Unsettled City: Neoliberal redevelopment, state crisis, slum resettlement & biopolitical struggle in Mumbai

Jha, Rishi

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Rishi Jha

Unsettled City

Unsettled City concerns the capitalist politics of urban renewal and the government of housing poverty. It focuses on dispossession, reformation of people's politics, and the possibilities of reordering urban renewal and human resettlement paradigms. These enquires are addressed through an ethnographic exploration of Mumbai's transport expansion and pipeline securitization projects and their multi-site sociopolitical dynamisms. The dissertation builds on the need to theorize from elsewheres than the Global North through critical empirical and analytical reflection. Written as a compilation thesis with a comprehensive discussion and four sole-authored articles, it contributes to critical scholarships on, inter alia, housing formality, state and NGO-led informalization of urban inclusion, emergent life and death politics concerning urban living, and arbitrary bureaucracy of habitability and life at urban margins. In doing so, it captures the intended and inherent complexities, and the planned and contradictory outcomes of urban change.

RISHI JHA is an urbanist. His work concerns postcolonial capitalism, dis/possession, governmentality, bio-necropolitics, social change, qualitative methods, and political ethnography. He has considerable professional and research experience on urban renewal, inequality, welfare policies, and social development.

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Abstract: This dissertation concerns capitalist urban redevelopment and the government of urban housing poverty. It examines the ways urban redevelopment regimes shape resettlements and governance of urban populations in Mumbai. The specific enquiries focus on salient accumulative and dispossessive dimensions of urban redevelopment and linked resettlement construction, the reformation of informal politics of the poor, and possibilities of reordering renewal and resettlement governance processes. These enquiries are addressed through an ethnographic exploration of two mega-projects: transport expansion and pipeline securitization, two resettlement townships, and their multi-scalar and multi-site sociopolitical dynamisms. The theoretical framework of "redevelopment as governmentality" guides analysis connecting macro-institutional practices and their human consequences.

   This is a compilation dissertation with a Kappa (comprehensive discussion) and four sole-authored journal articles. The dissertation makes four major contributions: First, urban redevelopment regimes employ an extractive-inclusive political economy in resettlement housing developments, which promotes urban growth. This is beyond facilitative or welfarist rehousing linked with displacement-based dispossession. The underlying political-economic logics, and institutional and policy frameworks also shape the life-allowing and limiting materiality of resettlement. Second, state and NGO-mediated resettlements employ unconditional urban displacements through strategies that speak of institutional violence, coercion, and abandonment, but are coated with the hope of inclusion and aspirational formal urban living. Uneven sociopolitical outcomes include contested formalization, widespread institutional vulnerabilities, and arbitrary post-dispossession rule. Third, state powers in redevelopment are complicit in creating death-allowing settlement forms and environmental concerns, and subjecting populations to them. Inhabiting such violent materialities exposes the embedded deadly powers, through life-compromising living. Inhabitation also leads to a new outlook of resistance and negotiation that redefines the politics of human lives at the urban margins. Fourth, the state bureaucracy maintains life-constraining post-resettlement scenarios and biopolitical struggles through arbitrary, informalized, humanistic interventions, and using a new vocabulary of urban habitability. This life-compromising subjection, however, also impacts urban renewal and allows some alternative rehousing. Overall, the dissertation shows certain contradictory outcomes of urban renewal and population governance in the making of the urban imaginary and modernity.

Key words: urban redevelopment, dispossession, governmentality, bio-necro-politics, bureaucracy, slum, resettlement, Mumbai

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Rishi Jha

To camaraderie!

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"It is true, European thought finds itself at a turning point. This turning point, on a historical scale, is nothing other than the end of imperialism. The crises of Western thought is identical to the end of imperialism. The crisis has produced no supreme philosopher who excels in signifying the crisis. For Western thought in crises expressed itself by discourses which can be very interesting, but which are neither specific not extraordinary. There is no philosopher who marks out this period. For the end of the era of Western philosophy. Thus, if philosophy of the future exists, it must be born outside of Europe or equally born in consequence of meetings and impacts between Europe and non-Europe."

— Michel Foucault (1978 [2013], p. 113)

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It takes a village to raise a child goes the proverb, but it takes at least two to make a doctorate. This project would not have been possible without the support of my mentors, friends, colleagues, families, and research participants in Sweden and India. At the end of this four-year-ish journey, I acknowledge their support, express gratitude to them, and remember incurred debts.

Every movement bears a history. The journey to Lund began through course work with Swati Banerjee from TISS and Mine Islar, Maryam Naster, and Eric Clark from LUCSUS. A few months later, I was a visiting scholar on a project coordinated by Jan Magnusson at Lund and Manish K Jha at TISS. Another few months later, I qualified for the PhD programme and decided to embark on this journey. Håkan Jönson, the doctoral studies director, and Max Koch coordinated my PhD interview. Thank you all for the new experiences, and the care that helped me make that decision.

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To my family! To my mother in India, I don't mean to thank you, because I simply can't! But the least to say, it's you who has made it possible through support and love. To my departed father, who wished me to follow my ambitions and make a life less ordinary. I think, we could have celebrated today with some drinks of your choice. Cheers, anyways! To my extended family members, including Sunny, Mihir, Basant, and comrade Binod, who shared my responsibilities when I could not be there. In retrospection, my PhD feels like a small family enterprise!

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Nevertheless, as happens in life, despite all the support we get, we suffer and learn things the hard way. The last two years (2020–2022) have been particularly difficult ones, with the COVID-19 biopolitical crisis, the war in Europe, and then my own, personal, visa crisis. COVID brought infections, isolation, anxiety, and multiple ruptures in dissertation life. Thank you to Jenny, for helping me fight exhaustion during the last year.

I reach the end with a bit of discomfort. A new Aliens Act came into force in Sweden in the summer of 2021. It made me a double alien, one who slowly drifted away from the academic ecosystem in Sweden and yet remained far from family in India. It caused, perhaps, more than the usual stress of a PhD project. My love and regards to the handful of people who came forward with hope, warmth, and good wishes.

One should treasure sweet memories and hope. Despite precarity that might linger for some time to come, I was able to finish this dissertation in time. This speaks of the tremendous possibility and robust support that I had in both Sweden and India. I recall my regular visits to the green house in the Botanical Garden, that Lisa Hjärpe showed me so I could feel the climate and flora of Africa, Asia, the Mediterranean, and of course Mumbai. It was a respite. Soon, I will be free to move, choose and settle, like Papillon who derided borders.

Lund & Malmö, March 2023

Rishi

Abstract in Mithilakshar

সাৰাংশ

যহ শোধ প্ৰৱঁধ পূঁজীৰাদী শহৰী পুনৰ্বিকায় ওৰ শহৰী খাৰায় কে গৰীৱী কো শাসিত কৰৱনে য়ে সৱঁধিত ঐ। ম্ৰঁৱঁগ্ৰ ম্ৰঁ শহৰী পুনৰ্বিকায় ব্যৱস্থাএঁ কিয় প্ৰকাৰ পুনৰ্বায় ওৰ শহৰী খাৰাঁদী কো শাসিত কৰৱতে ঞঁ, গয়কা পৰীক্ষণ কিয়া গয়া ঐ । গয়ম্ৰঁ মুখ্যতঃ শহৰী পুনৰ্বিকায় ওৰ সৱঁধিত পুনৰ্বায় নিৰ্মাণ, গৰীৰোঁ কী খনৌপঠাৰিক ৰাজনীতি কা প্ৰধাৰ, ওৰ নৰীকৰণ ওৰ পুনৰ্স্থাপন শাসন প্ৰক্ৰিয়াওঁ কো পুনৰ্ব্যৱস্থিত কৰৱনে কী সৱঁভাৱনাওঁ কে প্ৰম্ৰখ সঁঠয়ী ওৰ গৰীৰোঁ কে নিএ ৰেঁদথন খায়ায়োঁ পৰ ধ্যান কেঁদ্ৰিত ঐ। গয় খন্ৱসৱঁধান ম্ৰঁ দো মেগা-পৰিয়োজনাওঁ কে নৃৱঁশৰিজ্ঞান খন্ৱেষণ কে মাধ্যম য়ে সৱঁৰোধিত কিয়া গয়া ঐ: পৰিৱহন ৰিস্তাৰ ওৰ পাঁপনাগ়ন প্ৰতিভূতিকৰণ, দো পুনৰ্বায় ৰঁস্তী, ওৰ ঢনকী ৰঁঢ়ন্ত্ৰৰীয় ওৰ ৰঁঢ়-স্থনীয় সামাজিক-ৰাজনীতিক গতিশীনতা। ব্যাপক-সঁম্বাগত প্ৰথাওঁ ওৰ ঢনকে মানৱীয় পৰিণামোঁ কা ৰিশ্লেষণ 'পুনৰ্বিকায় জৈস্মী শায়কীয়তা' কে স্ৌক্ৰান্তিক ঢাঁঢে য়ে প্ৰেৰিত ঐ।

যহ এক কল্পা (ব্যাপক ঠঠী) ওৰ ঢাৰ স্ৱ-নেখিত পত্ৰিকা নেখোঁ কে য়াথ এক সঁকনন শোধ প্ৰৱঁধ ঐ। নিৰৱঁধ ঢাৰ প্ৰম্ৰখ য়োগদান দেতা ঐ: পহনা, শহৰী পুনৰ্বিকায় শাসন পুনৰ্বায় খাৰায় ৰিকায় ম্ৰঁ এক "নিষ্কৰ্ষণ-সমাৱেশী" ৰাজনীতিক খৰ্থৱ্যৱস্থা কো নিয়োজিত কৰৱতা ঐ, জো শহৰী ৰিকায় কো ৰঁঢ়াৰা দেতা ঐ। যহ ৰিস্থাপন-খাধাৰিত ৰেঁদথনী য়ে জ্ৰড়ে সুৰিধা য়া কন্যাণকাৰী পুনৰ্বায় য়ে পৰে ঐ। খঁতনিৰ্মিত ৰাজনীতিক-খাৰ্থিক নীতিয়াঁ, ওৰ সঁম্বাগত ওৰ নীতিগত ঢাঁঢে ভী খাৰায় ওৰ জীৱন কী জীৱন-খন্ৱমত ওৰ সীমিত ভৌতিকতা কো খাকাৰ দেতে ঞঁ। দুয়ৰা, সৰকাৰ ওৰ গৌৰ-সৰকাৰী সঁগঠনোঁ কী মধ্যস্থতা ৰানে পুনৰ্বায় ৰিনা শৰ্ত শহৰী ৰিস্থাপন কো নিয়োজিত কৰৱতে ঞঁ। ঢনকী ৰণনীতিয়াঁ সঁম্বাগত হিঁয়া, জৰৰঁদস্তী ওৰ পৰিৱায়ন কী ৰাঁত কৰৱতী ঞঁ, নেকিন সমাৱেশ ওৰ খাকাঁক্ষী ঔপঠাৰিক শহৰী জীৱন কী খাশা কে য়াথ নেপিত ঞঁ। ৰিস্থাপন কে ৰাঁদ কী স্থিতিয়োঁ ম্ৰঁ খসমান সামাজিক-ৰাজনীতিক পৰিণাম, ৰিৰাদিত ঔপঠাৰিকতা, ব্যাপক সঁম্বাগত ভেদ্যতাএঁ, ওৰ সৰকাৰী মনমানে নিয়ম শামিন ঞঁ। তীয়ৰা, পুনৰ্বিকায় ম্ৰঁ সৰকাৰী শক্তিয়োঁ কা নিৰেশ জীৱন কে নিএ হানিকাৰক খাৰায় ওৰ পৰ্যাৱৰণ ৰঁনানে ওৰ খাৰাঁদী কো ঢনকে খধীন কৰৱনে ম্ৰঁ কিয়া জাতা ঐ। ঐস্মী হিঁসক ভৌতিকতাওঁ ম্ৰঁ ৰহনা খঁতনিৰ্মিত ঘাতক ৰাজনীতি কো ঢজাগৰ কৰৱতা ঐ। ৰহাঁ ৰহনা নএ প্ৰতিৰোধ কো সঞ্ফম ৰঁনাতা ঐ জো শহৰী হাশিয়ে পৰ মানৱ জীৱন কী ৰাজনীতি কো ফিৰ য়ে পৰিভাষিত কৰৱতা ঐ। ঠৌথা, সৰকাৰী নৌকৰশাহী মনমানে, খনৌপঠাৰিক, মানৱতাৰাৰী হস্তক্ষেপোঁ ওৰ শহৰী খাৰায় কী পুনপৰিভাষিত কে মাধ্যম য়ে জীৱন-খাধিত খাৰায় পৰিদৃশ্যোঁ ওৰ জৈৰ-ৰাজনীতিক সঁঘৰ্ষোঁ কো ৰঁনাএ ৰখতী ঐ। যহ জীৱন-সমঝৌতা খধীনতা, হানাঁকি, শহৰী নৰীকৰণ কো ভী প্ৰভাৱিত কৰৱতী ঐ ওৰ ফন্ঢ ৱৈকল্পিক পুনৰ্বায় কী খন্ৱমতি দেতী ঐ। নিৰৱঁধ শহৰী কাল্পনিক ওৰ খাধ্নিকতা কে নিৰ্মাণ ম্ৰঁ শহৰী নৰীকৰণ ওৰ জনসঁখ্যা শাসন কে ফন্ঢ ৰিৰোধাভাসী পৰিণামোঁ কো দৰ্শাতা ঐ।

Abstract

This dissertation concerns capitalist urban redevelopment and the government of urban housing poverty. It examines the ways urban redevelopment regimes shape resettlements and governance of urban populations in Mumbai. The specific enquiries focus on salient accumulative and dispossessive dimensions of urban redevelopment and linked resettlement construction, the reformation of informal politics of the poor, and possibilities of reordering renewal and resettlement governance processes. These enquiries are addressed through an ethnographic exploration of two mega-projects: transport expansion and pipeline securitization, two resettlement townships, and their multi-scalar and multi-site sociopolitical dynamisms. The theoretical framework of "redevelopment as governmentality" guides analysis connecting macro-institutional practices and their human consequences.

   This is a compilation dissertation with a Kappa (comprehensive discussion) and four sole-authored journal articles. The dissertation makes four major contributions: First, urban redevelopment regimes employ an extractive-inclusive political economy in resettlement housing developments, which promotes urban growth. This is beyond facilitative or welfarist rehousing linked with displacement-based dispossession. The underlying political-economic logics, and institutional and policy frameworks also shape the life-allowing and limiting materiality of resettlement. Second, state and NGO-mediated resettlements employ unconditional urban displacements through strategies that speak of institutional violence, coercion, and abandonment, but are coated with the hope of inclusion and aspirational formal urban living. Uneven sociopolitical outcomes include contested formalization, widespread institutional vulnerabilities, and arbitrary post-dispossession rule. Third, state powers in redevelopment are complicit in creating death-allowing settlement forms and environmental concerns, and subjecting populations to them. Inhabiting such violent materialities exposes the embedded deadly powers, through life-compromising living. Inhabitation also leads to a new outlook of resistance and negotiation that redefines the politics of human lives at the urban margins. Fourth, the state bureaucracy maintains life-constraining post-resettlement scenarios and biopolitical struggles through arbitrary, informalized, humanistic interventions, and using a new vocabulary of urban habitability. This life-compromising subjection, however, also impacts urban renewal and allows some alternative

rehousing. Overall, the dissertation shows certain contradictory outcomes of urban renewal and population governance in the making of the urban imaginary and modernity.

List of articles

Article I

Jha, R. (2020). Civilizing the political society? Redevelopment regime and urban poor's rights in Mumbai, *Community Development Journal*, *55*(2), 199–217. https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsy016

Article II

Jha, R. (under review). New water wars? Mumbai's infrastructural renewals, urban governance and splintering futures, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*.

Article III

Jha, R. (2023). Necrosettlements: Life-threatening housing, necropolitics and the poor's deadly living in Mumbai, *Political Geography*. 100.102815. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2022.102815

Article IV

Jha, R. (revise and resubmit). 'Sent to die'? Urban resettlement, preventable deaths and the possibilities of care in an Indian metropolis, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*.

Abbreviations

BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BMC	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (or, Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai or MCGM)
CHS	Cooperative Housing Society
DCR	Development Control Regulations
FSI	Floor Surface Index
GBGBA	Ghar Bachao Ghar Banao Andolon
MMRDA	Maharashtra Housing and Development Authority
MPCB	Maharashtra Pollution Control Board
NAPM	National Alliance of People's Movement
NEERI	National Environmental Research Institute
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NGT	National Green Tribunal
PIL	Public Interest Litigation
R&R	Resettlement and Rehabilitation
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers
SRA	Slum Rehabilitation Authority
SRS	Slum Rehabilitation Scheme
TDR	Transferable Development Right
ULCRA	Urban Land Ceiling Regulation Act (of 1976)
VOCs	Volatile Organic Compounds

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1. Introduction

Much of the urban world is at a crossroads today. Not long ago, we had imagined urbanization as a planetary process. That imagination came to at least partial fruition: over half the world is now urban. We have so-called world cities, global cities and urban agglomerations worldwide. Planetary growth, prosperity, lives and futures are linked to this new urbanized world. Nevertheless, these terms are largely shorthand for Eurocentric forms of the urban and for certain cities. In the Global South, we have megacities: Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, Dhaka and others.[1] Their scale is massive. Mumbai is more populous than Sweden, Delhi than Australia. Yet these megacities are not nation-states in themselves, but exist in complex and inconsistent relations with their nation-state counterparts in development and governance paradigms. Seven out of 10 global urban residents are in Global South countries (UN-HABITAT, 2012).

These megacities have experienced an unprecedented growth of slums:[2] globally, one third of humanity lives in slums. These slums, called, *inter alia*, *jhuggi jhopri* in Delhi, *jhoppadpatti* in Mumbai, *katchi abadi* in Karachi, *favela* in Rio, *asshwa'iyyat* in Cairo, constitute a contradictory coexistence of forms of inhabiting the city.[3] With unprecedented growth projected in the coming years, over three-fifths of the global slum population will be in Southern cities facing inadequate housing and challenges in attaining sustainable development (United Nations, 2019).

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1 Bombay was renamed Mumbai by Shiv Sena, a nativist party, in 1995. The renaming aimed to reverse the colonial legacy of naming, and invoke local recognition based on the local deity, Mumbā Devi. I use Bombay and Mumbai based on this chronology.

2 I am aware of the debates around the category "slum", for example, Gilbert (2009). However, there is no epistemic replacement for the category amidst its official uses and legal and administrative meanings.

3 No doubt, the gradient of dualism is further explored by scholars, for example Bhan (2016). However, I will keep to the legal dichotomy in my focus on certain slum areas that are targets of urban renewal and resettlement.

Undeniably, our planet is what Mike Davis (2006) once called the *Planet of Slums*. Slums, in their practices, histories, and contexts, are the other of the global urbanisms that we had imagined (Roy, 2011). Informal living and entrepreneurialism are vested in maintaining human lives; they support the global urban political-economic order. Despite the endurance and resilience of the human lives inhabiting them, slums are spaces of urban poverty, housing inequality, everyday precarity, constrained life chances, lower development indices, and even modern forms of banishment. The resurgence of the slum into academic and scholarly debates is both crucial and unnerving (Gilbert, 2009). With the neoliberal turn in urbanism in India, slums became a new exceptional "subaltern" form of urbanism, an ordinary way of metropolitan growth, and then a new geography of theoretical exploration. Yet, somehow, slums also ended up as a "rhetoric" that needed to find its place in urban epistemologies, especially with changing the location of the poor, for example through resettlements.[4] Undoubtedly, South Asian cities, and their slums are sites of "theoretical anxiety and ambiguity" (Rao, 2006, p. 225).

These anxieties have grown with the advent and deepening of neoliberal capitalism and its interface with slums. One such experiment is urban redevelopment based on slum clearance, which this dissertation explores. Capitalist urban expansion and efforts at rapid urbanization, inter-city competition, aspirations of globalization, elite modernity, and other agendas like securitization, as well as needs emerging from the New Urban Agenda, sustainable and equitable futures, and climatic risks, amongst others, are accelerating urban transformations. Cities across Asia, Africa, and Latin America are emblems of these changes. There are mushrooming private enclaves, massive redevelopments, infrastructure projects, flagship world-class city models, and climate-safe townships reshaping inner-city spaces and their extensions. These efforts exert tremendous pressure on urban slums, their dwellers, and their rights, aspirations and capacity to belong, stay, and endure in the city.

India and its financial capital—and amongst the biggest city-regions globally—Mumbai, the empirical focus of this dissertation, and emblematic of this restructuring. India has the maximum slum population in the world (UN-HABITAT, 2006). According to the Indian census in 2011, there are over 37,000

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4 See discussion: Prakash (2002) on the "urban turn"; Rao (2006) on "slum as theory"; Roy (2011) on "subaltern urbanism", Arabindoo (2011) on "rhetoric of the slum".

urban slum areas in the country, with over 65 million inhabitants. This population has risen by 25% in a decade, from 52 million in 2001.

By 2030, India will be the world's most populous nation. While today every sixth person on the planet is Indian, urban regions like Delhi and Mumbai will be even denser and more populous. The world's urban present and future are intricately linked to India's and, broadly, to its urban centres. In Mumbai, over 11 million people, or half its population, live in slums. The city's housing problem has existed since the colonial era, and has only worsened during the decades of industrialization (1960s–1980s) and the neoliberal decades (1990 to present) (Indorewala, 2018a). The megacity has registered rapid social, economic, political, and spatial shifts since the post-liberalization decades from the 1990s. Over 3,000 notified Slum Areas, which hardly occupy 7% of urban land but house upwards of half India's urban population (mostly the poor or housing poor), have re-emerged as the centre of urban redevelopment discourse.

Neoliberal capitalism, structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), and restructuring state and urban institutions at large pushed for world-class city-making. For example, in 2009, an elite non-governmental organization (NGO) in Mumbai, which was also a consortium of commercial and industrial stakeholders, put forward a new vision plan prepared by McKinsey, the global consulting firm embedded in urban restructuration policies globally. Vision Mumbai noted:

> At this time of promise and peril, Mumbai must take command of its future. If it neglects to change course, it risks entering the graveyard of failed cities. But if it embraces change, there are few cities better equipped to share in the fruits of the twenty-first century, few places better poised to make an imprint on the world. (Bombay First, 2009, preface)

The vision plan document, although non-statutory and extra-legal, and with ambiguously defined outcomes, was an ideological blueprint for urban change. A new era of speculative presents and futures emerged to save the city from becoming the graveyard of failure, with perilous infrastructure, swarming squalor, inefficient governance, and full of slums that it urgently needed to free itself from.

Since then, the making of world-class has coincided with urban renewal, strain on infrastructure, quality of life, safety concerns, and economic growth as imperatives that have since been constantly revised. For example, in the empirical case of this dissertation, the World Bank-supported (partially loaned and partially

self-funded through resettlement reordering) Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP), in 2002, promised improved quality of life and an efficient rail system. Another empirical case, Mumbai's pipeline project, in 2006, promised a secure city, and safe infrastructures and protecting its *bona fide* citizens against security threats from slum encroachments. Now, the Cities Alliance with the motto Cities Without Slums, in a new partnership with the World Bank, has introduced over 40 initiates to again "transform" the city with "high standard of living for all citizens" (https://www.citiesalliance.org/). The Cities Alliance's Mumbai Transformation Programme notes that Mumbai will be the fourth-most populous city globally by 2030, and requires newer types of urbanization measures to accommodate its increasing population and needs. However, the decades-old issues—of urban poverty, strained infrastructure, and low quality of life—remained at the plan's centre. In a sense, cities like Mumbai have become a new economic-political laboratory for cities' presents and futures (Mbembe, 2016).

These alternative urban presents and speculative futures are built on slum clearances and alternative uses of slum areas. The era has brought new sociopolitical complexities and renewed scholarly/ theoretical anxieties. These urban imaginaries—as market-based, securitized, emergency planning, speculative urban regeneration, or world-class—brought slums to the centre of urban discourses, planning, and governance (Shatkin, 2017; Ghertner, 2014). A growing urban literature with roots in Marxist political economy explains this as a phenomenon of "dispossession" through which slum dwellers are disenfranchised from urban lands for major capital-centric redevelopments (Harvey, 2003; Banerjee-Guha, 2010). These scholars have emphasized the underlying macro-institutional, spatial, and political-economic processes.

However, processes of dispossession are more complex in the specific than as understood in generalizing Marxist literatures. Explanations based on land-based or on rent, or even on the political economies of dispossession, are only partly useful in fully grasping the dynamics of urban change. For example, differential sociopolitics, subjecthood, and subjectivities underlie ongoing macro-institutional capitalist dispossession (Doshi, 2013). Not all urban dispossessions are absolutely capitalist-oriented. Many may have other ideological imperatives, such as security, elite environmentalism, sovereign dominance, or ethnic violence, or lack any clear imperative for alternative use (Baviskar, 2011; Graham, 2011; Weinstein 2013; Appadurai, 2000). Mumbai's slums, clearances, and resettlements also underline numerous exceptional laws and sovereign

intervention (Bhide, 2017). The conceptual rhetoric of the slum, discovering its meaning, and making a gateway to critique dispossessive urban transformation, has been complicated by other advances.

Straightforward logics of dispossession might not explain why people need to be resettled and rehabilitated, and why the state has to be invested in these welfarist and inclusionary paradigms rather than in outright dispossession. In Mumbai, the new Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS), now statutory, replaced the old spates of violent slum eradication. The scheme is a mix of state-led, market-facilitated and NGO-mediated programmes based on a cross-subsidy model, where private developers construct *ex-situ* resettlement townships, provide them to state institutions, apparently for "free" in lieu of development somewhere else (see chapter 2). It is linked with changes in land use, exceptional rehousing plans, discriminatory architecture planning, and NGO mediation, as the state became an "enabler" rather than "provider" of housing (World Bank, 2005). These institutional arrangements and their effects are less understood.

Urban discontent is myriad in nature: to be displaced is to be categorized as an encroacher, but also considered eligible for inclusion in resettlement schemes; subaltern dwellings are demolished, but residents are provided free and formal housing elsewhere. The process encapsulates violence, but also facilitation; dispossession, but also alternative emplacement; illegalization of slum tenements, but also new propertization through formal housing; eviction, but also rehabilitation. The porous spatialities of urban inequality and possibilities in slums are shifting to another urban landscape, of resettlement colonies or townships that require serious investigation to link macro-processes, localized interventions, and textures of human experience (Arabindoo, 2011).

On the one hand, dispossession and the destruction of inner-city habitats are dialectically/institutionally linked with reconstruction of the city, lives, and sociality elsewhere in state-led urban renewal programmes. An important achievement of the scholarship is to theorize redevelopment-linked inclusion through resettlement as a new "hope" for the urban poor (Appadurai, 2002, p. 24). A new biopolitical mediation of the state's investment in making human lives optimal has emerged with technologies of visibility, an apparatus of involvement, and the enumeration and knowability of populations. Unlike outright dispossession, alternative forms of welfarist accommodation, entitlements, and compensation forge a new urban inclusionary agenda for displaced urban populations. This has become a new inclusionary urbanism for the urban poor in

a city with "spectral housing" (Appadurai, 2000). Alternative rehousing has also come to constitute new slum futures as a way to address global and regional targets of poverty alleviation and solve urban housing inequality.[5] These claims, however influential, are simplistic and subject to critique.

On the other hand, it is assumed that population groups are inclined to move to formal, better-quality, socially accepted, and graduated forms of urban living. Mumbai's SRS is seen as a 'neoliberal solution' to city's housing inequality especially when slums are redeveloped *in-situ* (Anand & Rademacher 2011, p. 1769). Discourses of possession, inclusion and possibilities of urban citizenship follow (Roy, 2009a; Doshi, 2013). However, a growing scholarship also views resettlement as a "double-edged" moment for the poor which conjoins violence and eviction with a "tenuous hope of legality and tenure security" (Bhan & Shivanand, 2013, p. 54). Against displacement and evictions, resettlement may be seen as a "gift", "formal", "compensatory", and "graduated" forms of living and of urban citizenship (Rao, 2013, for instance). Eviction and resettlement can, as Roy (2013, p. 495) notes, be seen as dispossession and "patronage".

Beyond inner-city dispossession, empirical studies have expanded the double-edge of resettlements in the Global South (Brier, Spire & Bridonneau, 2021). However, "most academic research in India stops at describing the ideologies and practices that inform urban renewal and slum eviction but rarely pay attention to what happens to the urban poor after they are removed" (Rao, 2010). Overall, post-resettlement or post-dispossession perspectives are less understood (Wang, 2020). What is even more surprising is that these academic discourses do not yet relate to the political economy of resettlement linked to urban renewal and growth, or the materiality of housing conditions that this enables, or even the tremendous complexity of governing populations post-dispossession within urban politics. This is what I turn to in this dissertation.

This dissertation revisits the complex urban renewal that occurs through the involvement of neoliberal states in the management of the dispossessed population in Mumbai. Against the former divide between these two urban sociopolitical realities, this dissertation re-centres urban renewal and dispossessed people on the *redevelopment-resettlement axis*. This is to move beyond the dualistic

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5 These include, but are not limited to, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); the 2001 draft of the National Slum Policy (which was never institutionalized) and its emphasis on reducing urban poverty; and the National Urban Poverty Reduction Strategy which in 2009 promised slum-free cities and towns in India by 2020.

negative/positive attributes related to displacement and emplacement through resettlement, and to connect with the complexity of the emerging sociopolitical realities of state-led policies, housing materiality, and urban and living politics thereafter (see the cover figure). It is also to move beyond a parochial view of dispossession by focusing on the emerging governmental interventions of affected populations. Further, I build on perspectives from below, which are largely missing, to revisit the processes and effects of resettlement and linked politics of urban renewal. The empirical context below locates new challenges of institutional inclusion, urban habitability, housing inequality, legibility of human lives to be protected, and the arts of governing that emerged through dis- and re-possession at the urban margins.

1.1. Empirical context
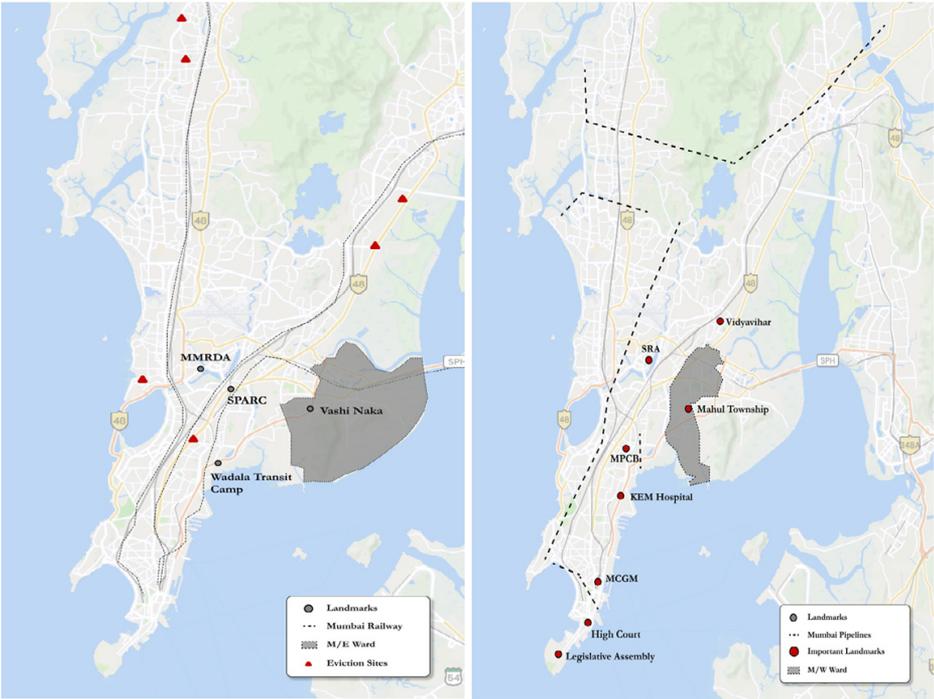
Figure 1. Places of concern for empirical Case 1 and 2
Representational image of places of concern in case 1 and case 2 in Mumbai. These include state and non-state institutions, and eviction and resettlement sites.

This dissertation concerns two mega-projects: the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP; case 1), and Mumbai's pipeline securitization project (case 2). These projects are heterogenous in their stakeholders, slum clearance and resettlement paradigms, and post-resettlement scenarios. However, they are also interlinked with, and complementary to, the city's SRS and urban renewal in Mumbai.

Case 1: In early 2000, an NGO, Citizens for Just Society, introduced public interest litigation (PIL) (see Bhan, 2016, pp. 102-115, for PIL's urban history) arguing that slum "encroachments" across suburban train tracks obstructed the train's speed and citizens' commutes. The Court directed the city's parastatal authority, the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA) to clear the encroachments. Simultaneously, government institutions, corporate lobbyists, elite NGOs, and other urban entities were rooting for making Mumbai a "world-class" city (Bombay First, 2003). The World Bank offered financial support for the infrastructure projects on condition of local administrative and governance reform, land restructuring, and welfare cuts. The Bank, having recently grappled with a contested dam project, required resettlement (see section 2.3). The Bank, alongside state institutions, also came with a resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) plan for MUTP. MUTP is amongst the most significant urban renewal and resettlement projects brought by the World Bank's support and state-led interventions world-wide.

The city's *in-situ* SRS was remodelled for *ex-situ* resettlements through a cross-subsidy model and by altering land uses, architectural controls, amongst other parameters (see sections 2.2, 2.3). The evicted urban poor who could prove eligibility (ratified by documents), by the city's cut-off date for residency (1 January 1995), qualified for *ex-situ* R&R. Unlike the sovereign and largely uncompensated evictions of the past, the project introduced an inclusionary alternative with free formal housing for the displaced. An estimated 300,000–450,000 people were evicted in Mumbai between October 2004 and January 2005, and 200,000 more faced displacement during the first phase of the project (Bhide, 2009). However, numbers vary greatly, and those evicted but not resettled were not even properly enumerated. Over 150,000 people were resettled in Mumbai's M-Ward.

The Bank empanelled an NGO network, Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), a sister organization of the global Shack Dwellers International, to mediate the transport project's resettlements. Globally, such

mediated resettlements were claimed to be formal housing consolidation for the poor. Noted anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (2002, p. 27, reprinted in 2019), who followed the NGO's work, theorized Mumbai's inclusionary urbanism as a case of "deepening democracy" for the otherwise "invisible" urban poor "without a city". There is an archive of literature based on embedded studies, the organization's participatory, people-managed, inclusive, Community formation, and its resettlement interventions and even critiques. However, less understood are empirical explorations of such complex interventions through the processes of eviction, transit camp stays, resettlements, and post-resettlement consequences.

The empirical locus of this dissertation is the NGO-mediated resettlement in Vashi Naka (M-East Ward) for Mumbai's transport projects (see Figure 1 for site and details of concerned places). The area has over 143 buildings, over 11,000 tenements and relocatees from over 120 project sites. Over 25,000 families from the MUTP project live in Vashi Naka. This was once a peripheral and unaccepted resettlement site. During the last two decades, Vashi Naka has appeared explicitly marked a site of "danger" (see field photograph by residents, YUVA, 2014, p. 215), and arguably became a "disaster" as thousands were "forced to the fringes" through promises of graduated urban living (YUVA, 2014). It also became a case of basic human rights violations by the state around adequate housing, human protection, welfare, and wellbeing. The state's apathy was apparent in its wilful and blatant forgetfulness, ambiguities in resettlement governance, and persistent marginalization. The dissatisfied residents became involved in protests for amenities and infrastructure.

The transport project and linked resettlement in Vashi Naka is salient for two reasons. First, the majority of academic work on NGO-mediated resettlement in Mumbai is conducted elsewhere than Vashi Naka, in sites that are geographically better connected to the city. Such formal housing sites have emerged as a new way of graduated, functional, and an alternative form of urban living for the poor. Those townships surfaced in the World Bank's Inspection Panel for violating operational directives on resettlement (Randeria & Grunder, 2011). Vashi Naka was an anomaly, with some scholarly exploration (Bhide, 2017) and NGO reports (YUVA, 2014). Second, Vashi Naka is peripheral. This largely out-of-sight area has faced issues concerning, but not limited to, livelihoods, education, rehabilitation, and institutionalized violence and forgetting. I wondered how this site/case would speak to the officialized narratives of people-led, NGO-mediated, and participatory processes, with emancipatory possibilities of inclusive city-remaking.

Case 2: On 11 July 2006, a series of terrorist bombings in Mumbai's suburban railway network killed hundreds and injured thousands. The city's lifeline, one of the busiest transport systems and carrying over eight million commuters daily, came to a temporary halt. Mumbai was under temporary siege. Rescue and relief operations continued for weeks. Security measures were heightened, and hundreds of suspects were detained. The Bombay Stock Exchange and Sensex plummeted. Terror and insecurity gradually sedimented in the urban body politic.

Weeks later, an NGO committed to urban governance, Jan Hit Manch, raised grievous concern for Mumbai's water-supply infrastructure, its pipeline. The NGO filed a PIL in Mumbai's High Court, arguing that slum encroachments around the pipeline were potential threats to water purity, safety, and security (see Figure 1 for site and details of concerned places). The British-era pipeline brings about 4,000 megalitres of water daily into the city. The Court acknowledged the concerns and perceived threats. This new conflict for hydrological infrastructure situated *jhoppadpattis* as the other of the securitized national urban. In 2009, the Court ruled the city's civic body, the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM), should undertake clearance of over 19,000 encroaching settlements across a 10-metre stretch of the city 100-plus kilometre pipeline, undertake necessary securitization measures, and resettle the eligible poor under the SRS.

Figure 2: A pipeline project site in Mumbai.
An inner-city site with ongoing work in 2021.

The project finally began in 2017 (see project site, Figure 2 above). Following the SRS, the municipal authority resettled over 5,500 families to Mahul, a resettlement township in M-West ward. This township is amongst the biggest of the city's 45 resettlement sites, and M-Ward's 19 resettlement townships, with over 17,000 tenements in its 72 buildings. It is to be used by the city's municipal authority, the MMRDA, and other state agencies, for multiple projects. Located in an industrial zone, the township is 35 metres from the nearest refinery, against the norm of 500 metres (see Figure 3 below). The first refinery in the area was set up by the British East India Company, and later became a state enterprise. In the post-colonial decades (1947 onwards), the state followed this blueprint of siting hazardous industrial developments here.[6] Now, there are three refineries, their numerous storage and processing installations, and 17 other corporate petrochemical processing plants.[7] The refineries store over 200 million litres of petroleum and related products. At least 21 types of volatile organic compounds (VOCs) and other toxins remains either unrecorded or beyond permissible national and international limits. On the other side of the township is an ecologically sensitive zone and the Arabian Sea.

An environmental research institute found that VOCs including nickel, benzopyrene, benzene, xylene, diethyl-benzene, and styrene, were at much higher than tolerable national and international limits (National Green Tribunal, 2015). Many toxins are undiscovered or unassessed. As I found through documents, while chloroform is present in the air, its source is "unknown". Another document mentions traces of toluene diisocyanate which is stored here and is used to manufacture polyurethane. This chemical is akin to methyl isocyanate that led to the Bhopal gas tragedy in 1986. Thus, Mahul appears as a place of postcolonial toxicity and a racialized geography. Some state environmental agencies have declared it "unfit" (NGT, 2015); others claim it "habitable" (NEERI, 2017). It is a classic case of contested urban (un)inhabitability (Simone, 2016).

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[6] My uses of post-colonial denotes a chronological, and of postcolonial a theoretical reference to the continuation of colonial modes of power of neoliberal capitalism and governmentality.

7 The industries include, amongst others, Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited, Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Limited, Tata Power, Rastriya Chemical Fertilizers, Sea Lord Containers, Aegis Logistics, Indian Oil, Natural Oil Blending Limited, and Chemical Terminal Trombay Limited.

Figure 3: Un/inhabitable housing and living
Mahul and its surroundings, seen from one of the buildings in the township in 2022.

The resettled families either faced violent bulldozing before almost unconditional resettlement, or moved here voluntarily with little information about the surrounding areas and their pollution and toxicity. They dubbed the resettlement area *varanvashan*, or life-threatening. Many complained about the township's compromising form, its claustrophobic tenements, and dysfunctional infrastructure. The *punarvash* (resettlement) became a nightmare for many. At a cursory glance, Figure 4 shows a wall with paint chipped off, perhaps from poor construction or maintenance. This is a convincing explanation, but the embedded narrative tells a different story.

Figure 4: Weight of resettlement
Chipped paint on the wall of Lata's tenement in Mahul township.

