? So, this is our gold" (K_VR_8, 10/04/18).

When I asked Vasu if he had ever thought of moving out of Kelewadi, he asked me back "why would I?". Vasu's land policy was guided by his chiasmic land subjectivity. The fact that Vasu never thought of leaving that place and that he considered his life in that place to be 'gold' reminded me of Prashant's emotional relation to the place. Notwithstanding the resident's rationales regarding *why* they stay in that place, they referred to an insurmountable and vaguely articulatable attachment they have with the land, which I called emotional chiasmic relation.

### 8.3.3   Sustaining the chiasmic relations

In this section, I recount narratives where residents worked towards maintaining their chiasmic relations with the land on which they had resided so far. The ambivalent character of the chiasmic relation, to which I have referred, embraces in it a variety of rationales including, but not limited to, the social relations. I already wrote of interpersonal subjectivities in section 8.1. In this section, I elaborate on some of the

vasti-residents' decisions and actions towards sustaining the chiasmic relations while articulating interpersonal relations as a chiasmic relation.

To return to Ramu kaka's story from section 8.2.1, he had kept his vegetable shop in the settlement where I interviewed him. He told me that he liked to come there every day because he knew people there. Sometimes, Ramu kaka's grandson visited him in the vasti after school, and they head back to their new house together. Sometimes, his wife also came to the shop with him. Subsequently, he told me that "she [wife] comes every four-five days. When she gets bored [there], [she] comes here. Here, it has become like a village" (K_VR_2, 08/03/18). Ramu kaka equated the city-village relation to the flat-vasti relation, although their new flat was in the outskirts of Pune closer to rural areas than the vasti. Despite the distance between his new house and the vasti, the social relations he had built in the 'village-like' vasti brought him and his wife back to the settlement every day.

Even though Ramu kaka's sons have both bought houses outside the settlement and his second son worked in a real-estate company, Ramu kaka told me that he was going to keep his Kelewadi-house. His own land policies of not selling his house in the vasti are tied to his chiasmic emotional attachment to the vasti. In the subjunctive-prospective situation that the SRP does not take place, Ramu kaka thought that he would add another floor to the house and give it to his son or grandson. During the interview, Ramu kaka was sure that somebody from the next generations of his family would find the need for their Kelewadi-house. While Ramu kaka did not think that the SRP was a good idea, he had nonetheless signed the consent form. In his justification for consenting to the SRP, he told me:

> "A person does not have money, so he becomes fearful, that no, if [they] do anything to us, if they alienate, then where to go? [we] will have to go somewhere in the hills to stay in a 'slum'. So, a person thinks that [one] will get a rightful house. So [person] agrees" (K_VR_2, 08/03/18).

Ramu kaka suggested that he decided to sign the consent form out of fear of displacement and as a compromise. Many participants of this research told me that

they had signed the consent forms either because the 'other' residents had consented or because they trusted the corporator.

I wrote about the importance of trust for the residents in Chapter 6, also brought up by Viraj from Kelewadi in a different register. I was interviewing Viraj in his house in the transit housing. Viraj was twenty-five years old when I interviewed him and lived with his parents and a younger brother in the transit house. Viraj told me that he had an ambivalent feeling about the SRP, because he said, "sometimes even that [old settlement] feels good, sometimes even this [transit accommodation] feels good" (K_VR_5, 29/03/18). He thought that living in flats would reduce social relations among the residents. However, when I asked him about whether he would consider leaving the settlement, he said, "[one] feels like living here because [one] has gotten habituated, so [one] does not feel like *shifting*, to go […] I do not think anyone will agree to move [from this place]" (K_VR_5, 29/03/18). Viraj's articulation of this strong commitment to staying in the vasti came from being habituated to living there. However, Viraj further told me:

> "This building [transit accommodation], this was built for the same reason, […] but nobody agreed to come here, nobody meaning nobody, […] people have broken the windows at some point telling 'we did not like', 'it is small' and so on […] then [to a corporator]. Seeing his [corporator's] work, trust was built, so people agreed […] but people will not leave their entitled [ownership] house and go somewhere else; people do not trust this" (K_VR_5, 29/03/18).

Viraj was telling me that people have policies of their own – about what to do and what not to do with respect to their land. Viraj told me that the residents consented to the SRP because they trusted the corporator's promise of providing development that the vasti-residents find appealing and necessary. However, Viraj further added that this trust was conditional on the fact that they would stay in the same place. I read his reference to breaking the windows as denoting a performative demonstration of strength. That knowledge also provided him with the reassurance that the chiasmic relation could not and would not be thwarted without vasti-residents' consent.

Consent matters to Viraj, but one that is relationally, collectively and conditionally given – not liberally, individually, sovereignly, and rationally signed off.

While Ramu kaka's narrative suggests that subject-agents took deliberate actions towards sustaining the chiasmic relation with the vasti/ land, Viraj's narrative shows subject-agents' deliberation towards sustaining the chiasmic relation in the subjunctive. While the former is a contextually adaptive response, the latter was an articulation of contextual potentiality of violence. While the Kelewadi-residents found the necessity to articulate possibilities of maintaining the chiasmic relations to their land, the residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti did not find the need to articulate their chiasmic relations because they were not being forced to leave the vasti.

The Dandekar Pool Vasti residents had already consented for the development, and the developer was constructing apartment-buildings on the same land. Vasti-residents' chiasmic relation was neither being thwarted nor threatened. Yet, when I asked them whether they had ever thought of leaving the settlement, many participants told me that the need had never arisen.

### 8.3.4 Subjunctive-prospective break from the chiasmic relation

While many vasti-residents told me of their chiasmic relation to the place in a positive tone, the settlement's hold of them was not always considered positive. In this section, I recount the vasti-resident's arguments towards breaking from the chiasmic relation with the land.

I was interviewing Sasane kaka from Dandekar Pool Vasti in his house in the transit accommodation. He generally held a very positive attitude towards the landowners and the SRP throughout the interview. However, when I asked him if he thought the SRP would bring change to their lives, he told me:

> "How are people's thoughts? See: […] now we were staying in slums, twelve [persons] from twelve houses, twelve [persons] from twelve villages, everyone's thoughts [are] different; then some are drinking [people], some are [addicted to tobacco], some are good. Then, this [the

companionship?] is the reason why good people get wasted. Whoever thoughtful [intellectual] person comes out, he [sic] is good, everyone else is lost. Yes, yes. This is life in a slum" (D_VR_14, 03/06/18).

Sasane kaka articulated the negative aspects of both the social relations and the life in slums and hinted at the reasons to want to escape the slums. Furthermore, Sasane kaka articulated a possibility of "coming out" (D_VR_14, 03/06/18) of slums without suggesting leaving the place resonating with Jacob's (1961) concept of unslumming neighbourhoods. Understood this way, Sasane kaka constructed a difference between land and the negative aspects he abhorred. This articulation is distinct from Rambhau's equivalence between negative aspects of the settlement and the land. Mukesh and Menaka from Kelewadi too did not dissociate land from the negative aspects of living in the slums.

I was interviewing Mukesh kaka and his wife in Kelewadi. Mukesh kaka had been living in Kelewadi since his birth. Over the years, he had constructed additional rooms on the side and a second floor on his original house. His wife, Menaka, worked with a local *pāpad*-making factory. Indeed, many women in Kelewadi work for that factory. Menaka got the raw material to make the *pāpad* every morning, and she rolled them out in their house. Incidentally, Menaka was part of a labour union of the *pāpad* factory. The union members had created a savings group to purchase a plot of land in the outskirts of the city. While the land lay vacant for many years, the group had recently decided to construct an apartment building on the plot, where Menaka would get two flats. As soon as that construction is done, they would both perhaps move into new apartments with their children.

Mukesh and Menaka have two sons, both living in apartments 'outside' the vasti. Both had jobs in 2018. Mukesh and Menaka were both sure while starting their family that they would raise their children to move out of the settlement. Both considered that the slum did not provide 'good *sanskār*' (upbringing/ subjectification) on the children. Mukesh and Menaka's answer to resolving the 'bad *sanskār*' children may have from 'bad company' in the vasti made them seek housing for their children outside the settlement. Although both their children lived outside the settlement and they too may

leave the vasti one day, Mukesh and Menaka did not think they would sell their house in Kelewadi yet. Both Mukesh and Menaka seemed hopeful of the prospects of the SRP.

I wrote in the previous section that Viraj had an ambivalent relationship with the land/settlement. While he thought that the 'old settlement' felt good, he did not think that the SRP can bring any change to their lives. Since Viraj lived in the transit accommodation that resembled the imminent rehabilitation building, he imagined their future in the new building based on his experience of living in the transit accommodation. When I probed further, he said:

> "Only place to stay has changed; otherwise, there is no change in people, nothing […] now we climb two stairs, first that we used to stay on land, now we are in a building, only this is the change, nothing else; people's nature, lifestyle is all the same; there is no improvement/ reform in people" (K_VR_5, 29/03/18).

Since Viraj was confident that there could be no change, he said, "if our own progress [development] happens, or if proper [enough] money comes, then we can go somewhere else to live, right?" (K_VR_5, 29/03/18). Viraj's parents also thought that they could perhaps get a flat elsewhere in the city when the conditions would allow for it. Viraj said that they would undoubtedly have to consider getting a bigger flat when he and his brother get married. Viraj's narrative was an articulation of an open future possibility of escaping the relation they had with that vasti/land.

Prashant too had a pragmatic attitude towards the relation he had built with that settlement/ land. While speaking on behalf of many residents, Prashant summed the argument up by saying,

> "Now one thing, here [people] of my age, [many] years I have been staying here. My mother's job is here, my father's job is here. Meaning, where they can go *by walk*. Meaning, they would go from here [this settlement] to there [elsewhere]; Meaning, growing expense, transportation will be there, or [maybe] not, all this [expense/trouble?] will increase. And all the

existing facilities will also go, or the *relation* that has been *developed* here among people, this *relation* too, […] ok! Let us forget! […] [consider] that new [relations] will be *created* after going there [elsewhere], but all these things are there, right? So, by going far if we get some *extra* benefit, then the story/thing is different" (K_VR_7, 08/04/18).

Prashant made a critical remark that while he deeply valued the *relations* he had with the people from the settlement, he considered them to be developed over time. This suggested to him that the relations can also be developed elsewhere. While Prashant brought the argument towards monetary and relational calculations, he ended suggesting that monetary calculations can supersede the relational aspects. In line with the discussions of this section, Prashant did keep open the possibility of escaping the chiasmic relation with that land, despite articulating his wish not to move from that land.

In this section, I suggested that the residents of the settlements held a chiasmic relation to their land, articulated through various rationales they hold for such a relationship. I also suggested that while residents consider it important to hold their relations to their land, they also keep open the possibility of escaping from it.

## 8.4  Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that the bodied subject-agents engaged in the making of PLP articulate their own land policies through three registers of land subjectivities that are untethered to the SRP's Modern conceptualisation (with capital M) of land-as-property and land-as-commodity, among others. In one respect, the SRP is articulated in order not to dispossess residents from the land on which they reside. However, the SRP fixes resident's relation to land by providing them with property rights over one flat of 25 sq. m. floor space (property) in a building saleable only after ten years (commodity). However, the residents of the two settlements demonstrate at least three registers in which land appears in their imagination differently and affects the social making of PLP.

Firstly, residents recount the existence of interpersonal metonyms in relation to land. At times, these interpersonal metonyms refer to territorial boundaries of the settlement; while at other times they refer to the time spent living on the land. Alternatively, the interpersonal metonyms are anchored around some landmark - such as a *mandal* or a *gully,* or some socially constructed subject-position such as caste, religion, or regional identity also anchored on land. Not only do these interpersonal metonyms matter because they have already been formed, but the residents also construct new interpersonal metonymic subjectivities when planning their own alternatives to the rehabilitation project. What the subject-agents' narratives show is that they regard interpersonal metonyms as important for their land policies (*loknīti*) and treat land as inseparable from the interpersonal metonyms. The inseparability of land from interpersonal metonyms shows that no matter the policies of government (*rājnīti*), multiple forms of interpersonal metonyms anchored in land would continue to exist, affecting the social making of PLP.

Secondly, residents narrate the importance of the existing morphology of their vasti for their own land policies. While those Kelewadi-residents who have already managed to build houses larger than 25 sq. m. do not consent to the SRP, some residents reject the SRP because they find value in the possibility of expanding their

house in the future. Moreover, the residents also express the usefulness of keeping doors of their houses open in the rehabilitation buildings as compared to their existing settlements. Similarly, the residents value the possibility of using interstitial spaces in their existing vasti for private or public celebrations. According to the residents, the new apartment buildings do not provide such a spatial opportunity to celebrate festivities. The subject-agents' narratives show that the morphology that has taken shape on the land cannot be divorced (or alienated) from their land. This does not mean that morphology is forever fixed on that land. However, it means that land policies of the government (*rājnīti*) must take the morphology on that land into account during the social making of PLP.

Thirdly, residents express something about that land which keeps them in place. Indeed, seen from the lens of Modernity (with capital M), these expressions can be thought as irrational. However, as I have suggested, the transferring of responsibility onto transcendental or emotional registers can be read as a chiasmic relation to land. While some participants mould their land policies (*loknīti*) according to the chiasmic relation to land, others wish to keep the possibility of escaping it. Either way, chiasmic land subjectivities affect the policies of government (*rājnīti*), further affecting the social making of PLP.

The next chapter concludes this thesis by demonstrating how various policies of government (*rājnīti*) and policies of the governed (*loknīti*) encounter each other and socially make a participatory land policy during slum rehabilitations. I further demonstrate that within the communication already taking place between government and the governed, some perspectives of land remain silent and unrecognisable using predominant vocabulary. I use the postcolonial land subjectivities elaborated in this chapter to name these subaltern land subjectivities. The purpose for naming subaltern land subjectivities is to assist development and planning policy scholars in their efforts to further a democratic dialogue between the governors and the governed.

# 9 CONCLUSION

This thesis presented a theory of a socially made participatory land policy to development and planning policy scholars geared towards uncovering postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities of the formerly colonised populations. In doing so, this thesis addressed a gap in development and planning policy scholarship. Whereas postcolonial theory and subaltern studies have long criticised Modernity (with capital M), I suggested in Chapter 1 that development and planning policy studies has not sufficiently dealt with postcolonial theory's challenge of recognising the coloniality of Modernity still performed in post-colonial contexts and the challenge of listening to the subaltern (Sylvester, 1999; Sharp and Briggs, 2006; Ziai, 2012). Besides, there is a long-standing call to look past Eurocentric theories, knowledges, concepts, and histories, still pertinent in the 21st-century social sciences.

Moreover, the 'participatory development' paradigm of the late 20th century has not been sufficient in opening up meaningful dialogues with those who cannot speak for themselves (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Kapoor, 2002, 2004, 2008). Even in the mainstream development studies discourse, there is a shift to a post-participation paradigm (Reed, 2008; Ng'ombe *et al.*, 2012) that is highly critical of participatory development's promise of securing normatively just outcomes. It is thus that postcolonial theory and subaltern studies has substantial insights to provide to development and planning policy studies – a dialogue that remains nascent and imbued with potentials to shed new light on postcolonial challenges (Sylvester, 1999; Kapoor, 2002, 2008; Sharp and Briggs, 2006; Radcliffe, 2015).

Unlike the postmodern call to theoretically reject Modernity, postcolonial theorising seeks to learn from the lived experiences of the people from postcolonial contexts. That is, postcolonial theory seeks to respond to Guha's (2001, p. 44, original emphasis) question, "*How is our critique going to be adequate to our time if it continues to speak in the language of those post-Enlightenment critiques whose time is gone?*". In the postcolonial theory that I mobilised in this thesis, I decentred Modernity and did not reject it. Given that Modernity is alive and active in India,

despite being inchoate and inconsistent, I sought to explore postcolonial praxis of actively bending Modernity and/or living with it, to account for the everyday experiences of the people living in post-colonial contexts such as Pune.

Given that this thesis speaks primarily to development and planning policy scholars, I proposed a postcolonial sensory field to visualise a socially made PLP through slum rehabilitations made up of participatory encounters and land subjectivities. Consequently, I demonstrated the possibility of reading postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities through people's own histories and narratives to proceed towards a postcolonial world untethered to Modernity. The contributions of this thesis lie in translating the insights from postcolonial theory and subaltern studies into the field of development and planning policy studies. More work that takes the postcolonial call of looking beyond Eurocentrism needs to follow without any materially or discursively violent imposition.

In this chapter, I offer a summary of the thesis (section 9.1), answer the main research questions (section 9.2), speculate on the subaltern land subjectivities (section 9.3), discuss the implications of this research on theorising participatory land policy, and articulate a take-home message for the development and planning policy scholars (section 9.4).

## 9.1 Document summary

Following the introduction and setting-up the research problem, **Chapter 2** presented the prevalent debates on land and land governance in India read through Modernity. Consequently, I situated the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) at Maharashtra state's liberal democratic conjuncture. Given that the porous state institutions perform coherence and exercise liberal democratic governmentality in the 21$^{st}$ century, I suggested that the SRP is readable as PLP through the lens of Modernity. However, given my intention to look for concepts untethered to Modernity and to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities of those engaged in slum rehabilitations, I set out to decode and recode the conceptual rubric of participatory land policy (PLP) in Chapters 3 and 4.

In **Chapter 3**, I reviewed the prevalent literature on the concepts of land, policy and participation to shed light on the embeddedness of Modernity (with capital M) in the theories of participatory land policy (PLP) available to development and planning policy scholars. I mainly engaged with liberal and social contract theories of participatory land policy as emissaries of Modernity (with capital M) performatively practiced in India. I enlisted three types of critiques charged against Modernity, namely: ontological (i.e. of essentialist land concepts and originary social contracts), epistemological (i.e. of anthropocentrism and the primacy of the cogito), and normative (i.e. of violence of normativity on the deviant). Consequently, I tried to minimise the ontological, epistemological and normative violence on the people I worked with through this research by proposing a postcolonial sensory field and using postcolonial ethnographic methods.

Having decoded the concepts of land, policy, and participation, I catachrestically recoded the conceptual rubric of 'participatory land policy' (PLP) in **Chapter 4** titled 'a postcolonial sensory field'. In keeping with the postcolonial call to read beyond Eurocentric literatures, I cited popular culture, poetry, as well as *bhakti* literature from Maharashtra to aid the construal of a postcolonial sensory field. The point of referring to popular culture or Marathi literature was to make theory relevant for those engaged

in slum rehabilitations in Pune and to slowly decentre theory from its Eurocentric origins. Theoretically, I drew lessons from the works of Chatterjee (1997, 1998, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2018, 2019a), Chakrabarty (1995, 2002, 2008), Guha (1982; 1996, 2001), Raghuramaraju (2011, 2013) and Spivak (1988, 1993, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008).

In sum, I conceptualised PLP as an open political field of encounters between government and the governed that shapes land subjectivities and policies of those involved – and in turn, society's intentional conduct regarding land. While government (as in, conduct of people's conduct) has its policies (which I called - *rājnīti),* the governed too have their policies (which I called - *loknīti).* Their interaction at the moments of encounters takes place through bodies, matter, and texts. Using this conceptual rubric, I demonstrate in this chapter that a participatory land policy (PLP) is being socially made through slum rehabilitations in Pune, making visible postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

**Chapter 5** laid out the ethnographic research strategy, including the fieldwork plan. Given my use of postcolonial theory, I also scrutinised my role as a "halfie researcher" (Subedi, 2006, p. 574). In this vein, I drew from the self-reflexive ethnographic practice and treated my encounters with the participants of this research as the site of provisional and purposeful knowledge-production. I called this process 'fielding the research' like in the game of cricket. Akin to the role of a fielder, my task was to maintain the boundaries of the conceptual as well as empirical field – a field in which many others were also participating. Here, I elaborated on the research methods I used in this research, including data generation methods of semi-structured interviews, photo-documentation, and observations; methods of textual and visual data analysis; and ethical considerations. Moreover, I also utilised Marathi/Hindi linguistic categories and the theory of *kāraka* to aid my reading of participants' narratives.