The photograph is from Lata's tenement. Lata was relocated to Mahul in mid-2017.[8] Her parents died of complications within six months of their arrival. She suffers from oedema, and pulmonary and cardiological complications, and was under medication when I met her. Though in her mid-thirties, she was emaciated, showing signs of physical exhaustion and looked older than her age. She had lost her job as a technical assistant, and had to use her paltry savings and sell the family's jewellery for medical and emergency expenses. She pawned all household items of economic value. When these measures proved insufficient, she began losing hope. The wrought-iron cot placed against the wall was her dwelling place for many weeks in 2018. In the toxic environment of her third-floor poorly lit and ventilated tenement, she was almost immobile and helpless for weeks. Rekha and Mahesh, other relocatees, came to her rescue and attended to her urgent medical needs. When I visited her in 2019, along with Mahesh, she told us that she had scratched at the walls in sheer hopelessness, helplessness, and frustration. People are "dying here", she said. Her health stabilized in 2022, but she continues to bear the burden of urban renewal, as she awaits alternative resettlement.

Lata's story is not exceptional. Over 300 unnatural deaths (disease-linked, with or without proper medical records) have occurred here. Thousands have suffered from disease, economic hardship, and endangerment from unforeseen industrial accidents. Mahul was a "hell hole", an "absolute hell", a "toxic outpost", as was reported in *The Guardian* (Changiowala, 2018), environmental and politics reports (Chandrasekhar, 2020), and a global ethnographic project, the Asthma Files (https://theasthmafiles.org/).

Of course, these deadly consequences were not a univocal reality. Many residents found their formal tenements better than their precarious dwellings close to sewers or near pavements. Others had bribed the authorities to get included in the relocation scheme and had no comments to share with me. For many, pollution and toxicity were limited to sensory (*gandh*, *bash*) and physiological experiences (skin allergy, shortness of breath). For others, free and formal housing, in a city with housing shortages, had its benefits, compared to the limited alternatives.

With social and physiological suffering, however, mass mobilization brought a new urban politics in 2018. The relocated poor organized into an organization they called Mahul Prakalpgrast Samiti to seek alternative resettlement from the

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8 All names are changed.

government. Ground-level resistance and judicial and political negotiations followed for over four years, with support of urban organizing by Ghar Bachao Ghar Banao Andolon (GBGBA), a grassroots organization that has resisted exclusionary capitalist urban redevelopments since the 2000s (see sections 2.2, 2.3). The state institutions first rejected the residents' demands for re-resettlement, and later offered a sub-colony in Vashi Naka (case 1). Many refused. To date, the ongoing negotiation have yielded over 800 tenements for re-resettlement. Others wait for an alternative while living, contesting, and adapting to toxicity and everyday precarity. The pipeline project is partially stalled for lack of a resettlement alternative.

This case is of research interest for two reasons: the typology and complexity of urban renewal project, and the particularity of resettlement and post-resettlement sociopolitics. It is state-led, city-scale, for securitization and not entirely economic or market-led (versus gentrification). Ongoing for almost two decades, this case is linked to displacement (and how it makes populations disposable), structured through macro-institutional political economic rationalities but implemented locally, and entrenched within urban institutions and bureaucracy (judiciary, municipal authority and others). The project builds on the international model of R&R (World Bank with state institutions), direct state-led intervention (without NGO involvement), illegalization of the urban poor (versus *bona fide* citizens), alternative management through formal rehousing, and the life-threatening consequences of resettlement (protest, NGO-mediation, judicialization, negotiation and ongoing re-resettlements). These two empirical cases expose less-understood facets of urban renewal, their governance and unfolding sociopolitical consequences.

1.2. Research concern

There is a general tendency in global urbanism and its forces to incorporate more and more of the city and city lives into neoliberal logics of restructuration through accumulative and dispossessive processes (Harvey, 2003; Rossi, 2013a, 2013b). These processes have been largely counterproductive for marginalized urban populations living in precarious housing, like in slums areas that have been targeted for alternative used by state and market-led agendas. Macro-institutional processes, although contested, have been covered well in scholarly debates, but the

sociopolitical and human consequences are less well understood, both in cities of the Global North (Baeten et al., 2020), and especially in the Global South where these processes are ongoing, violent, and complex (Weinstein, 2013). Particularly in the Global South, new urban governing technologies coincide with unfolding processes and effects of neoliberal dispossession, for example through facilitating resettlements. While urban dispossessions are generally linked with the displacement side of urban renewal and welfarism, inclusion, compensation and patronage politics are related to the latter. Urban populations who are often seen as "surplus" are managed through rehousing, inclusion, and interventions to reorder lives (Doshi, 2018).

As highlighted earlier, both these trends in the scholarship are limiting and need revisiting in the context of Mumbai's urban renewal and uneven governance of dispossessed populations. Briefly, on the evidence of the empirical cases, the issues of state-led or NGO-mediated inclusion, and the governance of populations, habitats, and geographies after dispossession, and the emerging urban politics affecting renewal and resettlement governance are less understood. While these interventions promised to optimize human lives, creation, rationality and subjection of apparently life-threatening interventions are pertinent lines of enquiry, influenced by Foucauldian (1978) "biopolitics" or "making live". Further, the complexities of urban change through macro-institutional orders of dispossession, unfolding (in)human consequences through state-market-led inclusionary interventions, and alternative biopolitics concerning urban housing and living, are poorly understood.

This dissertation aims to contribute to the otherwise limited but growing tradition of empirical studies in the ways the processes of dispossession, re/possession, and entitlement—or *dispossessive inclusion*—shape urban politics and its human consequences. It analyses the sociopolitics of key institutional actors, both state and nonstate, and the processes involved in urban renewal and resettlement that aim to bring urban change. It also aims to explore how the state apparatus and a multitude of other actors balance benevolence and malevolence, but always within a governmentality approach that strives to make the dispossessed and marginalized as population: inclusion processes that does not necessarily (and usually does not) include citizens or rights perspectives. Thus, the overarching aim of this dissertation is to *explore the ways urban redevelopment regimes shape the resettlement and governance of urban populations in Mumbai.*

This dissertation poses three interconnected research questions:

1. What constitutes dis/possession in resettlements linked to urban redevelopment? (Articles I, II, III, IV)
2. In what ways do urban redevelopment regimes shape the politics of the informal/resettled/ of the poor through resettlement? (Articles I, II, III, IV)
3. How do situations pre- or post- resettlement affect urban redevelopment outcomes and resettlement governance? (Articles II, III, IV)

The first research question guides enquiries into dis/possession through slum clearances and resettlement for urban redevelopment (cases 1, 2). Empirical investigations into dispossession are presently limited and must relate both to capitalist and market-oriented political economies of land-based articulation, as well as to but dispossessions under other ideological regimes like that of urban security in case 2 (see comparison, Yiftachel, 2020). Beyond land-based political economies, my critical engagement also relates to uneven political rationalities, subjecthood, and subjectivities that populations acquire while interfacing with actors invested in renewal (Doshi, 2013). I traverse an unexplored terrain, where new urban dispossessive extraction from resettlements construction makes a compromising materiality of housing and supports urban growth (see chapter 2). I take my investigation of urban dispossession into rehousing which is approached as a space of welfare and compensation, and which creates new political rationalities, subjecthood, subjectivities, and political and social alternatives. In exploring this research question, I move beyond the statist-geographical approaches to dispossession through "dispositifs" of heterogenous institutions, actors, policies, their constituents, and relations that shape material outcomes, political subjectivities, and human consequences (Rossi, 2013a, 2013b).

The second research question concerns how urban renewal continuously shapes the politics of the poor (cases 1, 2). The question arises within the symbolic "losing of struggle for recognition", which might be called the "worst form of dispossession", as a new "politics of the poor" is shaped through the "policing and paternalistic interventions" of global actors, state institutions, and non-state institutions (i.e. NGOs) (Das & Randeria, 2015, p. S4). Here, I do not argue that the politics of the poor is informal, but seek to situate the juncture in which this politics mostly arises within informal sociopolitical contexts. These contexts relate

to slum areas and encroachments, that are simultaneously formalized and informalized through state interventions and various governing imperatives. It aims to unpack the politics of NGO-mediated inclusion or violent state-led slum clearances; the new collective-based government of resettlement; and an emerging politics in life-threatening rehousing that extends beyond policing and paternalism. Overall, this question revisits emergent forms of urban governmentalities (Chatterjee, 2004; Appadurai, 2002).

The third research question relates to ways resettlement contexts affect urban renewal and reshape resettlement governance (case 2). It locates the ways post-dispossession contexts, resettlement living, life-threatening consequences, and their politization reshape urban renewal while (dis)allowing new possibilities of governing population subjected to biological degradation. The question is situated in a post-social movement milieu (cf. Tilly, 2003) and locates how complementariness and conflicts within state institutions, their mandates, and their simultaneous engagements with renewal, resettlement, and urban governance, create the discursive conditions and possibilities for certain adaptations and changes (Bayat, 2013; Bertelsen, 2009).

This dissertation is based on an ambitious theoretical discussion, its adaptations, and critiques within postcolonial urban contexts. The theoretical underpinnings include Neil Smith's (2002, 2008, 1996) gentrification thesis, and its critique in the light of "accumulation" and "dispossession" by David Harvey (2003), and reinterpreted in postcolonial and Southern contexts by Asher Ghertner (2014, 2015b), with some resemblance to the urbanization of warfare-led dispossession by Stephen Graham (2011) and Graham and Marvin (2002). I stretch the discussion on accumulation and dispossession apparatus further through an abductive rereading of Achille Mbembe's (2003) critique of Foucauldian biopolitics through his notion of "necropolitics", and its melding with urban political-economic, geographical and subjective registers. On the other hand, and concerning governmental investment in dispossession and management of population through and post-dispossession, I base the analytical focus largely on the Foucauldian literature on urban governmentalities and its critique by Partha Chatterjee (2004), Arjun Appadurai (2002), Achille Mbembe (2003), and Akhil Gupta (2012). I merge these two sides of urban processes and their human consequences by adapting Kalyan Sanyal's (2007) framework of "development as governmentality" in redevelopment contexts.

Methodologically, this dissertation is based on ethnographical exploration of two mega-urban transformation projects in Mumbai: a transport and a pipeline project. My use of ethnography as a method is an entry-point into the broader constituents of macro-structural and institutional processes, and their sociopolitical and human consequences on the ground. I use ethnography as a tool to draw insights for a critique of capitalist urban redevelopment and re-forming states. I began this with an "open" research design (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019), which I adjusted as field realities unfolded.

My fieldwork began with transport project's resettlement site, in Vashi Naka township (M-East ward), which shifted to the pipeline project's resettlement site in Mahul township (M-West ward) (see Figure 1 for details of sites). It extended further to pipeline eviction sites, a protest site near the pipeline, and many other urban and institutional sites of concern, and then back to the resettlement township, with some interconnections with state institutions and the sociopolitical dynamics across the years of fieldwork. Empirical material was collected through conversational methods, observations, and official and unofficial documents. The analysis followed distinct pathways connecting the theoretical paradigms and melding them with emic perspectives, or going beyond established paradigms through inductive analysis invoking some new insights from the empirical materials (see section 5.4). Below, I briefly describe the four journal articles and their relation with the research questions, followed by a discussion of the academic contribution of this dissertation.

Article I, titled "Civilizing the Political Society: Redevelopment regime and urban poor's rights in Mumbai", is concerned with case 1. It empirically explores the NGO-mediated relocation, resettlement and rehabilitation of the urban poor from the inner city to a peripheral rehousing site. It contributes to discussions on sociopolitical interfaces of inner-city dispossession and housing possession (question 1); and the ways relations between state institutions, NGOs and the poor transform through co-option and negotiation (question 2); and how formal housing shapes claim-making in collective-led, political, and institutional ways (question 3). This article builds on NGO-led governmentality to show the formation of the subjecthood of the urban poor, and the subjectivities and complicated trajectories of marginality and new ways of claim negotiation.

Article II, titled "New water wars? Mumbai's infrastructural renewals, urban governance and splintering futures" builds upon case 2. It empirically explores the urban infrastructure securitization project through differential slum clearances

and (im)possibilities of alternative resettlements. It shows how official discourses of illegality shape the need, conditions, and materiality of displacement and lead to uneven dispossessions (question 1); how within unifying official claims of slum clearance-based renewal lie antagonisms, occupancy politics, and plural legal interventions in governing urban informal politics (question 2); and the ways standardized resettlement logics are contested and affects the renewal regime (question 3). This article builds on the idea of *Splintering Urbanism* (Graham & Marvin, 2002) from a governmentality lens to invoke situated meaning of ideal urban infrastructures and its relations with the management of urban land and populations. Overall, Article II uncovers the layers of authority and practice of the regime that substantialize human realities and materialities.

Article III, titled "Necrosettlements: Life-threatening housing, necropolitics and the poor's deadly living in Mumbai", also concerns case 2. It investigates state-market-led life-threatening housing developments and the implementation of resettlement. It brings a unique perspective on accumulation and dispossession through urban resettlement, the formation of materiality and linked subjectivities (question 1); how subjection to such banishments within inclusion limit possibilities of negotiation (question 2); and the ways this subjection reconfigures narratives influencing renewal politics and alternative politics of life (question 3). The article builds on Mbembe's (2003) necropolitics, or the state's right to limit life or allow death, to explain an emic perspective of *maranvashan* (life-threatening) housing situations. Article III demonstrates an alternative dispossessive/extractive-inclusive dimension of urban redevelopment regimes that connects with urban growth, with detrimental outcomes for resettled populations.

Article IV, titled "Sent to die'? Urban resettlement, preventable deaths and the possibilities of care in an Indian metropolis" builds on case 2 to critique the arbitrariness of urban bureaucracy in dealing with preventive forms of deaths from life-threatening resettlements. The article locates subjective dimensions and bureaucracy as a site of governing dispossession and (un)making of optimal living (question 1); the ways a new informal politics arises through the meticulous use of social and physiological registers to resist, judicialize, and negotiate biopolitical demands (question 2); and traces if and how the deadly consequences of governing the displaced affect ongoing renewal and make resettlement governance just and fair (question 3). Article IV builds on Gupta's (2012) notion of "thanatopolitics", the bureaucratic capacity to perpetuate preventable deaths, to examine the state's

contradictory governance of dispossession, and possibilities of alternative biopolitics against life-threatening subjections.

1.3. Academic contribution

This dissertation contributes to empirically-derived knowledge on capitalist urban transformation and government of people in housing poverty.[9] It does so through an investigation of the politics of urban redevelopments-linked slum resettlements in Mumbai. My aim is to respond and contribute to the emerging critique of Eurocentrism in academic scholarship by investigating an actually happening neoliberalism from elsewheres than the dominant Global North (cf. Brenner & Theodore, 2002). *Elsewheres* denotes three epistemological paradigms: a critique of Eurocentric theorizing; non-Euro-American sociopolitical contexts; and, the social margins of those geographies. This call is pertinent, as while the Global North has been the laboratory of theoretical production, the Global South, like other planetary geographies, has been conceived as places of "ethnography" and "testing theories" (Mbembe, 2016, p. 214). The gradual separation of theory with rising empiricism has imposed new limits to human reasoning and critique, and require us to rethink "the state of theory" of our time (Mbembe, 2016, p. 213). Critical academic scholarships are responding to these trends by situating knowledges from different geographies (Asia, Africa, Latin America) by historicizing the past, documenting the present, and even speculating about social futures.

    This call is vital for social work. The origin of social work in India has roots in colonial industrial capitalism and the social problems this caused in cities like Mumbai during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Since then, the developmental state, changing welfarism, deepening neoliberalism and global governance (through the post-colonial dominance of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the SAPs they prescribe, etc.) have affected the social, its knowledge, and their work. Once considered a child of the state, the

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[9] I highlight the contributions in introduction for four reasons: first, the kappa presents an extensive theoretical and methodological discussion; second, this section realties social science research to social work perspectives; third, discussing these contributions vis-à-vis the research questions provides a way into the upcoming chapters; fourth, some journal articles are under review and are not yet publicly available.

field is not fully professionalized and responsibility is reshaped, unevenly redistributed, and even forgotten across shrinking capacities. Social work engages with ongoing exclusions through political, legal, institutional, or open settings. It is a classic case of post-colonial academic knowledge systems lacking absolute boundaries in academic knowledge production vis-à-vis their Northern counterparts, while managing historically rooted issues within constantly changing polities and societies. These sociopolitical complexities might be some of the reasons why social work in India has a transdisciplinary focus.[10] I therefore advocate for decolonizing pedagogical and institutional boundaries (vis-à-vis Eurocentric knowledge systems, and methodological or empirical boundedness) and being receptive towards field realities.

Arguably, colonial capitalism has transmuted into post-colonial urban capitalist and governing orders. Old settlements and poverty areas (recall Jane Addams and the settlement movement) have been reshaped into slum and resettlement dwellings, bringing issues of housing, inequality, living conditions, of life and their intersectional amalgamations. Social work aims to promote "change and development, empowerment and liberation of people" (IFSW, 2014). It focuses, *inter alia*, on the "marginalized, socially excluded, *dispossessed groups*", challenges inequalities, mobilizes groups, policies and programmes for rights, and engages with social and political action for equitable developments (see Alphonse et al., 2008, p. 148). Marxist and rights- or power-based analyses have been central to understanding the social problems and consequences.

I take urban dispossession and the government of poverty as entry points into capitalist urban redevelopment. I align with poststructuralist and postcolonial social work and social science research to explore how certain powers are invested into sociopolitical domination and urban marginalities, and the ways they shape alternative possibilities. For example, unlike in cities of the Global North, where social housing has emerged as a welfare agenda (Knutagård, 2018), such a feat in Southern cities is state-led but market-mediated, and at times intertwined with urban renewal which creates housing as a product, and the government of populations as a result. Issues of informality and illegalities, the variegated lives of laws, a new inclusive agenda under neoliberalism, institutional and sociopolitical processes, further complicate the situation. Certainly, traditional social work

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10 An interested reader may wish to look into the development and debates about pedagogy, fieldwork, and research orientation of the many social work programmes at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India, a pioneering institute in South Asia.

perspectives might not reach far enough, requiring a combination of theoretical traditions across disciplines, especially, on the constituents of urban redevelopment, biopolitics, and governmentalities. In a sense, this dissertation re-approaches the shared genealogies of the academic disciplines of social work, human geography, and urban sociology, and their methods in relation to urban crises (Srinivas & Panini, 1973). It also brings new perspectives for the social work to come (see section 6.3).

The first contribution of this dissertation relates to scholarly discussions on state-led urban renewal that aims to make ideal infrastructures for the *bona fide* urban population (≈citizens) and the city: a form of Graham and Marvin's (2002) *Splintering Urbanism*. Revisiting this Euro-American conceptualization through Mumbai's pipeline case, I show that rather than entirely capitalist ways of distributing infrastructural resources, certain security imperatives for the national urban also unleash splintering. The making of urban infrastructures is conditional on the postcolonial governance of land and urban informality (meaning slum areas, the poor) that underlies such possibilities. However, strict planning norms are replaced by an unruly sovereign intervention, economic ways of managing the urban, and the constantly changing nature of planning, thus creating new ideals and their brutal effects of displacement. This contribution expands the debate on the cosmopolitan analysis thesis (Kooy & Bakker, 2008), and a renewed interest in infrastructural inequalities and its present and future trajectories (Wiig et al., 2022). These interventions are interlinked with management of the evicted poor through resettlements.

The second contribution relates to urban housing inequality. Academic scholarship has approached formal resettlement housing through welfarist, inclusionary and facilitative pathways, against outright dispossession from urban land, slum dwelling, and their precarious right to stay. I take dispossession seriously within resettlement developments, and follow the emic perspective of some resettled people of the *maranvashan* or life-threatening. I meld subjective experiences of material reality to urban renewal linked to housing policy, and locate a novel political economy that extracts economic surplus from resettlement developments. In doing so, I build on Mbembe's (2003) idea of "necropolitics" to conceptualize certain life-threatening housing as *necrosettlements* (see Article III). This stretches urban dispossession from the sociopolitical and subjective registers, from inner-city displacement to a dialectical link with resettlement for urban growth through the (im)possibility of rehabilitation for the resettled

population. The contribution expands the theorization of postcolonial state powers under neoliberalism, and connects with similar urban poverty contexts (Ortega, 2020).

The third contribution relates to the emerging scholarly critique of state bureaucracy in managing lives in poverty through welfare and protection. I revisit Akhil Gupta's (2012) argument in *Red Tape* of a "thanatopolitics" (Gupta, 2012) through how the pluri-centric and bureaucratic Indian state unleashes and unsees deadly circumstances through the *government of urban poverty*. I show that a systemic perpetuation of preventable deaths is an emerging condition in contemporary urbanism. Urban informality is an important domain that creates ambiguous, and at times selective, conditions of inclusion and exclusion within national and urban sovereignty and democratic politics on one hand, and project interventions on the other. These two conditions separately create conditions in which certain marginal lives are uncared for, albeit within outright inclusion. Importantly, the analytical discussion expands the ways such arbitrary circumstances are re-politicized, bringing new biopolitics of life. This is a salient contribution to ethnographic studies of states (Fuller & Benei, 2009) and their engagement with conditions after dispossession, the changing dimensions of politics of life, and habitability at urban margins.

The fourth contribution relates to discussion on Community organization and Community-led governance. Critiques of the concept see the Community as a space where government is established (Rose, 1999). However, with deepening neoliberalism, shrinking state welfarism, and worsening inequalities, global financial and governing institutions, in lien with states, have been invested in the formation of the urban poor as Communities: as apparently social entities, seeking welfare, inclusion, uplift, and change. Such provocations are helpful but are constantly faced with diverse ground realities. The rolling out of policies serve state power and introduce hope for people at the other end of the spectrum. Communities are constantly formed, re-formed, ruptured, fragmented, popularized, peripheralized, and forgotten through these interventions (also, Bertelsen, 2016). New forms of marginality are produced within institutionalized inclusion through Community practice. It is within these discourse that the critical perspective of urban governmentality arises and population groups are subjected to multiple powers, however, this subjection yields ambiguous results without making good on the promises guiding those interventions. "Government through community" (Rose, 1999, pp. 32, 176; Rose, 2006, p. 333) is an

unavoidable facet of policy and academic scholarship, however, the outcome rarely mirrors the imagined plan.

Putting these first, second, and third contributions together, we enter a critical debate over the purpose, process, and effect of certain urban-social policies that require alternative governing of displaceable populations and their un/re/housing. Three contexts are important here: first, the state project of making ideal urban infrastructures; second, the illegality of urban poverty; and third, life-threatening urban resettlements. From the empirical findings and analytical discussion (see Articles II, III, IV) we see that state-market projects bring violent and destructive imperatives to make the project somewhat successful. However, uneven, unplanned, and antithetical sociopolitical and human consequences complicate planning ideals. The projects remain incomplete and inconsistent in their goals, interventions, and outcomes. Thus certain state interventions continue to fail to bring desired consequences (Scott, 1998), but bring uncertain benefits, a coloniality of powers, and arbitrary consequences.

Building on the dissertation's four contributions through analytical abduction, I revisit the framework of "development as governmentality" as theorized by noted postcolonial theorist Kalyan Sanyal (2007). The framework is useful to investigate the ways the state engages with populations dispossessed from developmental projects through new welfare projects and in the management of optimal human living and lives (Foucault, 1978).

This dissertation contributes to this framework by offering a revised perspective on the political economy of urban redevelopment and its relation with urban resettlement and post-dispossession governmentalities. First, urban redevelopment unleashes "necropolitical" (Mbembe, 2003) dispossession *through* and in the backdrop of welfarist and inclusionary expansion (of formal housing). The emergence of poverty management as a vehicle of dispossession or extraction, and a manifestation of a complex conglomeration of sovereign and bio-necro-powers in managing human lives, are new additions to the framework. Second, bureaucratic governmentality perpetuates preventable deaths despite overtly wilful interventions (Gupta, 2012). Stretching further from the labyrinthine impasse of postcolonial bureaucracy, I alternatively suggest retheorizing generative politics that might potentially address the dominance of life-limiting conditions or invoke new biopolitics (Esposito, 2011).

The final contribution relates to methodologies on areas of urban poverty. Traditional ethnographic methods for studying marginalized places and

populations have heavily relied on hanging out, first-hand observations, and friendly conservation. I build on methods to capture the slow forms of violence that have been used in toxic environments (Nixon, 2011; Davies, 2018). Adapting "slow observation" (Davies, 2018) in urban settlement contexts, I followed my interlocuters' ways of associating with and dissociating from their situated realities (biosphere, air, water), circumstances (pollution and toxicity) and their effects in topographies of settlements and explored through diurnal rhythms and discontinuities. Second, "walking" (McFarlane, 2021, pp. 173-211; De Certeau, 1984) as a tool of observant participation is helpful in capturing respondents' first-hand experiences and observations of their surrounding, rather than relying heavily on what *we* researchers see in *their* surrounding. Third, and finally, the ethnographic pursuit is used to revisit established concepts through empirical and analytical reflections. This is to stretch the fieldwork and empirical investigations towards "new ways of thinking" (Fortun, 212, p. 452) that might help us grasp complex realities. These three ethnographic tools are generative in engaging with the urban sociopolitical realities emerging in out-of-sight locations, and disentangling the violent consequences that occur under the veneer of a benevolent imaginary.

With these salient contributions, I turn to my overall findings around the research questions as discussed in chapter 6 and briefly summarized here. Responding to the first research question, I locate an uneven conglomeration of state institutions, and market logics with varied sociopolitical and human consequences. The various dispositifs involved in urban renewal and resettlement are a land-based articulation of urban change through judicial, administrative, urban land, and governance paradigms, with synergistic or antagonistic effects enacting or disallowing urban renewal. Further, resettlement development emerges as a site of complex dispossession that enables urban growth. The dispositifs of planning, architectural, environmental, and settlement regulations shape the materiality of resettlements with variegated effects on the government of dis-re-possessed populations. People's interfaces with institutional actors, the materialities of resettlement housing, and emergent politics of negotiation or, abandonment re/shape urban dis/re/possessions and connected uneven subjectivities.

Responding to the second research question, I show that the eligible urban poor and their collectives are included in state programmes, either through mediation by governmentalized NGOs or direct, violent, and repressive state-led interventions.

The promises and hopes of formality and housing-based urban citizenship ideals yield only partial results. There is a resurgence of the informalization of the state institutions and the poor's politics in after dispossession or resettlement, and new sociopolitical intermediaries tend to re-link the formal state and lived realities at the urban margins. A new politics of the poor, demanding life-allowing conditions, is informalized through the new need for legibility (within outright inclusion), bureaucratic uncertainty, the intermediary (another grassroot organization), and the capacity of the poor to negotiate using various tools towards politicization and dealing with looming efforts at depoliticization. Overall, the informal politics of the poor remain a discursive site of post-dispossession politics with possible consequences for the city.

Finally, responding to the third research question, I show that resettlement scenarios have limited effects on urban renewal politics and resettlement governance. The judicialization and politicization of the state's complicity in life-threatening urban consequences from post-dispossessive contexts sets an urban precedent. Despite the exposed and legally ratified illegitimacy of the state in allowing preventable deaths and generalized vulnerability, its actions remain arbitrary, and informalized through outsourcing responsibilities of action to non-state mediation (grassroots NGO) and the collectives of the poor, when exposed and established from below. Against the backdrop of legal action required to save and allow proper human living, alternative actions are further informalized through a mix of vocabularies that speak of exceptional human need and humanistic ethics. It is a way to depoliticize extreme urban marginality. Nevertheless, state (in)capacity to govern the dispossessed also created a dialectic impasse in which the urban renewal project could not be furthered. The politics of the resettled, and the reordering of the regime, are ongoing.

1.4. Disposition

The dissertation consists of a Kappa (a comprehensive thesis summary) and four research articles. The Kappa is in six chapters.

CHAPTER ONE is the current chapter. It introduces the dissertation within major debates and its salience within it. Section 1.1 provides the empirical contexts and presents the two empirical cases under investigation in this dissertation. Section 1.2 presents the research concern, three encompassing

research questions and a brief note on theory, method and explorations of the four journal articles. Section 1.3 presents some salient academic contributions from the four individual studies and a summary of discussion vis-à-vis the research questions. Section 1.4 is disposition.

CHAPTER TWO presents Mumbai's slum and resettlements from the 1950s onward, and contextualizes the empirical cases. It is presented in three sections. Section 2.1 covers the genesis of the slum as a post-colonial problem, and the ways state institutions and interventions have dealt with it. It broadly covers discussions on slum eradication and slum improvements through which urban housing poverty were governed. Section 2.2 locates the slum question as a redevelopment problem at the interstices of neoliberal urbanism, local political, economic, and social transformation. It shows how urban housing poverty enmeshed with urban renewal and world-class city-making, and provision of formal rehousing for the evicted poor. Section 2.3 re-interprets the city's SRS policy in line with the research questions and details its micro-political economy, materiality, governance, and human consequences.

CHAPTER THREE is a review of the research. Section 3.1 discusses research on sociopolitical processes and the effects of urban dispossession through slum clearances; new state-led or NGO-mediated inclusionary urban dis/possession; and resistance and negotiation around dis/possession. Section 3.2 focuses on post-dispossession circumstances of resettlement, through a critique of resettlements as an improvement; the government of resettlement and unfolding experiences; and ambiguous resettlement outcomes. These two sections also engage with theoretical and methodological insights pertinent to this analysis. Finally, Section 3.3 situates the dissertation's themes vis-à-vis the prior research fields as a way forward.

CHAPTER FOUR lays out the theoretical framework. The chapter is written in abductive fashion, and consists of five parts. Section 4.1 presents the salient tenets of Sanyal's original framework of development as governmentality, its adaptation in urban renewal and governing displaced populations, its critique and a retheorization based on the dissertation's empirical analyses. Section 4.2 contextualizes urban redevelopments as forms of dis/re/possessive governmentality, departing from Marx, Smith and Foucault and Mbembe adjusted to an urban context. Section 4.3 presents perspectives of dis/possessions from the empirical cases and discusses aspects of dispossession (spatialities, ontologies and materialities), and supplements the original framework. Section

4.4 delineates the two instructive urban governmentalities for slum clearance-based dispossession and inclusion through resettlement. Section 4.5 locates emerging post-dispossessive governmentalities and biopolitics.

CHAPTER FIVE is the methods chapter. Section 5.1 introduces and addresses the critique of ethnographic methods in poststructuralist analytics of power and government, and its adaptation for urban renewal and resettlement studies. Section 5.2 narrates some epistemological and field entries. Section 5.3 discusses the empirical material collected through conversations, observations, and official and unofficial documents. Section 5.4 discusses analytical pathways—theoretical and methodological—for the journal articles in line with the dissertation's research objectives. Finally, Section 5.5 elaborates on certain ethical challenges, adaptations and limitations.

CHAPTER SIX presents conclusions and a summative discussion. Section 6.1 summarizes the four empirical studies in the form of journal articles. Section 6.2 addresses the research questions of this dissertation through the analytical findings, presented in three subsections: first, of redevelopmental dis/possessions; second, on the politics of the resettled; and third, restructuring urban renewal regimes. The section ends with concluding remarks. Section 6.3 returns to inspirations for social work to come. Section 6.4 reflects on the slum and urban futures in Mumbai.

2. Mumbai's slums and rehabilitation context

Chapter 2 outlines Mumbai's slum and resettlement scenario from the 1950s onward, and locates the empirical cases of this dissertation in context. It covers two major phases: first, the post-colonial slum question, and, second the neoliberal slum resettlements from the 1990s until now. Against the background of the dense literature on Mumbai's transformation, whose full review is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I focus on themes pertinent to my enquiries. In section 2.1, I briefly discuss Mumbai's post-colonial slum question through how laws, policies, and state interventions have dealt with it, broadly through negation or limited improvement efforts. In section 2.2, I explore how the problem of slum transformation emerged at the interstices of forces of globalization, right-wing Hindu nationalism, local ethno-nationalist revival, and neoliberal capitalist urban restructuration, in what became a slum "resettlement" and "rehabilitation" problem to be dealt through urban redevelopment regimes. In section 2.3, I provide a re-interpretation of the city's SRS, in line with the research questions and their empirical contexts. Here, I locate certain salient – and exceptional – features of the SRS policy and planning that interconnect with urban redevelopment. The section also briefly contextualizes the micro-political economies, land use, and architectural factors of resettlement townships, as well as new forms of governance, their implementation in the city's resettlement geographies and their unfolding human effects.

2.1. Post-colonial slum question

Slum R&R in Mumbai today represents a paradigm shift from earlier interventions in the complicated history of post-colonial developmental and

governance challenges (1947 onwards). The slum question from the post-colonial period to the advent of neoliberal urbanism could be understood through phases of *negation* (1950s–1960s) or clearance; through *tolerance* (1970s), with facilitation of essential services; to *acceptance* (1980s) through slum resettlements (Bhide, 2009).[11] Now, slums are broadly seen as objects or categories of redevelopment: as areas that could be used differently, for state-market purposes. Slum resettlement also aims to provide safe and formal housing to the poor in a city with stark housing inequality. Nevertheless, the post-colonial trajectory suggests a complex history of sovereign rule, struggles, and negotiation for what became as SRS policy. This policy is now a law, and *the* modus operandi for providing alternative or formal housing for the slum dwellers in Mumbai.

The city authorities have grappled with the urban development and governance paradox since at least the post-colonial years. The "plight" of the central districts (congestion), the "blight" of the residential areas (crumbling infrastructures), and the "flight" of urban elites (contrasted with the sprawl of slum areas), were concerns of urban planning and governance (Government of Bombay, 1946, p. 155). State institutions required an "antidote" to solve urban issues. The measures involved planning for inner-city decongestion, inhibiting the sprawl of undesirable industries and populations and providing infrastructure in the inner city (Jha & Jha, 2022). Policy imperatives required the relocation of industries, especially heavy and polluting ones, to the urban periphery (to places like M-East and West wards) and peripheral expansion (Government of Bombay, 1946, p. 155). Indirectly, through industrial relocation, certain population groups were also forced to move along with those industries. Similar trends were seen in managing the question of unauthorized slums (Patel, 1996).

The slum question broadly emerged as a legal category of rule. The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act (of 1956) defined slums as:

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11 A discussion on colonial slums, and governance is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For example, Indorewala (2018a, 2018b) traces how slums evolved as an environmental question that needed improvements during British colonial rule and how imperatives of improvements allowed the colonial state to conduct slum evictions on the name of improvement through the Bombay Improvement Trust (BCIT). These programmes demolished more tenements than they created for the city's housing-poor. Chhabria (2019) notes certain resemblances across colonial and post-colonial ways of dealing with the slum question. This is not to say that negation, tolerance, and acceptance of slum areas and dwelling do not mutually coexist now.

areas where buildings (a) are in any respect unfit for human habitation; (b) are by dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements 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 morale.

The Act facilitated a city-scale survey of slums and categorization of settlements into three broad categories: authorized, semi-permanent buildings in structural dilapidation, and "unauthorised and insanitary huts… on vacant lands not necessarily their own" (BMC, 1964, quoted in Indorewala, 2018a). Previously illegible in the state's eyes, the third category, of unauthorized and insanitary slums, became an environmental concern that required disciplinary action through eradication or improvement (Foucault, 1991a). Large-scale evictions from inner city slums followed and thousands of families were left to fend for themselves in M-Ward on the city's eastern periphery (Mahadevia & Narayan, 2008, p. 554). New amendments in the Slum Act (of 1971) further empowered state agencies to notify an urban territory as a slum area and undertake clearances. Limited access to urban amenities (like water, electricity, amongst others) were granted to recognized, enumerated, and eligible slum areas and their dwellers (Panwalkar, 1995).

The Emergency of 1975–1977 reflected the state's sovereign rule over the national urban through authoritarian governance, and its effects on the slum question (also see, Hansen, 2001). Hansen & Stepputat (2006, p. 3) have formulated "sovereignty" in the Indian and Mumbai context as "an aspiration that seeks to create itself in the face of internally fragmented, unevenly distributed and unpredictable configurations of political authority that exercise more or less legitimate violence in a territory". Expressions of sovereignty were clear in dealing with urban poverty (Weinstein, 2013). The urban poor across Indian cities were targeted as abnormal, and sovereign planning through disciplinary and punitive procedures were introduced.

In Mumbai, comprehensive slum surveys and enumeration entitled the recognized and legal families with unique photo-passes (Jha, 2011). Surveys, enumeration, and the legalization of urban poor were biopolitical technologies that aimed to assist against eviction. But simultaneous juridical-legal interventions had punitive effects. For example, The Vacant Land Act (of 1975) rendered slum areas fit to be cleared for state-led uses and instrumentalized evictions across Mumbai's inner city (Bhide & Dabir, 2010). Some of the slum poor had to pay

municipal taxes for insecure tenurial security and to save themselves from the threat of eviction that always loomed at local administrative levels (Weinstein, 2013). Taking a cue from Emergency-era state interventions, we see that legal sovereignty, as an expansion of state intervention, and conditional protection coincided with further informalization of the conditions of the poor's stay in the city. As well, aspects of sovereignty, efforts towards biopolitical mediation through inclusion or abandonments remained intertwined.

State-led authoritarian forms of development, and efforts at redistributive justice (through land uses and distribution) during the post-Emergency period, yielded complex and compromised results in Indian cities, especially in Mumbai. The Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (of 1976) (ULCRA), aimed to undo the colonial-era concentration of urban land ownership amongst elites and related speculation and profiteering. ULCRA was particularly important for Mumbai, an archipelago city with unequal land access, and land ownership concentrated in elites and industrialists.

In Mumbai, the upper limit of land ownership was 500 square metres, but ULCRA targeted private owners and exempted land belonging to government departments, state authorities, and cooperative societies. Landowners converted their lands into private trusts to seek exemption. This siphoned off over a fifth of Mumbai's habitable area from possible public use. In a land-starved city, this contributed to closing off access to land and urban inequality. Today, those landowners control over 26.7 square kilometres of land in Greater Mumbai. This region has a total land area of 437 square kilometres, of which the actual habitable area is 139 square kilometres, of which in turn slums comprise 36 square kilometres, half of which is state-owned land (Bharucha, 2015). Alongside these interventions, sovereign action was seen in brutal slum clearances: "slums flattened by bulldozers were relocated in makeshift arrangements at urban periphery in horrifying conditions, in ecologically sensitive areas, high tide, no civic amenities causing rampant diseases and many deaths" (Patel, 1996, p. 1048).

The state apparatus was informalized during the Emergency. The police joined hands with the political cadres of the Indian National Congress regime to implement the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) and remove the abnormal-looking slum areas (Weinstein, 2013). Other technologies of repressive control included forced sterilization, which was linked to eligibility for slum resettlement in Delhi (Tarlo, 2003). In Mumbai, Weinstein (2013) follows Hansen and Stepputat's (2006) definition of sovereignty to argue that slum areas,

as territories, and their inhabitants, faced relatively unified state sovereignty in terms of containment and repression. However, beyond the territorialized consolidation of state power, governmental practices of authority and law took ethnic, religious, and even arbitrary and extra-legal approaches to dealing with the slum question, as Appadurai (2000) notes in his analysis of slum clearances (see section 2.2). Thus, the meaning of sovereignty, either unified or plural, remain conditional on its effects. Rather than the definitional aspects of the state, in the form of sovereignty or otherwise, in this dissertation I am concerned with the consequences of these aspects (also see, Bertelsen, 2009; Gupta, 2012; Foucault, 1978, 1978[2000]).

Simultaneous with these violent interventions, however, the new slum improvement schemes facilitated essential services for specific slum areas (Indorewala, 2018a). These slum improvements were introduced through international cooperation during the 1980s. The first Slum Upgrading Programme (SUP) comprised a three-decade land lease to slum dwellers' cooperative societies, access to basic amenities on cost-recovery basis, and soft loans for tenement upgradation (Burra, 2005). These SUPs were pioneering World Bank-supported projects, and predicated on the de Soto imperatives of informality and linked lack of tenurial rights. The second programme, the Low-income Group Shelter Programme, promised affordable housing based on cross-subsidies from selling slum land at market rates (Bardhan et al., 2015, on typologies of housing interventions). Nevertheless, while slum improvement schemes were an improvement on the earlier mix of repressive and facilitative technologies, they were only sparingly implemented in Mumbai.