In **Chapter 6**, I laid out the discourses through which PMC governs land in Pune (discourses of *rājnīti*) as well as discourses that inform people's own land policies (discourses of *loknīti*). This positioning of PMC's land policies as *rājnīti* and policies

of other actors as *loknīti* is analytically provisional. Other policies occupy the position of *rājnīti* and *loknīti* in different contexts. Mainly, I foregrounded PMC's governmental efforts of controlling land through the Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) and development plans (DP) by constructing a category of 'slum land'. On the one hand, PMC controls slum lands through Modern colonial planning practice (with capital M) of marking and mapping slum lands as territories and surveying slum-dwellers to make them eligible for the SRP. On the other hand, PMC regulates slum lands through liberal governmentality via instruments of slum-Floor Space Index (FSI) and slum-Transfer of Development Rights (TDR). Moreover, by asking eligible slum dwellers' consent, the SRP exercises liberal democratic governmentality.

Additionally, I showed that the porous state performs coherence and seeks to make land into a state-controlled-property and a developer-controlled-commodity through the SRP, despite in an inchoate and fragmented manner. Here, the developer's conduct is complicit to the state's governmental rationality. Therefore, I suggested that the developer contextually occupies a position of governor and his own policies occupy the position of *rājnīti.* However, notwithstanding the discourses of *rājnīti* (policies of government), I also showed that *loknīti* (policies of the governed) is informed by different discourses. I suggested in Chapter 6 that the very existence of alternative narratives is testimony to the well-known fact that Modernity is not a fully reified category in India, but continues to be performatively practiced.

Furthermore, to demonstrate how land subjectivities and policies of the various actors are shaped, I articulated three registers through which abstract domains of government and the governed encounter each other – socially making a participatory land policy (PLP). Consequently, in **Chapter 7**, I elaborated on bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed. Encounters provide a useful analytical entry into understanding the governmentalizing effects of everyday encounters between various subject-agents, as well as the various discourses and practices through which governmentality operates – including, but not limited to the state practices. Here, I elaborated on bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed. At these encounters, human as well as non-

human bodies meet and politically perform to shape land subjectivities and policies during slum rehabilitations. Likewise, matter, such as show-flats, *mandirs, masjids, mandals,* walls and doors affect the slum rehabilitation projects. Furthermore, the textual practices of government are also politicised. It is through bodies, matter, and texts that various actors participate in shaping decisions about land – thereby socially crafting a 'participatory land policy'. More importantly, these bodily, material, and textual encounters also provide an ethnographic entry into uncovering postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities shaped during the social making of PLP.

In **Chapter 8**, by close-reading the participants' narratives and my observations of the bodily, material, and textual encounters, I re-presented three registers through which postcolonial land subjectivities appeared as germane during slum rehabilitations. To reiterate, I called these land subjectivities as 'postcolonial' because of my deliberate effort to decentre (and not replace) Modernity (with capital M). I categorised these land subjectivities as interpersonal, morphic, and chiasmic land subjectivities. Furthermore, I contended that latent within the articulations of these land subjectivities lay meanings of land that I consider to be subaltern because neither government nor the governed have words to effectively describe them.

In conclusion, **Chapter 9** begins by answering the main research questions and later by summarising three possible readings of subaltern land subjectivities, derived from the three registers of postcolonial land subjectivities. Ultimately, this thesis concludes by calling development and planning policy scholars engaged in slum rehabilitations in Pune to read postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities by focusing on the socially made PLP during slum rehabilitations in Pune, to foster further democratic dialogue between the governors and the governed. To promote democratic dialogue, I suggest engaging with the already occurring bodily, material, and textual encounters – as themselves forms of participation already taking place. That way, participation can become more flexible and accommodate various ways of shaping decisions about land in the analysis of development and planning policy scholars. Moreover, focusing on bodily, material and textual encounters would assist expansively tracing the postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities for furthering a democratic dialogue.

## 9.2 By way of an answer

The *how* questions with which I began this research relates to both the means and the outcomes. To answer the questions (1) *How* do slum rehabilitations make participatory land policy (PLP) in Pune?; and (2) *How* does PLP make postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities visible?, I now expound on both the means of making the PLP and what appears to be made through slum rehabilitations. As I suggested throughout the thesis, slum rehabilitations make PLP through the means of participatory encounters between government and the governed. Consequently, what gets made is an open political field that advances society's fluid and constantly-changing conduct regarding land – i.e. PLP. To reiterate, the purpose behind visualising the socially made PLP is to recognise that the governed are not dormant and that they have policies of their own, crafted amid the ongoing Modernising efforts of the state institutions. Whereas the SRP seeks to reify land into property and commodity, people make land into things that are untethered to Modernity. Moreover, some land subjectivities remain unrecognisable in the dialogue between government and the governed. The following figure summarises this postcolonial sensory field through which I show the social making of PLP in the following section:
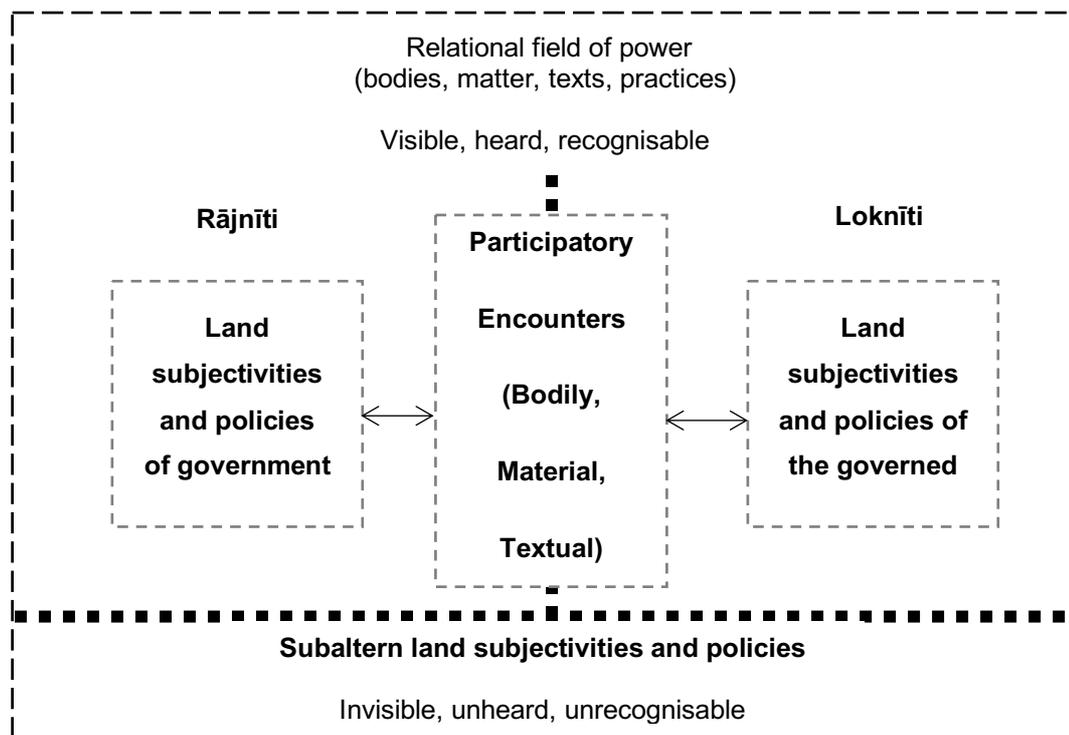


Figure 25: A postcolonial sensory field of a socially made participatory land policy

### 9.2.1 Slum rehabilitations socially make a participatory land policy

This section shows development and planning policy scholars that slum rehabilitations in Pune are socially making a participatory land policy (PLP) through bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed. This socially made PLP is not a written document by anybody, but society's intentional conduct regarding land produced through encounters between government and the governed. Amid this socially made PLP, Modern ideas are performed, contested, and reworked and postcolonial subjectivities are made visible.

To illustrate how participatory encounters and land subjectivities and policies (as in, *nīti*) are socially making PLP, I now recount five narratives already developed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8 to show how people's land subjectivities and policies are either produced, reworked, or thwarted through bodily, material, or textual encounters. These narratives are neither representative of all the narratives produced about PLP in Pune, nor are they particularly unique. Rather, they show that land subjectivities and policies are constantly made and remade through encounters, thereby shaping society's conduct regarding land (i.e. a socially made PLP).

For instance, Sunita was already constructing a second floor on her existing house on a piece of land when I interviewed her. While she was enacting her desire to build a two-storied house (i.e. her land subjectivity), her bodily encounter with the Government authorities created a possibility, where her wish to build two floors could have been thwarted. However, since Sunita quarrelled with the Government authorities using her own performance, the authorities retracted from obstructing the two-storey construction. In effect, the PMC's slum land policy (*rājnīti*) of prohibiting two-storey constructions was thwarted as Sunita proceeded with constructing the second floor. Here, Sunita temporarily accessed the field of government, and her own land policy occupied the position of *rājnīti.*

Many Kelewadi residents have either built two-storey houses or plan to build them in the future. However, the resident's material encounter with the 'show-flats' made the residents reconsider their plans (*loknīti*). Additionally, while endorsing the SRP,

corporator$_{K1}$ urged the residents not to invest in their existing houses. Veritably, the residents' encounter with 'show-flats' and with the corporator$_{K1}$ produced a possibility of obstructing residents' land subjectivities and policies of constructing two floors. While some residents heeded to corporator$_{K1}$'s advice, others did not. In particular, Sunita had already constructed two floors and bemoaned the SRP for being too slow and uncertain.