2.2. Redevelopments and slum resettlements

In this section, I delineate the origins and major constituents of Mumbai's contemporary redevelopment regimes with an emphasis on political, economic and interventional stakeholders from the 1990s to the present. Contemporary slum resettlement and related urban redevelopments emerged during the sociopolitical and economic shifts of the 1990s and have since evolved. During the early 1990s the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), formed from the remnants of the opposition parties to Emergency rule by the Indian National Congress party, became the dominant political party in India. In 1992, the BJP and its religious

factions organized a religious movement called the Rath Yatra, to a religious site in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. This culminated in the extra-legal demolition of the Babri Mosque, a historical site of worship, which led to religious riots and the deaths of thousands. The riots, political polarization, and Hindu majoritarianism, travelled to many urban centres, including Mumbai. A minority protested in Mumbai, and the majoritarian Hindu religious fundamentalists retaliated with the escalation of hostilities and riots in 1992 and 1993. Mumbai's organized crime syndicates, once led by Dawood Ibrahim, allegedly retaliated with the bombing of the Bombay Stock Exchange in 1993. In response, the head of the nativist Shiv Sena party, Bal Thackeray, referred to Hindu gang clout in public meetings before the 1995 state election in Maharashtra, the state in which Mumbai is located: "If the Congress [the Indian National Congress] has Dawood Ibrahim with them, we have Arun Gawli'—calling him "*amchi* (my) Gawli".[12]

Shiv Sena is a nativist, nationalist, anti-migrant, and ethnocentric local political party that was formed in the post-industrial political landscape of Mumbai. The party aimed to eliminate the Indian National Congress and communist political parties that had historically dominated in Mumbai. The admiration of its leader, Thackeray, for the Nazi movement and Adolf Hitler is widely known. However, his form of Indian fascism was also rooted in what, following Wiener (2015), could be called the "sons of the soil" movement: a militarized sociopolitical formation demanding Maharashtra for Maharashtrians and Mumbai for Mumbaikars, with only second-class belonging for minorities, migrants, and others.

Following the 1995 election, with the formation of a Hindu nationalist and regionalist state, Shiv Sena was also complicit in anti-minority violence (Hansen, 2001). This politicized violence led to Hinduized political consolidation in Mumbai. As well, state-led violence was unleashed in terms of ethnic slum "cleansing" (Appadurai, 2000). As Appadurai (2000, p. 649) notes: "In this macabre conjuncture, the most horrendously poor, crowded, and degraded areas of the city were turned into battlegrounds… with the figure of the Muslim providing the link between scarce housing, illegal commerce, and national geography writ urban". Appadurai's formulation vividly connects the question of housing inequality, its ethnic, religious, class, and caste components in Mumbai with the national urban. The remnants of urban ethic ordering, communal

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12 Interview published and available at https://www.rediff.com/news/aug/13gawli.htm

othering, state-led violence, and urban peripheralization is seen even today in the minority "ghettos" of Mumbai's M-East ward (Contractor, 2012, p. 28). Importantly, Hindu majoritarian political consolidation and violent ethnic forms of urban erasures were part of Mumbai's body politic even before the neoliberal advent, which brought rapid transformations in the coming years.

Following the 1992–1993 riots, Shiv Sena won the 1995 Maharashtra state elections based on a populist, revivalist manifesto based on rapid urban redevelopment, making Mumbai a world-class city, and solving the city's housing crises and the slum question. A historic promise of free formal housing to over 4 million slum-dwelling families followed. On taking power, Shiv Sena remodelled the Indian National Congress government's Slum Redevelopment (SRD) scheme, which was analogous to relatively successful experiments in American cities such as Project Hope IV (Chaskin & Joseph, 2015). Under the SRD scheme, resettlement tenements and for-profit housing were made part of the same cooperative housing societies. The latter were to be sold at market prices so the builder could recover investment costs (Banerjee-Guha, 2010, p. 190). However, this mixed-housing concept reduced the market value of flats, and the middle-class and elites found it unappealing. Thus, the scheme was short-lived.

The new scheme initiated by Shiv Sena was SRS. It emerged from the city's politics, as a slum-free urban imagination, in an ethno-nationalist political-economic configuration supported by the inclusion of the poor. SRS was institutionalized under a new parastatal organization, the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA), under the leadership of the chief minister of Maharashtra state, a builder-turned-politician.[13] SRS is today a scheme for slum rehabilitation with the tagline "Slum Free Mumbai". Its aim is "introducing an *innovative concept of using land as a resource*" and "allowing 'floor-surface index' for tenements for sale in open market, for cross-subsidization of slum rehabilitation tenements", as its website notes (https://sra.gov.in/). It works on a cross-subsidy model, whereby private developers are offered incentives for constructing resettlement tenements (initially 160 square metres, revised to 225 square metres, and now set at 269 square metres). Simply put, the scheme was intended to turn horizontal slums into vertical buildings *in-situ* or on the same land plot. This would release the remaining land (usually one- to two-thirds of the land plot) with additional and

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13 SRA is one of many parastatal organizations in Mumbai. It is an institution of the state, but partly autonomous in its organizing and function. It has had the status of corporate entity since 1997.

relative developmental incentives for sales purposes, thus cross-subsidising the construction (see section 2.3 for details). The state institutions imagined this model would make Mumbai slum free.

In 1991, the Shiv Sena chief, Bal Thackeray, in an interview with housing activist P.K. Das and others had shared a unique vision of his SRS:[14] "Our scheme had nothing to do with castism or religion," he said. He argued that "the poor ones living in the hutments are human beings. We are here to give better housing to the poor ones that too human beings…They have the right, because they are the citizens of this country." In response to questions raised by city activists on negative consequences and profitability, he said:

> I don't think that my policy will have any bad effect…There is lot of difference between their profit [other scheme] and our profit [this scheme]. This is 100% sure that the government will never give you good housing. And someone is going to give you, the free housing you say, and little takka [small percentage of profit] he takes. If their profit is going to be 100% and this person is getting just 15%, why should you worry about that?... Are you not going to tolerate that kind of thing? The poor people are not going to get anything. You see that poor ones are benefited, that's it.

Thus, the scheme began as Thackeray's scheme, "for the poor" and with less "profitability".

Since then, the scheme, its configuration, logics, and stakeholders, have changed tremendously. The political-economic configuration of slum redevelopment (the construction part of slum resettlement) is broadly governed by what scholars have broadly dubbed "redevelopment regimes." The term "regimes", bears some affinity with urban regime theory that locates local governmental and nongovernmental powers and their collective actions to govern (Stone, 1989, for instance). As Weinstein and Ren (2009) argue, Mumbai's redevelopment regimes, which also have some resemblance to regime theory, refer to those institutional relations that make governance possible but also include other urban frameworks (like the legal) produced by them. In this dissertation, while the use of regime helps us locate the constituents and effects of

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14 The video interview is available at https://pad.ma/KAU/player/00:02:25.677 Accessed on 21/02/2023. This paragraph is taken verbatim from the interview.

redevelopment regimes, new urban actors, like environmental or health institutions, keep continuously associating and dissociating.

Since the 1990s, the regime, or resettlement development, evolved as political entrepreneurship between political parties and builders: the former lubricated land-zoning and plot reservation, institutionalized and liberalized market incentives, obtained the approvals required (by bypassing or even ignoring them), while the latter mobilized financial capital, and did the construction (Nainan, 2008). Today, the policy imperative remains unimaginably complicated as SRS covers dozens of state departments, over 100 legal approvals (environmental and otherwise), and several state and non-state actors. Since the SRA's inception, Shiv Sena has floated its own construction company, Shiv Shahi Prakalp and began one of the first *in-situ* slum redevelopment initiatives in Dharavi, Asia's biggest slum which was planned to undergo massive redevelopment through developers in association with BJP rule. The Sena also aligned with big builders— Hiranandani, Diwan, Lodha, Pereira, and Raheja, as my key field interviews suggest. Other political parties, like the BJP and the Indian National Congress and the regional National Congress Party, are meanwhile associated with other builders. Alongside Shiv Sena, these four political parties have ruled the political landscape of the city since the introduction of neoliberalism in the 1990s.

In a city notorious for its organized crime groups (Weinstein, 2008, for instance), investors with close ties to Mumbai's Dubai-based underworld don, Dawood Ibrahim also operated with Shiv Sena, Indian National Congress, and National Congress Party that have ruled Mumbai since liberalization (Rodrigues, 2020). At least one of the resettlement projects in this dissertation have had (alleged) cooperation amongst the developers, political parties and *hawala* funding used by organized crime groups (an illegal offshore money laundering system). I refrain from delving into details here due to the limited analytical focus of this dissertation. Nevertheless, if we locate and integrate these cooperation and conflict in the ways Mumbai's real estate and renewal has been shaped in the last three decades, we would arrive at an interpretation of contemporary capitalist dispossession and urban governance that is anything but "gentlemanly" (Chiodelli & Gentili, 2021).

Up to 100% of foreign direct investment in Mumbai's real-estate market created a swift investment market in the city's redevelopment and resettlement construction business. Political patronage, the support of the underworld, and centralized yet fragmented policy frameworks allowed developers to operate at

varied levels. I term this centralized as most of the operations originate from one SRS policy and its political economy, which is largely governed by private builders and state institutions, and simultaneously fragmented as these activities are shared and overlap across stakeholders. Another reason for this argument is the centralization of the political economy and profits in the hands of these actors and the decentralizing of the bureaucracy of governance across state institutions (see this comparison in Articles III, IV). The possibility of tremendous profitability in SRS development through strong connections between political parties and builders has led to numerous land grabs, illegal and semi-legal slum clearances, and resettlement developments. These processes also connect hidden corruption, institutional malpractices, and inter-cartel conflicts that usually remain hidden from the *public* side of state bureaucracy or are made invisible behind the tall, dense, yellow-painted resettlement buildings.[15]

Beyond these political and economic relations, the regime also incorporated (or engulfed) the city's vibrant civil society networks and urban NGOs. Mumbai has a vibrant history of civil society and pro-poor activism especially since its industrial decades (1950–1980s). A major part of civic and activist interventions had responded to brutal, arbitrary, and violent slum clearances and evictions (Bhide, 2009, for instance). They demanded an expansion of welfare and basic amenities to unserved slum areas and negotiated for the inclusion of the urban poor in the state's housing policies through political, civic, judicial and social formations. The World Bank supported massive transport and infrastructure projects (MUTP) and, for the first time, made the role of NGOs official for the implementation of *ex-situ* resettlement (World Bank, 2002; see Article I). This was in line with the Millennium Development Goals in which the participation of civil society was recognized in five broad forms (Di Muzio, 2008): creating awareness about development initiates; designing strategies for poverty alleviation as agreed internationally; partnering with government initiatives; assessing and monitoring the project interventions; and delivering services and technical knowledge to the poor.

The city's grassroots NGOs also participated in the holy business of slum R&R. For example, SPARC which mostly took on 'NGO-mediated' (as policy papers call it) *ex-situ* resettlements. The empanelment of this NGO for the

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15 Hidden illegalities and the financial corruption of the redevelopment regime are limitations of this study.

implementation of resettlement in World Bank-supported projects (like MUTP) marked a shift in the politics of NGOs and the state. An NGO representative described the shift in informal politics:

> We could have stormed the barricades … but we chose otherwise… a result of pavement enumerations and other lobbying, were able to ensure that pavement dwellers were included in the group of slum dwellers entitled to relocation under the Slum Rehabilitation Act … Federation members have become very conscious that they cannot defeat the state. Their experience is that the more oppositional their position, the more likely they are to risk violence and other forms of repression. (Mitlin & Patel 2005, p. 3)

Ironically, SPARC never actually stormed the barricades, but chose to cooperate with the state. The idea was not to "defeat" the state, but to democratize it (see chapter 3). In doing so, the NGO became the face of the poor in Mumbai's tsunami of slum clearances during the first two decades of the century, when this was the city with the greatest number of internal displacements globally. With support from the World Bank, state institutions, and international civil society organization, the Alliance introduced many interventions, including community-led surveys and enumeration, people-managed and participatory slum resettlement (see chapter 3 on the theoretical details). SPARC also invested in actual slum redevelopment and earned profits like private developers, as organization leaders also note (Patel, Viccajee & Arputham, 2018). Nevertheless, its relations with the state institutions and collectives and participants from among the poor, and the development of discussion on inclusion, facilitation, and democratization, is a subject of analysis.

Parallel to the inception, growth, and institutionalization of SPARC, another grassroots initiative, GBGBA, emerged in Mumbai to outwardly resist evictions and slum clearances.[16] GBGBA's work should be seen as outside of the regime, however, with certain effects on the regime's function. For example, rather than being outwardly participatory (like SPARC), GBGBA has been resistive and negotiative. With slogans like "*Jo jamin sarkari hai wo jamin hamari hai*" (the land that belongs to the state is ours), investigative research and press reports on topics

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16 In the past 3–5 decades, other NGOs, like the Slum Redevelopment Society (SRS), which is distinct from the Slum Redevelopment Authority, YUVA and Nivara Haqq Samiti have played a significant role in the housing question for Mumbai's urban poor. While I recognize their contribution, a lengthy discussion is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

like "who are the real encroachers in Mumbai?",[17] and exposure through right to information requests of land grabs and SRS corruption, legal activism, resistance to eviction, local mobilization, public hearing (*jan sunwai*), bureaucratic negotiation, outright protest, and more, GBGBA's approach is multi-dimensional, to say the least. It has been outwardly pro-people, grassroots-based, without institutional funding, supported by experts, and a *sangharsha* (struggle).

Scholarly attention to GBGBA politics, ideology, and engagements in Mumbai is limited and fragmented. Roy (2009) and Doshi (2013), for example, briefly argue GBGBA to be working at the frontier of dispossession through technologies of inclusion for the urban poor. Academic writers have adopted these two organizations' (GBGBA and SPARC) vocabulary about rights, urban space, and mobilization, towards discourses of rights *in* or *to* the city (Roy, 2009a). Despite such academically necessary discursive inflation, however, what is equally interesting is how ground-level mobilization and inter-institutional engagement makes urban renewal and resettlement possible across projects and sites.

A new NGO-ized politics emerged in Mumbai's pipeline case. The GBGBA engaged with post-resettlement scenario, demanding and negotiating the right to life for the urban poor (case 2; questions 2, 3; Articles III, IV). Briefly, the question is not to simply resist slum eviction or facilitate inclusion in state-led resettlements. Rather, it is to expose interventions with deadly human consequences and engender new modalities of engaging with the state on the one hand and collectives on the other. Thus, the role of NGOs remains ambiguous in resettlement contexts. For example, SPARC and GBGBA could be seen as being outside the redevelopment regime or within it, based on their sociopolitical engagements on the ground, and their effects. Lastly, going beyond the builders and political parties, the redevelopment regime also interfaces with urban governance institutions like the High Court, the Supreme Court of India, local healthcare agencies, the state and central pollution control boards, other environmental agencies, and urban governance institutions that further refine the meaning of the regime, its constituents, and its effects.

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17 Available online at https://burb.tv/view/Entry:1564 Accessed on 21/02/2022

2.3. SRS: Housing policy and practice

The SRS as policy, planning, and intervention, is the domain of a state of urban exception. The *State of Exception*, as Agamben (2005) describes it, is a distinct spatial approach to European camps and to understand relational dynamics between the juridical-legal suspension of laws and new typologies of territorial governance. Since Agamben's theorization, the state of exception has been constantly redefined. For example, Gregory (2006) argues that exceptions take the form of zones of indistinction and crossovers between legal and extra-legal judicial norms. This is especially important in post-colonial societies in general, their cities in particular, where laws, sovereignties, and populations are not static entities, and mutual configurations are usually reordering. It is customary to note that Agamben's work on exception and camps has been instantiated to refer to emergency: an overall suspension, a lack, lawlessness, and range of procedures that produces "bare" living stripped of political and legal status and their relation to political sovereignty.

Camp spatiality as an exemplar of sovereign enaction is a limited and parochial underestimation of the analytical power of exception. The logic of exception is now a planetary urban phenomenon that brings positive, negative, and ambiguous configurations of policy, planning, and governance vis-à-vis certain human lives (Ek, 2006; Bertelsen, 2021). In invoking the rationality of exception in Mumbai's SRS and SRS-connected urban redevelopment is to explore certain normalized exceptions, hidden or obvious, unstable and reordering, that relate to institutional enactments, materialities and unfolding experiences, and that interconnect urban housing, poverty, redevelopment, and governance.

Urban redevelopment regimes have extrapolated many exceptionalities beyond static urban regulations and norms, extending and engraining those into the making of new urban forms. It is a vantage point from which to see how the routine and normalized suspension of rules under the SRS, and the exceptional relaxation of development control regulations, land uses, and architectural parameters, is furthered through the rhetoric of emergency, public necessity, and the common good (Sánchez & Broudehoux, 2013, pp. 136-137, as in Rio de Janerio). These normalized emergencies serve dual imperatives: urban renewal and accommodative formal housing. Both of these arenas are planning and governance by exception that are permitted and legitimized (Schramm & Bize, 2022). These

constitute exceptions from urban regulations: a documented terrain in neoliberal urbanism, especially in the Global South (Murray, 2017).

The SRS introduced by the Shiv Sena government was once an institutional proposition of a new kind of housing intervention, framed in terms of compassionate, benevolent, affective relations, rather than profit or unintended malevolent consequences to the city and the urban poor. For the last two decades it has been established as the modality of state planning, formal housing for the slum poor, and a paradigm of the government of the displaced poor in urban redevelopment projects. It is not surprising that, once an exceptional intervention into the housing question, it is now the rule in Mumbai and other Indian cities, and has almost eliminated alternative housing possibilities, whether imagined or real. Similar parallels may be drawn from cities across the Global South (Beier, Spire, & Bridonneau, 2021).

The urban state of emergency enables developers aligned with governments to circumvent existing laws, safety standards, and built forms, amongst others, compared to general residential developments in the name of making urban projects possible. Seen from the massive *ex-situ* resettlement townships, SRS housing is not a complete suspension of laws governing urban housing and governance. Instead, it ensues exception within a superfluous, non-static, saturated domain of rules, and regulations that create alternative regulatory regimes rather than simply the suspension of law.

This is broadly seen in the following dimensions: first, resettlement planning and land as resource; second, architectural and the built environment; third, urban resettlement geographies; and fourth, materiality of resettlement township; post-resettlement circumstances and arbitrary rule.

Land as resource: In the first dimension, Mumbai's first development plan (1964) introduced a novel planning or regulatory tool called the Floor Surface Index (FSI) to guide administrative ward development planning for Mumbai and its suburbs (Patel, 2013, for comparisons with the United States and Europe). FSI is defined as the ratio of the actual built-up area to the plot size. It enables volumetric control related to the building's footprint, setback (the area around) and heights in order to control the built environment (area, tenement size) and environment (air, ventilation). Mumbai was horizontally splintered into urban zones with variegated FSIs (for vertical intensity) to control the intensity of urban developments (see Indorewala, 2018a for details). An imprint of the problem of congestion (and the urban aspiration to provide public space) corresponding to

the plight of the inner-city came to the fore (as discussed in the previous section), and was imagined to be solved by differential FSI indices. FSI thus, indirectly, aimed to govern population density, infrastructure needs, localities, living spaces, and their use. This approach was, soon contravened owing to the localized challenges of development, different typologies of urban settlements, and the requirements of the city's development plan.

During the 1990s, as the slum question became a developmental problem, state institutions drastically changed FSI norms (Nainan, 2008). The city's governing institutions collaborated with international financial and planning organizations (like the World Bank and now Asian Development Bank and others) on infrastructure projects. They accepted the revival of market-based tools towards increased commodification and financialization of urban land and developments (Harvey, 2003). In light of the forces of neoliberal urbanism, the city administration introduced a Regional Plan with endorsed recommendations. The World Bank intervention changed the British-era Land Acquisition Act (of 1894), with differential FSI rules across Mumbai, and related Transferrable Development Rights (TDR, a certificate permitting development elsewhere), as a World Bank Resettlement Action Plan (2002) report summarized in a footnote. One of the main requirements by the Bank was for the city administration to receive loans for its urban transport and infrastructure projects. In simple terms, the Bank adjusted the colonial-era land regime, which otherwise complicated land acquisition in urban areas, so that owners could earn a premium from handing over the land for state-led redevelopment. Or, in case of state-owned encroached land, so developers could create extra developments and make slum resettlement highly profitable. Mumbai's cross-subsidy model thus uses differential FSIs and a fungible, sellable, and transferrable extra development (the difference between the FSIs) across administrative wards.

These legal amendments were subject to federal state interventions. However, despite objections from local planners, civil society, and active citizens in the court of law, the changes were ruled out on a "legal technicality" (Issar, 2022). In practice, this so-called legal technicality continues to have widespread effects, including changed urban taxation governance, state withdrawal from housing welfare, and an intricate commodification of the housing of the poor in Mumbai (also, Nainan, 2008). Further, slum areas that were previously unavailable for redevelopment, owing to collective occupancy or legal battles, were now made

available through the TDR scheme, as government officials also acknowledge (interview quoted in Issar, 2022).

The possibility to extract TDR acted like a means for indirect land grabs from the poor (Rao, 2007, p. 244). Bhide (2017) rightly argues that the possibility of increased FSI, and corresponding TDR, unleashed a new way of "colonizing the slum" in Mumbai. In a way, the slum residents also left with no alternative than to surrender the land to the state authorities, builders, or mediating non-state groups, in exchange for "free" and "formal" housing. In this dissertation, I extend the logic of extraction of development surplus beyond the "slum-led" to resettlement development that creates material and subjective registers of dispossession. Extending the policy's planning and political-economic relations to the resettlement context opens new possibilities of ethnographic enquiry. These imperatives connect to the material and subjective sides of how people live, and if such dimensions unleash new colonization of peripheral resettlement spaces and inhabiting human lives. These are made explicit through the second dimension of the policy, to which I now turn.

Architecture as resource: Architectural planning and resettlement planning instruments are discriminatory compared to the general urban residential architectural norms in the city. The "township" model of *ex-situ* resettlement is rationalized through exceptions in the urban development control regulations (DCR), environmental guidelines and building regulations per the city's development plans (1994 and 2014). The amendments are so frequent that it is difficult to fully grasp and rationalize the SRS's legal dimensions and to relate them to specific empirical outcomes. Nevertheless, certain significant differences between the general residence and resettlement townships are worth noting. The policy allows higher tenement density (up to 1,500 units per hectare, versus 300 in general developments), less space between buildings (three metres), reduced open space requirements (8% compared to 15–25%), and no obligations to allocate space or plan for public infrastructures (like schools and hospitals). The buildings are usually uniform in height (ground+7, approximately 21 metres). These architectural parameters allow for exceptional but generalized settlement development, with up to three times higher tenement density than in general residences despite the lack of infrastructure.

Mumbai's resettlement geography: The third dimension of the policy relates to the geographies where my empirical studies are located and interconnect with urban growth. I explore the two resettlement townships in M-Ward, one in M-

East (Vashi Naka) and other in M-West (Mahul). These two wards were divided in 1994, following from the city's regional plan, under the pretext of neoliberal urbanism, and in line with the increasing population in the region. M-East, and now M-West, emerged as resettlement geographies whose historical developments are hinged on two facets of urban governance: first, a post-colonial continuum of racialized urban development; and second, land use led by neoliberal urbanism with an alternative financialization of resettlement housing (through SRS, and its dialectic link with urban growth). Towards the first factor, the land prices were lower here than in Mumbai's other wards because of undesirable land use and the proximity to polluting industries and landfill sites. Deonar dumping ground, now Asia's biggest operational landfill, was started by the British administrators to tackle the issue of garbage in the inner city. Now the dumping ground sprawls over 134 hectares, and accumulates over 9,000 metric tons of waste daily from Mumbai's 24 administrative wards (Varshney, 2019). Thousands of the urban poor depend on waste recycling and associated informal businesses here.

The first petroleum refinery established by the British under the name of Burmah Shell was located in M-Ward (now M-West). This refinery is now a state enterprise, and sits adjacent to Mahul township. In the post-colonial period, the state agencies continued to populate these administrative wards with undesirable institutional and industrial activities. Rehabilitation centres established under the Beggary Act (1959) and Child Welfare Act (1976), and fertilizer and petrochemical installations, an abattoir (relocated from Bandra in the inner city), and a thermal power plant sprang up. A semi-legal biomedical incinerator, was established during the COVID-19 pandemic and is the newest contributor to fumes and toxicity.

M-Ward has developed as Mumbai's "slum ward" in the last 4–5 decades. The urban poor, migrants, and other undesirable social others have been made to relocate here or had no other choice then to look for dwellings in M-Ward (Bhide, 2015). Rural-urban migrants dispossessed from the rural hinterlands due to unprofitable agriculture, seasonal droughts, or ethnic violence also came here. Over three-fifth of the ward's population live in informal or even illegal slum areas, the highest proportion in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region. The ward has the least social infrastructure, lowest Human Development Indices, and the lowest life expectancy, at around 39 years in many pockets (Kumar & Mehta, 2017). It embodies a new infrastructural apartheid.

Ex-situ slum rehabilitation in M-Ward hinges on state-led mega-projects for world-class city-making. As Banerjee-Guha (2010) notes, the World Bank, in coordination with India's central government, sanctioned huge loans for city's new infrastructure projects on the conditions that the urban land and real estate market would be liberalized, 100% foreign direct investment would be permitted in private and public housing and real estate, urban land conversion processes would be simplified, forums would be established for the middle classes to participate, and basic services for the urban poor would be financialized through a pay-and-use framework.

The mega-projects came with a flip side: slum containment, with massive slum clearances and resettlements to free up to 60% of urban slum land, and peripheral resettlement into new housing zones exclusively for the poor, often in difficult-to-develop or saltpan lands (Banerjee-Guha, 2010). The official cap on profits from resettlement (25% of investment) was removed (Björkman, 2015). Meanwhile, FSI in M-Ward was doubled from 0.5 to 1. This increased the redevelopment possibility of the ward's land for *ex-situ* resettlement township construction that were even largely unprofitable for *in-situ* slum resettlements. In total, over 45 *ex-situ* resettlement townships, with upwards of 200,000 tenements, were constructed and hundreds of *ex-situ* resettlement projects were undertaken within two decades, most of which were located in M-Ward (see Bhide & Solanki, 2016 for M-East). While the neoliberal urbanism still unfolds in rather complicated ways, even if the targets are not met yet as previously planned, Vashi Naka (M-East) and Mahul township (M-West) emerged at the interstices of the planning, land regulation, urban governance, and architectural registers.

The SRS policy reflects an "incentive extractive" paradigm as the more rehabilitation area (to be used by the state agency for slum-poor rehousing), the greater the compensatory FSI (for the developers for premium market sale) through a uniquely discriminatory form of settlement (Indorewala, 2018b, p. 16). In this way, Indorewala (2018b, p. 16) notes, the "business of the state is extracting a share of development, regulations that safeguard environmental well-being have become constraints to be removed, rather than commitments to be respected". This dichotomous planning rationality had long been advocated by state agencies, builders, and the progressive urban collective, as enabling formal housing for the poor. Indeed, such political-economic and planning relations are enabling, as they open up "free" housing supply to state agencies for their redevelopment projects. Nevertheless, the policy also allows for new extraction

beyond compensatory logics intended to cover investments in rehousing development, making them sites of novel extraction and unleashing restrictive living circumstances for the relocated poor (case 2, question 1). These also created new contexts and meanings for interconnected dispossession: constructing resettlement townships as material site of dispossession, and the sociopolitical sites or the afterlives of dispossessive materialities of these townships through inhabitation.

Housing materiality: Empirical studies are yet to seriously attend to housing materiality and its subjective experience. I explore this through recent architectural and planning studies. The planning powers vested in differential land allocation and discriminatory architectural planning are helpful to locate new horizons of spatial and settlement injustices and linked lived experiences. For example, Sarkar and Bardhan's (2020) hybrid architectural-qualitative survey study on resettlement townships in Mumbai M-East ward shows that tall buildings, uniform building heights, narrow alleys, and insufficient inter-building space produce poor ventilation, low airflow, reduced sunlight, and diminished liveability. An architectural study by Leuker et al. (2020) shows that super-dense built forms create higher levels of indoor pollution, concentrated particulate matter, reduced air exchange between tenements and their surroundings, and trap pollution indoors, violating national and international standards.

These findings vary by floor, the location of the tenements and the building (e.g. whether or not it is surrounded by other buildings), and spatial enclosure (e.g. proximity to industries or the dump). These circumstances contribute to heightened physical, psychological, and social discomforts (Debnath et al., 2019) correlating to pulmonary disease, tuberculosis, and respiratory issues amongst the residents (Pardeshi et al., 2020). The effects are thus localized. Their biophysical circumstances relate to the living standards of inhabitants and affect their health. These observations are striking in Mahul township (case 2, see Figure 5 and 6).

Figure 5: Dense architecture: Maximum building, minimal living
The aggregation of tenements and buildings aim to maximize occupancy. This obstructs air-flow, ventilation, and sunlight. The narrow inter-building space accumulates garbage and effluents, and becomes pathogenic.

Figure 6: Tuberculosis from housing
A tuberculosis centre has been opened in a ground-floor tenement in Mahul which is otherwise meant for residential use. One out of 10 residents in resettlement townships are prone to tuberculosis (Pardeshi et al, 2020). In Mahul the chances are higher due to local pollution and toxins.

Post-resettlement circumstances: The SRS policy imagines new social organizing and development through resettlements. SPARC, the World Bank-empanelled NGO, undertook the transport project's resettlement and rehabilitation in Vashi Naka. The resettlement intervention could be seen as a way of decentralizing state powers through an NGO or, alternatively, as a way of democratizing the state in an unequal city. The SRS policy allowed the NGO to accept the date of enumeration and survey as the cut-off date for inclusion for resettlements (against the city's cut-off dates of 1 January 1995 and 2000). The mediating NGO undertook the enumeration, surveys, and mapping of the slum areas under the project. This led to new ways of seeing the poor, who were previously officially unseen. But such invisibility could also be seen as a tactic of rule as these places, populations, and their lives remain intricately linked with state rule in its marginal presence and outright absence.

The World Bank's (2002, p. 6) policy directives enabled every eligible household losing a dwelling place in slums a dwelling unit (of 225 square metres) in resettlement township. It is interesting to highlight the use of "place", its loss, and its replaceability with "unit". Other entitlements included rehabilitation measures like monetary compensation, paying travel costs, and upgrading skills for self-employment after resettlement (case 1). They also mediated transfer to transit camps, maintenance of basic amenities and the formation of new collectives, and direct transfers to resettlement townships. Post-resettlement, the responsibilities of the NGO included the federation of resettled households into cooperative housing societies, rehabilitation support in terms of livelihoods, and socioeconomic restoration.

The World Bank's policy, as seen in case 1, required transit accommodation for unsafe tenements, like those located close to railways. Beyond the policy directive for unsafe tenements, and unlike what had been actually planned, resettlements mediated by a stay in transit camp transit stay mediated resettlements became a norm in which policy was implemented in the MUTP project affecting thousands of the evicted poor. The reasons were manifold: lack of resettlement tenements, lack of proper documentation for the evicted families, political mediation, and resistance towards NGO or state resettlement plans. These transit camps have received little academic attention yet some still exist. The evicted poor had to wait in the transit camps for up to four years (case 1) until a convenient resettlement site was negotiated, or their compliance was achieved with an almost authoritative decision by the NGO.

Thousands of transit dwellers were resettled in peripheral townships like Vashi Naka. The World Bank (2002, p. 43) plan envisaged "environmental protection" and "management guidelines" to provide access to basic urban environmental infrastructure services through the initiatives of the residents in order to reduce local environmental risks. From squatter ways of living, the policy guidelines aimed to help resettled families and communities adjust to the lifestyle of multi-storied buildings. As the World Bank (2002) guidelines stated, "the communities will be trained and motivated to follow a discipline that can avoid environmental problems": managing water supply, sanitation, and solid waste, amongst others. Thus, the "Community" of the urban poor became a new site of governance. While scholars like Rose (1999) who are sceptical about Community empowerment see it as site of differential power, this new urban Community practice seems to have a somewhat different meaning (cf. Appadurai, 2002). However, the issue of a static identity and composition, its consolidation and its potential, and an idealized self-governance, is a subject of enquiry.

The post-resettlement scenario and its futures remain ambiguous and uncertain (also see chapter 6). About 100–150 evicted families have been relocated into one building and are required to pay monthly maintenance fees (INR 300–600 per month), live orderly lives, and not sublet or sell their tenements. The families are bound to live in their tenements for at least 10 years to attain the promised "security of tenure" and legal ownership. The law requires families to be federated into a cooperative housing society (CHS) with 10 or more elected board members. The CHS is responsible for regular upkeep (water supply, electricity bill, waste, infrastructure, collecting monthly fees, attending to building-based issues). However, the residents across sites find it difficult to deal with increased cost of living due to maintenance fees, increased electricity consumption, and water bills, amongst others. At times, rising medical costs, or emergency needs push the residents to sell their tenements. Within 10 years, my ongoing research suggests, over 40% of the residents had left for townships with comparatively better environments, connectivity, property value (e.g. Lallubhai Compound). One should expect similar residential changes in Vashi Naka and Mahul which are located in far-flung areas and have lower property values (approximately INR 300,000–700,000 here versus 700,000–1,200,000 in Lallubhai).

Further, the pipeline project's resettlement in Mahul township is a significant case of direct state intervention (without an NGO). The project implementer was the city's municipal authority which conducted slum surveys, enumeration,

clearances, and direct transfer of the eligible poor (based on cut-off date of 1 January 2000). The resettlement policy here bore a different meaning from the transport project. Slum resettlement provisions were limited to providing alternative tenements in the resettlement township. No rehabilitation in terms of livelihoods and social restoration was part of the plan, bringing differential inclusion and policy implementation. Unlike the R&R of the transport project which had been implemented and was not yet finished, the pipeline project's resettlement began in 2017.

The resettled families from the pipeline project were haphazardly allocated across 22 buildings and floors in Mahul, without the formation of a CHS. The evicted poor from the municipal authority's pavement extension projects, the Mithi river project, and transit accommodation for other projects, also came to stay here. Many have accepted their living conditions and formed CHSs to comply with management rules. Those relocated for the pipeline opposed CHS formation, which would have been a new way of organizing their population, made their stay official, and signalled acceptance of the state's interventions. It would have also freed the state institutions from the demands for re-resettlement from the relocated residents. The GBGBA has intervened to voice the resident's issues around pollution and lack of infrastructure. With the judicialization of the case (Articles III, IV), the future utility of the tenements and the township remains uncertain as new measures of habitability are introduced.

New arbitrariness: The resettlement policy is unclear about state responsibilities after resettlement, and lays down "arbitrary" bureaucratic consequences (following, Gupta, 2012). This post-resettlement government is outside the regime's resettlement construction programme. The policy is unclear, even silent, about the unfolding complexities of population and township governance. There is a lack of coordination amongst state institutions, like project implementation agencies, municipal authorities, and mediating NGOs. Within a township, buildings are owned by different project implementation agencies, and open spaces are owned and maintained by the municipal authority. At times, one or a cluster of buildings is divided between two or more project implementation agencies, bringing displaced families from different locations, with different entitlements, and even distinct orders of governance.

The resettled families have to pay an exceptional concessional property tax for 10 years, and, thereafter full property tax under the general residential regulations. After 10 years, the project implementation agency (MMRDA and MCGM) is

required to transfer the land deed and the Community Maintenance Fund to the functional CHSs. Both regulations are contested. To connect with global urbanisms and the literature on housing struggles (see sections 4.2, 4.3), neither slum and resettlement land, nor the settlements themselves, are fully financialized, commodified, or capitalized. The hope of receiving these two entitlements also creates conflict in leadership, participation, and belonging (political and social) within the townships. These townships are governed at the local level (CHS, Federation of CHSs), and assisted at the ward level (political parties), by city authorities (MMRDA, MCGM, SRA) and non-state entities (the NGOs). Settlement zones are also under direct state interventions (through exceptional laws, notices, bills, inspections, and monitoring) and indirect self or collective-based governance (household, CHS or federation, and of maintenance fees, upkeep, mutual surveillance). Thus, these housing zones evolve as sites of plural, but exceptional governance.

In Mahul, new complexities are emerging beyond this arbitrariness. The administrative ward remains "unfit" for human habitation. However, the municipal authority has approached the environmental agency and the Supreme Court of India to challenge its earlier decisions that arguably disallowed the authority from resettling the evicted poor here, at least legally. Other state agencies, including the urban governance departments, have initiated multiple interventions. For example, the seaward side of the township is being reclaimed to add mobility routes—however, the reclamation, at least in part, might be in contravention of environmental laws. As of 2022, the highway between the refinery and the township is being widened, increasing the separation from 35 to as much as 50 metres, in adherence to legal norms.

To add further complexity, the Shiv Sena government assisted in the re-relocation of over 800 families from Mahul, against opposition from the BJP, during 2018–2020. However, the Shiv Sena government also removed Mahul from the city's pollution measurement spots from Maharashtra Pollution Report (2021). This means that despite being one of the most polluted urban centres, no official data on the level or constituents of pollution are available. Such measures tend to normalize pollution and toxicity, and suggest un/official and il/legal ways of making Mahul habitable. The residents, while waiting for a favourable re-relocation option, have started making meaning in their dwellings through investments in their tenements, changed narratives around pollution and toxicity, and perceptions of their incapacity to demand an alternative of invincible

bureaucratic complexities. These activities, from above and below, make new meanings of contested habitability (Simone, 2016).

In this chapter, I have detailed a comprehensive summary of the state's ways of governing the slum question in recent decades. These processes trace shifts in state power and its planning and interventions, and in resettlements, through neoliberal reordering, local political-economic logics, populist mediations, institutional reworking, and subaltern aspirations. A reinterpretation of the SRS planning centralizes a dichotomous planning, architectural, and built forms of resettlement housing that enable formal living, but inevitably have detrimental consequences for health and well-being. These conditions are the essential material characteristics of the unfolding dis/possessive lives of resettlement townships, and connect with urban renewal processes, as was identified in the previous chapter and will be investigated in the next. Lastly, this chapter has discussed the empirical cases and their circumstances during and after resettlement. The next chapter furthers this discussion by considering scholarly debates around these topics.

3. Revisiting urban resettlements

Chapter 3 reviews the research areas that are critical for this dissertation. It is divided into three sections. Section 3.1 begins with a discussion of slum clearances and the ways enclosures create sociopolitical processes, effects, and subjectivities of urban dispossession, and explores the interpretations of state powers in governing displaceable populations. It locates new state-led and NGO-mediated ways of urban dis/possession through institutional inclusion, and the ways state institutions, non-state actors, collectives of the poor, and individuals reshape governing techniques and subjecthood, and resist or negotiate for an alternative. Section 3.2 focuses on the formulation of urban resettlement, the ambiguities of urban improvement, and government of urban poverty through land-based interventions which yield new possibilities—and marginalities—at the urban margins. It is followed by a discussion on tenement-based resettlement, especially at urban peripheries, that engender modalities of stringent state control, but, is also marred by state arbitrariness and mediation by non-state actors, abandonment within inclusion, and the emergence of new ways of political negotiation in maintaining human life and surrounding. Finally, section 3.3 summarizes the dissertation's enquiries as extension of the previous research through theoretical, methodological and empirical salience.

3.1. Slum clearances and renewal: Of sociopolitical enclosures

In this section I discuss three interrelated clusters of academic scholarship: first, sociopolitical processes and effects of urban dispossession through slum clearances; second, new state-led and NGO-ized ways of urban dis/possession which are also applicable to urban securitization and infrastructure-based renewal; and third, a brief encounter with newer movements and forms of resistance.

Urban slum clearance (and resettlement) is a precursor of a significant typology of urban renewal in the cities of the Global South. Critical urban and geographical scholarship broadly theorizes slum clearance for alternative uses following the political-economic logic of "Accumulation by Dispossession" (or ABD; Harvey, 2003, see next chapter for a theoretical discussion, limitations and how I have adapted its ideas for this dissertation). Studies present different motives for urban dispossession. These include, for example, dispossessions to make cities world class with elite influences (Ghertner, 2014); the influence of global consulting firms and real estate developers, and their local impacts (Searle, 2016); speculative future cities (Goldman, 2011); urban growth coalitions or local governing regimes (Weinstein, 2013); aesthetic modernization of cities (Baviskar, 2006); and invoking the illegalities of slums and their inhabitants in the city (Bhan, 2016). These studies of urban redevelopment provide crucial macro-level, institutional, and mostly spatial or land-based views into dispossession and exclusion. This dissertation follows on a growing trend in in urban sociological and ethnographic studies to build on the sociopolitical and human consequences of these processes.

Doshi (2013) calls to go beyond the spatial-geographical determinants of dispossession to locate how diverse political subjecthood and subjectivities evolve through dispossessive urban interventions at local levels. In doing so, she builds on the sociopolitics of "enclosures". Discussion on enclosures goes back to Marx (1977) in considering processes that alienate workers from the conditions of their labour. In a recent re-contextualization, Vasudevan and colleagues have advocated a reconciliation between Marx and Foucault towards a continuous formation of "enclosures" (Vasudevan, McFarlane & Jeffrey, 2008, pp. 1642-1643): forces of institutional inclusion and exclusion that mediate "subjects, territories and modes of subordination" and lead to "forms of subjectification" within ongoing dispossessions.

This scholarship is based on recent approaches to neoliberalism that tends to work in predatory ways, and towards a "new mode of political optimization" (Ong, 2007, p. 3; Rose, 1999). As Ong (2007, p. 3) and others have informed us, neoliberalism is "reconfiguring relationship between governing and governed, power and knowledge, and sovereignty and territoriality". Following these conceptual anchors, which I also follow in this dissertation, Doshi (2013) relates to displacements to exemplify new enclosures whereby ethnographic explorations shift attention from the systemic macro-institutional logics of spatial dispossession and its crises, to its consequences for social groups, and their heterogenous

relations with the redevelopment regimes, technologies of governance and emergent subjectivities. The ongoing formation of differential enclosures can help highlight diverse political practices of subaltern groups and people that might arise against the elitist narratives and also capture the limits of such political practices against forces of dispossession.

With the pretext of Foucauldian perspectives on urban governmentalities, or the state arts used to govern populations, it is possible to delineate the meanings of subject and subjectivities here. In Foucault's (1982, pp. 781-782) writings, subject is the centre of experience: "one who experiences, feels, or thinks or is thought about through schemes of governing through exposure to power, and through their ways and details of experiences could be broadly related as subjectivities". The processes, political or otherwise, that make a subject refers to subjectification. At times, subjectification is consonant with subjection, however, the latter is also assigned with coercive, violent, and limiting forms of subjectification (Ong, 2007). Beyond these simplified meaning, we can also invoke Foucault on the extensive meaning of subject:

> power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word 'subject': subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. (Foucault, 1982, p. 781)

The dispossession in material terms relates to eviction, slum clearances, forceful removal from the inner-city or alternative inclusion into resettlement fold. In Indian cities like Mumbai, social groups and individual identities (ethno-religious, collective, gender, beyond a broad class divide of bourgeoise/elite and subaltern/poor) interact with resettlement regimes of dispossession on the one hand, and urban bureaucracy on the other, forming differential dispossessions and subjectivities. Based on an ethnographic study of Mumbai's NGO-mediated slum displacements in the urban transport project (SPARC and MUTP respectively), Doshi (2013, p. 3) proposes seeing accumulation through "differentiated displacement": "how regimes of redevelopmental rule rely on simultaneously inclusive and exclusionary technologies of subjection through eviction and

market-oriented resettlement as well as classed, gendered, and ethnicized subjectivities that shape and remake these regimes and urban space itself". The use of enclosure as gateways to differential displacement yields sociopolitical explanations. However, such enclosures must be expanded in the making of resettlement or the ways evicted populations are governed.

We pause here to make meaning of Doshi's (2013) "redevelopmental rule". If redevelopment follows macropolitical economic logics and spatial determinants, what does rule—a shorthand for authority—imply? While her work does not offer a clear meaning for rule, and symbolizes the market's dominance, Weinstein's (2014) engagement with Mumbai's slum-based dispossessions is helpful here. She argues that ABD (alone) does not explain dispossessions in Indian cities like Mumbai, and maybe elsewhere, as state sovereignties remain intertwined with the economic and political (and other) forces making urban renewal happen. For Weinstein (2013, p. 285), "demolitions are embedded in contestations over authority and sovereignty in governance of the Indian city". Further, Weinstein builds on Hansen and Stepputat's (2005) categorization of sovereignty that works alongside these neoliberal market logics: or, accumulation and restructuration processes occur through sovereign mediation. Together, the redevelopment rule should imply the connections amongst the state, its powers and its entanglements with neoliberal logics and actors in urban redevelopments.

Further, evictions and inclusion in resettlement are seen through new ideologies of belonging, interpretation of the poor's "aspirations" (to invoke Appadurai, 1996) of improved housing and political mediation of NGOs in these sociopolitical processes as it has been interpreted in *in-situ* contexts (Anand & Rademacher, 2011). In a sense, the redevelopment regimes produce what Ong (2007) calls "graduated" forms of citizenship through resettlement inclusion, compared to slum living which is marred with relative deficiencies, informalities, and everyday precarity (Doshi, 2013; Rao, 2013). Scholars have related state interventions with the making and remaking of urban citizenship (Appadurai, 2002). The rise of new social movements demanding or negotiating urban inclusion have refined the ideas of urban citizenship.

However, such notions are contested. The production of urbanized citizenship yields a subjecthood that might not correspond to the Western liberal ideas of citizenship suggested by Foucault-inspired scholarship on post-colonial cities (Chatterjee, 2011). The notion of citizenship has transcended political belonging to state sovereignty, to material benefits or belonging (of housing, inclusion, etc.),

for the otherwise excluded urban poor. Beyond this materiality of citizenship, new factors like environment (Ghertner, 2021), or contextual meanings of political subjecthood within the thicket of citizenship practices, are important (Articles I, IV). Thus, situated differences could bring about the diverse political relations that the poor develop with urban society.

The issue of securitization forms a different meaning of the enclosure (case 2). For example, alongside ongoing neoliberal consequences, urban discourses celebrating redevelopment brand informal settlers as a public nuisance (Ghertner, 2010, p. 201), a bourgeoise urban disorder (Baviskar, 2003), or simply illegal occupants of the city (Bhan, 2016). These urban processes redefine the ongoing dispossessions in Indian cities. Bhan (2016) makes an ethnography of slum clearances in Delhi, bounded with spatial illegality, and an unmaking of urban citizenship through judicialized dispossession. The evictions ordered by the High Court, Bhan (2016, p. 22) argues, make city fragments like slum areas into "governable spaces" (Rose, 1999).

Using Foucauldian analytics, we see that evictions are operationalized through court arguments, bureaucratic details (papers), judicial documents, and hearings. These processes initiate planned urban development and government of the slum poor. This judicialization of the illegal presence of the poor has to do with the formation of dispositifs or "forms of knowledge, modes of perception, practices and calculations, vocabularies" as well as "authority, judgement" in governing the illegitimate populations (Rose, 1999, p. 52). Delhi's poor (in Bhan's work), rather than fighting for the often-pronounced "right to the city" (Harvey, 2008), tended to negotiate rights *in* the city through constant negotiation with the Indian developmental state (Chatterjee, 1997). The legal right to stay in the city and formulate claims or to negotiate remained a condition of the judicial-legal dispositif, with complex and uncertain effects. Those who were illegalized were erased, and those who were legal found themselves in peripheral urban resettlement zones.

Similarly, Baviskar's (2006) study on Delhi's Yamuna riverfront raises pertinent urban political questions. For brutal evictions and spatial segregation,

> *the apartheid analogy is no exaggerations…* Despite their numbers, Delhi's poor don't make a dent in the city's politics. The absence of collective action or voice is part of outcome of the state strategies of regulating the poor. Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and many other cities figure what Davis called 'Planet of Slums'. Is Davis right? Has the late-capitalist triage of humanity already taken place? The city still

needs the poor. It needs their labour, enterprise and ingenuity. (Baviskar, 2006, unpaged)

Rather than the celebrated pathways of negotiation or resistance, Baviskar's hope for the urban subaltern classes comes from possible affective relations with the urban elites and middle classes which need labouring bodies. Baviskar's provocation, which was written almost two decades ago, also poses a recurrent question on the (im)possibility of a collective "action" or "voice". In other case, Baviskar (2006, reprinted in 2018) theorizes "bourgeoisie environmentalism" as a phenomenon in which the slums and their dwellers become environmental others to the urban: a new sociopolitic abnormal, invoking disciplinary interventions like slum clearances. Again, certain environmental logics, beyond the dominant capitalist logic of urban renewal, continue to shape Indian megacities and other Southern cities more generally.

Second, the dissertation deals with a new frontier of dispossession through state-led or NGO-led inclusion (case 1). Against brutal slum clearances (case 2), an alternative paradigm of slum eviction and relocation (with little emphasis on post-eviction process like resettlements) has shaped academic discourses. It is built on institutional mediation, on the pretext of scepticism about state violence, by an urban NGO, the SPARC Alliance. To recall, in chapter 2 we read the words of an NGO representative who said it could have "stormed the barricades" but "chose otherwise" and that the NGO was "conscious that they cannot defeat the state"—"the more oppositional their position, the more likely they are to risk violence and other forms of repression" (Mitlin & Patel 2005, p. 3). Thus, rather than an outright opposition, as claimed, cooperation with the state became a new technology of NGO-ized intervention.

Inclusion and the possibility of formal rehousing, emerged as a new site of urban politics. As Appadurai famously argues:

> In a city where ration cards, electricity bills, and rent receipts guarantee other rights to the benefits of citizenship, the inability to secure claims to proper housing and other political handicaps reinforce each other. Housing—and its lack—set the stage for the most public drama of disenfranchisement in Mumbai. In fact, housing can be argued to be the single most critical site of this city's politics of citizenship. (Appadurai 2002, p. 27)

Appadurai argues that the urban poor suffer from widespread invisibility in the eyes of the state (Scott, 1998), and insecure housing perpetuates everyday precarity. Against this, he argues that the politics of "visibility", NGO-ized institutional inclusion, and formal housing through resettlement, are processes that refine urban politics whereby the 'invisible' poor negotiate "housing-based citizenship" from "below" (Appadurai, 2002). Similar to the NGO's vocabulary, Appadurai frames these political dynamisms around the pretext of an emergency and its tyranny (Appadurai, 2002, p. 30), and the state capacity for violence. Against the tyranny, a "politics of patience" of sustained negotiation, tactful waiting and mobilization frames a new paradigm for the poor. It is the new politics of "hope" for the urban poor (Appadurai, 2002, p. 24). Appadurai's (2002) post-developmental imaginations of visibility and inclusion (but unlinked from resettlement discourse, which I follow) anchored what Gibson-Graham (2006) argued as "post-capitalist" politics. References to the NGO's works, and Appadurai's endorsements and theorizing, are central to academic scholarship on inclusion, mediation, hope, citizenship, and housing.

Revisiting worsening housing precarity in Mumbai and elsewhere, Appadurai (2013) furthers the debate on urban insecurities that make the urban poor into "bare citizens". The concept of *bare citizens* owes much to Arendt's (1951[1973]) "naked life" and Agamben's (1998) "bare life", wherein human beings are stripped of political legitimacy. The juxtaposition of bare with citizen sounds imaginatively positive and intellectually arduous for the fate of planetary slums, and, demonstrates the theoretical anxieties of scholarship on urban poverty and urbanity at large (Rao, 2006, see introduction). This leaves us slightly perplexed, caught between the axiomatic and evolving forms and meanings of bareness that eclipse the urban and new possible forms of citizenship shaping urban societies.

In this dissertation, I critically revisit the NGO-ized enclosure of civic interventions and negotiation that has emerged as an analytical framework for the poor's inclusion in state-led interventions (Boonyabancha & Mitlin, 2012; Bhan, 2016; amongst others). As McFarlane argues, the discursive space of inclusion offers alternative new models of "political engagement" and a "development alternative" that assures state/market-led formal housing for the poor instead of an alternative to development itself (McFarlane, 2004, p. 910; McFarlane, 2011). While, Appadurai's (2002, p. 29) sees mediation and negotiation as "realpolitik", McFarlane (2004) suggests it is a more plausible approach for poverty alleviation against the confrontational approach used by some non-state urban institutions.

One such case is GBGBA, which imagined an alternative egalitarian and pro-poor urbanity. It has not avoided non-violent protest, movements (*jan andolan*), and alternative ways of grassroots mobilization in Mumbai. However, such claims are less understood for a plausible reflection. In the case of the SPARC Alliance, studies have considered "spaces of political engagement" to refer to political discursive spaces between the state authorities and the NGO (McFarlane, 2011), as arguably they chose not to storm the barricades and cooperate with the state. We need to stretch this enclosure of inclusion, avenues of political engagement, and emergent subjectivities, to investigate further (case 1, article 1). First, this discursive space proposed by NGOs and the state, and promulgated by dominant academic theorizing, must not be seen as singular and totalizing logic with deterministic effects. The logics that bring universalized inclusion and political engagement might have differential empirical outcomes.

Second, following the variability of sociopolitical enclosures, we must stretch the framework of inclusion and political engagement to the poor's collectives and individual participants in the way it shapes both eviction and post-eviction scenarios of relocation, resettlement, and rehabilitation.

Third, the domain of resistance to renewal is ambiguous. Taking cue from Tilly (2003), whose scholarship has shaped contested claim-making and new social movements, Weinstein (2013) imagines a possibility of contention in urban politics. As we know, Tilly (2003, p. 5) defines repertoires of contention as "a set of performances by which members of politically constituted actors make claims on each other, claims that if realized would affect their object's interest". Likewise Weinstein, leaning on Tilly, imagines a cycle of contention that could develop from urban poor collectives, non-state actors and the many institutions of state sovereignty, to being a series of contention and change in what could be seen as new "social movements" (Tilly, 2003).

Weinstein's analysis on contention is based on historical sociology of the last few decades of Mumbai's evictions. However, contentions could not be empirically established amidst fear of abandonment if the people are not included, and violence if they do not cooperate with institutional inclusion. This contention is limited in three ways: first, the notion of the Community of the urban poor cannot be taken for granted in a static and cohesive form, as state powers constantly reshape issues, politics, and subjectivities (Rose, 1999); second, the spectacle of sovereignty gets complex when it is intertwined with plural forms of legality, repressive and inclusive apparatuses of governance; and third, despite the

radical social and academic necessity, we do not witness a formation and sustenance of social movements even in the direst circumstances (see case 2).

Bayat (2017), on the other hand, remains us of new social movements, or *nonmovements*, that erupt, shape, and refine subaltern urban politics. Nonmovements are "collective actions of noncollective actors" (Bayat, 2017, p. 106): they are

> the shared contentious practices of a larger number of fragmented people whose similar but disconnected claims produce important social change in their own lives, and society at large, even though such practices are rarely guided by an ideology, recognizable leadership or organization. (Bayat, 2017, p. 106)

Such actors and actions tend to bring political struggles into the global restructuration that has brought a "double process" of integration and social exclusion (Bayat, 2017).

I adapt nonmovements to examine the people's struggle against life-threatening resettlement. Following the cases ethnographically, and theorizing inductively, I use nonmovement slightly differently from Bayat's in two significant ways: first, rather than slums or housing-based precarity as a site of dispossession and negotiation, I locate emergent nonmovement appearing as activities within state-led resettlement inclusion and redevelopmental dis/possession. In other words, it does not ameliorate ordinary urban marginality or informal living but refers to ways to negotiate a new politics of life emerging from life-threatening housing and inclusion with an overtly resistive outlook, but negotiative aspiration. These sociopolitics do not oppose capitalist accumulation or neoliberal growth regimes (of renewal). They seek alternative visibility, subject positions, entitlements, and governance. Second, rather than targeting state and market-centric accumulative logics, these new nonmovements connect to urban bureaucracy through a new moralization and informalization of the politics of life at urban margins (questions 2 and 3).

3.2. R&R: Beyond 'gift' and "discipline"

In this section, I critique resettlement and post-resettlement circumstances through an examination of the ambiguities of improvement and governance. Resettlement is defined as "a distinctive form of mobility in that why, where, and

how people move are determined by authorities ahead of displacement" (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2020, p. 26). It has rural origins, especially in the World Bank-supported big dam infrastructures in India. The most prominent is the Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada River, introduced in the late 1970s as a development scheme. It became a controversial "development" project, causing incalculable human and environmental impacts. The World Bank's Development-caused Forced Displacement and Resettlements (DFDR, especially Operational Directive 4.10) discusses the scope of human R&R. Resettlement involves institutional measures to improve, or at least to restore, incomes and livelihoods.

However, as Cernea has highlighted, resettlement brings multiple risks: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity, and loss of community (Cernea, 1997; Cernea & Maldonado, 2018). The social movements Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA; Save the Narmada Movement), led by activists like Medha Patkar, have resisted the idea of big dams and demanded proper human resettlement and environmental restoration. During the 1990s, Patkar founded the National Alliance of People's Movement (NAPM), a nationwide agglomeration of people's struggles against the hegemonic globalization. NAPM's sister organization GBGBA contests brutal urban dispossession, its inhuman consequences, and the implementation of R&R in Mumbai. Indian R&R, and its urbanization in Mumbai, thus, bears a foundational contribution to the global (World Bank), non-state (GBGBA, SPARC), and various state institutions.

Human R&R have been urbanized and globalized since the 1980s. Urban R&R emerged from the World Bank's resettlement policies and institutional adaptations. Today, slum R&R underlies all possible urban renewal. Across scholarly debates, while displacement refers to destruction, removal, expulsion or leaving a place, and resettlement refers to arrival, settling, living, dwelling in a new area, housing, habitat, and sociality. Resettlement is seen as "a governmental program with multiple logics, one that sees to render people and space more governable" (Rogers & Wilmsen, 2019, p. 3). R&R governance is also seen as a "double-edged" moment for the urban poor, as Bhan & Shivanand (2013, p. 54) find in Delhi: "a process that encapsulates state-led violence and destruction through eviction at the sites of displacement and also a promise or hope of legality and tenurial security through resettlement and formal housing for the poor". Most of the sociological and ethnographic enquiries in urban R&R bring the

complexities of the state functions, challenges of social improvement, inclusion, governance, urban citizenship and diverse subjectivities. As will become clear below, slum clearances evolve as the site of dispossession. By contrast, resettlements are sites and processes of inclusion where complex formality, legality, and marginalities take place. I traverse beyond these dichotomies to locate resettlements as new material and experiential sites of dispossession, marginalities, and potentialities.

Ethnographic studies on Delhi's *ex-situ* resettlements (land-plot based) locate ambiguous state functions and complexities within the overt possibilities for improvement in the lives of the poor. For example, Tarlo's (2003) pioneering explorations concern mass slum clearances (of over 700,000 people) and forced resettlements in Delhi's Welcome colony during the Emergency era. These policies profoundly disrupted people's lives, and left their stories unheard and forgotten. The beneficiaries were targeted through a dual policy of slum clearance and resettlement at the cost of biologically punitive sterilization. Her study draws on personal narratives of remembering and forgetting, and on lived timeframes to explain the state's targeting of the poor and the poor's role in perpetuating such oppression. Secondly, the "paper truths" (Tarlo 2003, p. 10) or materiality of official documents, which I also follow in post-resettlement circumstances (Article IV), shape the everyday lives of marginalized urban populations. Within stringent sovereign intervention, the poor also became state agents, embodying the injustices themselves and influencing others for governmental inclusion. Brutal sovereign intervention, Tarlo (2003, p. 3) realizes, leaves "little space for the romanticization of the victim".

Rao (2013) builds on an extended ethnographic exploration of the resettlement for neoliberal urban renewal on Delhi's peripheries (a similar empirical site to Tarlo's). She suggests that urban restructuring seeks to discipline the poor through rehousing, accommodate them in formal urban economies, and mimic the pedagogy of empowerment and progress that ultimately engenders a thicket of challenges for the poor. She also argues that the lives of resettled people are reshaped through legal state interventions, however, they lead to crises of urban survivalism and bureaucratic unaccountability. Employing Ferguson's (2006) acclaimed work on the depoliticizing effect of state interventions, Rao argues that institutional inclusion through resettlement "depoliticizes" urban poverty. The resettled poor engage not through "acts of resistance but pragmatic engagements with impossible plan" (Rao, 2013, p. 769) of social improvement that takes many

forms: complaints, and of in/formal negotiations with state and political actors (Chatterjee, 2004). On the urban plane, resettlements are "governed by the right to survival, a right to housing that shapes the desire for urban restructuring and growth" (Rao, 2013, p. 773). In another ethnographic study in Delhi, Rao (2010) finds resettlements are sites of "survival at the margins" that also give legitimate urban membership, housing compensation, and aspirations to middle-class lifestyles. Resettlements appear as the "benevolent" side of slum eradication, combining "gift" and "discipline", hierarchical inclusion in urban modernity, and new conducts of self and local governance under state neglect (Rao, 2010, p. 412).

Ghertner's (2015a) *Rule by Aesthetics*, a geographical-ethnographic study in Delhi, shows how the urban poor threatened by demolition, and facilitated by resettlements, slowly take part in a world-class imaginary. These processes are ruled through urban "aesthetic" forms of urban governmentality. Governmentality, for Ghertner, is helpful as a modern form of power that shapes the conduct of subjects without disciplinary mechanisms like the use of force. In urban resettlement, the population's conduct is shaped by constructing social categories of the poor seeking improvements and embodying habits, aspirations, and belonging for healthy urban living that simultaneously shapes world-class city-making. Through resettlement, the newly propertied residents of Shiv Camp entered speculative urbanism and transformed a "geography of banishment to a geography of hope" (Ghertner, 2015a, p. 21). Ghertner's "geography of banishment" refers to urban peripherality and marginalization through social, economic, and political means. Nevertheless, like Rao, he finds that the making of propertied and legalized residents was the basis of graduated living and hope in a transforming Delhi. Such new places of banishment (polluted, toxic, and peripheral areas) have new meanings and relations in my empirical studies in Mumbai. As well, these geographies of hope remain contested amidst persistent and even worsening marginalities within graduated urban living.

Dutta's (2016) *The Illegal City* offers a feminist critique of so-called participatory resettlements at Delhi's fringes. Using ethnographic exploration, and an anthropology of state practices (Das & Poole, 2004; Gupta, 2006), she argues that the valorization of resettlements, and the logics of a desire for formal housing, sustains slum clearances. Endorsing Benjamin's (1978) critique of violence, juxtaposed with Agamben's "exception" (2005), Dutta argues that state violence produces squatters as exceptional sites marked by precarity and uncertainty. However, the myth of resettlement and linked legality remains short

as residents wait for resettlement promises while being pushed to managing their needs through informal means. She challenges the pervasive logic of "participation" that dominates slum clearance-based urban renewal across the cities of Global South (Dutta, 2013).

Against the narratives that improvement and security of tenure bring positive effects, peripheralization is widespread in resettlements. Ramakrishnan (2014) finds in Delhi's Bawana that resettlements brought profound placelessness as the residents felt nowhere in peripheral urban housing zones. Being sent to peripheral housing, and institutional inclusion, produce a suspension of time and space. This is a salient technology of governing the poor—the "signature" of the state, or an inseparability of legal and illegal (Das, 2004)—where the amorphous distinction between the legal and illegal ways of governing, laws, and their effects brings unpredictability in sociopolitical lives. Placelessness is administered through resettlements that disconnect the social and the political, which Ramakrishnan, employing Ferguson (1994), sees as a broad suspension of lives between Indian urban developmental aspirations and modernity, and produced social lives. Like Dutta (2016) and others, Ramakrishnan emphasizes that, rather than an urban exception, such emplacements are now the norm in governing the urban poor.

The second set of empirical studies relates to tenements-based (*in-situ* and *ex-situ*) R&R in Indian cities and elsewhere. Anand and Rademacher (2011) locate Mumbai's *in-situ* resettlements, the slum dweller's aspiration (inspired by Appadurai, 1996), and the right to resettlement within capitalist dispossessions. Considering urban inequality and systemic exclusion as engrained urban reality, they find SRS as unexpectedly popular, which aligns with the interests of certain settlers while privileging profit for the developers. "Settlers in Mumbai have contradictory and multiple relations with capitalism that simultaneously marginalize and enable them" (Anand & Rademacher, 2011, p. 1766). For them, SRS is a "neoliberal solution" to urban poor's housing that has emerged under the pretext of decades of mobilization, popular mediation, and state-market collaboration. With some ambivalence, they note: "rights to the city to consider an uncomfortable proposition: in order to achieve certain kinds of inclusion and equality, we might be called upon to institutionalize other forms of exclusion and inequality" (Anand & Rademacher, 2011, p. 1769). Similarly, with Mumbai's Dharavi, a battlefield of urban resistance and slum possession (Harvey, 2008), Chatterji and Mehta (2007) find an alternative Community practice through *in-situ* resettlements. They show that bureaucratic interventions and mediating

actors (builders, NGOs, and representatives) carve the social composite to generate knowledge and embed themselves in state-led slum resettlements, thus also leading to the production of a new Community that seeks housing improvement.

Studies on *ex-situ* resettlements, the focus of this dissertation, bring knowledge on the contested production of new Community post-resettlement circumstances, and their contested government. Manish Jha (2011, p. 5), in his Foucault-inspired empirical exploration, locates the resettlement process in the urban peripheral (M-East, Mumbai) as of "complementaries and conflict" of state powers through which coercion and facilitation decides the legibility, but also the wants and conducts of resettled populations. The individualization of persons for entitlements, and the totalization of collective demolition and relocation, shape differential subjectivities but leave little scope for negotiation or modification in the intervention. The state-led project masks violence through legitimization and "pragmatics of guidance" for the poor that must be complied with (Jha, 2011, p. 7). The pragmatic face relates to the "pastoral" state functions that promise improvement and benefits (Foucault, 2007).[18] In this complex conjuncture, the outward benevolence and possibility of violence together complicate sovereign biopolitical functions.

Further, the peripheral urban housing zones symbolize what Jha (2011, p. 11) sees as "governing of development democracy in a unique form" for the poor, who are otherwise excluded from both the real benefits of development and of democratic expansion, but are simultaneously included within the expanding topography of sovereign power. It is here that we see a salient pronouncement of what Agamben (1998) calls the "bare life". While Jha rightly sees political and subjective powerlessness, loss of social bonds, and increased economic vulnerabilities through these projects, these sites now allow alternative negotiations that, again, modify the contextual meaning of bare urban living or of state-population relations.

Bhide's (2017) governmentality-inspired (from Agamben and Foucault) empirical study locates Mumbai's resettlements (in Vashi Naka) as exceptional interventions. The state's intervention reduces citizen to "beneficiaries"; the

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18 Foucault (2007) explains pastoral powers as the mostly beneficial forms of power that aim towards salvation, especially for population groups on the move rather than in a confined territory. Using this metaphor, Foucault emphasizes the techniques of government through the introduction of conducts for the population.

improvement and restoration of lives is contravened. Communities are introduced to neoliberal ways of self-management of assets, settlements and lives while coping with new marginalities. Interestingly, Bhide (2017, p. 80) also notes that while sovereign intervention with an implied threat of violence leads to inclusion, everyday life remains uncertain amidst state withdrawal and introduction of new political intermediaries. This is how urban discourse on free housing entitlements, people-based post-resettlement organizing, and some state and NGO facilitation, tend to create subjects as beneficiaries and codify new state arbitrariness. Burte and Kamath (2017, p. 71) similarly argue for a strong/weak state dialectic that produces strong gestures through structural violence in capital accumulation and dispossession from the inner-city, but remains selectively weak in "its responsibility to protect and strengthen the life chances and claims of poor groups/spaces". While in Bhide's study, resistance takes shape through changing natures of collectivization for negotiation, Burte and Kamath (2017) hope for the emergence of social practices that might disrupt capitalist-state expansion and resist inclusion in such dispossessive interventions. Such imperatives seem radical within free housing and inclusive technologies.

Empirical *ex-situ* resettlement studies from the Global South, and cities like Delhi, Lomé (Togo), Córdoba (Argentina), Casablanca (Morocco), Tehran (Iran), Maputo (Mozambique), and Lalibela (Ethiopia) in Brier's and colleagues' *Urban Resettlements in the Global South* (Beier, Spire & Bridonneau, 2021). The studies in this volume trace lived experiences post-resettlement as a complex mix of propertied, graduated urban residence, and alternative forms of precarity. Dupont and Gowda's (2021) study on Delhi's transit camp and resettlements see these sites as new governable camps. Here, experiments of urban citizenship bring technologies of biopolitics (management, mediated-basic amenities), disciplining that are even privatized (constrictive settlement-living, surveillance, humiliation) and limited entitlements marred by increasing socioeconomic vulnerabilities. An aim to trace acts of resistance and subversion unravels residents' appropriation of camp-spaces and resources, make makeshift arrangements for livelihoods and belonging, and articulate a new politics of living within the camp-spaces. Camps have long been sites of enquiries into emergent forms of biopolitics and alternative modes of governance (Fassin, 2005; cf. Agamben, 2005). This is a productive terrain of exceptionalism, which I also follow in NGO-mediated camp-based resettlements in Mumbai, where the state's pastoral functions, as well as technologies of making citizenship, coincide with disciplinary interventions (case 1).

Similarly, Spire and Pilo's (2021) study on Lomé emphasizes the double logic of urban dispossession and governmentality that institutionalize "soft constraints" (of coercion) with housing compensation, and makes resettlements acceptable and urban renewal conducive. These constrains make the urban subject "simultaneously empowered and self-disciplined, civil and mobilized, displaced and compensated", as Roy (2009, p. 161) found in Mumbai's SPARC-led resettlements (case 1). Like resettlements in Indian cities, governing everyday lives in resettlements in Lomé remains intertwined between the state's promises and access to services within the new relations based on property (Spire & Togo, 2022). Bertone, Vega and Ciuffolini (2021) build on a Foucauldian interpretation of neoliberalism that produces narratives, logic, and devices for resettlement to govern urban spaces and populations, and make capitalism work. Desire to improve living conditions, formal housing-based security of tenure, compared to eviction-prone and precarious environmental dwelling, shapes aspirations from below and supports state/market technologies. Resettlement is now a new face of poverty as people struggle to be facilitated for housing, and slowly become poor consumers (Bertone et al., 2021). The physical attributes of housing connect with subjective lived experiences that challenge a "top-down" linear shelter-centric focus on urban housing needs. Material and sociopolitical relations also relate to local atmosphere, the aesthetic of housing, typology of tenurial security, peripheralization, crumpling infrastructures and socio-economic marginalities (Brier, Spire & Bridonneau, 2021).

3.3. Taking enquiries forward

Previous studies have brought out the sociopolitical and material realities of urban dispossession for slum clearance. Further, studies exploring what happens after dispossession disentangle the emerging and transforming state, market, and sociopolitical relations, by locating the people at the centre of top-down interventions.

Bringing these two streams together in the redevelopment-resettlement axis, urban renewal emerges as a contested field of social analysis. These studies thicken the double-edge logic of dispossession-accommodation and sociopolitical struggles, which this dissertation also contributes to. Further, rather than disparage state intervention as either sovereign or biopolitical, I show that at the

redevelopment-resettlement axis is a complex triangulation of these forms of state power. I enquire into the sociopolitics of two typologies of urban dispossession that are inclusive but also violent. Further, I problematize the emplacement side of urban dispossession: the resettlements. Rather than welfarist, compensatory, or accommodative interpretations of resettlements and related governmentalities, I expand the scholarship on resettlement as sites of variegated dispossession, emergent alternative biopolitics, governance, and life forms.

The theoretical imperatives of the previous studies have situated the urban populations subjected to state's interventions at the forefront of governance discourses. Post-structuralist and postcolonial interpretations of neoliberal states, exception, governmentality, and biopolitics, come squarely to the fore. State powers could be seen as sovereign or plural sovereigns, rational or arbitrary, legible or illegible, through processes and consequences (Hansen & Stepputat, 2006; Bertelsen, 2009; Gupta, 2012; Das & Poole, 2004; Fuller & Benei, 2009). These explorations and uses of the state or states, converge into Venna Das's (2004, p. 226) arguments of seeing the Indian state, in its varied signatures of "legality and magic", and their inseparability, to make its political, regulatory, and disciplinary functions.

It becomes especially important at the socio-political margins, where the state is constantly making and remaking, and must be understood through its imprints in social lives (Das, 2004). A consolidated state system that is imagined somewhere above, or a relational understanding of the state through constellations of powers, might not be helpful. Moreover, the idea of the state is further compromised amidst global forms of governmentalities. Thus, the myriad manifestations of the state, through local and international policies, last-mile actors, institutions, and practices, is a fruitful domain of analysis of power (see discussion, Fuller & Benei, 2009, pp. 1-5). As discussed earlier, rather than an investigation of the state, we should be concerned with how state process create subjectivities. This is linked to an ethnography-influenced outlook that allows us to grapple with the un/intended effects of the state's interventions in people's lives. The form of the state, its relations with population groups, emerging subjecthood, and subjectivities occur at intersections that are empirical fields of enquiry in this dissertation.

This dissertation enquires into urban renewal and linked resettlements across three axes: dispossessive relations, the politics of the poor, and the politics of urban renewal (also, chapter 1). The enquiries concern two major sociopolitical

enclosures: NGO-mediated urban renewal (case 1), and state-led urban securitization (case 2). On the pretext of Marxist critiques of accumulation and dispossession, urban sociological and ethnographic studies have stretched enquiries into how dispossessive enclosures create differential subjecthood and subjectivities. As I have already discussed, urban scholarship tends to situate NGO-mediated enclosures as differential discursive spaces of political engagements, however, fairly inclusive ones.

I take the enquiries further within these political spaces of political engagement and shift attention, from state vis-à-vis NGO, to state-and-NGO vis-à-vis people, across heterogeneous interactions that shape differential urban displacement and resettlement. Further, urban securitization-based sociopolitical enclosures create new conceptions of urban governance, territoriality, and subjectivity within the slum clearances that continuously regenerate Southern cities, however such dynamics and their relations with urban politics are less understood (Weinstein, 2021). Here, I stretch scholarly discussion on subaltern erasure, abandonment, and heterogeneous government of urban informality. This dissertation deepens academic knowledge and critique of harsh—even violent—state and NGO interventions.

The majority of the scholarship locates slum clearances as dispossession and resettlements as inclusionary state interventions through articulations of free, formal, gift, compensation, graduated urban living, and urban citizenship, amongst others. This dissertation revisits this debate through the two empirical cases and stretches the underlying dispossession within resettlements. It is, again, important to mention that my enquiries are not linked or limited to the generalized discussion on urban peripherality, socio-economic and political marginalization in the backdrop of housing formality.

Rather, I link the policy based, political-economic, material, and subjective registers of dispossession through resettlements and linked urban renewal (see chapter 2). The regime's actors, underlying political-economic logics, laws and regulations create salient features of the townships, tenements, and conditions of livability, some of which correspond to new conditions of banishment (cf. Ghertner, 2015a). This is to problematize capitalist urban renewal and linked neoliberal housing solution seen *ex-situ* (cf. Anand & Rademacher, 2011). In a way, urban resettlement emerges as a process of government of the displaced population through which urban renewal is made possible. Put differently, to locate the empirical analysis at the redevelopment-resettlement axis is to connect

Marxist critiques of dispossession with population management, through which the city emerges as a governing entity, or with governmentality, with sociopolitical and human consequences (chapter 4).

The previous chapters, 1 and 2, have located various housing scenarios, as enabling and dispossessive. Certain life-threatening housing and living circumstances are also created for the urban poor. These conditions emanate a new bio-politics of life through bio-pathologies, grassroots intervention, judicialization and movement towards possibilities of redevelopment governance. These connect with redevelopment, new state-population relations with possible effects on the course of urban renewal, as well as how these population and urban conditions are governed. This is a new politicization of urban poverty and informal politics. Further, new mobilization, (non)movements, and the conditional legitimization of biological degradation of human lives, create new avenues to address the dispossessive effects of renewal regimes: enquiries that this dissertation takes forward.

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4. Theoretical framework

Chapter 4 presents the theoretical framework of "redevelopment as governmentality" in five parts. Section 4.1 presents postcolonial political theorist Kalyan Sanyal's original framework of "development as governmentality", discusses its basic tenets, and its adaptations in rethinking urban dispossessions and government of dispossessed populations. It locates possibilities of retheorization in the context of an emergent predatory neoliberal capitalism and its relation with urban poverty management; (post)coloniality of state powers in governing urban poverty; bureaucracy as the site of dispossession, negotiation and alternative biopolitics of life. Section 4.2 contextualizes urban redevelopments as forms of dis/re/possessive governmentality, departing from Marx, Neil Smith, and David Harvey on one hand, and Foucault on the other, but adjusted to the post-colonial urban redevelopment context of Mumbai. Section 4.3 presents the perspectives of dis/possessions (spatialities, ontologies, materialities), some of which emerge from the empirical work, and supplement the framework. Here, I highlight a predatory urban poverty management perspective, of dispossessive inclusion, following from Achille Mbembe's "necropolitics". Section 4.4 delineates two instructive urban governmentalities, from Partha Chatterjee and Arjun Appadurai, in dealing with dispossessive inclusion based on slum clearances. Section 4.5 supplements the framework with emergent post-dispossessive governmentalities, state arbitrariness, and emergent biopolitics.

4.1. Revisiting development as governmentality

In his landmark work, political theorist Kalyan Sanyal (2007) has inspired us to *Rethink Capitalist Development*. Sanyal sees the neoliberal capitalist

transformation from a postcolonial Marxist purview. He transcends the old Marxian industrial-age euphoria, where dispossession from the land was supposed to provide the working classes labour in the industrial cities, and their absorption in the economy. The production of proletarianized labour, and hence land-based dispossession, was not only imperative for industrial growth and urban society, but also an important for state institutions to extend welfare and services (with reference to Foucault).

Critiques of this Marxian formulation are both widespread and widely accepted. Primitive forms of dispossession (from means of production, or land, more broadly) are not as they are thought of in a strictly Western, Marxian sense. This is especially applicable for many Southern, post-colonial, and non-Western economies, where not only is labour proletarianization a continuous process, or one of ongoing primitive accumulation, but dispossessed laborers are not fully absorbed in rapidly changing capitalist political economies (Chatterjee, 2017). These political economies produce and thrive on what is broadly called "surplus" labour in Marxist sense (Sanyal, 2007). Surplus labour and population are now informalized, and work is traded and outsourced into economic regimes that are outside of, but interconnected with, formal economies. Many labour forms are partly or fully disposable, or are in/dispensable for neoliberal capitalism.

Sanyal builds on the postcolonial Marxist view and melds it with Foucauldian governmentality to argue that the course of development (to reckon Hart, 2010) is a mandatory institutional condition that produces dispossession and creation of surplus populations which states must manage through the extension of new forms of welfare and services. Salient to this framework is how capitalist processes of dispossession function in line with state-led, or even privatized (multi-scalar and now global), models of governing: of governmentalities. Here, it is important to recall that Foucault (2007) imagines biopolitics as central to industrial capitalism, from the perspectives of Western cities, and their extension under neoliberal capitalism.

One could put two major arguments contra this early work of Foucault, especially building on what Chatterjee (2004, 2011) recognizes in "most of the world": first, rather than the state-subject relations under nationalism and modernity, it is the advent of Development that brings new subjectification under the guise of citizenship. In other words, citizenship and political rights is not followed by new subjectification through development interventions, but the other way around. New forms of dispossession (with a primitive outlook) create

political discursive spaces and a relationships of rights, entitlements, and materialities of citizenship.

Second, neoliberal expansion does not necessarily create consumerist subjects and utmost freedoms of governing the self. Rather, it also unleashes new coloniality of powers through violence. Contemporary capitalism—and dispossessions, rather—creates crises of populations. Alongside outright dispossession, the states can neither let the population die, nor suffer in utmost precarity and disenfranchisement, nor indeed permit mass protests (as occurred, to an extent, in West Bengal and Kerala). In this situation, dispossession is intertwined with new ways of governing the population. The state, while facilitating capitalist dispossession, also introduces new ways of "making live" imperatives (Foucault, 1978). As Sanyal and scholars from the Subaltern Studies circle and postcolonial studies would argue, the state attains the legitimacy of capitalist expansion, and implicit or explicit violence, by promising the benefits of development for common people and extending new technologies of welfarism or the alternative management of lives for the dispossessed (Chatterjee, 2011). Through these processes, the notion of the states and capital remain intertwined in what Sanyal (2007) called "development as governmentality".

Sanyal's theorizing is primarily based on rural land acquisitions and outright dispossession in India, which has had theoretical-empirical crossovers across regions and contexts including the urban. Along similar lines, but concerned with the governmentality part, Chatterjee (2004) ethnographically builds and theoretically argues for the *Politics of the Governed* of the urban subaltern in Kolkata. In the background of urban developments that required slum clearances, Chatterjee (2004, p. 40) finds that the people to be evicted "profess a readiness to move out if they are given suitable alternative sites for resettlement, for instance". We can argue that Chatterjee's influential theorizing of "political society" (see section 4.4) provides an anchoring paradigm for urban governmentality on how the state facilitates dispossession and produces a new formal urban for neoliberal capitalist reordering, or alternative uses through bio-politicization of informality.

Nevertheless, these urban dispossessions and governmentalities are more complicated than they seem. First, dispossession means dispossession from urban lands where the occupants have no legal occupation; second, governmentality means management of the evicted towards alternative emplacement (usually on alternative land-plots as seen in Chatterjee, or in tenements, as seen in this dissertation and other studies). This requires advancing the theoretical framework

around the political economy of urban redevelopment and its relation with urban resettlement; technologies of dispossession from urban lands (as dispositifs, see section 4.2); dispossessions associated with resettlements (resettlement constructions and post-resettlement living); and the planning and governmental particularities of urban exceptions in these processes.