Distinctively, corporator$_{K2}$, himself a resident of Kelewadi, became a corporator while mobilising 'young boys' to protest against the SRP (*loknīti*). Thereupon, corporator$_{K2}$'s own land policies were to thwart the SRP in his own view. His subsequent bodily encounters with other residents and with the PMC's legislative assembly provided him with the possibility of diverting funds to his own vasti in a different role. His wife was subsequently elected as a corporator$_{K3}$ when I was conducting the fieldwork. In other words, corporator$_{K2}$ and corporator$_{K3}$ changed their land subjectivities and policies through the various encounters in the PLP – from a resident resisting the SRP to a corporator now investing in Kelewadi. Corporator $_{K2}$ made a visible transition from having policies of the governed (*loknīti*) to having policies of government (*rājnīti*). As is well-known, the politics of lobbying among the governors is a privileged position that costs. Corporator$_{K2}$ and corporator$_{K3}$ have now devoted their lives to governing their vasti by participating in party politics at the municipal levels. State bureaucracy is not freely porous and unfixed, it costs to have access to the M/modern state.

Yet, as a landowner, Rafiq bhai's encounter with a foreign world of Saudi Arabia prompted him to develop his land at Dandekar Pool Vasti (land subjectivity), and his land policy of seeking slum rehabilitation emerged. Rafiq bhai's subjectivity to develop his land was tied to his wish to provide better living conditions for his mother before her demise, where land was a means for an end. As he told me, his land subjectivity was made into a land policy (as in, *nīti*) when he decided to act on his wish. His land policy was subsequently thwarted when his tenants repudiated his land development proposal and instead connived a series of legal and extra-legal events (*loknīti*), in which both the landowners and tenants suffered. Indeed, Rafiq bhai did not claim innocence in the quarrels between landowners and tenants. Whereas all

these quarrels can be presented as *loknīti* (policies of the governed) in relation to fixed/unfixed state politics; within the disputes themselves, tenants' policies to thwart Rafiq bhai's plans temporarily occupied the position of *rājnīti* (policies of government). Likewise, Rafiq bhai's thwarted plans became a policy of the governed (*loknīti*).

The tension created between landowners and the tenants incited Rafiq bhai to look for a real-estate developer instead of undertaking land development by himself (land subjectivity). Part of the reason Rafiq bhai had to look for a developer also emanated from state bureaucracy's refusal to privately develop slum-lands. Here, the porous state bureaucracy performed coherence to reject Rafiq bhai's plans (governmentality). The quarrels between landowners and tenants persisted only until Rafiq bhai found a suitable real-estate developer he and the tenants liked and trusted, GoM announced the SRP, and thus Rafiq bhai's new land policy emerged. In other words, a series of bodily (with residents), material (with Saudi Arabia), and textual (with bureaucratic category of slum land) produced, reworked and thwarted Rafiq bhai's land subjectivities. Incessantly, land subjectivities and policies were made and remade from being a means for satisfying his mother's wishes, to a motive for legal and extra-legal quarrels with the tenants, and were eventually somewhat sutured into a state-controlled-property and a developer-controlled-commodity.

The residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti narrated a different story. The residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti had struggled through the 1980s to mid-2000s to prevent Rafiq bhai from developing land by himself. Residents mainly protested the landowners because they thought the rents would increase after land development and distrusted the landowners' promise not to evict them from the vasti (land subjectivity). In the residents' view, the rents had already started rising since people from Bihar had begun staying in the vasti in the last couple of decades. Also, *chāchi* was not as lenient as *chāchā* regarding the rents. Therefore, the residents decided to stay put on the land and seek assistance from corporators to fight a legal and an extra-legal battle against the landowner (*loknīti*).

However, when Rafiq bhai brought a real-estate developer, who met with the residents and assured them of the Government backing to the rehabilitation and

showed them his projects elsewhere in the city, the residents' land subjectivities and policies changed. The residents trusted the developer and decided to consent for the SRP after enough deliberation. In effect, the encounters with the developer and landowners (bodily encounters), show-flats and newly constructed buildings (material encounters), and the SRP support (textual encounters) reshaped resident's land subjectivities concerning land. For instance, while the residents were now optimistic about their future in new rehabilitated buildings, they would legally be prohibited from selling or renting their flat for the next ten years (land is made propertied commodity). The residents' land subjectivities changed from having to struggle to stay put on the land to now deliberating over how they could learn to live with Modernity (with capital M). At least, to the relief of everyone involved, the violent quarrels were a thing of the past in 2018.

Despite the glaring variations in the above stories, what is common to them is the fact that land subjectivities and policies of various individuals constantly fluctuated through encounters. Encounters provided the possibility of not only producing new land subjectivities but also reworking or thwarting some. Thus, since this research showed that PLP is an unpredictable political field of bodily, material, and textual encounters, the concept of land cannot be sutured into a pre-determined thing with essence, as Modernity (with capital M) seeks to do even in the 21$^{st}$ century. In other words, land subjectivities and policies are made and remade through bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed, thereby socially making a PLP.

Yet, amid the social making of PLP exist land subjectivities that remain unrecognisable – i.e. subaltern. Although Chapter 8 demonstrated various postcolonial land subjectivities that are untethered to Modernity (with capital M), I now speculate on such vocabularies that remain at the "vanishing points at the limits of itineraries of recognition" (Roy, 2011, p. 235) in the next section.

## 9.3  Speculating on the subaltern land subjectivities

Despite the manifestly fluid and continually changing character of a socially made PLP, I maintained throughout the thesis that some land subjectivities remain unrecognisable in politics. To attend to the subaltern subjectivities means to take up the task of reading those concepts that remain imperceptible using predominant vocabularies – either originating from Modernity (with capital M) or already prevalent in the institutional/popular imaginations in Pune (i.e. modern with small m). I have already shown through Chapters 2 and 6 that *rājnīti* (policies of government), written by the porous state institutions, continue to conceptualise and debate over land as property and a commodity. Furthermore, I showed that alternative narratives about land inform *rājnīti* and *loknīti* (policies of the governed) beyond the narratives produced by the porous state institutions. Within the constantly changing land subjectivities and policies of those engaged in slum rehabilitations, I derived from this research three postcolonial land subjectivities that were outside the conceptual ambit of Modernity, yet straddled between the Modern and the non-Modern. These postcolonial subjectivities included interpersonal, morphic, and chiasmic land subjectivities.

Having undertaken the close-reading of the three postcolonial land subjectivities, I now turn towards articulating my/participants' reading of the latent meanings of land, with which I perceive the postcolonial subjectivities to be operating. The signifier 'my/participants' seeks to remind the readers and myself that the production of these land perspectives is a result of my interpretations of the participants' articulations of their own subjectivities seen through the postcolonial sensory field. Yet, I mark the following sections with a question mark (?) as a textual strategy to remind the readers and myself that the concepts of land do not come from people's 'minds' in the sovereign sense. To reiterate Spivak's (2005, p. 477) remark, "subalternity is a position without identity". Moreover, the question-mark also denotes a hope that maybe "[those occupying subaltern subject-positions] can, when necessary, when the public sphere calls for it, synecdochise themselves [using the following concepts of land] without identitarian exploitation" (Spivak, 2005, p. 482).

### 9.3.1 Land as a provisional anchor for interpersonal metonyms?

Modern land policy theorists have argued that land as a territory forms the basis of creating 'mutually exclusive territories' (Davy, 2012) and consequently triggering territorial politics (Balakrishnan, 2013). In this section, I show that land is not only a territory (e.g. a slum area) but also a provisional anchor for interpersonal metonyms that frees land from its bounded geographical fixity without
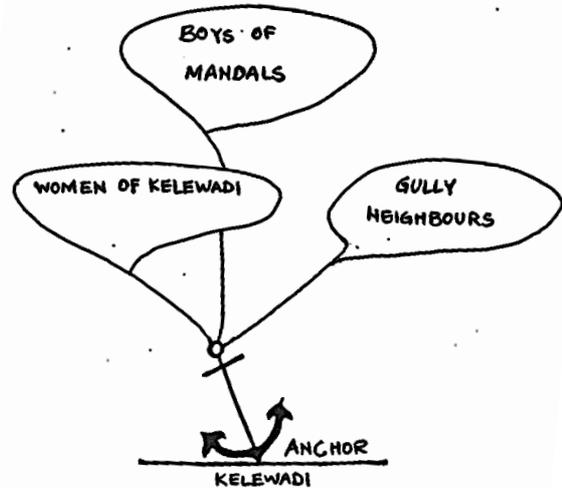


Figure 26: Sketch showing land as an anchor for interpersonal collectivities (Source: author)

necessarily being made into a tradeable commodity, which forms the basis for a claim to commodify land in market-economies (e.g. Williamson *et al.*, 2010). In line with Modern theory of land-as-territory, the SRP appears to be creating an inclusive territory by 'allowing' slum-dwellers to stay on the same plot of land.

However, my/participants' narratives demonstrate a distinct meaning of land, namely: as an anchor for interpersonal metonyms, often using a spatial metaphor, as shown in Figure 26. 'Anchor' is a metaphor as much as 'territory' is a metaphor. Therefore, this section metaphorically denotes land as an anchor for interpersonal metonyms. Moreover, even if land-as-solid-surface of earth cannot be rolled up and taken away, anchors can be rolled up when needed, or kept in place while the people moved around. Succinctly, the overlaps and differences between Modern theory of territory, SRP's, and my/participants' readings of land are shown in the following schematic:

Modern theory of territory: **Land $\equiv$ territory (exclusive or inclusive)**

SRP: **Land $\equiv$ inclusive territory (in)alienable from 'slum-dwellers'**

My/participants' narrative: **Land $\equiv$ anchor for interpersonal metonyms**

Like in the previous section, I use two narrative accounts to support my/participants' reading of land as an anchor for interpersonal metonyms in the following part of this section. Dandekar Pool Vasti residents were living in their transit accommodation when I interviewed them. When I asked them about who allotted the flats, Kesha told me that the residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti distributed the apartments themselves. Incidentally, the SRP stipulates that the flats should be distributed to the eligible slum-dwellers through a lottery system. I consider the lottery system to denote the putative impartiality of the liberal state towards its citizens. That is, the residents are putatively treated as fungible – i.e. repeatable and replaceable using a Modern governmental rationality. However, residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti thought that they would instead reorganise their new accommodation based on neighbourly relations, anchored around the spatial metaphor of gully. As Kesha told me "everyone from every gully stayed in one-one passage [floor]" (D_VR_7, 15/05/18).

Distinctively, the Kelewadi residents narrated different interpersonal metonyms such as 'those living in Kelewadi longer than others', 'mandal members', 'gully neighbours', and 'pāpad-rolling women'. Like Kesha's gully, each of these interpersonal metonyms appears as anchored onto a spatial-temporal metaphor, such as older settlers living on one geographical area of Kelewadi and mandals. Although the pāpad-rolling women's existing houses in the settlement were scattered throughout Kelewadi, in Mukesh and Menaka's account, they appeared in relation to the subjunctive-prospective possibility of constructing "a building for the women of the pāpad factory […] with balcony [for work]" (K_VR_10, 24/04/18). Here, too, the pāpad-rolling women were anchored onto a spatial metaphor of a building with a balcony situated on land in the subjunctive-prospective tense.

I suspect that an inventory of people's use of metonyms in the vasti would include many more interpersonal metonyms. However, for the purposes of this discussion, I wish to draw the attention of development and planning policy scholars to the way these interpersonal metonyms are moored onto some spatial metaphor located on land. In other words, land enters into the imaginations of people as an anchor for

interpersonal metonyms such as – we as gully neighbours, we as mandal members, we as older or newer settlers, we as future pāpad-rolling neighbours.

Not only did I show in section 8.1 that interpersonal metonyms exist, but also that they become relevant metonyms through which encounters are made political. Sunita told me that the Government should allow her and her gully neighbours to construct their own housing on their own existing land. In effect, Sunita was thwarting the SRP by mobilising the metonym of her gully neighbours. Alternatively, Dandekar Pool Vasti residents told me that they were going to seek the developer's permission to reorganise their new flats as they did in the transit accommodation – as gully neighbours staying on each floor of the new building. Here, the Dandekar Pool Vasti residents were reworking the SRP by thwarting the guideline of distributing flats through a lottery system, also by mobilising the metonym of gully neighbours. For these metonyms to exist, gully must exist on the land. However, the gully can become a corridor on each floor – also spatially anchored on land.

The reason land as an anchor for interpersonal metonyms is subaltern to the Modern ideas (with capital M) is that Modernity imagines land-as-territory as alienable from housing, vasti, and the people. Likewise, M/modern state's Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) treats each family living in each slum structure as fungible – i.e. repeatable and replaceable, and (in)alienable from land-as-territory. Neither do the state policies consider vasti-residents as holding interpersonal metonyms, nor does it acknowledge their multiple and overlapping collectivities anchored onto spatial metaphors. The porous modern state institutions (with small m) and the governors may possess the sensibilities to recognise such a moored sense of collectivity, yet this ethnographic research showed that they did not visibly recognised it as such. Moreover, the governed do not speak to the government (state institutions or other governors) using the language of 'land as an anchor for interpersonal metonyms'. Therefore, I call land as an anchor for interpersonal metonym a subaltern land subjectivity.

### 9.3.2 Land as inseparable from spatial morphology?
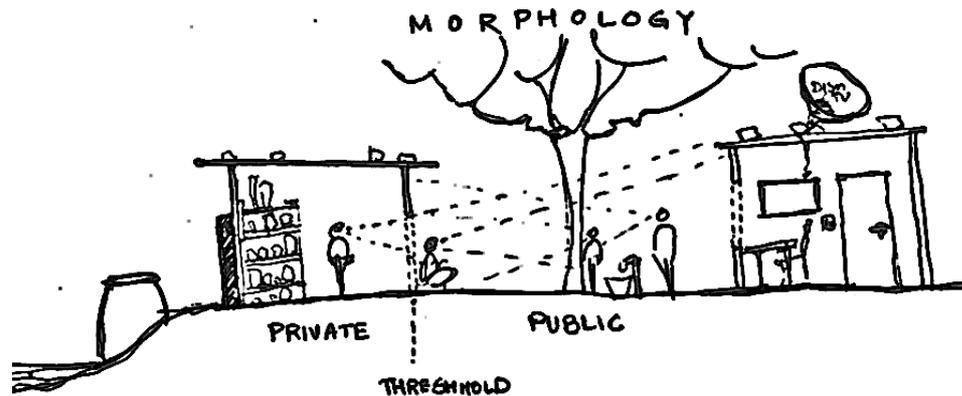


Figure 27: Sketch showing land as inseparable from
morphology (Source: author)

Kivell (1993, p. 3) argued that examining urban morphology sheds light on the social, economic and political forces that make up the city. In other words, form (morphology) followed function (i.e. land-uses reflecting structural forces), seen through Modern planning policy theory (with capital M). However, residents' narratives about the morphology of their vasti and the proposed slum rehabilitation buildings demonstrate that the morphology affects people's land subjectivities and policies during slum rehabilitations, and does not just follow functions. In other words, form (morphology) is made to affect the function (land-uses decoupled from structural forces) by the people. More importantly, land-related decisions did not take place without thinking about spatial morphology. Therefore, land appears inseparable from the spatial morphology developed on the land as schematically shown in Figure 27. The following schematic elaborates on the overlaps between Modern planning theory and the SRP's denial of vasti-residents' control over spatial morphology in contrast to my/participants' reading of land as inseparable from spatial morphology.

Modern planning theory: **Land ≠ spatial morphology developed *on* land**

SRP: **Land ≠ residents' control over spatial morphology**

My/participant's narrative: **Land ≡ impressionable spatial morphology**

Residents of both the vasti told me numerous reasons why they liked the existing morphology of their vasti and disliked the new rehabilitation buildings proposed by the SRP. In section 8.2, I categorised resident's narratives into three types: private, public, and private/public threshold. Not only did the residents seek to retain some of the morphological character of their existing vasti (e.g. open doors, the flow of affects, bodies, and knowledge), they articulated alternative possibilities of shaping new buildings (e.g. keeping doors open, celebrating festivals in the corridors on each floor). Furthermore, the developer in Dandekar Pool Vasti allotted open space on each floor (figure 24 on page 285), which the residents thought could be used for festivities. The residents of Dandekar Pool Vasti applauded the developer for providing such a facility. In a way, spatial morphology mattered so much to the residents that the decisions about land development (as in, land policy) was conditioned on the morphic character of the existing vasti and the proposed rehabilitation.

Since the SRP is primarily concerned with providing 25 sq. m. house to each slum-structure, the SRP gives three options for a typical plan of a flat, including the specified corridor widths. Indeed, the developers are required to follow the town planning rules and regulations which directly affect the morphology of the proposed buildings. However, the residents of Kelewadi explicitly told the corporator$_{K1}$ and the developer$_{K4}$ that they did not want buildings taller than five stories, while the corporator$_{K1}$ told me that he does not see *artha* (meaning) in residents' demands. As the vasti-residents' narratives demonstrate, the vasti-residents sought to retain the possibility of seeing each other frequently, gathering in public to feel energised each morning, having easy access to the venders, and keeping children in their parents' reach. The felt nature of morphology of the existing vasti is thwarted by the SRP, corporator$_{K1}$, and the developer$_{K4}$ through numerous encounters in the socially made PLP. The inseparability of land from spatial morphology, therefore, makes the notion subaltern to the Modern state, including to the modern porous state institutions.

Furthermore, this research found that the morphology does not only matter to the vasti-residents; but the vasti-residents also wish to be able to mould it, control it. Part

of residents' aversion towards the proposed high-rise buildings reflected their disagreement towards fixing the morphology. While the private morphology would be permanently fixed to 25 sq. m. confined space, the possibilities of shaping public morphology would narrow drastically in the high-rise buildings. As a compromise, the vasti-residents resolutely decided to at least keep their doors open in the proposed high-rise buildings.

Keeping doors open to allow flows of bodies, affects, and knowledge, unsettles the private/public foundational assumption about Modern liberal democratic state theories (e.g. Chakrabarty, 2008; Chattopadhyay, 2012; Davy, 2012; Pellissery and Jacobs, 2017). SRP's proposal of high-rise buildings echoes the middle-income housing typology, telling the vasti-residents that the SRP-style buildings would perhaps break the neighbourly complacency making them into the 'middle-class' 'individualists' they encounter in their daily lives. It is by decentring the normative debates on Modern theory of liberal democracy that the fluid and ambivalent postcolonial subjectivities, called morphic land subjectivities in section 8.2, became visible in both the studied vastis.

Note that the postcolonial land subjectivity narrated in section 8.2 is expressly articulated as such by the various subject-agents engaged in slum rehabilitations, including the vasti-residents, real-estate developers, and corporators. Participants narrated that doors allow the possibility of closing and opening when needed, yet closed doors indeed produced disquiet among the neighbours. Appreciative of the restlessness among the neighbours, residents expressed a sense of complacency since somebody existed to care for the closed doors, unlike in the 'middle-income housing societies'. That is, the fluid boundary between the public and the private is a modern postcolonial subjectivity (with small m). However, land as inseparable from space is subaltern because it was neither articulated as such by any of the participants of this research, nor does it appear anywhere in the popular. My route to reach this subaltern land subjectivity was to focus on the postcolonial democratic encounters between government and the governed, and interrogate the visible and recognisable narratives about the postcolonial land subjectivities.