Doshi (2018) builds on Sanyal's framework in Mumbai's redevelopment contexts. She follows Sanyal's Marxist-Foucauldian-Gramscian approach in the background of the macro-structural endeavours, but moves away from the relational understanding of state "spatialities" and predetermined struggles towards "shifting struggles over hegemony" (Doshi, 2018, p. 681). This theoretical adaptation helps Doshi disentangle the dispossession occurring through slum clearances, tenements, and subaltern forms of urban living. She aptly shows how neoliberal forces coalesce with local governments to meld grassroots aspirations for formal housing with the management of dispossession. However, perspectives on rehousing and on governmentality are missing in her analysis. Nevertheless, she provokes an idea of the "redevelopment state" as moments "in which social forces and ideologies coalesce and shape state spatial practice around urban welfare and dispossession" (Doshi, 2018, p. 691). Rather than one cohesive and perhaps restrictive interpretation of *the state*, I am interested in ways state actors engender processes and outcomes. The post-colonial state constantly reorders itself through neoliberal deepening and governing needs, which we must incorporate in our analysis (also see chapter 2).

The question of "hegemony" in urban contexts also requires revisiting. Unlike Sanyal, other postcolonial theorists have for long debated the Indian state's *Dominance without Hegemony* (Guha, 1997) through colonial rule and in post-colonial periods. As Guha (1997) points out, the Indian state did not invest in cultural coercion but outright political coercion. Similarly, institutional hegemony in Mumbai's urban redevelopment is not constructed through cultural means (cf. Doshi, 2018). However, in a Gramscian sense, such a hegemony is not contested: it is the "entire complex of political and theoretical activity by which the ruling classes not only justify and maintain their domination but also succeed in obtaining active consent of the governed" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 182).

Institutional domination is made possible through political possibilities of inclusion, legibility, improvement, economic benefit and even the expansion of citizenship and democratic ideals for the evicted—what Doshi, following, Li (2010), dubs "surplus" urban populations. Alternatively, dispossession and

authoritarian forms of governing are made possible through violence and manipulation. Plural legal sovereignties underlie judicial frameworks and frame states of exceptions for staying and belonging, and for illegalities, and a fear of abandonment if not included under authoritarian intervention. Nor can the poor's aspiration of formal living be neglected. Thus, for simplicity's sake, I restrict the dissertation's scope to revising this framework to relate to dispossession and governmentality.

Lastly, we must expand the horizons of dispossession and governmentality to the myriad interlinked ways they operate in urban renewal contexts in Mumbai. For example, the framework can answer how arguably surplus populations are subjected to dispossessive and new ways of optimizing their circumstances through inclusion. However, it would fall short in explaining new problematic of redevelopment (dispossession) and resettlement (governmentality). The questions to ask are: how do redevelopment regimes create life-threatening housing? How does welfare management facilitate new kinds of dispossession (chapter 2)? How are exceptional planning and legal but plural sovereignties enmesh the neoliberal urban logics? How does the state bureaucracy, within the thicket of its governmentality apparatus, manage the disposed lives or preventable deaths that arise through dispossession?

This requires improvisation and re-theorization around redevelopment and dis/possession which should be seen through varying dispositifs to account for localized interpretations; a new politics of dispossession, with military-style evictions and necro-ontologies that emerge and unleash new effects; urban exceptionalisms that govern slum habitats, resettlements, and urban renewal (also, section 2.3); and rather than streamlined governing, the state bureaucracy creates arbitrary government against the new demands of a life-making biopolitics from below.

4.2. Accumulation, dispossession, inclusion

Urban scholarship tends to situate a globalized, univocal, and equalizing logic of capitalist transformation-led urban change. I refer to the recent debate on "global urbanism", "planetary urbanization", "world cities", "a world of cities", generating urban theory in its planetary form as urban as a "coherent concept of the city as an object of theoretical enquiry" (see for example, Scott & Storper, 2015; Brenner

& Schmid, 2015; especially, Robinson & Roy, 2016). The urban, as a category of analysis, suffers from theoretical, epistemological, and relational dualism of global cities versus megacities (Robinson, 2013). The former are the command centres or models of urban theory, of modernity; the latter remain a subject of development.

Recently, Southern and postcolonial urbanists have required us to look elsewheres-than-North as "new geographies of theory", generating situated, embedded, context-sensitive, and historicized knowledge (Roy, 2009b, 2017, and others). These perspectives argue for seeing urban realities not merely through Euro-American theoretical lenses, but to build from elsewheres and in myriad situated contexts. Two salient features of this perspective are, first, urban informality; second, the urban planning and governance exceptionalism through which certain constituents of the city emerge as entities of governing. I build on these perspectives in subsequent sections.

Foremost in this hegemonic theorizing is Glass's (1964) "gentrification" thesis, which Neil Smith (2002, 2008) has revised into the 'rent-gap' and 'uneven' development theses.[19] Smith inspired a Southern turn around gentrification, situating it as *the* global urban strategy: "gentrification is happening on a more massive scale in Shanghai or Mumbai ... than in the older post-industrializing cities of Europe, North America and Oceania" (Smith, 2008, p. 196). North-South experimental academic collaborations have located the universalism of gentrification in urban restructuring as in Mumbai (Banerjee-Guha, 2010, p. 77). Massive slum clearances for urban redevelopments, elite-centric planning, and state-led removal of informal housing have slowly pulled in the debate from Mumbai, Delhi, post-apartheid South Africa and elsewheres (see discussion, Ghertner, 2014; Lees, Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016).

These provocations build on certain similarities between cities and their generalizability, rather than an emphasis on particularity and description. In Mumbai, places like Dharavi, where redevelopments are contested, are seen as

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19 Glass (1964, p. xviii) observes that London's working-class neighbourhoods were "invaded" by the middle-class and the rich, whose upscale accommodate displaced the original residents. The thesis broadly locates rent and class succession, speculative markets, and state-driven renewal policies. Smith builds on this to argue for capital reinvestment and profitability. Clark (2005, p. 258) provides a generic definition: "a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socioeconomic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital".

spaces of resistance to neoliberal capitalism (Harvey, 2003, 2008). Unfortunately, this project is now pushed towards inclusive redevelopment through instruments like SRS. The human consequences of these macro-processes remain. The sociopolitical processes underlying these changes have remained a largely unexplored "dark" side (Baeten et al., 2017, p. 643). However, the globalizing sociology of gentrification seeks planetary understanding (Lees, Shin & Lopez-Morales, 2016). No doubt gentrification is a planetary phenomenon, but considering all urban interventions as just or only epitomes of gentrification, or of uneven development based on rent gaps, is totalizing and insensitive of evolving forms of neoliberalism and their corresponding socio-political effects.

Ghertner's articles "India's urban revolution" (2014) and "Why gentrification fails in 'much of the world'" (2015b) explain the shortcomings of the gentrification thesis in explaining urban change and displacement in non-Western cities. He gathers cases to show that rather than a logic of differential rents from land and uneven profitability, multiple logics of state, market, and city actors, for example, NGOs or the corporate elite, facilitate eviction, displacement, and urban renewal. Cases concerning the devaluation of land through attempts at gentrification; dispossession without redevelopment; dispossession through sovereign intervention (cf. market or capitalist); the aesthetic, environmental, judicialized, and securitized needs of dispossession; the lack of re-investment; land acquisition and zoning; and peri-urban expansion rather than inner-city renewal, supplement the theoretical challenges (section 3.1). Ghertner rightly suggests exploring India's urban renewal, as elsewheres, not as gentrification-led change, but as processes of what David Harvey (2003) has termed "Accumulation as Dispossession".

Harvey derives ABD through a re-reading of Karl Marx's (1977) *Capital I* and Rosa Luxembourg's (2003) *Accumulation of Capital*. For Marx (1977, p. 875) primitive accumulation refers to the historical process of separating produce from means of sustenance and production. Luxembourg (2003, pp. 350-351), interpreting from the global peripheries, argues that advance capitalism aims to capture and possess non-capitalist means of production and labour power, and convert them into commodity buyers. Harvey revisits Marx and Luxembourg to define ABD as:

> the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations…; conversion of various forms of property rights… into exclusive private property rights; suppression of rights to the commons;

commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neocolonial, and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the slave trade (which continues particularly in the sex industry); and usury, the national debt and, most devastating of all, the use of the credit system as a radical means of accumulation by dispossession. (Harvey, 2007, pp. 34-35)

ABD entails the "conversion of various forms of property rights—common, collective, state, etc.—into exclusive private property rights" (Harvey, 2003, p. 74). These also include "enclosing of commons", privatization of public resources and housing, amongst others (Harvey, 2003, p. 148). Harvey (2003, 2012) theorizes the commodification and privatization (of land), enclosure of collective rights, and creation of surplus as ABD. He suggests that ABD encompass "values that have already been created and distributed under capital", including dispossession of rights and access to the city (Harvey, 2020). Harvey conceptualizes the structural dynamics of contemporary dispossession as seemingly planetary.

However, the ABD thesis has certain limitations (Das, 2017).[20] It might help in capturing certain structural and political-economic changes of urban renewal. However, it is limiting in following the role of sovereign interventions in urban dispossession, or the sociopolitical or human consequences of this phenomenon, as I have already discussed and will build on later. The dispossession trope disguises the fate of the dispossessed and their government (see section 4.1). Thus,

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20 Harvey argues that that primitive accumulation is temporally over (Harvey, 2003, p. 143), and that Marx underemphasizes capitalism's cannibalistic nature (Harvey 1982[2006]) and mistakenly explains "accumulation based upon predation, fraud and violence" not as free exchange "to an original stage that is considered no longer relevant' (Harvey, 2003, p. 144). For Luxemburg, Harvey (2006, p. xvi) assigns temporal irrelevance (as in Marx's primitive), abandoned distant non-capitalist possibilities and reduced primitive accumulation with the "imperialist plunder of non-capitalistic social formations". Harvey's contribution is threefold: a simplified and globally applicable theory of accumulation, removal/silencing of "extra-economic force" from accumulation processes, establishment of an ignorance of (post)colonial historicity or historical simplification (also see, Das, 2017, for extended critique). While Marx (1977, p. 85) emphasizes the history of "expropriation… in the letters of blood and fire", for Harvey (2010, p. 304) such extra-economic forces and violence are exaggerations, and modern-day ABD is "primarily economic" (Harvey, 2006, p. 159). Primitive and new dispossessions coexist in the "postcolonial predicament" (Samaddar, 2012). The debate is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however, it bears value for Southern, ex-colonial, peripheral or post-colonial cities.

rather than a statist-geographical approach, I locate urban redevelopment regimes as mechanisms that unleash variegated neoliberal capitalist orders, of constantly altering state-market relations, and dispossessions as varying ontologies that produce diverse sociopolitical relations and subjectivities (Rossi, 2013a, 2013b). Following dispossession as an anchoring ontological point, I argue for seeing redevelopment-resettlement regimes as an "ontological dispositif" (Rossi, 2013b): a heterogenous set of institutions, actors (political-economic, judicial, and environmental) and policies and their relations (geographical relationalities, settlement type) that inscribe power in the perpetuation of the regime, material outcomes, and creation of subjects and subjectification.

Dispossession is a "sovereignty-based ontology associated with capitalism" that enacts sovereign forces within the existing and transforming political-economic orders in a "vertical relationality" (Rossi, 2013b, p. 351). It is a relation of domination and an imposition of rule, which leads to expropriation and implicit or even formalized forms of violence. It is through these apparatuses that redevelopment regimes make the city, and its population, an entity of government. The sovereign powers at the state-market axis act to govern the technologies of subjectivity (of newer forms of citizenship, consumerist exchanges) and subjection (of disciplining and punishments), violence or confrontation (Ong, 2007). Through redevelopments and resettlements, cities become sites of biopolitical production and maintenance, a strategic location in which life itself is governed, administered (through subjection and subjectification) or reduced to "bare life" (borrowing from Agamben) and linked through possibilities of contestation, resistance, and negotiation, as "biopolitical struggles" (Rossi, 2013a).

Indeed, urban accumulations are at work to dispossess populations. However, certain forms of accumulation and renewal happen through, or simultaneously allow, the re-possession of housing and newer forms of institutionalized inclusion rather than outright dispossession or exclusion. In order to see and theorize locally without losing empirical variation and historical or geographical difference (Robinson & Roy, 2016),[21] we must ask: *who* are the dispossessed, *what* are dispossessed, *how* are such dispossessions made possible and *what* sociopolitical lives emerge post-dispossession? Concerning the first question, the dispossessed

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21 Theorization of time is an important terrain within dispossession, which I could not include owing to my limited analytical boundaries.

are the labouring masses who are already dispossessed from the rural hinterlands, other urban inadequacies and conflict; they are subject to urban housing poverty in largely state-owned slum lands which are now to be cleared as urban dispossession.[22] The phenomenon is an entry point into ongoing primitive accumulation that Marx had highlighted.

What is dispossessed is not necessarily the commons, or the privatization of public assets, or dispossession from "values" that are already created under neoliberal capitalism (cf. Harvey, 2003). Following postcolonial urban theorizing (Roy, 2016, amongst others), and juxtaposing the empirical cases of this dissertation, these slum areas are sites of informality that enter the formal urban dispossessive and capitalist relations, through exceptional renewal logics, and creating *new* urban relations (of values: economic, or safety for instance). The production of new space in the inner city is through exceptional state and market logics that, too, are of a variegated nature. The legal reversal of environmental laws, land acts, amongst others, brings fringe lands for accommodative resettlement, creating new extractive values under state ownership (see Article III). These urban sites already belong to the state and are not necessarily fully financialized or commodified through renewal processes.[23]

Beyond the formalistic sense of property relations, the state and market engaged in urban renewal bring inner-city slums and peripheral resettlements into the capitalist circuit through the management of "men and things" (Foucault, 1978) through urban renewal, slum clearances, and mediative resettlements and rehabilitation. Foucault (1978[2000], pp. 208-209; Foucault, 1980) argues that:

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22 Many scholars would argue this is ongoing primitive accumulation at the global peripheries. This is an unresolved debate, and beyond the scope of this dissertation, see Das (2017) and Chatterjee (2017).

23 In the Mumbai transport case (case 1), redeveloped land in the inner city was used for state-owned public goods rather than market-led uses. The project resulted in significant rent gaps in the inner city, but was founded on slum clearances and successful resettlement. The redevelopment of resettlement land, however, led to rent gaps. Interestingly, while state/market-led redevelopment based on FSI and TDR brought economic excess to be circulated into urban built forms, the land lease under resettlement is planned to be transferred to residents. It is neither fully financialized, nor yet privatized. These possible changes are contested and unclear. In Mumbai's pipeline case, the inner-city stretch (of over a hundred kilometres) has not been redeveloped or securitized for almost two decades. Pipeline securitization is actually land devaluation, with the suspension of any use.

the definition of government is no way refers to territory: one governs *things*… The things, in this sense, with which government is to be concerned are in fact men, but men in their relations, their links, their imbrication with those things that are wealth, resources, means of subsistence the territory with its specific qualities… What counts is essentially this complex of men and things; property and territory are merely one of its variables.

Following Foucault, I am concerned with the government of men and things. This is a succinct way of freeing from an analysis of "space" (Lefebvre, 1991[1974]) which is produced, but also remains ambiguous, dynamic, spread across the city, unevenly splintered, and marred with exceptions. As far as this dissertation is concerned, it is sufficient to understand the slum as *land* in its legal sense. My interest is not in space, *per se*, but the politics of dispossession, repossession of entitlements and bio-politicization of human lives that it brings.

Lastly, *how* urban dispossession occur is a complex sociopolitical endeavour, constituting governmental interventions on the dispossessed. Redevelopment regimes interface para-legal property regimes and rights. The inhabitants neither claim their legal rights of land ownership, nor entirely abandon "occupancy" (Benjamin, 2008). While urban land ownership is legally governed through land deeds and official occupation, legitimate occupancy of slum land is ratified (or even negotiated informally) by dates of occupation, rent receipts (which sometimes register as penalties in bureaucratic records), electricity bills, or the deaths and births of family members, to formally establish continuous presence. In this sense, urban dispossession occurs as an institutional formalization of informality, and the politics of the informal continues with R&R pathways. The latter is equally important as certain consequences affect renewal and resettlement governance. The questions of *who*, *what* and *how*, are not just spatial-geographical process but, more importantly sociopolitical and governmental processes that concern this dissertation and are further discussed in the following sections.

4.3. Politics of dis/re/possession

I discuss three aspects of dispossession: first, the spatial-geographical dimensions of urban renewal that creates differential sociopolitical enclosures; second, an inverse ontology of dispossession related to resettlement developments that creates

specific materialities; and third, related subjectivities that emerge through dispossessions. The emerging urban scholarship, mainly from Southern cities, sees ABD as the underlying logic of the spatial-geographical effects of slum clearances. Urban dispossessions form differential enclosures of mediation, leading to the formation of political subjectivities (Brickell et al., 2017; Doshi, 2013). I follow the enclosures of dispossession to explore how it forms subject relations and political subjectivities.[24] Furthermore, I supplement the theoretical discussion by revisiting sites that have unleashed violent destruction, creating a new typology of enclosures that bring dual imperatives: violence and inclusion; displacement and emplacement.

Megacities are rescaling through neoliberal globalization, the penetration of global and regional policies, and heightened security needs (Graham, 2004; case 2). The strategies of modern city-building instrumentalize militarization, massive reconstructive reinvestment, and a supposed humanitarian agenda (Smith 2007, quoted in Graham, 2011), of which Mumbai's redevelopments are examples. These "economically, politically and socially driven processes of creative-destruction through abandonment and redevelopment are often every bit as destructive as arbitrary acts of war" (Harvey, 2003, p. 26). An uneven array of premium networked spaces of new and retrofitted infrastructures that customarily connect powerful spaces and users bypass, fragment, and even compartmentalize less powerful spaces and users. These are the everyday realities of planning and governance. The making of an "infrastructural ideal" (Graham & Marvin, 2002) is a never-ending project for transforming cities. These stringent transformations bring slum areas under temporally-sensitive events of destruction, cleansing or removal that remain almost invisible in academic discussions (Weinstein, 2021).

But these slum areas, are which dubbed urban informality, are a paradigm of urban exceptionalism. Urban informality is an organizing logic for processes of urban transformation, an epistemology of urban planning and urbanity at large (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004). Informality is "a mode of metropolitical urbanization" that is produced by the state itself through the logic of regularity, land governance, and ascribed legality, rather than being just an "object to state regulation" (Roy,

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24 It is difficult to differentiate between dispossession and governmentality, as both work simultaneously through inclusion. This is applicable in both the cases under study. I discuss those aspects in section 4.3.

2005, pp. 148-149). For Roy, Agamben's (1988) ontology of the state of exception is helpful.[25]

Slum exceptionalism, as a category of urban informality, is an expression of legal sovereignty. As the state is the custodian of the legal apparatus to enact or disallow suspension, determine formality and informality, legality and illegality, modalities of tolerance and intolerance, the categories of legitimacies and illegitimacies are constantly constructed and reconstructed (cf. Murray, 2017). Urban renewal brings new juridical, legal, and administrative forces to these exceptional slum areas. State-led or NGO-mediated dispositifs enter the spaces, population groups, and things (as Foucault suggested above) of informal exceptionalism for slum clearances. The sociopolitical enclosures formed comprise legal logics, bureaucratic apparatuses, and technologies of mediation and inclusion, reshaping the exceptionalism of slums towards formal inclusion.

Dispossessive urbanism brings risks and precarity for the slum poor. As Graham (2011, p. 18) notes:

> neoliberal urbanism or the implementation of programmes for large-scale urban "renewal", "regeneration" or "renaissance", state-led planning often amounts to legitimized clearance of vast tracts of cities in the name of the removal of decay, of modernization, improvement, or ordering, of economic competition, or of facilitating technological change and capital accumulation and speculation.

The logic of authoritarian renewal and Graham's warfare logics are relevant, however, some caution and contextual sensibility are important. Rather than direct military-style weaponization, these evolve through mundane technologies and their slow or intensifying effects. These dispositifs, and their effects, are disentangled in the ways plural sovereignties (of legality), uses of legal acts and of public need, bureaucratic investments, local negotiation, and people's interfaces with violent apparatuses (of police and bulldozer) create new enclosures (see Article 1 vs. 2 for difference). Through the "arbitrary acts of war" (Harvey, 2003), the redevelopment regimes seek to eliminate "alternative sites of habitation,

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25 Agamben (1998, p. 15) argues that it is the sovereign power of the state that determines the legal condition of inclusion: "the fact the sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order. If the sovereign is truly the one to whom the juridical order grants the power of proclaiming a state of exception, and therefore, of suspending the order's own validity, then the sovereign stands outside the juridical order and nevertheless belongs to it... This means that the paradox can also be formulated this way: I, the sovereign, who am outside the law, declare that there is nothing outside the law".

livelihoods and politics" of the poor or what Roy (2011, p. 224) called "subaltern urbanism". Long-tolerated ways of subaltern living and state agonism through limited formal interventions are transmogrified into state antagonism through perceivable dangers to legitimate urbanity (Kipfer & Goonewardena, 2007).

The technologies of visibility bring surveys and documentation to categorize and count otherwise illegible populations who are to be managed through slum clearances and authoritarian resettlement, making interfaces amongst the stakeholders, of dispositifs, crucial for empirical exploration. Rather than an inclusive enclosure, the destruction through bulldozing, uprooting infrastructures, making the sites uninhabitable, and abandonment from existing political relations create spatial-social sites of banishment, constriction and erasure. The violence is even more stringent against semi-legal occupants, bureaucratically ineligible groups, or resistive populations. These dispossessive enclosures become even more complex when the state-led violence of destruction is partly humanized through possibilities of biopolitical-welfarist agenda of R&R. Overall, authoritarian interventions in urban renewal produce discursive spaces for plural rationalities, procedures, and effects.

The second aspect of dispossession is a novel form occurring through resettlement construction which creates urban growth (also see Article III). Dispossession enters sites of welfarism, accommodation, and management of poverty as a new site of extraction (Haskaj, 2018). In other words, here I invoke an alternative ontology of dispossession that operates through urban redevelopment, following Cameroonian philosopher and theorist Achille Mbembe's (2003) critique of the limits of biopolitics. He argues that rather than biopolitical "making live and letting die", postcolonial regimes normalize "letting live and making die" (cf. Foucault, 2003). Introducing his concept of *necropolitics* through a re-reading of Schmitt's (2005) sovereignty and Agamben's (2005) exception, Mbembe argues it what defines postcolonial societies is the sovereign's right to decide who will live and who may/must die. Those societies are camps par excellence where legal orders could may be suspended in orthodox orders (also, Chatterjee, 2011; Samaddar, 2015). Necropolitics involves generalized destruction of human bodies and lives as populations are subjected to myriad dehumanization and "death-in-life" circumstances (Mbembe, 2003, p. 21). However, deadly circumstances do not necessarily occur through sovereign consolidation and action: rather, with the democratization of sovereignty, it is possible to interface those possibilities in myriad ways (Bargu, 2019).

The central concern of sovereignty is no longer a struggle for autonomy but "the generalized instrumentalization of human existence and the material destruction of human bodies and populations … towards the nomos of the political space of the camp in which we still live" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 14). Based on the relations between sovereignty, death, and the becoming of a subject, multiple forms of sovereignty realize (Mbembe, 2003, p. 22), within worlds of violence, acts of wounding and slaying the body, forms of invisible killing, and the creation of death worlds. These aspects disrupt the Western ontological condition of human beings as gradually becoming things.

Necro-ontology guides the economic rationales of certain death-making machines that profit through life-constraining, limiting, and even death-causing circumstances. Marx (1977) was aware of such a possibility, as shown by his reference to the dripping of sweat and blood in *Capital I*. Montag (2005, p. 15), for instance, locates an economic rationality of necropolitics, where "the market reduces and rations life", and deaths, slow or quick, are allowed through suffering or culpable killing "in the name of rationality and equilibrium of the market". What is salient is how such excessively dispossessive paradigms converge in urban reordering, and interlink with a new biopoliticization of lives.

For Banerjee (2008, p. 1548), *necrocapitalism* constitutes practices of accumulation in postcolonial contexts through economic actors—transnational corporations—that unleash dispossession, death, and the destruction of livelihoods in "third world" countries. The empirical case remains a bit more complex than a direct and streamlined intervention. As chapter 2 has highlighted, such transnational connections relate with global financial and planning institutions and neoliberal capitalism (of the World Bank) and certain dispositifs (of exceptional land-use changes, ungovernable FSI uses, governing framework) that might have detrimental effects locally.

Further, scholars have located necro-ontology in the ways dispossessive regimes extract resources essential for human health, living, and propagation, and cause premature deaths, or how such functions occur as generalized phenomena in postcolonial or neoliberal regimes (Banerjee, 2008; Haskaj, 2018). Necropolitics has guided scholarly attention towards theorizing the geographical-spatial, political, and subjective registers of life-constraining or limiting circumstances. These powers create amorphous urban configurations through diverse material, symbolic, and sociopolitical relations that remain intimately tied to both politics

and life: "bios" and "zoe", or political or biologically reduced forms, respectively (Agamben 1998[1995]; Ek, 2006; Bertelsen, 2021).

Urban resettlement regimes, constitutive of the state and market forces, enable institutional conditions of accumulation via necropolitical dispossession through/from rehousing development. Three theoretical explorations have emerged from these field realities: the necro-political economy of urban renewal; materialities (spatiality and settlement form); and subjectivities and alternative biopolitical uses of life-limiting or compromising consequences (questions 1, 3; Articles III, IV). The underlying political economy of resettlement development is usually seen through a welfarist lens (chapter 2). Alternatively, the political economy, through the dispositifs of the particularities of planning and execution, allows extraction of economic surplus by creating poor-exclusive housing in uninhabitable places with the lowest land prices and with a life-compromising built environment compared to general residential developments. It is a case of accumulation through necropolitical dispossession of a renewal regime which creates urban growth.

The enshrined dispositifs could be seen through salient technologies of place (otherwise uninhabitable, hazardous, peripheral lands), the local biosphere (air, water), and architecture and the built environment (housing form, density, open space, dwelling unit, infrastructures, habitability), amongst others, to create life-threatening settlements. This growth is what, following Harvey (2003), could be seen as a necropolitical settlement fix of the crises of accumulation (Jha, 2023). I highlight settlement to emphasize the emerging post-spatial biopolitics of urban dispossession (cf. Ortega, 2020). While the regime allows housing entitlement, it simultaneously disallows access to infrastructure, resources, and a biosphere necessary for optimal or even acceptable habitability. Beyond a welfarist expansion following dispossession the urban population is indispensable for the regime but disposable to its material and governance effects, rather than being outright surplus as the neo-Marxist and ethnographic literature argues (cf. Doshi, 2018).

Further, the enshrined dispositifs are capable of unleashing new necro-bio-political effects. For example, brutal emplacement conjoins biopolitical interventions and creates a mixture of life-enabling, life-constraining, and death-enabling circumstances. These include place-based factors (toxic and polluted surroundings), the local biosphere (air, water, breathability), the township's architecture (built environment, dysfunctional infrastructures, pathogenicity), dwelling circumstances (constrained living, comorbidities, un/inhabitability), and

their intersections. Variegated subjects and subjectivities form based on socioeconomic, health, and gender registers, and their interfaces, or the cumulative effect of material determinants. Such interfaces and effects are thus amorphous. As well, like structural violence whose perpetrator is invisible, necropolitical subjection operates in partial invisibility whose effects have to be recognized (Mbembe, 2003). Finally, necropolitical subjection may also be contested through various engagements with the urban bureaucracy, rather than the enshrined political economy of the redevelopment regime (see section 4.5).

4.4. Dis/possessive governmentality

In this section, I delineate perspectives on biopolitics and postcolonial urban governmentalities related to political society and deep democracy. The concept of biopolitics was first used by Rudolf Kjellén, a Swedish theorist in early 1900s in the context of the racial social. Scholarly uses refer to Foucault's work. Foucault describes the state's rights to decide who lives and who dies, particularly through regulatory controls and interventions that governs the body. In his *History of Sexuality* (Vol I), he suggests that the old sovereign act of taking life or let live has now been replaced with ways to foster life and disallow death-causing circumstances (Foucault, 1978). Further,

> The old power of death that symbolized sovereign power was now carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life. During the classical period, there was a rapid development of various disciplines—universities, secondary schools, barracks, workshops; there was also the emergence, in the field of political practices and economic observation, of the problems of birth rate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration. Hence there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques of achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations, marking the beginning of an era of bio-power. (Foucault 1984, p. 262)

Foucault (2007) delineates a modern form of power, which he calls "governmentality", operated by cultivating a normative disposition within broad population groups, guiding them to do things without requiring direct intervention or recourse to disciplinary mechanisms, like the police, or punitive institutional interventions. Famously summarizing it as "the conduct of conduct,"

Foucault (2007, p. 104) argues that governmentality works by constructing social categories that were once illegible, such as environmental concerns, sanitation, or prevalence of diseases, and problematizing those categories to initiate active improvement. By training people to inculcate these categories, governmental programmes direct the habits, beliefs, and conduct of the governed, which Foucault calls "convenient ends" (Foucault, 2007, p. 104): better environment, sanitary living, or disease control. The principle form of knowledge in governmentality is political economy, through which the liberal art of governing the polity happens in the most efficient economic manner through a balance of social and economic functions that adjust, optimize, and sustain subjects and places (Rose, 1999). Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, biopolitics, disciplinary, and punitive forms of powers work in tandem, bringing complex apparatuses and manifestations of state power.

As with postcolonial Marxist thought, Southern societies and scholarship have deepened Foucauldian scholarship before their European counterparts (Samaddar, 2013). Chatterjee (2008) builds on Foucauldian biopolitics and governmentality in urban dispossession contexts to argue that marginalized urban populations:

> *make their claims on government, and in turn are governed*, not within the framework of stable constitutionally defined rights and laws, but rather through temporary, contextual and unstable arrangements arrived at through direct political negotiations... governmental agencies will often treats such cases as exceptions, justified by very specific and special circumstances, so that the structure of general rules and principles is not compromised… the claims of people in political society a matter of constant political negotiation and the results are never secure or permanent. *Their entitlements, even when recognized, never quite become rights*. (Chatterjee, 2008, pp. 57-58)

This terrain of politics is "political society" (2004, 2008, 2017).[26]

The population is made up of subjects disenfranchised from property rights that forge moral claims and utilize para-legal mediations for survival, belonging,

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26 Chatterjee's political society is different from civil/bourgeois society in the Marxist and Hegelian sense which is associated with the formal state structures. Civil society, following Western philosophical traditions, is constituted of people with formal rights, legal claims over state sovereignty, and equal citizenship claims. Chatterjee (2011) later develops political society through Agamben's exception.

and everyday needs. Population groups are subject to governmental dispositifs of functionaries, rationalities, and instruments of economic, political, legal, and even cultural interventions that promise well-being and the meeting of human needs. Following Foucault (1991, pp. 87-104), the regime of power is a form of "governmentalization of the state", i.e., the state's investment in the sites, lives, and politics of the population through state, market or NGO-ized interventions. It is to follow the spatiality, narratives, and processes through which mundane administrative reality is realized under the thicket of governmentality. Such attempts allow seeing state powers in mundane, even hidden, ways outside formal state institutions (similar, in Bogota, Zeiderman, 2013; in Evita, Auyero, 2001; in Africa, Mamdani, 1996). Modalities of inclusion and exclusion in state welfare shape political negotiation. Rather than the dichotomy of political society and civil society, the myriad intersections across urban populations, and their different political categories, are central to empirical exploration.

Arjun Appadurai (2002, reprinted in 2019) theorizes alternative urban governmentality as deep democracy through people-led practices of inclusion and negotiation with dispossessive regimes. Unlike Chatterjee's postcolonial interpretation of power, subjectivity, and rule, Appadurai's (2002) entry point is three-fold: the post-1989 neoliberalist era; the weakening of nationalist imaginations; and the demise of the Marxist ideology of collective proletarian rule. Appadurai sees globalization as producing grassroots mobilization, new geographies, technologies of governmentality, and possibilities to set new urban agendas. Rather than militarized technologies demanding inclusion and recognition (for instance by Maoist movements or radical urban collectives like GBGBA), in Mumbai's reordering such configurations opened new avenues of partnership and mutual support.

The ethnographic theory of "deep democracy" in Mumbai originates in the works of an NGO, SPARC (see chapter 2). This is a vision rooted in two social functions that relate to this dissertation: the "politics of patience" on one hand, and the technologies of mobilization and new social formation on the other (Appadurai, 2002, p. 28). It builds on self-mobilization, self-surveys, and enumeration as new technologies of making people visible at sites of urban dispossession towards inclusion for resettlement and rehabilitation (cf. Foucault, 1991a). Practices included financial disciplining, the federation of women and men into collectives (denying, however, the existence of organic solidarities) and the facilitation of NGOs as democratic, shared, and participatory bodies.

Here, NGO mediation is seen as anti-expert, pro-poor activism by middle-class NGOs. It divests from Chicago School sociology and Saul Alinsky's models of Community organization and social work that have shaped the praxis of urban activism. It is also an alternative way of governing: "governmentality turned against itself" (Appadurai, 2002, p. 35). Against a narrow line of auto/self-governmentality, these new tools, for Appadurai, are based on shared social relations of poverty, active participation, co-production of knowledge, and possibilities of correction—against Chatterjee's (2004, p. 34) "malleability" of programmes – and spontaneous everyday politics –against Chatterjee's informal politics "outside" formal state structures. The framework of mediation, as grassroots politics, brings new state-population relations, and incrementally builds towards facilitated housing and possibilities of urban citizenship.

Deep democracy versus political society is one of the conundrums of the politics of the informal in this dissertation. Appadurai's (2013) influential work on democracy, development, and cities shows that subaltern lives are increasingly penetrated/permeated by state-led or market-required technologies of surveillance, calculation, and rule. Extra-state alliances use similar tactics for local change, and take mobilization beyond localized policy discourse within the nation-state. Alternatively, Chatterjee (2004) reminds us of the role of post-colonial development, which penetrates populations through policies, missions, and targets, even in association with global governance institutions or global technologies of governmentality. However, the violence of displacement is pushed away from these imaginaries. While Appadurai's work and the NGO literature negate the possibilities of state violence through (de)politicized and collaborative participation, Chatterjee (2004, p. 75) sees violence and a "darker" side in ways of governing populations that might inflict violence. Both readings of urban governmentalities have merits in locating how institutional practices are sites of negotiation for inclusion in state services, make new discursive spaces of direct and indirect governance, with democratic possibilities. Nevertheless, while Chatterjee and Appadurai are aware of ongoing capitalist dispossessions, these conceptual apparatuses do not engage with post-dispossession circumstances.

4.5. Post/dis/possession governmentality

This section extends the theoretical framework to the management of populations after dispossession. I have discussed the theorization of urban dispossession and governmentalities in the preceding sections, as well as post-resettlement politics, state-population relations and subjectivities (chapter 3). This is crucial as while Sanyal's (2007) framework and its adaptations (Doshi, 2018) see dispossessive governmentalities as a politics of inclusion for welfare, services, and resettlement housing in urban renewal contexts, the circumstances are more complicated than might be assumed. Here, I take my cue from the governmentality literature (section 4.3) and build on Gupta's (2012) study on Indian bureaucracy. I emphasize the typology and particularity of resettlement townships (related to housing and governance) and locate how post-resettlement scenarios require local governance, bureaucratic unaccountability, a perpetuation of arbitrariness affecting living conditions and, finally, possibilities of conditional agencies and the affirmative biopolitics that emerge from this subjectification (questions 2, 3; Articles I, III, IV).

Resettlement townships bring new settlement forms, sociality, and emergent forms of governance. While Agamben's camps are seen as sites of extraterritoriality, suspension of the law, and the transgression of rights, resettlement townships embody another scenario of urban exception, which is differently intertwined with urban sociopolitical fabrics, institutions, and politics. This is now about absolute segregation or urban exceptionalism: these townships "shape-shift" in relation to general residential orders within the urban (Murray, 2017). Unlike the positive exceptionalisms of zone, private or enclave urbanisms,[27] resettlement townships denote a hardening of boundaries that separate, fragment, and reorient urban space, settlements, sociality, and lives. These extraterritorial zones localize myriad exceptions that are created through the process of law, bringing exceptional orders and further undermining it, and appear *de facto* within such legal and extra-legal realms (see chapter 2 on planning, architecture, and local governance).

Their development and governance are neither entirely outside the city, nor completely adjunct to existing governance frameworks. They are neither fully according to the law and planning, nor absolutely against or beyond those. These

27 In Mumbai, elite built environments are partially linked with discriminatory resettlement townships at urban peripheries through a dialectic transfer of floor surface; see Article III.

resettlement townships are a third category between slum exceptionalism and formal urban dwelling. They operate in an ambiguous juridical-legal void, where conventional regimes of urban governance and their effects are suspended and are constantly replaced by special provisions. Broadly these townships are the partial inverse of Agamben's exception precisely because they reinforce many exceptional laws and suspend many general urban frameworks. It is here that a new politics of life, including that of new citizenship forms, evolves.

Resettlement townships are "governable entities" (Rose, 2000) in becoming. I emphasize becoming, as the regulations (state laws, statutory provisions, or local regulations) are not already territorialized but are in a flux of excess, absence, introduction, or elimination. Myriad forms of governmentalities, of conducts, sovereign, disciplinary, or biopolitical, simultaneously occur in disproportionate forms and are at times marred with racialized biopolitics of abandonment within state-led inclusion.[28] New collectives continuously adapt to the laws and necessities of resettlement governance. Nikolas Rose sees Community as a governable space, deriving from Foucault's notion of productive technologies of governmentality. In his reading, governable spaces make new perception and experience possible.

As one such governable space, the Community can "be mobilized, enrolled, deployed in novel programs and techniques which encourage and harness active practices of self-management and identity construction, of personal ethics and collective allegiances"—what Rose calls "government through community" (Rose, 1999, pp. 32, 176; Rose, 2006, p. 333). "Community has become a new spatialization of government: heterogeneous, plural, linking individuals, families and others into contesting cultural assemblies of identities and allegiances", as Rose puts it. These experiments happen in a paradoxical time when society and social cohesion remain significant in political thought, but the "social no longer remains a key zone" (Rose, 2006, p. 333). Nevertheless, such technologies are widely seen in policy-led initiatives as having diverse effects.

Post-resettlement contexts also emerge as sites of profound bureaucratic (un)accountability (also chapter 2). Here, we are not concerned with the political-economic or material consequences of resettlement construction or policy, but the

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28 Including authoritarian and unconditional evictions and resettlements (state and NGO-led); disciplinary architectural materiality of townships and tenements; governing techniques (state-introduced, Community-led, and people-managed); local biospheric realities (bio-pathologies and medicalization).

ways state bureaucracy governs these circumstances. State bureaucracy, its practice and its consequences have been sites of scholarly exploration, especially in post-colonial contexts (see Fuller & Benei, 2009).

Most provocative and apt here is Akhil Gupta's (2012) work on Indian bureaucracy in *Red Tape*, in which he locates poverty management as biopolitics, and builds on Agamben's "bare life" and normalized exception (with nods to Mbembe's necropolitics) to theorize the arbitrariness of the labyrinthine Indian bureaucratic apparatus. He finds that, despite functional democracies and multi-layered poverty management programmes, bureaucratic unaccountability creates sites of exclusion, with negative consequences for people in poverty. Bureaucratic actions repeatedly and systematically produce arbitrary consequences in their provisions of biopolitical care (Gupta, 2012, pp. 5-7). This arbitrariness also unleashes harm and even death-dealing consequences. For Gupta (2012, p. 5), such deaths, or life-constraining circumstances more generally, are "culpable forms of killing", or a form of "thanatopolitics".

Thanatopolitics includes forms of widespread exclusion and death amongst the poor that are preventable. The poor are subjected to deaths despite their inclusion in democratic politics, state legitimacy and national sovereignty, and bureaucratic actions produce "unintentional" uncaring (Gupta, 2012, p. 6). Widespread exclusion and deaths in the welfarist management of poverty, Gupta contends, do not violate the sovereign order.[29] Gupta (2012) finds the possibility of sovereign state formation persuasive, but leaves this discussion "open-ended" due to a lack of "ethnographic evidence" (Gupta, 2012, p. 309). It is here that my ethnographic exploration and inductive theorizing are situated (case 2). I revisit urban thanatopolitics to relocate and contest the production of de-politicized bare lives and theorize the possibility of new forms of emerging biopolitics (following Harris & Jeffrey 2013 critique of Gupta, 2012; see Article IV).