### 9.3.3 Land as flesh of the community?

Land in Modern theories is a *thing* that can be controlled by humans as property, commodity, territory, resource, or nature. Indeed, I argued through Chapters 3 and 4 that Modernity is characteristic of the alienated individual and sovereign collective body of the people. Contra Modernity, Rogozinski (2001, p. 33) claims that perhaps "the ruin of collective bodies [e.g. Body



Figure 28: Sketch showing land as flesh of the community (Source: author)

Politic] and transcendent totalities [e.g. individual, citizen, nation, or state] will finally free the living flesh of community [and of the human subject?]". To recapitulate the association between land and the subject-agent, I mobilised Merleau-Ponty's notion of chiasm – as a hold that is simultaneously held. Consequently, I showed through section 8.3 that participants' narratives convey a sense of hold that land/vasti has on them.

If land has a hold on the vasti-residents through chiasmic relation, then land must be flesh of the community – holding the individuals through the touch of the flesh. That is, if the subjects keep touching (i.e. holding onto) the land, land being flesh of the community touches (holds) them back. This visceral touch of the flesh (or hold of the land) is what remains imperceptible and unrecognisable to the M/modern state embodied in the SRP and the various other governors, such as corporators, real-estate developers etc.

The SRP, as a form of Modernity (with capital M), imagines vasti-residents as alienable from the land. As a response to the anti-eviction demands, the SRP makes land strictly inalienable for ten years through the concept of 'property'. Fixing the visceral character of the chiasmic relation threatens its intuitiveness – thereby bringing it into reasonable Modernity. The following schematic demonstrates the differences between Modern concept of land, the SRP's conceptualisation of land, and my/participants' narrative imagination of land as flesh of the community.

Modern planning theory: **Land ≡ thing alienable from the body of the people**

SRP**: Land ≡ property inalienable from the bodies for the next ten years**

My/participants' narrative: **Land ≡ visceral flesh of the community**

Imperceptibility of the chiasmic relation to land is what makes it subaltern to the M/modern state and the SRP. The empirically-existing porous modern state institutions and the governors may retain the possibility of recognising this visceral hold that land has on the people. However, in the ethnographic explorations of this research, the corporators, the real-estate developers, and the municipal bureaucrats denied such a hold as being irrational. Corporator$_{K1}$ told me that there is no *artha* (meaning) in people's demand for low-rise buildings, whereas the more lenient corporator$_{D1}$ told vasti-residents to resort to their legal right and take the fight to courts – thereby asking people to follow Modernity (with capital M). Likewise, Rambhau was physically silenced by *kāryakarte* from the corporator's office in front of me, when he first began telling me about Pathan Baba's influence on land. That is, vasti-residents are asked by the so-called state-representatives to claim their 'legal' 'rational' 'justifiable' 'rights' and not express and live with their chiasmic relations to land, even though these relations otherwise help people live within, between, and outside Modernity (with capital M).

Another discursive force that subalternises the concept of land as 'flesh of the community' is the rational-calculative zeitgeist of M/modern Pune. Contextually aware and respectful of the rationalist movement in Maharashtra, Rambhau unequivocally asserted that he believed that transcendental entities were holding him onto the land. Inversely, Prashant was straddling between emotions and rational-calculations 'for' or 'against' staying in Kelewadi, thereby not outright dismissing feelings. With a Modernist necessity of logical and clear reasoning, this thesis is also complicit in making Rambhau's and Prashant's qualitatively distinct intuitions subaltern by bringing them into the clear and reasonable metaphor of 'flesh of the community'. In sum, the precise kind of subaltern land subjectivity is, in direct and exact terms, 'flesh of the community'.

## 9.4 Discussion: a postcolonial theory of a socially made PLP

This thesis contributes to land policy studies in India and is written primarily for development and planning policy scholars. As I recounted in Chapter 1, "[p]olicy studies is a relatively nascent discipline in India" (CPS, 2019, online). Therefore, I wrote this thesis for scholars and professionals with multi-disciplinary backgrounds and interested in slum rehabilitations and land policy-related issues in India.

Whereas urban studies, development studies, planning theory, everyday state theorists have used various rubrics to analyse the politics of slum rehabilitations in India, I deliberately invoked the rubric of participatory land policy (PLP). Moreover, the politico-intellectual purpose of this thesis was to construct a theory of PLP in a way that helps uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities and policies. Consequently, this thesis was situated at the academic disciplinary conjuncture between 'development and planning policy studies' and 'postcolonial and subaltern studies'. Given that this disciplinary dialogue is nascent, translating the lessons from 'postcolonial and subaltern studies' into 'development and planning policy studies' is my contribution to the field of 'development and planning policy studies'. More specifically, this thesis contributes to the literature on 'participatory land policy'. Below I reinforce how this thesis takes forward the discussion on a theory of PLP, to assist uncovering postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities and policies in India.

The liberal theory of land policy treats humans as sovereign autonomous individuals in full capacity to make their own decisions and presents policy as the rationalised domain of the state (Darin-Drabkin, 1977; Lichfield and Darin-Drabkin, 1980; Barrett and Healey, 1985). It is this 'liberal democratic' imagination that appears to guide the state-written SRP in Pune. Therefore, on the one hand, real-estate developers are allowed to take part in the 'market' over land and, on the other hand, vasti-residents are asked to 'consent' for development. As Chatterjee (2019b, p. 61) writes, "[t]here is a duality in contemporary liberal democracies between the subject of interests and the subject of rights, or *Homo economicus* motivated by rational interests and the citizen-subject as a constituent of popular sovereignty". In this regard, the Slum

Rehabilitation Policy (SRP) is a kind of PLP seen from the lens of Modernity. Furthermore, the state authorities and civil society organisations in Pune are already working towards opening the administrative state structure towards a 'talk-based' and 'consent-based' participatory forums and letting markets operate on their own. Therefore, Modern ideas of participation are already being institutionalised in the state, further reifying Modernity in India.

Yet, normatively advocating and institutionalising participation amounts to providing a "solution[-] to something that is deemed lacking in the population" (Shore and Wright, 2011, p. 9). That is, advocating 'talk-based' or 'consent-based' participation treats the existing politics in India as deviant from the norm of Modernity. Moreover, the practice-oriented development planning literature has already demonstrated the limitations of such institutionalised spaces of participation (e.g. Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Williams, 2004; Cornwall, 2011). The fact that politics in postcolonial contexts empirically spills over, and unsettles, the theoretical bounds of the Modern state (with capital M) is already known to various planning and state theorists working in postcolonial contexts (Hansen and Stepputat, 2001; Das and Poole, 2004; Corbridge *et al.*, 2009; Roy, 2009b; Chatterjee, 2011; Jatkar, 2018; Sud, 2019). However, Modernity paints this spill over as "a pathological perversion of a more desirable form of liberal polity enshrined in Western democracies" (Chatterjee, 2017, online). That is, the problem appears to lie with Modern theories of PLP, still performed in India.

An extremely productive answer to this conundrum lies in reading plurality evident in the postcolonial contexts. For instance, inspired by Modern social contract theories, Davy's (2012) model of polyrational land policy (Table 2 on page 87) shows a possibility of reading the already existing plurality of land (property) relations in India. With the polyrational model of land policy, development and planning policy scholars can bring into re-presentation plural ways in which land relations and land policies are already spatialised in India. Consequently, Davy's (2012) model of polyrational land policy (Table 2 on page 87) shows the possibility of recognising plural spatialised property relations, even though they are not formally recognised by the modern state institutions in India. As Davy (2012) further suggests, the power of the social contract

fictions – giving rise to the Lockean, Rosseau's, and Hobbesian property relations – is such that they reject of the originary moment of a transition from the state of nature to the civilised state, without due signing.

This pluralist turn in theorising postcolonial contexts befits a postcolonial critique of monopolistic state law (Anker, 2017). Yet, pluralising social contracts does not help in rethinking the "whole liberal paradigm of autonomous individuals, social contract, and rights" (Anker, 2017, pp. 286–292). Consequently, I take forward the theory of polyrational (or pluralist) land policy to invoke another set of subjectivities experienced and produced during slum rehabilitations in Pune – namely: postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. Accordingly, the perspectives of land that I proposed may only awkwardly fit with the social contract property relations.

For instance, shall land as an anchor for interpersonal metonym be placed under opportunistic use (therefore a Lockean individualist property) because residents articulate interpersonal collectivities suited to the context? Or shall it be placed under collaborative use (therefore a Rousseau's egalitarian property) because they are collectivities sharing the same resource? Still, shall land as inseparable from spatial morphology be placed under container use (therefore fatalist) because it denotes strong grid (spatial morphology) and weak group (people)? Or shall it be articulated as opportunistic (therefore a Lockean individualist property) because the residents mould it to suit contextual specificity? Lastly, where to put chiasmic relations denoting flesh of the community perceived through transcendental entities? - Perhaps a structural use (therefore a Hobbesian hierarchical property)? The awkwardness of the above questions demonstrates that, possibly, there is scope to open the polyrational and pluralist land policy framework to allow uncovering postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

Alternatively, I summarised two other prevalent approaches to studying policy that are already critical of Modernity in section 3.2 (pages 82 - 92), including governmentality policy studies (Nielson, 2011; Shore, Wright and Però, 2011) and interpretive policy studies (Fischer and Forester, 1993; Hajer, Hoppe and Jennings, 1993; Yanow, 2007). Whereas the governmentality approach to studying policy ends

at demonstrating the effects of governmental rationalities on people's subjectivities, interpretive policy studies analyse how people make sense of policy in their own terms and context. Yet, the core Modern (with capital M) assumption of policy as a governmental rationality remains intact in governmentality and interpretive studies. The interpretive studies further use phenomenological and hermeneutic approaches.