Revisiting Gupta's theorization and adapting it to urban contexts, inclusion and exclusion paradigms for the poor are inconsistent in urban politics. Like

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29 To quote Gupta (2012, p. 17): "The extremely poor could be a perfect example of what Agamben means by homo sacer in that their death is not recognized as a violation in any respect: not a violation of a norm, a rule, a law, a constitutional principle, not even perhaps of the idea of justice. Does not providing food, clothing, shelter, and healthcare to someone who is obviously in dire need represent killing? If so, it is important to note that nobody is punished or punishable for taking these lives. Because such deaths are outside the orbit of violation, punishment, and restitution, they represent life that can be killed without being considered a sacrifice—exactly what Agamben means by sacred life".

outright exclusion (as in certain precarious dwelling circumstances), urban bureaucratic thanatopolitics applies within state-led inclusionary paradigms through poverty management (R&R). Unlike the political economy of welfare in rural India that is not extractive or dispossessive in itself, as Gupta refers to; rather, welfarism in urban renewal is interlinked with a dispossessive political economy which the bureaucratic machinery manages through redistributive practices or alternative ways of managing lives. Further, inclusion in urban democratic politics, conditions of legitimacy and belonging to state sovereignty is capable of forming ruptures from national-level meanings and their applicability in the urban. These two facets form the procedural pathways to revisit the bureaucratic field of thanatopolitcs, and retheorize how new bureaucratic relations could evolve vis-à-vis biopolitical (un)caring.

An inductive exploration shows that contestation within the urban bureaucratic apparatus and alternative biopolitical care is possible in at least two ways: first, in legal pluralism and its limits; and second, in affirmative forms of biopolitics. Legal scholars and anthropologists have invoked people-centric uses of the pluralistic legal state apparatus in India and elsewheres. Sundar (2011, p. 423), in his study of state violence against tribal groups in India, argues that a different notion of state relations is possible in "try[ing] to transform the legal framework and within law" by seeking rights in the courts (the judicialization of injustice), and using legal technicalities against the state. This is a paradigm of emerging "legal pluralism" and contestations from "below" that aims to expand democratic participation and rights in India (Eckert, 2006). Such efforts contest transgressions by state powers (whether violations or exceptions), resist state actions, and shape governmental orders. An example is urban dispossession (slum clearances) seen through the judicialization of human rights (Bhan, 2016).

However, such interventions might not have sustained or tangible effects. As Bertelsen (2009, p. 133) argues, notions of legal pluralism seem to rest on "harmonious co-existence and complementarity", when instead, they are sites of "considerable ambiguity, tension and conflict". It is productive to explore plural governmental orders that could be complementary and also in conflict. In case 2, for example, it is an environmental conflict across state institutions, and right to housing for the poor. Nevertheless, the state's il/legible involvements are exposed and officialized, making discursive space for alternative interventions, which are, however, marred with ambiguities and conflicts.

Second, the new biopolitics aims to revise the constituency of bareness and evoke new ways of optimizing human lives from below. This biopolitical turn is influenced by Foucault and developed by Esposito in his books *Immunitas* (2011) and *Bios* (2008). Affirmative theorizing of biopolitics aims to respond to the hegemonic discussions of necro- and thanatopower from above through a turn towards a response or possible revitalization of life forms. These affirmative forms of biopolitics are broadly characterized by theorizations of how alternative ways of living, and newer ways of human lives, have the potential to address, transform or resist the negation of life itself. This is a new politics of life that aims to reclaim life from the stringent control of governmental apparatuses. Affirmation recognizes the deadly, racialized, and compromising tendencies of biopower, but the theoretical endeavour shows how resources can be found and mobilized towards a generative and life-affirming condition.[30]

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30 Thanks to an anonymous reviewer of Article IV for suggesting this and to think about un/institutionalized and in/formal biopolitics from below.

5. Methodological consideration

The goal of this dissertation is to capture certain political realities of urban redevelopment and resettlement. It uses ethnographic fieldwork, methods and data to gain insights and develop a theoretical critique of dis/possession, governmentalities, and urban politics.

   This chapter presents the methodology of this dissertation. In section 5.1, I discuss ethnography as a method of enquiry, centring its use in a post-structuralist interpretation of urban and governmental projects. I also adapt the ethnographic perspective for studying urban redevelopment and resettlement programs. In section 5.2, I summarize the various points of entries into Mumbai's urban and my field sites. In section 5.3, I elaborate on the methods and data sources, and how the latter are used, in this dissertation by considering conversation and its typologies, observations, and documents. In section 5.4, I discuss the analytical pathways—both theoretical and methodological—of the four journal articles in relation with my research questions. In section 5.5, I elaborate on the ethics of my fieldwork practice, my positionality, and certain limitations. These sections draw on vignettes, evidence and stories to visualize the methodological implications that precede the journal articles and analysis of this dissertation.

5.1. Ethnography as method

Ethnography is a powerful tool with which to trace state planning, interventions, and their effects (Gupta, 2012, for instance). I am particularly concerned with non-traditional ways of using ethnography to interpret urban renewal projects, resettlement, and their consequences. My point of departure is the work of critical urban scholars, including postcolonial, Southern, which has decentralized the notion, meaning, and geographies of urban theory (also, section 4.2). Knowledge on urban society is shaped from elsewheres than the hegemonic Global North,

which was otherwise "the enclave of urban theory" (Zeiderman, 2018). A similar trend in anthropology has, since the 1980s, advocated for diverse uses of ethnography beyond the study of cultures (Zeiderman, 2018, p. 1123). Scholars now use ethnographic methods towards unorthodox means and ends. For example, some call for marrying geography with ethnography towards a "geographical ethnography", deploying ethnographic sensibilities to investigate emerging urban complexities (Hitchings & Latham, 2020).

Anthropologist Akhil Gupta (2012) alerts us to the limitation of *doing* an ethnographic fieldwork. In his study of poverty in India, he argues that an ethnographer can be in one place at one time, and grapple with certain state interventions, but sociopolitical realities continue to shape beyond these places or contexts. Thus, they remain beyond her imagination, reach, or exploration. Such studies are not futile, but their empirical and analytical limits must be acknowledged beforehand. In certain urban poverty contexts in non-Western cities, sociopolitical realities are splintered and unstable, further limiting the scope of investigation (McFarlane, 2021). With these operational challenges, scholars have brought new meanings to the "thinness" and "thickness" of description (Brekhus, Galliher & Gubrium, 2005). Following them, we can argue that no thickness can be ever sufficient, and readers must ask about the issue that the study aims to contribute to, rather than a simplistic notion of data-related thickness. These arguments bridge between my work's location in theory discussed in the preceding chapter, and the method I use discussed in this chapter.

Urban renewal and its human consequences are central to this dissertation. Keeping this in mind, and regarding the aspect of renewal, I have detailed how ethnographic methods are helpful to transcend the macropolitical-economic determinants of dispossession towards micro- and local sociopolitical registers and subjectivities. Regarding the human consequences of urban renewal, I have discussed the ethnographic utility of exploring inclusion pathways, state facilitation and ambiguity, aspects of (de)politicization, variegated subject formation, and emerging subjectivities through resettlement and rehabilitation interventions. These scholarly efforts locate state functions, situated materiality, and the complexity of engendering experiences that often go beyond official planning, and can have unintended outcomes. In this dissertation I meld these two paradigms into the redevelopment-resettlement axis and reinvestigate aspects of dispossession, governmentalities, and urban politics.

It is imperative here to delineate how ethnography as a method is useful to problematize biopolitics and dispossession. Geographers and anthropologists have applied ethnographic methods to dispossession to yield new insights into urban displacement and their subjective effects, and emplacements in precarious circumstances, amongst others (Kern, 2016; Pain, 2019; Davies, 2018). For example, Rouse (2021, p. 362) critiques how ethnographers use biopolitics as an analytical tool to explore state projects and individual experiences in "obvious and uncomplicated" ways. This critique calls on us to reject unreflexively biopolitical thinking, and instead to explore "repressed topographies of cruelty" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 40) towards a biopolitical critique around new political urgencies when applicable.

Further, engaging with exception (following Agamben), ethnographic methods have problematized camp thinking by capturing the counter-effective meaning of exclusion and new biopolitical relations beyond linear interpretations (for example, Fassin, 2005, 2011). Likewise, ethnographers have pushed against the linear and normalistic meaning of biopolitics in formal and institutional humanitarian contexts that critique harm vis-à-vis care, and exposed the limits of inclusion (Fassin, 2011). Overall, these discussions cater to how ethnographic methods grapple with otherwise unintended consequences of state planning and interventions, or disentangle the complexities of ideal planning apparatuses.

Despite its usefulness, the deployment of ethnographic methods to study power analytics of government remains contested. Foucault's (1991b) seminal text, "Question on method", details the dilemma that every ethnographically-influenced study, or any qualitative study on powers/state/government, must resolve. For Foucault, the "fragments of reality" induces particular effects in the real that oscillate between the intended plan (which he refers to as being as complex as a "witches' brew") and implicit outcomes. The programming of human behaviour, of "whole society", is a product of regimes guided by historical events, and thus a matter of genealogical-historical analyses, instead of a "project" of present and empirical analysis (Foucault, 1991b, pp. 81-82).

From this perspective, this dissertation, like other studies, is neither historical nor genealogical. Nevertheless, Foucault agrees that while real circumstances aren't the prototype of "theoreticians' schemas", this does not mean that they are "utopian" or "imaginary", rather they are "improvised notions of the real" with a whole "series of effects in the real" (Foucault, 1991b, pp. 81-82). To study government, it is essential to ask, "what happened and why… to ask what the

authorities wanted to happen, in relation to problems defined how, in pursuit of what objectives, through what strategies and techniques" (Rose, 1999, p. 20). Thus, while differences between the ideal and actual of the programmes are relevant, the sociopolitical implications of effects are still examinable.

In this line, I follow Li's (2007) suggestion to ethnographically enquire into government, its analytics, and social interventions.[31] It is to follow the state powers and governing pathways through a three-phase engagement: "programs, practices and effects" (Li, 2007), to trace certain fragments that are capable of producing a complex witches' brew. Two theoretical adaptations are important here. First, Foucault-inspired governmental programmes are seen in the capillaries of power that produce diffused consequences of power. However, (dis)similar consequences might arise with interventions that are outwardly sovereign or that tie in with biopolitical imperatives, as in this dissertation. Second, Li's methodological tool is much more relevant in non-Western contexts (the post-socialist, post-colonial, Southern), as the sociopolitical reality in these cities remains outwardly incoherent and often unstable, and urban fragments are loosely connected amongst themselves or as a whole (Roy, 2016; McFarlane, 2021).

State programmes have received wider ethnographic attention. For this dissertation, I refer to these programmes as the state-market interventions that, through redevelopmental dispossession, bring about resettlement. The goal of such a programme is urban renewal and the strategy is population governance through techniques of displacement and alternative emplacement (also see chapter 4). The rationales for such interventions are urban growth, a secure city, renewal, formalization, inclusion, and alternative graduated living for the populations. However, these rationales also include danger and security threats from the urban informal to urban society at large. The violence of dispossession and inclusion parallel overt rationales of benevolence and inclusion. Overall, the two components—of redevelopment and resettlement—are linked in a "systematic manner" (Rose, 1999, p. 33) in urban renewal programmes.

The planning and interventional dispositifs make populations legible, measurable, definable, and subject to mechanisms through which renewal must take place and produce "definite effects" (Foucault, 1991b, pp. 81-82). Similar

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31 Ethnographic sensibilities differ widely across the journal articles in this dissertation, and have limitations. I am not concerned here with how ethnographic the end results of my work are, but to emphasize how ethnography as a method helped to explore the field and collect the details needed for the theoretical analysis.

definitive effects could also be related with graduated forms of housing, living, and urban belonging. Nevertheless, despite such definitive aspirations, there are real (and widespread) gaps, omissions, and deviations in plans and how they are actualized in governmental interventions (Scott, 1998). In other words, state interventions seldom mirror the plans.

By empirically examining redevelopment and resettlement programmes, I am attentive to the ground-level practices that are formed across, in parallel, against, or beyond "the plan". These two components, of redevelopment and resettlement, are hierarchical in nature, geographically separated, and dispersed in their consequences across heterogenous populations and individual subjects. However, the programme and practices also tie them together through localized effects. Thus, we sense the outcomes of such programmes on urban renewal and also explore how subject formation, enablement, and the subjectivities of violence, abandonment, and repression are formed across linked components.

Li (2007) defines "practices" as actual interventions that render governmental programmes possible. In redevelopment-resettlement programmes, practices constitute official or public narratives of localized implementation, tacit agreements around inclusion, and facilitations, compromises, and manipulation that go beyond the actual plans and produce violations and divergences. Using this methodological tool, one could diversify the implied meaning of the redevelopment-resettlement programme itself and ask what programmes actually do, and how their practices are interpreted by the subjects (Li, 2007, p. 280). The success or failure of these interventions depends on diverse subject formation, engendered rationalities of governance, and heterogeneous effects that encapsulate the homogenizing process of government. Locating the actual practice of government—across years, sites, hierarchies, roles, processes—is to explore the underlying logic of power in redevelopment and resettlement.

Finally, "effects" relates to real ramifications in the social field. For Li (2007), it is particularly interesting to explore the intersection between the programme and the processes that exceeds its scope. While powers seem to expand redevelopment governance, the outcomes might never be deterministic. To follow the intended and unintended, proximate and indirect, planned and unplanned outcomes and exigencies at sociopolitical scales goes beyond the deterministic relations of the programmes themselves.

However, Li's (2007) exploration covers the productive relations of power that aim to bring about optimum living, improvement, and well-being for the

population. As discussed in earlier chapters, state powers take a complex mix of sovereign, pastoral, and bio-necropolitical turns in postcolonial urban contexts and in redevelopment and resettlement. The state interventions, as non-deterministic effects of programmes, are also coercive, violent, repressive and even limiting. Thus, alongside the overt veneer of improvement, one must be attentive to its limits. The redevelopment-resettlement axis of programmes, practices, and effects allows us to capture power relations amongst actors, materialities, and linked subjectivities. These have multiple effects across the spatial, temporal, and social registers of populations. It also helps to locate subjectivities of embedded material and sociopolitical consequences, emerging sites of governmentalities and counter-conducts, and the changing contours of the government of urban project and lives.

5.2. Entry

The idea of fieldwork usually begins with a separation between "the field" and "home", and is compounded with, at times, exotic, serendipitous, and enthralling tales of arrival to the "field" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997). I must make at least two admissions here, concerning how I made the city my field, evolving multi-sited interventions my context of enquiry, and ethnography my guiding method.

First, location and field are not finite or stable containers. Identities change as we live in de/re/territorializing world with amorphous configurations (Appadurai, 1996). While the forces of globalization seem to de-territorialize old and new borders, separations and overlaps keep forming in peripheral resettlements and in their amorphous political relations with urban politics (Murray, 2017). This is especially important when the researcher sees the world's processes from its margins. My provocation here is not to build or contest certain meanings or to ascribe new tasks to ethnography amidst de/re/territorialization (Appadurai, 1996), but to demystify certain traditional meanings attached to the method, and to make it useful for my splintered, off-sight, and even hidden forms of situated social and political urban knowledge. Such a methodological move corresponds to my analytical goal to speak, detail, and even re/theorize from elsewheres.

The second aspect corresponds to my identity. I am neither a native nor a non-native explorer of Mumbai. I am an Indian, and have carried out fieldwork in the city in which I have lived and to which I have remained connected for almost a

decade now. My status was long that of an inter-state migrant, without domicile in the city. Upon my arrival in Mumbai as a student over a decade ago (in 2012), I lived in an *in-situ* resettlement site for months (2012–2013), and have since made my home in Mumbai's twin city, Navi Mumbai. My immersion in the city, and its redevelopment and housing crises started with simply being there, especially living in and near a resettlement tenement. My dwelling was what first introduced me to the particularities of resettlement: architecture, infrastructure, sociality, and governance, amongst others. I developed a network with civil society organizations, local activists, and residents of resettlement townships (in many administrative wards) through formal or informal engagements, and took up local and internationally anchored research and fieldwork assignments. These constitute the necessary background shaping my PhD research journey since it began in October 2018.

5.2.1. Resettlement township I: Vashi Naka

There are salient junctures for my entry, epistemic and methodological, into the empirical cases discussed in this dissertation and their corresponding resettlement sites. Chapter 2 discusses the politics of knowledge generation by SPARC Alliance, while chapters 3 and 4 problematize certain perspectives and theorizations of grassroots initiatives. These include, *inter alia*, inclusion, participatory resettlement, political engagement, deep democracy, and urban citizenship. However, the on-the-ground realities of NGO-led interventions, their field sites, and the politics of knowledge generation, are slightly divergent from what has been established in the academic discourse (see sections 2.3, 3.1). An ethnographer writes about institutional and field-level gatekeeping at a prominent R&R site in M-East ward, in Lallubhai Compound:

> My double challenge was thus to try to simultaneously gain institutional permission to interact with community members and not become viewed as an NGO appendage... SPARC staff requested a thorough research plan, and one senior staff member even attempted to retain the right to edit my dissertation should I represent their work in an unfair manner. (Doshi, 2011, p. 66)

Despite establishing trust with the NGO, Doshi later had to modify their findings. I highlight this incident, not to suggest that the sites are totally regimented places, nor to assert that these organizations or the researchers indulge

in unfair interpretation. Rather, I simply wish to explain that the NGO's power that could decide institutional access at the cost of academic freedom. Many researchers working on Mumbai would agree with these interpretations. With this background, I had two options: first, to be immersed in the NGO, undertake an institutionalized study, and mutually agree on the research agenda and findings. Or, second, conduct independent study outside direct institutional influence. I chose the latter.

Two additional circumstances strengthened my decision to not formally immerse my study within the NGO. The first relates to an institutional interview. On one occasion, I approached SPARC for a meeting with its head. Since the head was unavailable, I was granted access to another spokesperson. The interviewee started with mentioning that he would not say anything new or anything that was not already available in the public or academic domain. In a conversation lasting over an hour and 45 minutes, he never went beyond established knowledge and generic information. After these experiences, I decided to juxtapose SPARC's official narratives and the established scholarly claims against reality in the field.

The second factor relates to changing field settings. On one occasion, a high-level MMRDA official expressed their discontent with how the NGO operated. MMRDA was deciding whether to end their association with the NGO and empanel private firms for the work of enumeration and surveys. MMRDA and other parastatal organizations that had once celebrated SPARC's bridging function, now suggested that "they needed resettlements (and hence, NGOs) to implement those large infrastructure projects" and "now, those works (of the NGO) could be done by several private players under the Resettlement Cell and their well-manned office" (personal communication, 2018).

By this time (2017–2018), certain inter-institutional conflicts were also visible, an activist shared with me. For example, the issue of corruption in managing state projects came up. An official spokesperson said, "this organisation is always favoured… Every year, it is able to bag contracts, despite doing shoddy work…but in this year's contract they are both the contractor and monitoring body" (DNA, 2015). The NGO had, allegedly, "illegally" handed tenements to "unauthorized slum and pavement dwellers" which it later defended as humanitarian and temporary intervention (Mumbai Mirror, 2006). Such field-based knowledge reshaped the political and interventional spaces between the state and the NGO.

Asymmetric power relations amongst the stakeholders—NGO staff, field office staff, leaders, and residents—were also apparent when I entered the field in Vashi Naka. The site had a functional NGO office, state-run livelihoods restoration activities and vibrant street entrepreneurship across entry points and on arterial roads. During my preliminary visits, I was repeatedly asked by the gatekeepers, "for whom are you conducting this survey—for SPARC or MMRDA?". "Is it a survey?" was a preliminary but repetitive question. I would compare my study to the census, the eligibility survey of the *jhoppadpattis*, or a baseline survey that residents had conducted with the mediating NGO, and recognized well.

The residents saw surveying as a tool of knowledge generation and a technology of inclusion or as practice of mis/recognition. They had mixed reactions to this biopolitical tool of poverty governance, this tool of knowing, inclusion in which might yield governmental benefits. It was a data generation tool, a measure of visibility, a practice of recognition. Indeed, when a survey is conducted by a state agent or mediating NGO, it is a practice of power. In the post-colonial predicament, surveys are tools of making of populations, a measure of governmentality with dual effects: eligibility means inclusion, exclusion means punitive discipline. Against this backdrop, I focused on the need to talk, have detailed conversations, listen to their *aapbiti*—their stories of, and effects on, the self—and to see things in Vashi Naka.

Many times, residents or gatekeepers would ask me to contact the NGO's representatives. Hidden power dynamics came through repeatedly in preliminary interactions. Farhan, a *chai*-stall entrepreneur, when asked about the state-led and NGO-mediated resettlement process, said with discontent, "Oh, don't take SPARC's name. No, no, I don't have a problem… Whatever other things you have to ask, ask this fellow"—indicating another person, perhaps a customer, who lit his *bidi* [inexpensive cigarette] and went away.

Farhan had always been nice during our meetings: he would offer me *chai* and ask about the progress of my "study". But this particular conversation was unlike his general approach towards me. Only towards the end of my fieldwork (in 2017–2018) did I realize, through informal conversations and other sources, that Farhan was a selected representative in the NGO-led resettlements, first in transit camps, and now in the resettlement township. He was also preferred and helped by the NGO in many ways: monetarily, being given leadership, the selection of his building in the township or on humanitarian grounds. This was why he chose not to speak and directed me to other office bearers. Many respondents like him,

usually CHS leaders, shared mostly positive and uncomplicated narratives. These were field-level gatekeepers. They controlled the narrative around the role of parastatal agencies and the NGO.

The residents and leaders (from heterogenous groups) shared different narratives from the dominant CHS leaders (from homogenous groups). Another hierarchical layer in subject formation and subjectivities was evolving for me, showing certain relations of power. I had convinced my interlocutors of my intentions: I was there to meet residents and learn their stories and experiences of resettlement—including of dis/re/possession, local politics, and negotiation strategies—and I would learn about institutional perspectives from their reports or visit their offices later. It was an attempt to focus on the situated "positionality of voices" that reproduces, opposes, or frames alternative meanings to dominant institutional knowledge (Madison, 2005, p. 6). At other times, some residents (including Farhan) had asked for my identity card, as they were apprehensive that, "who knows, they (SPARC or MMRDA or other state agencies) might send someone". These apprehensions related to another embedded institutional power that spoke of possible punitive actions. My identity, as an independent student researcher, not concerned with those institutions, and institutionally neutral, helped me establish contacts over weeks. Overall, these preliminary interactions led me to diverse subjective power positions against which I triangulated and selected my informants.

5.2.2. Resettlement township II: Mahul

During the years 2017–2018, two debates emerged in Mumbai, concerning pipeline encroachments and resettlement. Media reports suggested that Mumbai's water supply pipeline was to be saved from encroachers (meaning the urban poor, and their illegal tenements), while over 35,000 people would be resettled in Mahul township, M-West ward. I had multiple points of entry into this case from June 2018 (case 2; Articles II, III, and IV). As I have discussed, Mumbai's resettlement outcomes have been variegated, whereby state actors, NGOs, and the poor's collectives interfaced for negotiation, co-option, or coercion (Jha, 2020; Doshi, 2013; Roy, 2009).

A SPARC office-bearer, whom I had befriended during my fieldwork, had informed me about a hidden concern about resettlements in Mahul. He said that Mahul was a somewhat "polluted" and "peripheral" place. The MMRDA and

other parastatals were keen on allocating the transport project's evictees to M-West (and Mahul township), but the NGO had denounced Mahul owing to "operational' difficulties and unforeseen objections from stakeholders and relocatees. "What if the people complain to the World Bank, or MMRDA, and stalled the project?" he asked. Grievances, violations of operational directives, plural sovereignties in poverty governance, differential entitlements, and enablement in the World-Bank-supported MUTP project have all been studied before (Randeria & Grunder, 2011). What is interesting here is the selective power of the NGO and the state-led unofficial hierarchization of the urban poor in urban renewal and resettlements.

Many parastatal organizations have quotas of tenements in Mahul township, but it is the municipal authority that has been the pioneer in undertaking resettlements from several localized urban renewal projects across the city, without direct international support or collaboration. The residents' groups include relocatees from projects from drainage widening, pavement widening, temporary stay for other projects, and now the massive pipeline project. Compared to MUTP, the municipal authority's projects, despite lacking international stakeholders, involved city-scale renewal and resettlement that was even more complex, multi-scalar, and temporally sensitive.

Another researcher whom I shall call Sandy was involved in Mahul's judicialization case, and had facilitated my first entry into the township. Sandy was contracted by the institutions involved to conduct a study titled "Survey of various infrastructural facilities to be provided to the Mahul project rehabilitatees", which was to be submitted to the High Court of Mumbai. Sandy was a friend, and had told me about the robustness of the study. A quantitative survey, it included over 50 questions and covered a representative sample of over 300 families from over 3,500 then resident there. As usually happens in field studies, respondents had shared experiences of things that had previously been hidden. These included, for example, hair loss, menstrual health problems, still births, and other "effects" (*ashar*) of living in Mahul. The researchers had included some of the observed bio-pathologies in their survey.

Interestingly, during follow-up meetings, Sandy told me that his research team members had also fallen ill after their time in Mahul. Many vomited or felt breathless walking in the toxic surroundings and taking uncountable flights of stairs in a township with no or little mobile connectivity. They complained of sore throats, runny noses, and irritated eyes. Many field researchers left the project for

health reasons. Instead, Sandy had had to recruit an alternative team (including some residents who had graduated university), and supervise them to conduct the study. Sandy himself had developed a skin allergy, with swelling and irritation on his hands, which did not heal for about four months after the fieldwork. His advice was clear:

> Why conduct another study? You take the questionnaire; the report will be published soon (in 2019). Write your paper or dissertation. Anyways, don't spend too much time in Mahul, don't drink water, use facemasks for safety (from infection). Better, conduct interviews outside Mahul. It is really bad there. Cut the fieldwork short.

In-depth fieldwork in polluted and toxic environments is usually limiting (Davies, 2018; Lerner, 2010). Nevertheless, I did my fieldwork against the advice of my well-wishers over six months during 2018–2021. The research team's contacts and research tools were helpful for me in preparing for it.

The second point of entry emerged from a public meeting held in Mahul in 2018. I had cordial relation with GBGBA and some of its field activists, developed in my postgraduate studies in Mumbai. Lately, I had informally participated in many of their public meetings, institutional activities, *dharnas* (protest), and a fundraising initiative. The organization, its activists, and participants were not gatekeepers. They were welcoming towards everyone: news reporters, documentary makers, local researcher (like me), government staff, and academics, amongst others. They wanted the issue to gain visibility (through press reports, news shows, documentation, or a research report) and garner support in any possible way that they could use in official or public deliberations, in the ongoing judicial case, or in any upcoming resistance or negotiation with state institutions. However, as it started to negotiate with state institutions, this organization also became a gatekeeper. Information or details could not be shared with me or anyone else owing to their politically sensitive nature. Nevertheless, I could manage this through my contacts with active members (see section 5.3.2).

At a particular juncture, I participated in public meetings and started with what Ferguson (1999, p. 211) calls "people watching" to explore the unfolding political dynamics. The fieldnote below provides a glimpse of the field's messiness:

> An active member announced: "We are not here for unnecessary politics. we are people like you. Do you know what happened in Jaitapur case [a nuclear power

project site in Maharashtra state]? Shiv Sena supported it initially, now opposes it. Think! Why is it not so here? Whose is MCGM? Shiv Sena? Why have we been placed here (*dala yaha*)? There are so many refineries here. Over 20 lakh [200,000] tons of petroleum product. Sealord and Aegis' numerous installations are here. Why is there no opposition (*virodh*) to our resettlements (*punarvash*) here?"; A women member added: "the government has fooled us. Our lives are dreadful here, we are not happy since our arrival"; An angry member added: "they have given us room after demolishing our *jhopda*, it is not charity (*meherbani*)." Few other deliberations followed like this: "We need political support for our agitation"; contrasting to this, "No, the political parties, the MCGM, the Court, all of them are one, that's why we they have left us here"; "How are *Aamdar* (corporator), *Khasdar* (member of parliament), and other leaders (*neta*) voted to power? What are they for?"; "I have seen people begging here, vomiting blood, and dying. Where is the Indian constitution?"; "I beg all of you to please come together and make leaving this place possible (*yaha se nikal jao*) [She was crying. Her father died of TB after resettlement, she and her daughter also suffered from TB]"; "They can provide some amenities, who will control the pollution? Toxins in the air we breathe are high. We are going to die this way"; "We are exposed to conditions of slow death like slow poison, but nobody knows, it's not directly visible. But it is happening"; "Who is happy here? Those who did not have anything there. Not we. We are losing everything here"; "We are sacrificing everything. It is similar to Jallianwala Bagh tragedy [referring to a colonial-era massacre]. It is Hitler-*shahi*"; "It's like gas chambers that were used to kill the Jews. But we will count every death. Their sacrifice won't be in vain".

From watching these people, I started to develop contacts, and further explore the unfolding dynamics through them.

The meaning of gatekeepers was a bit different in Mahul, as I realised through successive phases of fieldwork. Compared to the attendees of the public meeting, other people (residents or otherwise) had different perspectives about Mahul and its sociopolitics. The petro-economy depends on migrant laborers for precarious, sub-contracting work, and hundreds of them live in this township. Their rooms are locally managed (rented) by contractors, the security guards of the township, and subcontractors. For these migrants, as I found through confidential conversation, "everything is ok", as they would say. They only came to Mahul for eating and sleeping and their manager had asked them not to speak to anyone about their stay here. Anyway, as one said, "they might leave for some other work site soon".

Further, there are also renters whose homes were demolished and who were initially disqualified from the R&R policy. They had to "manage" (negotiate with) BMC officials, pay bribes (*paisa khilana* or *lena dena karna*) to get included in the scheme. They might get allotments in Mahul in the future, and ongoing protest could be counterproductive. Almost homeless, disqualified from alternatives, and waiting to get included, these families found here the cheapest rent in Mumbai (INR 2,000–3,000 in 2018–2019). Corrupt practices that might enable them to access formal housing took away the possibility of interfacing, perceiving, and speaking about issues. It paralyzed any possible affective solidarity with those who were vocal, suffering, or both. There were also transit settlers from other projects here, who were waiting to be allocated residences elsewhere and who did not wish to participate in anything political. These residents had different perspectives on the township.

Further, the BMC deputed a private security firm, Eagle Security in the townships in M-Ward (both East and West). Eagle Security is a close ally of a dominant political party. Guards were deputed to keep state property from theft, mismanagement or illegal activities. The security guards shared the perception of the resettled "public" as "trouble causing population", as people who "lack a culture of living in buildings". They considered the residents to be *hawra-dawra*, the lowest in the social hierarchy, and complicit in illegalities, drug abuse. These were "people with little civic sense". A security boss said: "*behenchod, saale* (curse words), they got free (*mofat*) housing, and now they are creating trouble for the *sarkar* (government)".

An antagonistic relation between these guards and the residents was episodically visible. For example, I had seen guards beating, abusing, and mishandling young residents (allegedly addicts) as a form of local policing. The security guards saw the Mahul collective (Samiti members) as "troublemakers" and "rabblerousers" (*ho halla karne wale*). But for Samiti members, the security system kept vigilant about their activities to inform the BMC. The members had to keep sensitive political work, of negotiations and actions, secret from state agents and residents connected with them. They had power over what narratives could be accessed during the fieldwork.

The only arterial road is another infrastructure of gatekeeping for an unaware outsider. At the time of my fieldwork, the small stretch had six active pawnshops, many medical clinics, and grocery stores. The pawnshop business was in particularly high demand, as these shops were predating on the miseries and

economic vulnerabilities of residents especially those with lower socioeconomic status or facing health emergencies. Many of the medical shops were run by unqualified ayurvedic doctors with no professional right to provide allopathic treatment. They treated the skin diseases, cardiovascular issues and fevers that were endemic here. Only one of the doctors I interviewed was vocal about the local issues. For the rest, things were largely fine in Mahul: the endemic bio-pathologies were profitable for them. Grocery sellers made good money by charging higher prices in a location lacking connections.

It is noteworthy that the township does not have legitimate and dedicated entrepreneurial space. In its absence, road-facing ground-floor tenements rented informally were in demand. The arrangements might be considered illegal, with many renters neither local residents nor relocatees, and with little interest in the local context. I found during the latter part of my fieldwork that some of them gave positive or ambiguous interviews to volunteers from a local academic institution. Mahul was messy, noisy, but it was also being silenced. It was full of overlapping, unclear and even contested meanings of which I collected a few.

I had finished my fieldwork in Vashi Naka and already started preliminary fieldwork and data collection in Mahul before the start of my PhD programme in October 2018. In Mahul, fieldwork took place in 2018 (June-August), 2019 (January-February), 2020 (February), and 2021 (June-July). The dissertation project was impacted by COVID-19, and had to be adjusted twice during 2020 and 2021. The original plan was to explore themes of social deviance, control, and administrative policing another resettlement colony. With the COVID-19 pandemic, I shifted to follow sociopolitics and judicialization (2018–2020) and re-resettlements (2020 and ongoing) in Mahul.

5.3. Empirical material

This dissertation is based on multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork which aimed to cover multi-scaler sociopolitics of urban renewal, resettlement, and rehabilitations. In case 1, the fieldwork concerned Vashi Naka, the resettlement site in M-East ward. In case 2, fieldwork started from Mahul, the resettlement township in M-West ward, and stretched to pipeline eviction sites (Article II), a site of protest at a pipeline site in Vidyavihar, and many other urban sites of concerns (Article IV), and then back to the resettlement township across the years

of fieldwork (Article III), with some interconnections across these sites and their sociopolitical dynamics.

The data collection tool evolved with the field realities and changing research questions. For example, while I started with an emic perspective on constraining living conditions post-resettlement, I completely changed the tool from general marginality in peripheral or toxic surroundings to focus on situated materiality and emerging subjectivities (vis-à-vis section 3.2), which I later theorized through the adaptation of certain theoretical tropes. There are many such instances, for instance, in exploring how state institutions shape the politics of the poor and vice versa, through empirical investigation (sections 3.1, 4.3, 4.4). For these explorations, an "open" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019) research design was helpful to meld my evolving theoretical perspectives with the field realities following an abductive reasoning process (see chapters 4, 6). It is difficult to do justice in a Kappa to labyrinthine, layered, and even fragmented (across time and place) data collection methods that were constantly shaped by fieldwork. I, nevertheless, broadly and briefly, present them below under three headings: conversation, observation, and document.

5.3.1. Conversation

Informal and friendly conversations are important tools in fieldwork and to explore lived worlds (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019; Allen, 2017).[32] My interlocuters and the participants were not passive informants or objects of research; rather, they were facilitators of a co-constitutive journey towards their experiences, with lives that connected to the research project, process, and effects (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Across field sites I explored knowledge, experiential, opinion, feeling, and sensory questions (see Madison, 2005, p. 27; Appendix 1). Thus, knowledge questions probed the facets of the redevelopment-resettlement project; experiential questions referred to actions and ways of doing things through the practices; opinion questions focused on judgements and beliefs about processes; feeling questions referred to the sentimental aspects; while sensory

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32 The relationship between ethnography as method and interview as tool of data collection has evolved. While many argue that ethnography "relied heavily or even entirely on interviews" (Hammersley, 2006), others argue that ethnography deals heavily with observations towards crafting a "graphy" (Madison, 2005). I locate my explorations somewhere between these two extremes.

questions connected the materiality and enclosure of lived and embodied experiences within the resettlement scenario.

I also conducted interviews in episodes. These were with active residents, collective members, and leaders, seeking to elicit their in-depth reflexive knowledge for up to a total of six hours, in sessions lasting 1–2 hours each. These interviews were mostly conducted while spending days with these individuals, or participating in certain activities, for example, in core member meetings, or in the Home Office (see below), and taking out some hours for conversations.

Structured or focused enquiry was not helpful in numerous cases. The respondents were not trained interviewees (compare the survey contexts briefly discussed above), and hence, I started to employ a mix of life-story and reflexive interviewing, often with repeated follow-up, to gain deeper insights about the issues. For example, I would ask interlocuters and respondents to share their experiences from the beginning of the project by relating their life stories. This would organize themes in a chrono-political order. I would then revisit specific themes and emphasize certain aspects. This was important in two ways: first, many respondents would lose track, and even forget what they were saying if interrupted through active probing. Second, I would gauge the respondent's engagement through the processes, similarities, and differences, if any, and any interesting particularities, that emerged through this process.

Conversations with vulnerable families that experienced disease and death were, unsurprisingly, exceptionally complex. To attempt to know their situation through interviews or life-story methods might have been exploitative, insensitive, or both. Redevelopment and resettlement were not just political in process and effect, but also sensitive, emotional and even traumatizing. Some interlocutors in these categories were angry and wished to speak out, and finding those respondents helped me. Many others were traumatized, dealing with tremendous pain, and expressing helplessness. For them, speaking was worth nothing or it only served the interviewer's purpose (like news reporters). The resettlement sites were sites of biophysical degradation of life, political bareness, and an epistemic loss of subjecthood. This was especially applicable during 2018–2019, when the pollution and toxicity were higher, diseases were endemic, at least one related death occurred every week, and the scope for re-resettlement was thin.

I started to shadow the Samiti and its volunteers in their visits to families affected by diseases and death. For the Samiti, this was a way of seeing and knowing about the families, sharing updates about the resettlement negotiations,

and registering the families. These visits usually lasted 10–30 minutes, and many issues would be discussed. Samiti members would introduce me to these families as an observer of their living situations. Later, I would follow up with the families through unaccompanied visits. Spending time with them, learning through observation, and friendly conversations were helpful to gather in-depth knowledge about their situations.

The conversation questions can be thematically arranged into three categories: pre-displacement context; displacement politics; and resettlement and rehabilitation. The first set of questions relate to aspects of living in *jhoppadpattis*, slum areas, and the introduction of the state's "projects" of renewal and resettlement. Here, I emphasized how respondents explained their living circumstances, settlement and dwelling forms, access to basic and infrastructural services, and the natures of collective sociopolitical ties, their leadership, their connections with local and city-level political parties, and how they related to their belonging to the city. Through probes I sought to explore the nature of existing collective structures.

Against this background, the state's "project"—recalling Li's (2007) suggestion—of urban renewal and resettlement unfolded. The questions emphasized the rationales offered by the projects, the benefits of, or need for, alternative resettlement and rehabilitation, and their reactions to this. I was keen to explore how my respondents recollected the interfaces, provocations, and engagements with the programmes (NGO-mediated in case 1, state-led in case 2). How were these provocations different from earlier instances of slum clearance? I asked them to share examples, narratives, events, and incidents, and describe their interfaces with representatives, to explore the forms of invested institutional powers on the ground. These questions related to their comparative experiences vis-à-vis neighbouring areas, level of leadership, and gender. I was also interested in scepticism and micro-resistances prior to or during their involvement and the collectivization that was propelled by activists and some members.

The second category of questions relates to the technologies of making resettlement areas (mapping, surveys, enumeration) and subjects (rationalities, entitlements) in both cases, though with certain differences across state-led versus NGO-mediated, and violent versus participatory, practices. While in case 1, the poor were branded encroachers and illegal, but subject to participatory interventions, in case 2, they were dangerous encroachers, and subject to almost authoritarian interventions and resettlement. The questions related to the

formation of sociopolitical enclosures, or interfaces with processes introduced across the main project sites or eviction areas. Further, the spatial-geographical processes of dispossession that were facilitated or resisted were matters of enquiry. In case 1, I found from preliminary conversation and field visits (to Asalfa the pipeline site and neighbouring sites) that the pre-dispossession phase was extensive (3–5 years), and included changing people's relations with state institutions and their political representatives. Thus, I explored the political aspects of communities affected by differential slum clearances (Article II).

Surprisingly, in case 1, the transit camp was an important connecting link between eviction/displacement and resettlement/emplacement. My questions, formed from preliminary conversations and interviews, focused on the experiences of spatiality, living, and NGO- or state-mediated governance, and the ways 2–3 years of transit living shaped resettlement processes and subjectivities differently. The decision about the resettlement township, and the reorganizing of the population through selection or co-option, happened during the stay in transit. Thus, I focused on the role of collectives and their leaders, and the changing natures of their relationship with state and non-state actors in defining resettlement options and deciding the micro-details of post-resettlement planning (down to tenement, building, or neighbourhood), which I correlated with my observations about settlements, buildings, after resettlement. Unlike what was planned, transit stays were contentious and thus what led members, leaders, and collectives to negotiate, resist, or accept the offered choices was critical.

The third theme relates to post-resettlement contexts. A new social composite was to be formed, based on the allotment of resettlement tenements, ideally from the same eviction sites, and federated into CHS. The basic premise of the new composite was based on, among other factors, where dwelling units were located, i.e. the specific building and areas within these gigantic townships. My respondents' experiences hardly fit the unifying logic. Thus, I focused on the nature of allotment, the formation of new collectives, membership relations with the CHS, and how all these functioned. These new habitats, and the CHSs, are expected to mediate services, maintenance, and governance across state and non-state stakeholders. These subjective details enriched my understanding of the effects of the government programme and the processes that followed. I explored the emerging/changing relations across the stakeholders, the sociopolitical lives of individual participants, their sense of the new collective, new forms of claim-making, negotiation, and local politics, and the post-resettlement lives of

multilateral interventions. As the participants flagged issues with these relationalities, I started exploring the new social, livelihood, and political lives in resettlements. The changing governing logics and people's interfaces—from sites of eviction, to transit to resettlement colony—across their membership, role, and function vis-à-vis the resettlement plan, and emerging exigencies of delays, changes, and failures, were central to field explorations.

Post-resettlement contexts were different in case 2 (see chapter 1). The members and the collectives were not federated in CHS, rather, they opposed such interventions from the state as planned through another NGO. The members wished for re-resettlement from Mahul, which was unique in urban resettlement contexts. My thematic guide, questions, and observations evolved through the fieldwork process. I began with the aspect of toxicity and pollution that affected lives in Mahul. Many participants also emphasized the settlement-based particularity of their experiences. These were related to two effects: first, the built environment of the township; and second, their subjection to these settlements that made the effects of toxicity and pollution more pertinent. I thus revised my probes to capture the new "ordering of subjectivities" (Fortun, 2012, p. 450) through material and local biospheric encounters. Cumulatively, these questions related to how pollution, toxicity, and the built environment affected living, health, physiological conditions, and illnesses, and so contributed to the overall experience of living in Mahul. Lastly, as protest and negotiation started (2018–2019), I added questions on perspectives on, and the experiences, processes, possibilities, and challenges of these sociopolitical processes. The respondents were active members of Samiti, the Mahul collective, as well as volunteers, residents, and those with different perspectives towards the utility of these uprisings.

During the latter part of the fieldwork, the High Court of Mumbai directed the municipal authority to stop resettlements in Mahul township. Some slum areas concerning the pipeline project were already demolished and to be relocated in Mahul while others were to be demolished but were stopped. Field reality brought another surprising turn, with the urban renewal project concerning Mumbai's pipeline securitization. From case 2, I turned to the pipeline project (Article II). To capture empirical details, I revisited some of the relocated members whom I had already interviewed for more details and locate more respondents from a particular site (Vidyavihar) to develop an ethnographic case. From here, I also turned to an active member whom I had encountered during

the preliminary phase of fieldwork (see section 5.2.2, and figure 1 for site details). He was a field expert, and had facilitated many conversations at another site (Asalfa) to generate another empirical case and explore the pipeline project further (Article II). The investigation of pipeline project was also important to connect the resettlement programme and related effects.

In-depth, semi-structured or life-story narratives were elicited from respondents from both cases. In case 1, the duration varied from over 30 minutes to up to 2.5 hours, with follow-ups. In case 2, the time duration varied from over 30 minutes to over six hours in episodic interviews, with repeated follow-ups in many cases across the fieldwork years (2018–2021). In both cases, numerous informal conversations while hanging out, or family-based talks, supplemented the data. However, these could not be tabulated here.

Table 1. Participants (case 1)
List of formal conversation in Vashi Naka township.

Role/Gender	Men	Women	Total
CHS leaders	8	3	11
Activists	4	2	6
Members	10	11	21
Total	22	16	38

Table 2. Participants (case 2)
List of formal conversation in Mahul township and in Mumbai.

Role	Total
Activists (men 12, women 8)	20
Members/families	25
Families with diseases	14
Field experts, NGO representatives	4
Total	63

5.3.2. Observation

Ethnographic fieldwork relies heavily on observations. The meaning and uses of observation varies drastically across field settings and how it is used as a tool. For example, a dominant way of using observation refers to obtaining, first-hand, a thick description of the field, context, or process under enquiry (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). A less commonly used way is as a method to collect observations

in co-creative, reflective ways, and thus supplement the ethnographic project. In this dissertation, the meaning and use of observation vary.

Observation sites and processes for this research included the township and CHS office (case 1); the township, buildings, a protest site and some official meetings with bureaucrats and public meetings (case 2). In case 1, field observations were only instructive in knowing the resettlement locality, and then probing about it. They related to the functioning and management of the CHS, interaction amongst its leaders and members, and how space was utilized for personal, entrepreneurial, social, or collective uses. It also included the uses of common spaces (kindergarten, CHS offices, NGO presence, renting, entrepreneurial uses) and locations (inside and around buildings, corridors, marginal open spaces, staircases, and floors). Observations on pavement-based entrepreneurship, whether informal, or even illegal, led me to develop questions on the management of economic activities that were otherwise deemed "illegal". Through this I could enquire about the pertinent and yet unsolved livelihood issues and socioeconomic vulnerabilities, that otherwise constitutes socioeconomic rehabilitation. In case 1, observations and led conversations were co-constitutive: conversations created space for operational registers, and vice-versa.

While observational sites greatly helped in generating conversation about the new settlement and its governance, I also used walking as an urban ethnographic tool for active observation (McFarlane, 2018; De Certeau, 1984). Walking as a tool helped to explore the sociopolitical lives of dis/possession (cases 1 and 2) and alternative politics emerging in post-resettlement contexts (case 2). This tool helped reflect how powers vested in resettlements (institutional, material, and the every day) impregnated material circumstances and residents' lives. For example, it helped me explore the built environment, and its relation with aspects of everyday living and mutually dependent social-infrastructural and governance forms. It also helped explore how residents saw their relations with the CHS, and their explanations of how relations unfold in different contexts, like, heterogenous or homogenous groups, socially intact or segregated social living, their interfaces with the state institutions and the NGO. Overall, these expanded my horizon of exploring the material conditions of living beyond tenements and their immediate surroundings to the resettlement colony at large.

The research output from case 1 is limited (Article I). A field observation context of walking together would help us zoom into living realities (of dispossession, and relations with the state and the concerned NGO):

Come with me, I will show you the contribution of government and NGO. There is neither an arrangement of lighting here, nor toilet. When building no. XX does not get proper water [it is at low height], how will we get it in our building? [As we talk, a woman comes and speaks to the interlocutor about the water issue, and almost yells at him in anger. He ignores it, saying, see this, what can we do, beyond taking abuses, and curses. He says, the women thinks that society people are scoundrels. What can we do? We are helpless and stuck in between them.] See the heap of garbage here. It's done by the public here, drops from above. The lifts are non-functional. The place lacks a proper waste management system. See those buildings on the arterial road are being cleaned, not on our side [directs towards their building on the posterior side]. BMC says, it not yet under our control [responsibility]. What can a CHS society do to this? Now see this school, no lift, no water, no electricity [laughs satirically]. There was a rape incident in this adjacent vacant building, *Bhai.* Now he asks me, how many kilometres have you walked in Vashi Naka? Four-five kilometres, I answered. He asks, again, how many policemen have you see seen yet? None, I replied. He continued, who would send their children, especially girls to such schools? It's not worth risk-taking. Anyways, the teaching is not even third-class *sarkari* [the BMC school] school. Now, see there is no water in our building. We must use additional suction pump to draw water. Who will pay the extra electricity bill? It's in thousands every month. People don't have enough to eat, forget about additional charges. See this another vacant building at the front. Miscreants all over… [We turn and walk on the stairs]. See, what did we do to maintain some cleanliness? We put God-printed tiles at the corners in our building, so that people don't spit here. Even converted this meter room into a handy temple. TB, and malaria is common. See that person lying in the corridor, he is a TB patient. There is hardly any income, people survive on *Vadapau* and *bhajiya* [Mumbai snacks]. Many die this way. Untreated diseases cause death. [We walk together for some time.] Pointing at the corridor, he says: Look at the darkness, it's not even evening yet! And all doors are locked from outside or inside, how you would know who stays, who does not! [We return from the ground floor from the third floor. Now, he shows the CHS noticeboard]. It reads: "Water is for drinking, not to waste; Water will be provided for 30-45 minutes every alternate day", and "Don't just speak, do some work as well." Upon asking what does the last one meant, he supplemented it is "symbolic", to show, for the local political leaders who visit sometimes and just offer fake/hollow promises, nothing in material benefits. Also, for the people who are never tired of complaining. Something should be done! Lastly, see how I survive here. Lost my livelihood, my people, community. I opened this tailoring shop here in this small gap (approx. 3 metres and affected by debris) between these two buildings. There is hardly any option here.

In case 2, the uses of observations evolved during the fieldwork period (2018–2021). Two broad ways of using observation were central: to know about the township and its material and lived environment; and to know about the sociopolitics of new sites that evolved in chronological order during the fieldwork: the resettlement site, then the protest site, then back to their 'Home Office' in the resettlement site, and lastly, public and official meetings.

Across these phases, the techniques of obtaining observation and their uses were different. For example, in the resettlement site, Mahul, I was interested in how residents perceived, embodied, and expressed their settlement-based living conditions. Here I was following an emic perspective of *maranvashan*, life-threatening housing. These facets connected to the polluted and toxic surroundings, the materiality or the built form of the township and everyday living conditions, of diseases and even deaths. I had not introduced these tropes myself but had learnt from my interlocuters, participants, and through activities (walking, home visits) through conversations and observations which I started to develop in relation with certain material realities (of architecture, for example) and policy circumstances (of SRS policy and resettlement housing). This helped me relate to the material and lived experiences of what many broadly referred to as life-compromising, and connected it with the dispossessive effects of housing construction and its built form, and further correlate these findings to the underlying political-economic and planning imperatives of resettlements (question 1; Article III). In a way, the uses and appearance of observations here were a bit unorthodox.

I also deployed "slow observation" as an ethnographic method to gather the perceived, and embodied, effects of in/visible environmental and toxic effects (Davies, 2018). Following Nixon (2011) and his definition of slow, unperceivable, indirect forms of harm, Davies (2018) uses slow observation to study pollution in Louisiana and to capture postcolonial violence and its effects in space and time. Following these scholarly debates and their uses, I was concerned with three major aspects: toxicity and pollution from the surrounding; built environment of the township; and, the township-pollution complex, where the first two aspects merged and remained indistinguishable. The third dimension was an emic perspective where my interlocuter's lived experiences enmeshed with the surrounding, the architecture, and their uneven expressions based on their subjective positions.

Walking in the townships with residents, Samiti members, and leaders at different times of day or year helped create a granular understanding of the material and biospheric effects of resettlement. Many active volunteers and leaders were aware of the state's tactics of rejecting localized issues, for example, of the lack of basic amenities, pest infestations, or the visible presence of toxins. They used photography to document their issues. The purpose was to use them in official meetings and in ongoing judicialization. Some of the active members were sceptical of *sarkar*'s (the states') refutability of their truth. Speaking truth to the state not only required residents to make their perceived situation "visible", but also verifiable and "legible". Fear and angst of depoliticization was also real.

Thus, to challenge refutability from the state, they used GPS (global-positioning system)-enabled pictures. They turned their observations, embeddedness, and embodiments into visual politics. I also participated in this activity, and collected over 100 photographs. I shared their scepticism, but also had my own: the constantly changing issues of, for example, pollution, toxicity, unsanitary conditions, or of the biological and bio-pathological degradation of lives. These, I thought, were not constant phenomena. They related to subjective reality and would also change accordingly. Also, rather than a first-hand observation of living conditions through my middle-class environmental mores, seeing the situation through their eyes was important. During field walks and when photographing settlements, surroundings, and living conditions, I asked people about the meaning of what was in/visible, and how these affected their lives. Against the double challenge of mutability and researcher-centric issues of representation of lives in poverty, I took photographs of what residents showed me they saw to use in this dissertation and articles. This, later became part of a global online exhibition with the Global Research Program on Inequality at the University of Bergen (http://gripinequality.org).

These collaborative activities led to exploration of complex subjectivities. For example, sensory observations of smell, pollution, entrapment, and lack of space came to the fore. I converted many thin observations, like hints in conversations, into tropes for further exploration. Certain nuances became visible, like sensory perceptions related to sight (smoke, powder, dust, carbon), smell (gas, fumes), taste (oil, impurities in drinking water) and being (living, housing). The residents shared their observations of the brutalism of their concrete infrastructure, which I thematized into space-lessness, diurnal rhythms, ventilation, and entrapment. When they reversed their gaze onto themselves, it led to finding biological

degradation and harm through physiological and psychological impacts and the fieldwork got intensely corporeal. I combined these observations with pictures, interviews, and the materiality of living there, to explain the becoming of dispossessed lives and politics.

Walking with the members also took me to many out-of-sight locations within the township, and to explore particular details that mattered for them and would have been obscured from my gaze. Mahul township is an uneven topography of 72 buildings with over 504 floors, with 17,000 tenements and over 4,000 families that are unevenly affected or accessible across largely non-functional elevators, broken staircases, and little or sporadic phone network—mobile phone signals are jammed in the area for security reasons. For example, it would have been difficult, and incomplete, to understand the dense architecture and fragmented conditions of living unless I was exposed to those "extra rooms" in the alleys connecting the corridors of the buildings. These extra rooms denote another emic perspective into the township's exceptional architecture, which materializes into lowest air-flow, sunlight or ventilation. The residents called these rooms extra to denote their dissimilarity to other townships, or to other tenements within this township. Walking, observing, and spending time in many such micro-neighbourhoods made me realise how they are hotbeds of respiratory, pulmonary, and other diseases. Seeing the settlements from these micro-neighbourhoods, as compared to tenements from the arterial sides with better ventilation, provided a more granular perspective into political lives and their relation with both architecture and biopolitics. Indeed, there was a tension between these extra rooms vis-à-vis the upper-floored or arterial tenements.

These guided observations into people's habitations, stretched across years, helped me trace the violent effects of the settlements. For example, Amma lived in one of those extra rooms, with six other family members. She had complained about difficulty breathing during my visits in 2018 and 2019. When I visited in 2020, her daughter told me that Amma was not doing well. Her breathing had worsened. She also suffered from anxiety further aggravating her asthma, which was now chronic. The family had invested in the upkeep of the tenement, with its damp, broken floor tiles, and chipped walls to make it somewhat habitable. The two daughters had dropped out from college, the son still worked but spent most of his time outside the township. In 2021, Amma died, still struggling with breathing and waiting for alternative resettlement housing. Like the splintered and

unstable physical space, experiences like these were continuously splinter*ing* and tied to amorphous configurations of life.

In the above paragraphs I have shown snippets of how walking-based observations were helpful in knowing the field surrounding and social interactions; exploring lived realities of dispossession and post-dispossession; locating perceived, sensory, embodied, and expressed experiences from built environment, material conditions of living; temporal dimensions of settlements and their surroundings; locating intersections of pollution, architecture and their mix as architecture-pollution complex; disentangling life-supporting and limiting effects of material conditions; exploring in/visible environmental and toxic effects and their bodily effects; legitimizing seeing aided with technology (like global-positioning system); exploring out-of-sight field circumstances, and 10) locating the unstable and changing dimensions of the field. These were aided with friendly conversation, thematic probing, photographing, and discussing the intersection of subject-object in the field.

These techniques of observations relate with and refines Kusenbach's (2003) "go-along" as an ethnographic method. Kusenbach (2003, p. 455) rightly suggests the better suitability of this method in exploring "transcendent and reflexive aspect of lived experiences in situ" over traditional observation and interviewing, which I have also demonstrated. Her approach focuses on environmental perception, spatial practices, social architecture and social effects. Revisiting the walking above as go-along, I suggest that go-along was also useful in exploring the settlement's context in discovering sociopolitics of architecture (vs. social architecture), temporal dimension of surrounding (vs. spatial practices and social realms), local biospheric and environmental and human interactions that have in/visible human consequences (vs. physical aspects of perception and spatial practices), and unstable and transforming subject-object interactions (vs. stable spatial practices), and through legitimizing effect of seeing and formation of political subjectivities. These aspects have potential for extended discussion, however, the same might be beyond the scope of this section.

I will now share a few critical instances of "observant participation" (see for instance, Seim, 2021) that informed the direction of fieldwork and my analytical choices. These details underlie the analytical pathways and findings of the four journal articles. During 2018–2019, Mahul residents organized a protest to expose, confront, and negotiate alternative housing possibilities. I took part in the protest activities, at the protest site and in urban institutions, and also met with

the leaders, visitors, and participants. Here, observant participation was crucial in navigating the dense and, at times, secretive local sociopolitics. The protest was one of its kind in the contemporary history of urban renewal and resettlement, by the poor against their conditions of inclusion, facilitation, benefit, formal housing, and free tenement, and redefining their right-bearing citizenry in the urban politics.

During the protest, I was still navigating my entry into new collectives that were forming and breaking. For example, at around 11 one night in 2019, Rama entered the makeshift tent (*pandal*) on the pavement near the protest site where we were having dinner. Rama was furious about the collective's way of politics. "Why don't you share real news with the people?", "Why do you have to find a positive news for the *janata* (people)?" he asked some of the core committee members. He was of the opinion that the people should be informed about the reality and it did not matter if this was positive or negative, or if they were making progress towards alternative resettlement or not: let the people decide.

The core committee members and volunteers agreed with Rama, but chose not to share negative news which could be demotivating for the participants. Around midnight, the committee members shared some details on how the appearance of protest and resistance was putting pressure on the system to negotiate, and how renewal and resettlement are more complex than they appear, especially given the complicity of the regime's actors (see chapter 2). Getting involved in redevelopment politics and becoming "radical" would not solve their issue. They had started out fighting (*ladai*), but were now struggling (*sangharsa*) for their "right to life" *through* safe housing. When my interlocuters went to sleep on the pavement, I returned home around 1:30 am with certain critical insights. These observations left little scope for contested forms of class- or collective-based politics, or an inflated vocabulary of transformative powers of agency towards newer ways of negotiation as a possible analytical pathway.

The second portion of observant participation relates to the new type of politics from the resettlement township. After the protest, in 2019–2021, new political sites emerged, which the Samiti referred to as "home office", located at a member's home. I participated in numerous home office meetings. The activities included processing documents and drafting responses, as well as discussing agendas, issues with political leaders or residents, challenges of mobilization, difficulties with GBGBA, and of course the ongoing effects of being in Mahul (in terms of dangers to life and health). This site of observant participation allowed me to see the power

relations across hierarchies, agenda formation, deliberations, and negotiation trajectories. Most of these processes left behind paper trails which, when joined together, help create a fuller picture of post-resettlement contestations. These "paper truths" (Tarlo, 2003), official and unofficial, only became available later, owing to their political sensitivity while negotiations were ongoing.

The next two snapshots cover another use of observant participation during the negotiation, at an official meeting in 2021 with state officials and political representatives from the municipal and state assembly. Here, I emphasize that observation helped in knowing the real political ambitions of the Samiti and GBGBA representatives. For any high-profile meeting, an agenda is shared amongst the participants. The agenda for this meeting included four items, of which the first three concerned infrastructure and amenities in another resettlement site where a few hundreds of families from Mahul were relocated. The main issue—of mass relocation from Mahul—was fourth and last. Making it the first agenda item "might have not have set a pleasant precedent for the discussion (*charcha*)" or have "irritated" the officials, Samiti and GBGBA representatives said. This was another way of dealing with state powers that could be repressive or outwardly dismissive.

The second snapshot refers to legibility of pollution and attendant politics by the GBGBA and the Samiti. During 2021, the state environment minister from the ruling Shiv Sena had promised pollution action plans for Mahul. Yet, in 2021, the new state environment report removed Mahul from the list of sites for pollution evaluation. For the Samiti members, like the GBGBA representatives, it was the safest way to solve the problem of pollution and toxicity. But removing Mahul from the state report would have had depoliticizing, destabilizing, and demotivating effects on the residents and their slow, ongoing struggle. In a closed-door meeting, the members decided not to mention the new report anywhere (in public or official meetings), and instead to continue their negotiations.

In a similar vein, with the return to power of the BJP in Maharashtra, the Samiti members decided to trick the new system: the new state chief minister had been the minister for urban development during the protests and had released a Government Regulation (an official document) under pressure from the protestors. The members could now tell the bureaucrats that their *sahib* (the minister; a term for a person of higher rank) was in their favour. They continued their negotiations, interrupted with violent waiting, and under threat of illegalization or non-cooperation from several stakeholders (cf. Appadurai, 2002).

There snapshots highlight how hidden prospects actually shaped the urban politics (case 2; questions 1, 2, 3).

The final snapshot is again from the home office, of which I was an accepted member. Access to this place and its embedded sociopolitics came through a few active residents whom I had first met in 2018 and who had since become friends. During the protest (2018–2019) the collective broke into three smaller factions. The first was politically affiliated and strongly connected with the GBGBA's local representative. It advocated for unconditional inclusion in re-resettlements from Mahul. The second faction was a small group of people from religious minority that were "in touch" with "their" representatives for alternative resettlement possibilities. The third faction was a reorganization of Mahul residents under the leadership of NAPM, the GBGBA's national alliance. The third faction, from 2021 onwards, worked for the mass re-resettlement of over 3,500 families from Mahul, including the second faction.

I knew about the growing friction amongst the protestors during 2018–2019. Shadowing and being friends with members of the third faction helped me to investigate emergent and sustained negotiation from Mahul. Preparing documents, letters, files, responses, public meetings, information dissemination, planning of the upcoming public or official events happened at the home office. Although unofficial, it acted like an official site, linking the collective, members, and residents with state institutions and mediated resistive organization through its planning, activities, and outcomes. My participation led me understand the emergent politics.

Through these snapshots I have tried to invoke the lateral uses of being "there" and ways of being an observant participant in the unfolding sociopolitical realities. Direct and muscular (or thick) inferences from observational processes, or the data that it led to, might not have been so helpful. Instead, these observations led me to certain empirical and analytical pathways (case 2; especially, Articles III and especially IV).

5.3.3. Document

The uses of documents in sociological and ethnographic research bears enormous value. In this dissertation, I use documents in ways that are influenced by certain social anthropological methods, rather for their content analysis as is usually done in qualitative studies. Documents are the lingua franca of the state bureaucracy

(Hull, 2012a, 2012b), and I have only drawn on them for certain analytical details in the articles (in descending order: Article IV, III, and II). As Hull (2012a, p. 1) argues, documents are not simply instruments of bureaucratic organizations, they are constitutive of "bureaucratic roles, ideologies, knowledge, practices, subjectivities, objects, outcomes".

State documents come in almost uncountable forms in post-colonial and Southern societies. They might be official plans, bureaucratic proceedings, eviction or resettlement notices, or penalty slips, amongst others. Legal documents include PIL of which the two empirical cases are examples. When the PIL is filed in the court, it is heard by the jury, the appellant and the counter-appellant are required to file official responses, affidavits, during the official hearings. The official court hearings are another site where state powers manifest. Following the two or more strands of appellants inside and outside the court is another way of learning about how and in what ways certain narratives are formed, responses met, and decisions taken. The post-colonial laws, frameworks, and their enactments are messy and inequal, and their enaction requires extra-legal pushes through political leaders, bureaucrats, or the concerned populations. Documents, legal or otherwise, bear bureaucratic powers that constitute "hierarchical structures of authority and control" (Hull, 2012b, p. 114) of modern urban governance. I admit here that I did not follow the judicial case, which ran over years, nor could I fully integrate the different stakeholders and their extensive politics within my research. This was an empirical limitation. My use of documents is thus to locate legitimate and illegitimate state processes that shape sociopolitical effects.

In this dissertation, three categories of documents are used (for case 2): official and institutional reports; documents concerning judicialization; and, unofficial documents. The first set of documents comprises the official artefacts of state planning, and roadmaps of how things were initially meant to be. I also collected environmental, health, and architectural reports detailing emerging issues in resettlement planning and their effects on the resettlement townships and livability. The second concerns judicialization (discussed below).

Beyond these official artefacts, the third set of documents comprises people's documents (petition, applications, and replies) that were included, opposed, manipulated, or forgotten in the official discourses and interventions. Some of these applications, known as *arji* to the residents, relate with Hull's (2012b) "*parchi*"—paper slips requesting favours from the bureaucratic apparatus. But the *arji* did not request undue favours; rather, they voiced legal or moral demands.

The collective also learnt to interface the state by collecting, showing, reciprocating, reproducing, and interpreting the state documents in the official and public meetings, in the media and the courts (Tarlo, 2003). These documents and their inscribed facticity gave residents the power to counter-argue against certain state institutions. The different sets of documents, their artefactual contents and uses in this dissertation are as under (questions 2, 3).

Table 3. Documents
List of documents collected for case 2.

Files	Institution	Type	Pages
1	High Court (Mumbai)	Writ Petition	1-356
2	High Court (Mumbai)	Affidavits	357-672
3	High Court (Mumbai)	Orders	1-152
4	Unofficial documents	Inter-institutional	1-300

File 1 corresponds to the writ petition. Writ petitions are the judicial applications made at the High Court of the states in India (for Mumbai, Maharashtra state) or the Supreme Court of India in New Delhi. By official definition, these are pleas for the enforcement of fundamental rights guaranteed under the Indian Constitution, as well as the enforcement of rights other than fundamental rights, or for any other purpose such as violation of any statutory duties by an authority of the state. This file shows how official projects and related processes lead to certain effects that might have negative consequences for the people they were planned to serve, and violate basic fundamental rights like the right to life.

The petition argued for a gross violation of the right to life through the implementation of the Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act, 1981 and connected resettlement in toxic sites by state institutions. Several urban collectives filed over a hundred writ petitions before the High Court concerning resettlements in Mahul. Until 2018, most of these resettlement petitions were rejected as having "no merit", i.e., disqualified from judicial intervention, as formal housing was seen as enabling. The Mahul case was exceptional due to the evident threat to the urban population. The file comprised of state artefacts from the pipeline securitization project which made the urban poor illegal, several state institutions' contradictory views of Mahul's habitability, and people's artefacts of circumstances that were life-constraining.

File 2 comprises the affidavits submitted by the deponents, i.e. the concerned government departments. After accepting the writ petition, the High Court

directed the state government departments to file affidavits or replies. The High Court enquired about the status of resettlement, amenities, and infrastructure needs, and directed the authorities to evaluate the current circumstances and revisit their old findings. The file is critical as it also includes "counter-affidavits" from the petitioners, especially on arguments why and how the resettlement site is habitable and no further action is required. These constitute the artefact of actual practice and discourses, of conducts and violations, of the state's legible facts and its illegibility. While the application (File 1) and judicial orders (File 3) provide arguments and logics of how judicialization happened, affidavits connect the two and locate a hidden epistemology of state practice. File 2 provides the arguments, contestations, and narratives that shaped the material-social lives of government of urban renewal and resettlements. It is an intermediate stage of discussion and was removed from the official records within three months of the final judicial orders. I was fortunate to get access to it.

File 3 is the Order File and constitutes intermittent and final orders issued by the High Court. The file enabled me to understand the basis on which the judicial apparatus interpreted the right to life plea and required affirmative intervention, as an effect, from the involved government departments that were earlier ignorant and resistant. It shows how context, detail and logic of argument for, or, against, or, neutral to, the directives of the state shaped the roles and responsibilities of state institutions. Together, these files show how legal pluralism, and diverse actors and their actions, complicate the judicial demand-making and governance of city processes (also, Bertelsen, 2009).

File 4 provides a connecting link amongst the three files detailed above and extends the plea, demand and negotiation with the political apparatus of the government: the ruling political party, the opposition, the police, the environmental, the urban development and governance departments. Connecting this file, aided by activist and expert interviews, with the proceedings in the inter-institutional context, provided me a nuanced and close-to-real understanding of the dense field. Overall, these artefacts allowed me to understand post-dispossession politics, as it shapes the political subjectivities, and continuously reorder urban renewal, dispossession, and governmentalities.

5.4. Theoretical and methodological pathways

In this dissertation, theories act as anchoring as well as diverging points in fieldwork, data analysis, and writing. There are two arguments reinforcing this standpoint. First, as Wacquant (2002, p. 1524) argues, "from being antithetical, vivid ethnography and powerful theory are complementary and that the best strategy to strengthen the former is to bolster the latter". Further, as Ezzy (2002, p.10) contends: "all data are theory driven. The point is not to pretend they are not, or to force the data into theory. Rather, the researcher should enter into an ongoing simultaneous process of deduction and induction, of theory building, testing and rebuilding". Theory can be the precursor, medium, and even critique of ethnographic fieldwork and vice versa.

Second, theorical dependency is also limiting. Fortun (2012, p. 452) argues from her work on late capitalism and environmental injustices in India that fieldwork is faced with "discursive gaps", of a lack of available idioms to grasp the reality, and the "discursive risks" of our innate tendencies to rely on established idioms, both of which are risky. Sometimes evidence falls short in representing the situation as "what is other to the dominant idiom is colonized by it". She suggests to design ethnographic work to "provoke new idioms" and "new ways of thinking" that might help grasp the emerging complex realities (Fortun, 2012, p. 452). Her "experimental ethnography", *Asthma Files*, in which Mahul also appears with one photograph and a thin description, is an example (https://theasthmafiles.org/). We thus see a compelling relationship between theorizing and methods, a beneficial terrain for analysis—theoretical and methodological together—for the journal articles in line with the research questions.

Article I concerns governmentality through an urban NGO (case 1). I use the Foucauldian framework of governmentality and its two urban interpretations: Appadurai's (2002) "deep democracy" and Chatterjee's (2004) "political society" (see sections 4.3, 4.4 for theoretical discussion). Alternatively, the article corresponds with questions regarding informal politics and dis/possessive governmentality (questions 1, 2). Against this backdrop, the data were thematically collated into broad code categories (Madison, 2005) for the three phases of NGO mediation: pre-displacement, transit stay, and resettlement/rehabilitation. From the code lumps, I have only used representative voices and succinct expressions of emergent political subjectivities across these three phases.

The analysis began following deep democracy, as a framework of governmentality from below. The data, however, showed divergent trends from the theoretical trope. Rather than a politics of patient, participatory, and people-managed inclusion in resettlements, research participants described facilitated or coercive inclusion through the first two phases: slum clearances and transit stay, and an emerging politics of negotiation post-resettlement. Thus, rather than following deep democracy, I shifted towards "political society" as the anchoring device. Theoretical and methodological pathways also show that NGO-ized inclusion and project intervention is a case of what could be seen as *dis/possession through governmentality* (section 4.4). It means, urban dispossession and government of the displaced urban poor is made simultaneously possible through the state's promises of empowerment which is mixed with disciplinary interventions through the mediating NGO.

Article II revisits urban redevelopment through the management of informality, the slums, for infrastructure renewal (case 2). Alternatively, the article corresponds with questions of dispossession, and informal politics, and their relation with urban renewal (questions 1, 2, 3). As also explained earlier, this is an empirical case where segments of urban poverty are classified as "dangerous" for the urban infrastructure, the *bona fide* citizenry and the city. Further, the making of infrastructure ideal requires dispossession, violent or inclusive, and management of the poor, through alternative resettlement. It is through these complex urban sociopolitics that the city could have its ideal infrastructure (see sections 4.3, 4.4 for theoretical discussion).

It brings two contrasting empirical cases, and a range of documents concerning official plan implementation concerning pipeline securitization and resettlement intervention together. Rather than planning and project of splintering and infrastructural ideation from "above", city governance remains intricately linked with land and population management on the ground, yielding uneven and even paradoxical results. The perspective of governmentality (with sovereign, biopolitical and disciplinary apparatuses) allows to navigate the dispositifs of planning, rationalities of interventions and ground-level implications (cf. case 1). It shows that while the urban poor continuously tend to negotiate with redevelopment politics, the introduction of illegitimacy, and violent interventions makes it more difficult. By contrast, the use of plural legal frameworks by the concerned populations complicates urban renewal.

Article III connects urban renewal and its underlying political-economy and materiality with resettlements and emerging subjectivities through ethnographic exploration (questions 1, 2). The article locates a novel form of dispossession from resettlement creation, which is different from subjectivities of dispossession through displacement-linked resettlement pathways (sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 for theoretical discussion). It began with the emic perspective of *maranvashan*. The Foucauldian biopolitics of "making live" or "letting die" did not make much sense much here as the residents called their subjection as forms of "making die" and "letting die" through institutional inclusion and formal housing.

My empirical work and analysis began with collating the field material (of embodied and political subjectivities from interviews, life-stories, visual materials, fieldnotes, observations) to assemble themes that comprised life-threatening circumstances. I then correlated those with the situated materiality (of settlement, township forms, and surrounding) and interlinked with the collected documents, planning and policy documents that relate to resettlement planning and linked urban renewal processes. Mbembe's (2003) "necropolitics" has been explained through political-economic, geographical, and subjective orders, but these tropes could only partially explain my material. I thus undertook the task of theoretically melding necropolitics with political-economic and planning rationalities of resettlement and urban renewal policy, and connecting this with an emic perspective, unfolding subject formations and subjectivities to arrive at a context specific explanation of necrosettlements. Here, I could interlink novel urban dispossession with the dispositifs of resettlement planning and materialities that engender particular life-compromising subjectivities. Life-constraining subjection shapes the poor's politics which also reshapes urban renewal and resettlement politics as the next article investigates.

Article IV analyses the emergent biopolitics of life after resettlement, and its bureaucratic management. Alternatively, the article corresponds with dispossession, informal politics, and their relation with urban renewal as well as resettlement governance (questions 1, 2, 3). Methodologically speaking, I followed the post-resettlement politics that evolved from the resettlement township, travelled to the inner-city eviction site, enmeshed into the bureaucratic state apparatus, returned to the township, and spread at the residents' level for alternative resettlement possibilities. I drew on my ethnographic material including life-story, process tracing, documents, interviews and observations for inductive analysis. Through this process, I took bureaucracy as site of perpetual

dispossession concerning life chances, emergent urban politics and new affirmative forms of biopolitics (see section 4.5 for theoretical discussion).

I began with "thanatopolitics" (Gupta, 2012) to trace how pluri-centric post-colonial bureaucratic practice brings arbitrariness in dealing with the biopolitics of life. However, Gupta's theoretical framing, while convincing, needs abductive revision on issues of inclusion, sovereignty and democratic politics, conditions, and perpetuation of preventable deaths in urban India. Equally important was to recentre the anti-depoliticizing consequences of the labyrinthine bureaucratic management of urban lives. This empirical situation of discursive "gap" and "risk" allowed new ways of biopolitical thinking (Fortun, 2012). Thus, theoretical reasoning and fieldwork methods were adaptive together. Empirically, it brought the poor's perspectives, experiences, processes, possibilities, and challenges of sociopolitical processes through judicial, movement-based, political, and collective politics in refining an affirmative biopolitics that also affects urban renewal and reshapes resettlement governance.

5.5. Ethics and positionality

This dissertation follows the general guidelines prescribed by the Ethics Review Board at Lund University. These guidelines basically constitute the principles of no harm as a general principle (Whiteman, 2010; Katz, 2006). It is a norm in academic research in Sweden and at Lund University to anonymize all participants in social science research. Yet many of my respondents wished to be cited with their real names. Some participants appeared in media reports making use of their power of representation before the beginning of my fieldwork, and continued to do so after my withdrawal from the field. The politics of ethnography is to challenge the social inequalities that disadvantage the groups concerned (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2019). But even as anonymity fulfils the research conditions for safe politicization, it prevents real politicization as those who are anonymized are made subjects.

With anonymization, however, and with the higher responsibility vested in the researcher compared to the researched, I created many epistemic positions to speak for them (Spivak, 2015). As might be clear by now, I obtained critical, embodied, and even out-of-sight details. These were possible with the trustful association with my interlocuters and respondents across the years of

participation. Lastly, the data management plan ensured ethical representation. It included saving data on an external drive on a personal computer; desk work to remove identifiers, medical, or sensitive details whenever necessary; no hardware or software connection with the university's IT system; no generation of a respondent list and using fictitious names; not sharing data with anyone; and, removing critical identifiers (lists, signatures) from the collected documents.

My fieldwork had two pertinent ethical requirements. The first broadly concerns research on poverty and engaging with extreme social inequalities and vulnerabilities. Several ethnographic studies have critiqued the apocalyptic take on contemporary human condition that accompanies such melancholic, if poignant, ways of thinking (Das & Poole, 2004; Rabinow & Rose, 2006). Scholars have also painstakingly documented inherent, even alternative, possibilities of life at the face of extreme vulnerabilities (Fassin, 2011; Ticktin, 2011; Bertelsen, 2021). I agree with these epistemic ethical positions. In my case there were dual responsibilities: to document and theorize the hidden realities and complex vulnerabilities produced through state-market interventions as seen the residents themselves, and seeking possibilities in whatever ways they emerge.

The first task needed reflection on the macro urban renewal paradigm and interventions in the poor's lives. It analytically used the overtly "dark" (Ortner, 2016) lives of dispossession to develop political critique. In this way, seeing, experiencing, or speaking, or the inability to do so, were all political acts. Concerning the second task, I slightly dissociated from generic theories and concepts. Instead, I started with how we could see, write about, and theorize from there. The dual process challenges the foreclosures of wishful benevolent thinking, and allows engagement with new vitality, elasticity and the possibility of the human condition that emerges at the margins (Mbembe, 2021).

The relationship between the researcher and the researched is unequal. Crossing class (and caste) boundaries repeatedly between the field and my life added some opacity to the explicit differences. Certain habits, language, and dress-codes helped. I had lived in resettlement housing in the inner city for some months upon my arrival in Mumbai while juggling the city's complex and exorbitant rental housing. My dwelling experience helped me connect with my participants. During this research, I was acquainted with, *inter alia*, water supply times, sanitation issues, CHSs and governance issues, rental and entrepreneurship. Further, I could partially overlook my personal position of privilege, and take my status as a non-native status in the city. Nevertheless, the differences remained.

Mahul is a polluted and toxic geography. My mild asthma aggravated here, but it was temporary, and I belonged to habitable air elsewhere. I often had nose bleeds, especially in the mornings. Pollution and toxicity induced exhaustion. Nevertheless, it was my field, and not the site of my perpetual dwelling.

The second relates to the role of the researcher beyond their fieldwork. Ethnographic presence is co-constitutive (Ticktin, 2011). I was not an overt activist, but I participated in solidarity in several field activities as a student researcher. I also participated in protests and events, prepared press releases, and wrote brief notes when asked. It became a parallel way of conducting fieldwork and learning from evolving field realities. My interlocuters shared their social, political, everyday lives with me. These brought mixed stories of some success, possible hope and improved lives, but, also of institutional injustice, tremendous suffering, and looming darkness. Lived realities have multiple meanings. The idea of fieldwork was not only of "gathering data", but being there whenever possible, in splintered social and time durations, owing to fieldwork limitations (see section 5.1), to listen, and sense the lived worlds. It was not to extract vulnerabilities but to recognize the politics of voicing that perhaps resonates closely with their ways of seeing.

I was not an exploitative interloper, and tried to support in whatever limited ways I could. I participated in a collection drive for the local organization. Many interlocuters are my friends now. As many would say, I was the only researcher who has been around since 2017, while others left after brief engagements. I helped an interlocuter (aged 35ish) in their bachelor's studies that had been ruptured by resettlement, and discussed their lessons, including the famous Kantian question "what is enlightenment?". Owing to my geographical separation from my field, I found this interlocutor a mentor at a local university.

Lastly, I participated in some official meetings as a researcher. For many, I was someone who understood the documents. One such case was the contested pollution levels, which needed scientific clarity. The report by a health institution claimed reduced pollution, but with closer scrutiny, I could explain why the apparent longitudinal study on pollution was problematic. Other activities included preparing brief reports on pollution from different sources and occasional help with documentation. In these societies, relationships amongst state policies, interventions, social realities, and feedback are weak and contested. The powerful urban actors unsee many sociopolitical issues facing the marginalized under the thicket of domination or unknowability or both. My small

attempts responded to certain practical utility of my fieldwork presence for the researched. The NAPM convener asked me to join the organization. But I had to decline the request with a hope to go back there again.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

This final chapter presents the dissertation's overall findings and a concluding discussion. I began this dissertation by introducing the research context of Mumbai's redevelopment and resettlement, within the general scenario of urban renewal, followed by the empirical cases—Mumbai's transport upgradation, and pipeline securitization projects—and links to urban dispossession and emergent governmentalities. The following chapters provided an overview of the historical, economic, political, and planning contexts for resettlements in Mumbai, followed by a discussion of previous empirical studies. This dissertation extends their discussions on situated interpretations of urban redevelopment under contemporary capitalism, the management of populations rendered surplus within it, and the new politics of life that emerges from this management. The theoretical framing of *redevelopment as governmentality* discussed dispossession and its politics, forms of urban governmentalities, and their use in dispossession and after. The methodological considerations followed resettlement and rehabilitation linked to urban redevelopment as projects of state-market ideations, translating into practices of interventions, and engendering an ongoing terrain of effects and counter-effects, with a brief discussion on theoretical, methodological and analytical choices.