Yanow (2007, pp. 113–114) shows that the phenomenological approach exposes how "lived experiences bring different people to perceive the same event, or the same policy, in different ways"; and the hermeneutic approach shows how "people imbue the artifacts they create with meaning and/or project meanings onto those artifacts as they engage them". The proposed postcolonial sensory field of a socially made PLP departs significantly from both governmentality and interpretive policy studies. Along with focusing on how the SRP governmentalizes its subjects and how people interpret various aspects of the SRP, this thesis showed that people too have their own policies (*nīti*) and are already participating in making society's land policy (*nīti*).

Consequently, this thesis showed that despite being fluid, contingent, and constantly-changing, slum rehabilitations are socially making a participatory land policy through bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed. While the performative force of Modern governmental practices reifies (in the present continuous) Modern concepts of land as property and as commodity – a *thing*; the socially made PLP continually makes and remakes land subjectivities and policies of the governors and the governed. Focusing on people's own land subjectivities and policies (as *nīti*) helps uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities.

This thesis contributes to the theories of participatory land policy by decentring (not replacing) Modernity and opening the theory of PLP towards uncovering postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities and policies (as *nīti*). The proposed postcolonial sensory field of a socially made PLP is the contribution of this thesis to the field of development and planning policy studies. Consequently, this thesis calls for "development [and planning policy] studies […] to listen to the [postcolonial and the] subaltern [land subjectivities and policies]" (Sylvester, 1999, p. 703), by engaging at the encounters between government and the governed, in the socially made PLP.

Consequently, I sketch my recommendations below with a caution against generalising the proposed method as a universal template for political action in India. A useful CODA for political, intellectual, and professional engagement in slum rehabilitations could be as follows:

1. Focus on various bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed to visualise the socially made participatory land policy and to uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities by analytically decentring Modernity and all prevalent vocabularies of land.

2. Produce new vocabularies such that the analytical gap between Modern concepts and people's ideas of land can be conceptually bridged and let the governors and the governed cross that bridge, if and when needed.

3. Relationally and aesthetically build sensibilities of the governors, such as municipal planners and development and planning professionals, so that they can read the socially made PLP and uncover postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities, for further democratic dialogue with the governed.

4. Create advocacy programmes using existing networks of development planners, concerned citizens, community organisations, engaged politically, intellectually, and professionally in slum rehabilitations in Pune and elsewhere in India, to bring about change in the policies of both government (*rājnīti*) and the governed (*loknīti*) – including, but not limited to, the state-written mixture of policy-documents.

With this CODA, it might be worth reminding the readers and myself that political and intellectual engagement in slum rehabilitations, as also in other development planning projects, requires "patient and sustained efforts to learn to learn from [the subaltern]" (Spivak, 2000, p. 336). Engagement with the postcolonial contexts sometimes means acknowledging that our intentions and theories as "(colonial, national, or academic) elites" (Jazeel and Legg, 2019, p. 2) can counter non-elite and subaltern perspectives. As one of my participants reminded me, their lives "are not stuck without [us elites]; [they] just keep going […] like Gandhi" (K_VR_8, 10/04/18). With this reminder, I conclude this thesis with a take-home message for development and planning policy scholars and professionals as follows:

Slum rehabilitations in Pune are socially making a participatory land policy through bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed, in turn, making visible postcolonial and subaltern land subjectivities. What we-as-scholars-and-professionals interested in slum rehabilitations and land policy-issues could do is let participatory land policy be socially made through bodily, material, and textual encounters between government and the governed. We could let those engaged in socially making PLP "keep going […] like Gandhi [or whoever else they want]" (K_VR_8, 10/04/18). To paraphrase Olsen's (2013, p. 14, see Spivak, 2010) advice: "So all that is in [them, the land, and the vasti] will not bloom [as Modernity intends] - but in how many does it? There is still enough left to live by. Only help [them] to believe – help make it so there is cause for [them] to believe that [they, the land, and the vastis are more than just *things*], helpless before [Modernity with capital M]".

If at all, we could help everyone engaged in the making of PLP know that some of their lived experiences, frustrations, and hopes are 'postcolonial' precisely because Modern concepts of land as a thing, participation as consent-seeking, and policy as state's rationality are still being performed and reified (in the present continuous tense). We could let them know that they are already making postcolonial tensions into a productive force to question Eurocentric and Modern structures of power/knowledge through bodily, material, and textual encounters. We could help them know that they are already making land into a *spatial anchor for interpersonal metonyms*, *inseparable from spatial morphology*, and *flesh of their community*. We could help them recognise that they are already making a participatory land policy. We could help them see that 'they' are the producers of this postcolonial discourse that is untethered to, yet critical of, Modernity (with capital M). We could help them create more such discourses so that they can modernise (with small m) in their own terms, without being forced to become Modern (with capital M) or being called deviant from Modernity (with capital M). We could help them know all this and more, while we-as-scholars-and-professionals continue to learn to learn from them.

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# Appendix A: List of participants

| Identity Category | Identity Code | Pseudo-names / Affiliation | Gender | Date of Interview |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kelewadi* *Vasti Residents* | K_VR_1 | Shamabai | Female | 08/02/18 |
| | K_VR_2 | Ramu kaka | Male | 08/03/18 |
| | K_VR_3 | Mahesh | Male | 12/03/18 |
| | K_VR_4 | Dinesh | Male | 29/03/18 |
| | K_VR_4.2 | Babu | Male | 29/03/18 |
| | K_VR_5 | Viraj | Male | 29/03/18 |
| | K_VR_6 | Saniya | Female | 29/03/18 |
| | K_VR_7 | Prashant | Male | 08/04/18 |
| | K_VR_8 | Vithoba | Male | 10/04/18 |
| | K_VR_9 | Rambhau | Male | 12/04/18 |
| | K_VR_9.2 | Kedar | Male | 12/04/18 |
| | K_VR_10 | Mukesh | Male | 24/04/18 |
| | K_VR_10.2 | Menaka | Female | 24/04/18 |
| | K_VR_11 | Kalebai | Female | 25/04/18 |
| | K_VR_12 | Ramabai | Female | 26/04/18 |
| | K_VR_13 | Sunita | Female | 26/04/18 |
| | K_VR_14 | Meera | Female | 27/04/18 |
| | K_VR_15 | Asma | Female | 27/04/18 |
| *Dandekar Pool Vasti* *Vasti Residents* | D_VR_1 | Javed | Male | 10/03/18 |
| | D_VR_2 | Ravi kaka | Male | 13/03/18 |
| | D_VR_3 | Sahil | Male | 02/05/18 |
| | D_VR_4 | Manoj | Male | 03/05/18 |
| | D_VR_5 | Rafiq bhai | Male | 08/05/18 |
| | D_VR_6 | Govind | Male | 09/05/18 |
| | D_VR_7 | Kesha | Female | 15/05/18 |
| | D_VR_8 | Usha | Female | 15/05/18 |
| | D_VR_9 | Shilpa | Female | 15/05/18 |
| | D_VR_10 | Prabhavati | Female | 15/05/18 |
| | D_VR_11 | Pramilabai | Female | 15/05/18 |
| | D_VR_12 | Ashish | Male | 16/05/18 |
| | D_VR_13 | Raghu | Male | 18/05/18 |
| | D_VR_14 | Suresh kaka | Male | 03/06/18 |
| | D_VR_15 | Vinay | Male | 06/06/18 |
| *State Actors* | S_1 | Corporator$_{K1}$ | N/A | 25/01/18 |
| | S_2 | Corporator$_{K2}$ | N/A | 05/06/18 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | S_3 | Corporator$_{D1}$ | N/A | 26/07/18 |
| | S_4 | Corporator | N/A | 20/07/18 |
| | S_5 | SRA official | N/A | 18/06/18 |
| | S_6 | SRA official | N/A | 19/06/18 |
| | S_7 | PMC official | N/A | 11/04/18 |
| | S_8 | PMC official | N/A | 20/04/18 |
| | S_9 | PMC official | N/A | 28/05/18 |
| | S_10 | PMC official | N/A | 12/06/18 |
| *Private Sector* | K_Pr_1 | Developer$_{K4}$ employee | Male | 03/03/18 |
| | K_Pr_2 | Developer$_{K4}$ employee | Male | 08/04/18 |
| | K_Pr_3 | Architect-developer$_{K4}$ employee | Male | 19/04/18 |
| | K_Pr_4 | Landowner | Male | 03/05/18 |
| | D_Pr_1 | Developer$_D$ employee | Female | 07/03/18 |
| | D_Pr_2 | Developer$_D$ employee | Male | 23/07/18 |
| | D_Pr_3 | Architect-Developer$_D$ employee | Male | 09/01/18 |
| | D_Pr_4 | Developer$_D$ | Male | 30/06/18 |
| | Pr_9 | Developer | Female | 12/07/18 |
| | Pr_10 | Developer | Male | 17/07/18 |
| *Concerned Citizens* | CC_1 | Journalist | Male | 10/05/18 |
| | CC_2 | Slum-housing expert | Male | 13/07/18 |
| | CC_3 | Environmentalist and Development expert | Female | 20/06/18 |
| | CC_4 | Development researcher | Female | 25/06/18 |
| | CC_5 | Retired Town Planner | Male | 18/07/18 |
| | CC_6 | Environmentalist, development planner | Female | 13/07/18 |
| | CC_7 | Town planning professor | Male | 18/06/18 |
| | CC_8 | Elected Representative | Male | 11/01/18 |

# Appendix B: Semi-structured interview guide (non-elites)

**Title of Study:** Exploring the potentials of participatory land policies in Pune, India

**Department:** The Bartlett Development Planning Unit

**Name and Contact Details of the Researcher(s):** Harshavardhan Jatkar

**Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher:** Dr Colin Marx

1. How and when did the proposed development scheme start?

   [Use an image showing proposed project - a map/ a rendering - as a probe]

2. How were things before that?

   [Use an image showing proposed project - a map/ a rendering - as a probe]

   a. When did you start using this land? Why?

   b. How did you develop it? Why?

   c. What plans did you have for the future? Why?

   d. If you had to make any changes to your land, whom did you communicate it to? Why?

   e. How effective was this system? Why do you think so?

3. How did the events unfold when government agents/ developers/ NGO workers/ professionals initiated the project?

   a. How did they communicate their ideas to you?

   b. How did you communicate your ideas to them?

   c. When and where did these meetings happen?

   d. What were the main issues discussed in these meetings?

   e. How effective do you think were these meetings?

   f. Did you try communicating your interests to anyone else beside the people present in the meetings? How and why?

4. How do you feel about the proposed changes to this land?

   [Use an image showing proposed project - a map/ a rendering - as a probe]

   a. How do you think will these changes affect your life? Why?

   b. How else do you think might be a more effective way to communicate your interests to others – something that you may not have tried so far? Why?

# Appendix C: Semi-structured interview guide (elites)

**Title of Study:** Exploring the potentials of participatory land policies in Pune, India

**Department:** The Bartlett Development Planning Unit

**Name and Contact Details of the Researcher(s):** Harshavardhan Jatkar

**Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher:** Dr Colin Marx

1. How was this 'slum' developed?
2. How is knowledge of people's concerns communicated?
    a. Do residents approach you or do you undertake the development based on your volition?
    b. What kind of needs and demands are discussed?
    c. By what means does knowledge transmitted?
3. During the development, did land-related questions come up?
4. Have you prepared any alternative means for people's participation?
5. When did the SRP process start?
    a. What is your involvement in the SRP?
    b. What was the response of people during the participatory meetings within the SRP?
    c. What kind of topics were discussed?
    d. What role did other stakeholders play in the process?
    e. Do you think there was good response from other stakeholders?
6. Did people's questions change after the commencement of the SRP? Or did people's expectations from you change?
7. What land-related questions come up during the SRP process?
8. What do you think about the SRP?
    a. Do you think that your relations with the residents of the settlements change because of the SRP? How so?

# Appendix D: List of collected documents

| Institute | Document type | Document name |
|---|---|---|
| Government of India (GoI) | Act | The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 |
| | Policy | National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, (2007) |
| | Policy Guidelines | (Draft) Model Guidelines for Urban Land Policy 2007 |
| Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) | Policy | Schedule – A: Special Regulations for Pune And Pimpri Chinchwad Slum Rehabilitation Authority (2008) |
| | Policy | Appendix-A (Appended To The Government In Urban Development's Notification No.Tps-1812/786/Cr-262/13/Reconstruction No.90/Ud-13, Dated The 11/09/2014): Special Regulations for Pune And Pimpri Chinchwad Slum Rehabilitation Authority (2014) |
| | Information booklet | Slum Rehabilitation Policy Information booklet 2010, 2015 |
| | Government Resolutions | GR (2001 - 2018) |
| Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) | Policy | Draft Development Plan for Pune City (Old Limit) 2007-2027: Executive Summary |
| | Policy | Draft Development Control Regulations for Development Plan Pune (2013) |
| | Policy | Development Control and Promotion Regulations for Pune Municipal Corporation (DCPR (2017)) |
| | Minutes of the Meetings | Minutes of meetings of the Steering Committee for revision of the 1987 Sanctioned Development Plan Meetings: 1, 2, 4 ,7, 8 (2007, 2008) |
| Maharashtra Social Housing and Action League (MASHAL) | Survey Report | Pune City Slum Atlas 2011 |
| | Study Report | Housing Study for Pune Municipal Corporation (2010) |
| Karve Institute of Social Service | Survey Report | Socio-Economic Survey of Pune city (2009) |
| Kumar Urban Development Limited (KUDL) | Planning Document | Pune Nirvana Hills Slum Rehabilitation Project 2012 |

# Appendix E: Information Sheet

UCL Research Ethics Committee Approval ID Number: 12039/001

**YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET**

**Title of Study:**
Exploring the potentials of participatory land policies in Pune, India

**Department:**
The Bartlett Development Planning Unit University College London

**Name and Contact Details of the Researcher(s):**
Harshavardhan Jatkar

**Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher:**
Dr Colin Marx

## 1. Invitation Paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a PhD research project. Before you decide to participate, we consider it important that you are aware of the purpose of the research and your involvement in it. Your contributions in the field of urban development and land policy is commendable. Thus, we consider it imperative to have your inputs in the research project. We, thus, request you to read the following information carefully. Please feel free to ask any questions you may have regarding the research before you decide to participation. Thank you for reading this.

## 2. What is the project's purpose?

Participation has been argued to have potential in facilitating a just land policy process. The proposed research project thus aims to investigate the land policy changes done for the city of Pune in the recent past and the rationale behind such changes. The aim is to investigate the role of 'participation' in the process of land policy. The fieldwork is expected to continue for about 6 months, while data analysis and drawing up of final conclusions will take another year or so.

## 3. Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because of your crucial role in shaping the decisions over this land. We have contacted other individuals whose participation in the decisions over land has been significant. Please let us know anyone who you know has been

instrumental in taking decisions over this land. We aim to contact up to 60 individuals for this research.

**4. Do I have to take part?**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. You can withdraw at any time without giving a reason. If you decide to withdraw you will be asked what you wish to happen to the data you have provided up that point.

**5. What will happen to me if I take part?**

If you decide to participate, your participation will involve answering a series of questions. It is meant to be an open-ended discussion relating to the topic of this research. The interviews are meant to last up to an hour, or more. These will be conducted in language of your choice – between Marathi, Hindi and/or English. The interviews will take place at a location most convenient to you. Upon your consent, the interviews will be audio-recorded to facilitate data analysis at a later stage. Personal data relating your gender, caste, religion, income levels and land ownership information may be solicited. Your personal data will be anonymised and stored securely with University College London. In case further information is thought necessary, we would like to contact you again in the future, with your prior consent. Your anonymised data will be archived with University College London for future use by other researchers.

**6. Will I be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?**

The audio recording of our discussion will be used only for analysis and for illustration in conference presentations, publications, and PhD dissertation. No other use will be made of them without your permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings. The original recordings and recordings will be stored for a period of 5 years and I would solely have access to this information.

**7. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

Whilst there are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research; some indirect consequences may become evident during the research process. These will

be brought to your notice immediately and you can choose to withdraw from the research at any point you wish.

**8. What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

Whilst there are no immediate benefits associated with participating in this research project; it is hoped that this work will shed light on the potentials of participatory land policy processes, facilitating revisiting some of the existing land policy processes. Furthermore, the outcomes of this research are expected to benefit future research in planning and governance in India.

**9. What if something goes wrong?**

In case you have any complaints regarding the research process, please feel free to contact:

In case of further clarification, you can also take the complaint forward to the Chair of UCL Research Ethics Committee at ethics@ucl.ac.uk. This may include any complaints regarding your treatment by the researchers, and/or something serious occurring during or because of taking part in the research. We strongly advise you to come forth with any problems you my notice during or because of taking part in the research, so that the research process can be amended immediately.

**10. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**

All the information that we collect about you during the research will be kept strictly confidential. Although it may be possible that you are identified given the specifications of the project and time, direct quotes and information you provide cannot be tracked down to individual participants.

**11. Limits to confidentiality**

Confidentiality will be respected subject to legal constraints and professional guidelines unless there are compelling and legitimate reasons for this to be breached. If this were the case we would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality.

**12. What will happen to the results of the research project?**

The results of this research will be submitted to University College London as a PhD dissertation, along with possible publications in research journals. The results will be published by December 2019. You will be able to access these reports on the

University College London website. Data collected as part of this research will be securely stored with the researcher for up to 5 years from the date of collection. The data collected for this research may be used for further research.

## 13. Data Protection Privacy Notice

Notice:   The data controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Office provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. UCL's Data Protection Officer is Lee Shailer and he can also be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.   Your personal data will be processed for the purposes outlined in this notice. The legal basis that would be used to process your personal data will be [the provision of your consent.] You can provide your consent for the use of your personal data in this project by completing the consent form that has been provided to you.   Your personal data will be processed within 24 months of the collection of the data. If we are able to anonymise or pseudonymise the personal data you provide we will undertake this, and will endeavour to minimise the processing of personal data wherever possible. The anonymised research data may be made available to other authenticated researchers, upon formal request to University College London.   If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. If you remain unsatisfied, you may wish to contact the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO). Contact details, and details of data subject rights, are available on the ICO website at: https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/data-protection-reform/overview-of- the-gdpr/individuals-rights/

## 14. Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is organised and funded by University College London for academic progress in the field of land policy.

## 15. Contact for further information

In case you wish to have further information regarding the research project, please feel free to contact us at contact details mentioned at the start of this information sheet.

**You are welcome to keep a copy of this information sheet and a signed consent form.**

**Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering taking part in this study.**

# Appendix F: Consent Form

**Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.**

**Title of Study:** Exploring the potentials of participatory land policies in Pune, India
**Department:** The Bartlett Development Planning Unit
**Name of the Researcher(s):** Harshavardhan Jatkar
**Name of the Principal Researcher:** Dr Colin Marx
**Name of the UCL Data Protection Officer:** Lee Shailer
**This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee:**
**Project ID number:** 12039/001

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organizing the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

**Participant's Statement**

I agree that:

- I have read the notes written above and the Information Sheet, and understand what the study involves.
- I understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.
- I consent to the processing of my anonymised personal information for the purposes of this research study.
- I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- I agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.
- I agree to be contacted in the future by UCL researchers who would like to invite me to participate in follow-up studies.
- I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me directly from any publications.
- I agree that my non-personal research data may be used by others for future research. I am assured that the confidentiality of my personal data will be upheld through the removal of identifiers.

_____    _____    _____
Name of the interviewee              Date                              Signature


_____    _____    _____
Name of the interviewer              Date                              Signature