This chapter is in two parts. The first section provides the findings of the four empirical studies, in chronological sequence. Section 6.2 revisits the overarching research questions introduced in chapter 1, concerning the ways urban redevelopment regimes shape resettlement and the governance of urban populations through the constituencies of dispossession, the politics of the informal vis-à-vis redevelopment interventions, and finally, the possibilities of countering urban renewal and resettlement governance.

6.1. Summary of the articles

6.1.1. Article I

Civilizing the political society: Redevelopment regime and urban poor's rights in Mumbai

Rishi Jha, Published by the Oxford University Press in the *Community Development Journal*.

In this article, I undertake an empirical investigation of how instruments of deepening of democracy unfold at ground levels (cf. Appadurai, 2002; Foucault, 1991a). It follows how the institutionally established and often-celebrated notions of people-centric and housing-based politics of citizenship are practiced in Mumbai's resettlement contexts. I investigate the extent to which NGO-mediated interventions tend to civilize the informal politics of the urban poor, formalize their belonging and claim-making, thus translating the imagined deep democracy in its true essence, and creating a just, inclusive urbanity. Against this backdrop, I focus on the unfolding dynamics, power relations, and subjectivities through three phases of resettlement: eviction, demolition, and displacement; transit stays; and resettlement and rehabilitation.

I show that, first, there was an asymmetric reformulation of the population's existing ties, leadership, and affective networks, which was appropriated for state-approved and NGO-centric neoliberal Community formulation. The unfolding relations on the population-NGO axis suggest that the poor's collectives and individual subjects diversify the unitary narratives of the governmentality perspectives (cf. Appadurai, 2002). The NGO furthers a non-violent intervention against the state's violent bulldozing and displacement. In the name of deep democracy, the NGO's intervention alters the subjecthood of the poor, from illegal encroachers to progressive subjects and collectives that seek formal housing. Yet this also creates gendered spaces of persuasion and co-option as male leaders are either coerced or influenced to abandon resistance and to cooperate with the intervention.

Second, I show that Community-led strategies of deep democracy through eviction, transit stay, and resettlement and rehabilitation are limited. Transit locations—formed to accelerate infrastructure projects – became camp-like through which resettlement subjects were disciplined, punished, and made to

behave according to the project's demands. The NGO here took on the role of the state in deciding, and co-opting, the poor's collectives, channelling material and leadership benefits differentially to make resettlement possible and successful. At the same time, the NGO's narratives remained tactical and subservient to state rule, and indirectly shifted accountability to the state, thus, neutralizing resistance. Subaltern collectives and individuals become governable subjects, repositioned their demands and expectations, and refrained from radical alternatives to increasingly fit to the alternatives professed within an exceptional urban reform milieu which sounded democratic, but operated within an unconditional framework of inclusion. The article also shows how modalities of conditional inclusion, visibility and entitlement forms the basis of mediation.

Third, I find that unlike the imagined aspects of formal housing—institutional inclusion and tenurial security—engagement with the politics of urban citizenship could not be empirically unified and generalized. The situation after resettlement emerged as a complex site of state arbitrariness, NGO-based humanitarianism, neoliberalized services, and collective (mis)management of responsibilities. This occurred through top-down policies and directive pushes towards new housing societies, collectives, and individuals. While this phenomenon was conditionally empowering for some (affiliates), it was disenfranchising for most. As institutionalized interventions, peripheral, massive, and environmentally inferior townships were sites of complex marginality. Informality of stay, security of tenure, work, relations with the state and non-state and quasi non-state actors returned. Their presence was reflected in deepening political entrepreneurship in various sectors of living. Precarity was also gendered, as seen in visceral ways: the lengths of commutes, the need to earn multiple livelihoods, lack of proper sleep. Others managed through myriad individual and localized ways. Security of tenure was also ambiguous as inhabitants continued to collectivize or negotiate for basic amenities and benefits.

In this way, resettlements emerge as unique sites of a two-fold governance where they are simultaneously "juridically and biopolitically constituted" (Ashenden, 2015, p. 40). This finding opened up possibility for juridical thinking in government of the poor through urban projects that I continue in the next articles. O'Donovan (2020, p. 196), the editor of the journal in which the article appeared, suggests the resettlement scenario as one of:

> [Capitalist] ruined places. It is a tale "[that] disrupts both apocalyptic despair that everything, including community development, is ultimately ruled by a singular

capitalist logic and naïve hope that modernist anthropocenic dreams and projects with disastrous consequences for people and the environment are ending".

6.1.2. Article II

New water wars? Mumbai's infrastructural renewals, urban governance and splintering futures

Rishi Jha; under review with *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*

This article empirically explores the contemporary ways of splintering and uneven making of an infrastructural ideal in Mumbai. The investigation centralizes two facets of the transformation of Mumbai's colonial-era pipeline project: first, the state's ways of making an infrastructure ideal for the city, its citizens, and the nationalist urban; and, second, the uneven on-the-ground materiality of spatial and political governance, resistance and accommodation that redefines the infrastructure ideal itself. I build on Graham and Marvin's (2002) *Splintering Urbanism* thesis from an urban governmentality lens to emphasize the differential interrelationships amongst the materiality, identity and governance possibilities. The article discusses three themes: first, the discourse of governmental rule; second, urban informality as a pertinent issue of government; and third, governmental models of differential splintering.

The renewal discourse took a two-fold approach to planning and intervention: first, encroachment removal; and second, pipeline securitization. I make three arguments: first, the need for an infrastructure ideal was institutionalized as a discourse that arose within the security concerns of the urban, with and for *bona fide* citizens as a nationalist-urban formation. The security threat institutionalized certain informality as the other of the city body-politic that must be managed through land renewal and population governance. Second, idealized infrastructure exerted uneven governmental powers through the judicial and administrative apparatus involved in the governance of urban informality.

The empirical details suggest that the post-colonial state judicialized and implemented colonial-era legislative on encroachment, a revised Slum Act, and a unitary approach to slum resettlement. These practices brought uneven practices of legibility, caused the collective's political rupture from urban belonging, coercive violence of displacement, bulldozing, and violent subaltern erasure, for institutionalized spatial occupation. The urbanization of warfare occurred through the use of modern technology and drones to supervise unauthorized

constructions and secure a three-dimensional urban space. Equipment (bulldozers, fencing, wires), personnel (police), and processes (encampments, pestilent endangerment) acted as weapons on and above the ground to facilitate dominance and capture. These strategies evoke destituent forms of powers (Agamben, 2014) that make the urban poor subjected to authoritative state prerogative.

In the comparative case, I show how state-led plan infrastructural ideal from above could be defied. The dispositifs of post-colonial legal apparatus to enable authoritative seizure, securitize the urban, or colonial-era "special permission" or benevolent resettlements were contested on the ground. Rather than "displaceable urbanity" (Yiftachel, 2020, p. 154) conducive of violence or alternative resettlement, they emerged as "durable" forms of informality, contesting and fighting for their right to stay put (Weinstein, 2014). The splintered powers led to new biopolitical formulations, revised entitlements, and possibilities of more liberal forms of government over violent manifestations. These imperatives were located within the value, uses, property relations, and graduated entitlements of urban land within the amorphous and totalizing concept of urban informality. I show how, beyond the planned fragmentation of urban networks from above—in planning, administration, and other means—urban informality was also mediated and even restructured from below—in the diverse social and power relations that differently make up the informal urban (cf. Graham & Marvin, 2002; Kooy & Bakker, 2008).

My third and final argument concerns the differential outcomes of the infrastructural ideal itself. The infrastructural ideal took two forms beyond the initial planned prerogative: first, aesthetic securitization and second, underground splintering futures. Rather than an absolute securitized place, the infrastructure of human, technological, and material flows were bundled together, severing an efficient securitized urban. There was no room for the urban poor within this remodelled urban space. A new cartographic imagination of vertical splintering was also underway through the underground making of the infrastructure itself. This uneven planning—making the infrastructure underground—rendered displacement, resettlement, violence and welfare mediation obsolete when conjoined with a liberal urban government. Plural sovereignty was reflected in uneven planning and management of populations, the urban, and infrastructures. Overall, this article attends to contemporary splintering processes, with cosmopolitan details, situated specificity, and imagined urban modernity.

6.1.3. Article III

Necrosettlements: Life-threatening housing, necropolitics and the poor's deadly living in Mumbai

Rishi Jha, published in *Political Geography*

This article aims to explore residents' emic perspective of *maranvashan* as a denomination for resettlement housing. Learning from field realities, I ask in this article, how did resettlement planning and interventions that were supposedly committed to providing safe and secure formal housing make what the respondents called life-threatening housing and linked living circumstances? Further, why and in what ways did residents vocalize the situated practical materiality of settlement forms, its enclosures and dwelling practices, and what political possibility emerged from such inhabitation and resistance? I argue for an alternative theorization of state powers in urban redevelopment and slum rehabilitation contexts that are seen as compensatory, gift-like, or enabling.

I draw on Mbembe's (2003) concept of *necropolitics*, which builds on Foucauldian biopolitics, a re-reading of Schmitt's sovereignty, and Agamben's exceptions, and is defined as the state's power to subjugate populations to death and death-like situations. While political, economic, spatial, geographical, and subjective categorical theorization guide towards emerging necropolitical uses, it is equally important to explain the situated particularities of housing conditions. To this end, I introduce the concept of *necrosettlements* to examine the settlement-based impacts of death politics in domestic geopolitical and political-economic orders. I use the conceptual trope to analyse three facets of Mumbai's necrosettlements: first, political economy of housing, second, violent material reality and unfolding subjectivities of living, and third, political possibility.

First, I show that the urban resettlement regimes, constitutive of the state and market forces, enabled institutional conditions of accumulation by necropolitical dispossession through rehousing development. The underlying political economy extracted surplus (both capital, and developmental as floor-surface) by creating housing exclusively for the poor in uninhabitable places and with a compromised built environment. I show that predatory political-economic relations exhibited a crisis of urban redevelopment, whereby the extraction of the highest capital surplus from resettlement construction outstripped the potential limit of liveability for inhabitants. One the one hand, such processes created modern urban built environments, and supported urban growth. On the other hand, they

unleashed a new government of the urban poor through restrictive settlement forms. The sovereignty vested in resettlement planning allowed "inscriptions" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 12) of powers in salient technologies of place (for example, uninhabitable, hazardous or peripheral lands), biosphere conditions (air, water and soil), and architecture and the built environment (housing form, open space and dwelling units) to create life-threatening settlements. These inscriptions relate with Foucauldian dispositifs.

Secondly, using ethnography as a tool, I lay bare the hidden materiality of everyday encounters with unbreathable air, ambient toxicity, polluted water, concrete brutalism, lack of basic infrastructure, acute space constraints, lack of sunlight, and excess waste that constituted life-constraining circumstances. These circumstances were expressed through vernacular ways. This was the spatiality of toxic and polluted enclosures and materiality of settlements as built environment that together unfolded and explained situated marginality, health risks, morbidity, and mortality for their inhabitants. The presence and proliferation of life-compromising and death-inducing settlement forms deconstructed the façade of formal housing and basic life-making resources (such as air and water) through improved urban living as was claimed to be part of Mumbai's slum rehabilitation. Instead, it situates the settlement-based "topography of cruelty" with variegated perceptions, subjectivities, and bio-physical effects (Mbembe, 2003, p. 24).

Third, and finally, I investigate the ways the material and lived reality of the underlying structural logics opened possibilities of mobilization and conditional agency. Through attempts at challenging abandonment (within the complicated arena of institutional inclusion through formal housing rights/entitlements) the people asserted a new politics for the "living" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 39). I show that contesting the plural sovereignties at action, attempts to shift the dialectic entanglements towards biopolitics, and the possibilities of legal action against the suspension of life-threatening powers or of aggressive life-fostering interventions, had two results. First, it established the state-market implications within death-causing institutional-social realities, and second, it allowed for forms of resistance to negotiate alternatives. Overall, this article contributes to the political-geographical and postcolonial interpretations of state powers vested in capitalist urban transformation that create camp-like settlements and unleash conditions—however, contested—of bare urban living.

6.1.4. Article IV

'Sent to die'? Urban resettlement, preventable deaths and the possibilities of care in an Indian metropolis

Rishi Jha; revise and resubmit; *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*

This article follows the residents of the township with exposed, politicized, life-compromised housing and living conditions and how they negotiated alternatives from state institutions. In this article I ask how the arbitrariness of urban redevelopment and governance regimes affected how people dealt with the life-constraining settlement and living conditions and how they fought for fairer, more routine, and more just care regimes that recognized forced subjection to these circumstances as part of the arbitrary treatment to which they were subject. This article takes on post-dispossession contexts through the material conditions of necrosettlements, exposing the hidden political-economies, visible materialities, and surrounding and emergent subjectivities.

The post-resettlement sociopolitical context interfaced with a labyrinthine, pluri-centric post-colonial state bureaucracy through which claim-making and negotiation was realized. The plural sovereign enactments of different institutions made differential material, subject formation, and subjectivities that could be re-politicized for alternative ends. Here, necropolitics is less useful as a theoretical trope to grapple with state culpability when the state has a pluri-centric nature and unclear sovereignty, though it can certainly be used given the democratization of sovereignties and adaptive uses of bio- and necro politics (see for instance, Bargu, 2019). I choose instead to build on existing scholarship on state bureaucracy and poverty governance in India (Gupta, 2012). I follow Akhil Gupta's interpretations of Agamben's *Homo Sacer* and Mbembe's 'necropolitics' as "thanatopolitics" in studying a state bureaucracy that unleashed arbitrary consequences, ambiguous care, and life-threatening consequences in poverty management regimes, with some adaptations emerging from my ethnographic explorations. Gupta argues that widespread deaths amongst the poor are preventable; the poor are subjected to deaths despite their inclusion in democratic politics, state legitimacy and national sovereignty; and, third, bureaucratic actions produce "unintentional" and "arbitrary" provision of care (Gupta, 2012, p. 6).

Against this theorizing (also see section 4.5), I uncover three facets of urbanizing thanatopolitics. First, the systemic perpetuation of preventable deaths

constituted an emerging trend in contemporary urban redevelopment, and the management of the poor through resettlement programmes. These paradoxical developments strengthened urban growth in the interest of capitalism and the nation, but localized the contested terrain of the governance of the urban poor. The habitability of racialized urban geographies, minimal dwelling circumstances, and pluri-centric urban governance, with diverse targets and priorities, complicated claim-making.

Second, ethnographically detailing spatial-sociopolitical processes makes explicit that, contra Gupta, urban death-politics were instrumentalized through fluid and context-sensitive frameworks that defied a strict dichotomy between the inclusion/exclusion of the poor, or their legal/illegal subjecthood vis-à-vis national sovereignty, within urban democratic politics and formal interpretations of laws governing the city. While state institutions used these registers for ambiguous and even intentionally thanatopolitical ends, i.e., allowing deaths, the poor used them for biopolitics, i.e., making some social change possible. Third, and finally, a nativist care emerges within these contestations as the poor meticulously used their biological resources, judicialization, resistance movements, and political negotiation. I argue that urban thanatopolitics should not been seen a generalized depoliticized effect. Rather, such processes are packed with contestations that allows for complex governmentalization of the population groups, selective caring, effervescent claim-making and its bureaucratic denial, leading to systemic violence.

Seeing from below, I bring the discussion on biopolitics of informality governance in post-socialist and post-colonial societies towards new ways of claim-making by subaltern groups for their right to life in the national urban (Chatterjee, 2011). I also locate emergent judicial and social movements and particular uses of biological resources, and judicial and political activism, to negotiate and resist deaths and forge new vocabularies of care (cf. Bayat, 2013; Fassin, 2007; Ticktin, 2011). Connectedly, these processes not only contested exclusionary urban renewals, but reshaped the technologies of governance, and attended to the call to re-politicize the thanatopolitical state (Harris & Jeffrey, 2013). This is not to assert that state biopolitical concerns are vile, but to explain that alongside such interventions were layered contestations that constantly shaped technologies, sociopolitical realities and population-state relations of care and harm, inclusion and exclusion and life-enabling and constraining circumstances. Overall, this article demonstrates how contradictory relations

amongst institutional uncaring and social struggles reshaped governance paradigms.

There is a possibility for alternative theorization in the later part of negotiation (Article IV, under revision). The emergent negotiation for life-affirming conditions could also be explained through affirmative forms of biopolitics (Esposito, 2011, 2008) which aims to revise the constituency of bareness and evoke new ways of optimizing human lives from below. The theoretical trope broadly characterises the search for alternative ways of living with potential to address, transform, or even resist the dominance of life-constraining circumstances. Affirmative theorizing, in this case, might also open possibilities for future negotiation that seemed to be unfolding in the field but remained outside the scope of this article.

6.2. Concluding discussion

In this part of the dissertation, I revisit the original research concern that shaped the project: how the urban redevelopment regime governs/shapes resettlement and population governance research in Mumbai. This regime, its projects, processes, and effects are multi-faceted, multi-scaler, and multi-sited, with uneven and reordering outcomes on the ground, and are explored through three research questions.

6.2.1. Redevelopmental dis/possession

The first research question asked: *What constitutes dis/possession in urban redevelopments-linked resettlements in Mumbai?* In order to present a coherent discussion, we can tabulate dis/possession in resettlement linked to urban redevelopment in three consecutive phases: slum clearance; resettlement; and, post-resettlement. In doing so, we need to first briefly recapitulate the necessity to locate the discussion on what I have called the *redevelopment-resettlement axis*. The issue of urban dispossession, usually land-based, has been explained through the macro-logics of neoliberal capitalist deepening in cities. Alternatively, slum clearances are effects of ongoing capitalistic accumulation and dispossession. Against this logic, there are sovereignties with varying roles in facilitating Mumbai's renewal.

The two empirical cases underlie dispossession through the invocation of the public interest: for better and safer urban infrastructure (transport and pipeline), in which certain urban populations, mostly the poor, were characterized as encroachers to be evicted and resettled elsewhere. I have also problematized the narrow approach to dispossession, as urban populations are not entirely dispossessed, but rather are first dispossessed from the inner city and then re-possessed with housing or property (of considerable market value) and other entitlements, that even take the vocabulary of rights, inclusion, and pathways towards urban citizenship, creating new relationships amongst these urban actors. Here is the discursive space for analytical outcomes and critique.

The first analytical finding and critique relates to the sociopolitics of dispossession. Some ethnographic studies have located enclosures to explore sociopolitical processes that diversify through varying dispositifs that form such enclosures, political subjecthood and subjectivities. In Article I, we see an NGO-induced discourse of inclusion, participation, people-governed, expert-led tools of democratization of state interventions. However, such interventions unleashed enclosures of unconditional mediation as another technology of dispossession that facilitates coercion, inclusion, and cooperation.

Further, sociopolitical enclosures are diversified and thickened across the "heterogenous construct of the social" (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 35) of the population across sites, gender, leadership, and socioeconomic status of the participants and through the three phases of dis/possession. Dispossession is not only from the inner city, but continues through transit and politics for resettlement. It is here that we witness how the complementariness and conflict of certain opportunities and limitations shape the affected population's political rationalities and they are left with no choice than to cooperate with the hegemonic imperative and negotiate certain entitlements or differential subjecthood within the programme.

Article I assembles diverse political subjecthood formed at the interstices of the NGO's function vis-à-vis the population groups and individuals. What do institutionalized technologies of inclusion do (cf. Roy, 2009a)? We can stretch the enclosure of "accumulation by differential displacement" that Doshi (2013, p. 3) locates as a vector of dispossession. Doshi's study, like most academic research in India, is limited to a discussion of the ideologies and practices inform urban renewal and clearance-based dispossession, and pays little attention to the dispossessed after they are removed (Rao, 2010).

From Article I, it is not just differential displacement (which in Doshi's case is related to mediation by the same NGO) but post-displacement politics and possibilities that shape dispossession. In simple terms, the population in Mumbai is managed through dispossession not just because of differential dispositifs and rationalities, but through emerging differential possibilities after dispossession. Certain population groups negotiate or refine the otherwise totalizing logics of displacement or entitlement through subtle disobedience, popular forms of political, collective and individual agency, and certain entitlements beyond official norms, as exceptions, but within those bounds. Differential displacement precedes differential resettlement within the state project from multiple sites and resettlement sites (cf. case 2). Accumulation by differential resettlements is made visible through the shifting dynamics from the eviction site to the transit camp and to the making of new neoliberal organising of population that emanates heterogenous subject formation and subjectivities in post-resettlement contexts (also case 2). This is how certain forms of urban accumulation are facilitated through the plural governing of population (Chatterjee, 2004).

Further, the discourse on alternative "spaces of political engagement" (McFarlane, 2004, p. 890) between state agencies and the NGO stretches to urban collectives and individuals. In the background of the discussion in chapters 2 and 3, I wish to expand the shifting discursive spaces of political negotiation through the three phases of interventions and the population's interfaces with the NGO apparatus. Again, this is only possible when we seriously investigate post-dispossession circumstances. Arguably, inclusion is neither a linear phenomenon, nor does it have a univocal or universalized meaning.

It bears differential empirical outcomes. From Article I (also Article IV) we learn that the political meaning of inclusion is further refined through evolving marginalization and possibilities within an outright thicket of inclusion (Agamben, 2005). The mediating NGO appears with state-like functions (to dominate), in humanitarian garb (to depoliticize), and as machinery with little possible interventional effect (to exclude). It is through these adaptive technologies and evolving effects and subjectivities that population groups continue to refine their inclusion and political engagements vis-à-vis the NGO. However, it is also clear that with shrinking and ambiguous state-led and NGO interventions, the population groups simultaneously return to emergent "political society" as an alternative engagement.

The state-led dispositifs of dispossession form uneven enclosures, materialities, and linked subjectivities (case 2). As Article II shows, these dispossessions were violent, unconditional, and mediated through brief abandonments that led to unconditional inclusion into the state resettlement programme. The dispositifs hinge on creating logics of illegality, risk, and disorder on the part of population that were apparently unworthy for a secure city. Here the sociopolitical enclosures that transform vibrant subaltern forms of urbanism into geographies of urbanized warfare and application of "destituent powers" (Agamben, 2014) that makes populations into bare bodies that have to comply with state rule for inclusion. The political subjecthood of being an encroacher is legitimized through judicialized illegality and danger. The capacity of population groups for political negotiation is made redundant through unified, oppressive interventions that are, again, coupled with possibilities of inclusion in resettlement. Within this latter possibility, the population groups and individuals had to experience modern forms of urban banishment and bare living to qualify for inclusion.

Alternatively, and by contrast, heterogenous informality resists the state's totalizing resettlement logics through forms of occupancy, thus making an enclosure of resistance (Vasudevan, McFarlane & Jeffrey, 2008). Again, these new forms of occupancy and negotiation for graduated compensation emerge from within a postcolonial urban governance based on plural legal sovereignties. We might not, from the case analysis, relate it as organized resistance to state forces. Rather, residents engage with the politics of dispossession to defy, pluralize and refine it. The complexity of their occupation of slum land and its clearance is another non-linear complexity amidst pluralized juridical-legal powers, resettlement possibilities, and changing urban renewal plans. We also see that, within diversified informality, the state's sovereignty and destitutive interventions are manifested unevenly across these two empirical cases.

The second aspect of dis/possession relates to resettlement itself. I emphasize resettlement here to create space for dis/possessions beyond slum-clearance pathway (also, chapter 4). To recall, slum clearances have been theorized as dispossession; resettlements and formal housing have been seen as enabling, compensatory, or as a gift or patronage (see section 3.2). These vocabularies align with enabling forms of dispossessive governmentality (Chatterjee, 2004). However, these vocabularies are also uncritical. Most relocatees did not consider it as merely compensation or gift, as they also associated a moral or legal obligation of the state to provide alternative housing for their demolished *jhopda* (Articles I,

III, IV). To clarify, resettlement-linked dispossession is usually linked to displacement and post-resettlement marginality and related to basic services or amenities (see sections 2.3 and 3.3).

It is an arduous scholarly task to ask if entitlement or welfare is a new site of dispossession. What political economies of resettlement development unleash life-fostering and life-constraining circumstances for its inhabitants, and how is it related with urban growth? As Article I shows, resettlement housing does partially emerge as compensation and enabling and might be interpreted through the above analytical tropes. However, this interpretation relates to governmentality and is not linked to the political economy of redevelopment.

In light of the empirical findings, we can reinterpret dispossession from resettlement in at least two broad and interlinked ways: first, the facilitative and enabling or accommodative, and second, the dispossessive and disabling. The findings of Article I could belong to the first segment. However, within it, as Article III theorizes, variegated presence of dispossessive circumstances and life-constraining effects of dispossession (of a constraining built environment and related bio-pathologies) are present within those townships. I see this as a generic possibility across *ex-situ* townships, as academic researchers and medical professionals and alike have documented (Sarkar & Bardhan, 2020; Pardeshi et al., 2020), and it emerges as an issue of serious ethnographic research.

We should also be concerned with the second typology, where a unique urban (subjective and physiological) dispossession interlinks rehousing construction with urban growth. I have highlighted earlier that scholars engaging with Mumbai's housing poverty or regeneration have reflected on the cross-subsidy model of resettlement that relates to extractive effects (from construction) and accommodation (within construction). What I argue here is the dispositifs of SRS planning allows exceptional political economies to create life-constraining housing circumstances. These dispositifs include indices (floor-surface, open space, architecture, amongst others) that are otherwise considered innocent and technically inert, but have serious human consequences.

As Article III shows, when seen from resettlement township, the redevelopment regime releases accumulation, financial profits, and extra-urban floor space through necropolitical dispossession. Article III theorizes that this urban resettlement development forms a dialectic link with urban renewal. The typology of formal housing and materialities (and living conditions) are formed through a political economy of reciprocal urban land and residential development rather

than general urban developments. Within these macro-institutional factors, the dispositifs invested in spatial planning, architectural norms, and built environments play critical roles in defining the actual materiality and subjectivity of formal resettlement housing.

Seen this way, some of the gigantic *ex-situ* rehousing townships on the urban margins, especially, with their toxic peripheries and substandard built environments, could be seen as sites of accumulation, dispossession, and accommodation. Extractive and inclusive relations hinged on the state-market axis making both dispossession and accommodation possible. However, this dualism is capable of forming a wide range of material and human consequences. For example, as Article III suggests, in case 1, the underlying logics and dispositifs are consequential in the visible life-supporting materiality of housing, as well as in the sparser topographies of slow harm (e.g. lower-floored, hyper-dense tenements) within the township. This is reflected in the details shared while walking with an interlocuter in Vashi Naka (section 5.3.2). Extractive relations unleash necropolitical effects on inhabitants, with myriad effects, both slow and fast. Uniquely, these dispossessive tendencies occur simultaneously within housing and dwelling practices, under a veneer of formality, entitlement, compensation, or gift. These underlying political-economic relations, through the material effects of architecture and physical environment, are capable of their own ways of governing. This forms another possible theme of research.

With the above discussion, we can relate the flow of capital from land-based dispossession to the built environment, as also noted by Harvey (2003). We see from resettlement developments at the urban margins that state/market-led land and built environment development constitute an ambiguous terrain. The land is not fully commodified and capitalized as it yet remains within the state ownership. But redevelopment allow the flow of floor-surplus from the land to the built environment of resettlements, as well as the built environment in elite urban neighbourhoods. These parameters follow the salient dispositifs of planning, architectural, and environmental exceptional norms. These are simultaneously uneven, flexible, and subject to manipulation through individual configurations across actors. For example, developers may conveniently violate the permissible FSI (see footnote 2, Article III). This is an exceptional domain within the exceptional "deregulation" (Roy, 2009c; Schramm & Bize, 2022) of resettlement.

Resettlement townships can be considered a new form of "settlement fix" (Jha, 2023). This also creates value through land development and built form. But such

developments could also be freed or reversed through "speculative" (Goldman, 2011) redevelopment in future.

Resettlement housing presently has at least two dispossessive lives: first corresponding to extractive material life, and second to enabling or disabling forms of sociopolitical lives within these settlements. For example, one might ask the political-economic and sociopolitical meaning of the resettlement building in Figure 7 below. It is an *ex-situ* resettlement building which is as yet unoccupied. It was constructed during the 2000s and has since been in a state of dilapidation. Based in the theoretical discussion of the political economy, we might argue that, despite its disuse and even devaluation, the construction has led to floor-surface extraction which has already been absorbed into the city's built environment elsewhere.

Figure 7: Extraction from formal housing
Dilapidating resettlement housing exposes the underlying extractive history of its development.

Such developments could also be reversed for alternative uses in the future. Something like this has happened at least once. Mahul township itself, with its 72 buildings and over 17,000 tenements, was first developed with a few buildings and over 2,000 tenements. It was completely demolished for massive reconstruction. Now, we see a dispossessive afterlives of certain capitalist redevelopment in the ways subjectivities emerge. Beyond the underlying extraction that touches the limits of habitability, the constructed built form *in-situ* (within these *ex-situ* resettlements) is made habitable through new

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technologies of governance. The buildings and tenements also serve economic and social use values. People find shelter here, with the hope of better habitations in future. Nevertheless, they endure an afterlife of dispossession and its slow everyday effects. This is a classic case of a postcolonial urban "predicament" (Samaddar, 2012) where sophisticated, and primitive, enabling and limiting, and plural political-economic relations and governmentalities coexist.

The next, and final, layer of dispossessive sociopolitics relates to post-resettlement contexts. Here, I am not concerned with the political economy that unleashes the uneven material conditions of dis/possession (case 1 and 2; cf. Sanyal, 2007; section 4.5). Rather I turn to the state bureaucratic capacity and (in)congruities in what could be called *governing the dispossessed*. This discussion, again, relates to the limits of the macro-logics of dispossession (sections 3.1, 4.2). This analytical pathway should be seen differently from the political economy and the bio/necropolitics of the redevelopment regime. This perspective of dispossession relates to bureaucratic (un)accountability that engenders two sociopolitics: first, wilful and conscious repressive governance, and second, actions that normalize preventable deaths in the management of the dispossessed. However, these two facets remain interrelated on the redevelopment-resettlement axis or through the framework of dis/possessive governmentality (chapter 4).

As Article IV shows, bureaucratic unaccountability in governing lives is deeply embedded in the governance apparatus and its labyrinthine processes. As we might recall (also Article III), there are clear logical arguments regarding the state and market complicity in life-threatening conditions for the urban population within the welfare management of resettlement. However, the bureaucratic machinery invokes multiple complexities in dealing with emerging complexities. For example, people have to not only go through bio-pathological degradation and endure life-threatening circumstances, they must visualize, document, and legalize those subjectivities to invoke even the possibility of an alternative governing paradigm. New complexities also emerge from within urban institutions with different agendas, legal frameworks and intentions, producing new forms of arbitrariness. Nevertheless, *bureaucratic seeing* is uniquely produced through biopolitical reasoning, movements, judicial action and negotiation from below. This sociopolitics produces alternative paradigms of (un)doing harm and care. However, they also remain subject to change with limited political uses in an unclear political terrain. This complex articulation refers to a new biopolitical struggle at an urban margin (Rossi, 2013a, 2013b).

A second set of bureaucratic arbitrariness relates to the crisis of governing the *geography of the dispossessed* and changing rules of banishments. As is briefly documented in Article IV, and discussed in chapter 2, multiple legible and illegible state interventions emerge that include scientific alternative truth-making (accepting uninhabitability, and deriding it), technologies of (un)seeing (manipulation of reports and official documents), bureaucratic unaccountability (informalization of an alternative), transforming dimensions of state institution (ruling parties, judiciary, others) as well as transforming the Community that seeks an alternative biopolitics. These messy and evolving sociopolitics might reinstitute at least two possible outcomes in the near future: alternative conditions of habitability and a contentious terrain of dis/possessive lives, or a complex terrain of political negotiation against subjective and biopolitical dispossession for a governing alternative.

From this discussion on dis/possessions, we can now expand to post-resettlement subjectivities. This refers to dis/possessive subjectivities related with resettlement (not as linked to displacement, but through materiality, surrounding, living). Across the two empirical cases examined through the journal articles (I, III, IV), I will now briefly discuss certain salient outcomes.

In the first empirical case, we see mixed results. Formal housing seemed to be enabling for most research participants. Further, inclusion and facilitation by governmental institutions enabled new forms of negotiation. This relates to new theorizing on the formation of networks and potentialities that precedes dispossession (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2021), which is beyond the scope of this discussion. However, the resettled population also shared experiences of new forms of marginalities concerning urban peripherality, loss of socio-economic opportunities, individualized living, and ambiguous governmental effects that relate to earlier studies (section 3.2). We might also recall gendered dispossession through rehousing, where women experienced more drudgery, lack of sleep, and loss of bodily vigour corresponding to slow forms of bodily harm and attrition. If we recall subjective experiences gathered through walking (see section 5.3.2), we can relate this with intensified vulnerabilities and concentrated ways of enduring slow harm.

We should also revisit certain resettlements or formal housing as new sites of dispossessive housing and living. Article III centralizes this perspective. I show that the possession of entitlement, and materiality of housing—through underlying political economic logics, and planning dispositifs—create life-

constraining circumstances for the inhabitants. This relates with significant increases in disease. With this perspective, we can and should abandon the uncritical vocabularies of compensatory or gift pathways, of forms of graduated urban living, or of unharmed urban inclusion associated with urban resettlements.

Further, as the empirical case shows, necro(bio)political dispossession is an underlying prerogative of resettlement developments and emplacements. New forms of slow, and stringent dispossessive registers, and subjective realities emerge in the post-dispossession context. The unfolding property-led relations as post-dispossession are not only connected with urban renewal, but are also tied to populations inhabiting these places, however, with slight improvement in the material condition of housing, in its formality, and new property relations. This propertied vulnerability is a new terrain of dispossession. To undo or escape those physiological dispossession, the included population have to, perhaps, let go of their inclusion or further refine it through new ways of politicization. In a way, a depoliticized post-dispossession context, as scholars have notes in other contexts (for example, Rao, 2013), evolves further through politicizing dispossession and bio-pathologies.

6.2.2. The politics of the resettled

The second research question asked: *In what ways do urban redevelopment regimes shape the politics of the informal/ of urban poor through resettlement governance?* We can consider this discussion on three interconnected fronts in different configurations: the state, nonstate actors (i.e. NGOs or grassroots collectives like SPARC and GBGBA), and populations. This is a salient question but has only sparingly been discussed in the recent scholarly literature and deserves a close enquiry given its empirical particularity and salience in this dissertation.

Mumbai's redevelopment regimes diversely shape the informal politics, or the "politics of the poor" (Das & Randeria, 2015). I do not wish to argue that the politics of the poor is informal, but to situate a juncture where these politics mostly arise from within informal sociopolitical contexts. These contexts relate to slum areas, and encroachments, that are both formalized and informalized through state interventions. Resettlement laws, policies, and interventions, through NGOs and various state agencies, tend to make new urban communities governable, and through this tend to govern the city. Such a terrain remains

complex, and full of unintended outcomes. Seen at the redevelopment-resettlement axis, this dissertation opens a few significant patterns.

Article I, as the entry point of this project, shows the process of governmentalization by the NGO, its infrastructures, and representatives, as well as the collectives of the poor and their individual members. First, it is concerned with "governmentalization of the state" (Dean, 2010, p. 223) through an NGO that undertakes the state's activities in managing population through eviction, transit, and resettlement, albeit through revised dispositifs of inclusion and participation. However, as we see, its ambiguities in action create coercion, facilitation, abandonment, and differential forms of enablement. Second, NGO-ized mediation reworks the organic leadership through new federations that suit the project objectives and make it possible to control the population across the hierarchy of participation (leaders, members, women).

In a sense, the infrastructures of "deep democracy" (Appadurai, 2002) rework the informal politics of the "political society" (Chatterjee, 2004). Such processes are also met with resistance and counteractions that modify the conditions of participation, leadership, and membership, as we have seen in Article I. However, these micro-forms of resistance and negotiation do not necessarily lead to alternative and graduated entitlements. For example, the interlocuter from case 1, a grassroots activist, showed his surroundings and explained his marginalities and forms of abandonment within outright inclusion (see section 5.3.2).

Within the governmentalized position, NGO-population ties are fragmented and reformed through the individualizing and totalizing processes of the NGO which, like the state's (Jha, 2011), takes place through clearances, transit, resettlement, and post-resettlement. New localized politics, devoid of organic solidarity, differential leadership, and material enablement, and simultaneously disciplined through the liabilities and responsibilities of formal living (maintenance, upkeep, indirect governance of CHSs) emerge as contested collectives of governance. These are not collectives *per se*. New liabilities and responsibilities are officialized or formalized. Collectives are formed. The elected representatives of the collective govern others in an almost hierarchical manner. These collectives are bound to work as a "mini-government", as I found in my empirical enquiry (Jha, 2020, p. 16). The form of governmentality designed by the World Bank, restructured by state agencies, and adapted by the mediating NGO, reaches urban society's grassroots within these new resettlement housing.

Clearly while the population is targeted to be made governable through resettlement, the state institutions and NGO-mediation remains arbitrary. This shows a form of "ungovernability" (Joronen & Griffiths, 2022) of social and political lives despite mega-plans, legitimized violence, biopolitical promises, strategic investments, and apparently big scheme of things spread across institutions, places, and times. Widespread precarity, unfolding marginality and complex negotiation emerge and disrupt the otherwise imagined governmental paradigm which we see in different forms in Articles I and IV.

Nevertheless, the new social collective, political affiliation, committees, volunteering, clientelism, amongst others, tend to follow a phantom state that has conveniently abandoned direct and legible forms of government. In the lack of promised formalization, ruptured collective ties, and widespread disempowerment, new social composites continuously form, and old fragmented composites reshape to fill institutional voids. Being proactive or resistive, individualized or collectivized, within the set legal framework or outside it, through new social and political intermediaries or by becoming one, are some of the prerogatives of the localized politics of resettlement living.

Article II shows the contrasting outcomes of redevelopment interventions on local-level politics. It shows an otherwise unexplored "dark side" (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 75) of informal politics which, at the cost of survival, sustenance, and hope of convenient urban living, supports political entrepreneurship by leaders and developers in the inner city. We also see that the illegalization of the population makes existing informal politics, their connections with leaders, parties, and the city, cease to have effect. Sovereign powers and violent interventions atomize the poor's existing political capacity for inclusion. It is through these political interventions that certain forms of urban occupancy is made dysfunctional (cf. Benjamin, 2008).

Yet we also see in Article II that not all informal politics is easily governable through redevelopment interventions or even the possibility of violence. Urban informality has para-legal, but legislatively justifiable, urban property relations, backed by a spatialized neighbourhood that resists the idea of eviction and dispossession or of inclusion through resettlement (cf. Roy, 2009a). Despite the official dispositifs, a new plurality of legal directives also emerges that is used by the urban population towards occupancy politics. We might pause here and ask about the nature of state violence against these two empirical cases. It is perhaps arguable that state violence is more applicable to socially vulnerable groups than

those who could legalize urban belonging and contest destituent forms of powers (Agamben, 2014).

Lastly, Article IV unfolds a unique reshaping of the politics of the poor in a post-resettlement context. From the precedent of Article III, we see abandonment within the state's inclusionary practices. It is a case of exclusion within inclusion and affects the population's life chances, potentially enabling bare urban living (Agamben, 1998). The regime makes the population's earlier ways of collectivization dysfunctional through haphazard resettlement. Exposure to intense everyday marginalities, disease, and death affect the possibility to collectivize and politicize. GBGBA's involvement has brought a reinterpretation of the law, clarity on human rights and entitlements of dispossession, alternative politics and a possibility of change. New governing composites reshape to reorient state interventions from below (Esposito, 2011). Despite justified claims of human and fundamental rights of basic needs (of life, access to clean air, water, safe dwelling), their legalization, the regime enacts a mix of formal institutional and humanitarian extra-institutional governance that required collective-based interventions (cf. Chatterjee, 2004).

As Article IV shows, the political potential of such organizing, and its depoliticizing outcomes, are also clear through plural governance paradigms, and the enactment of convenient arbitrariness at the interfaces of the state, mediating NGOs, and the population. The new informal politics, which is perhaps capable of resistance, is co-opted through alternative, but, limited, resettlement possibilities. This does not mean that post-resettlement collectives become entirely depoliticized, but that they emerge to play what Appadurai calls the "cat-and-mouse" (Appadurai, 2000, p. 648) game with the state. Appadurai's metaphor relates to the need for the poor to chase state institutions and procedures to be seen and acknowledged, their demands met. Going further, we see an opposition against a predatory and negligent state management as residents have to make political use of their pain for alternative governmentalities concerning human lives and living conditions. Otherwise, they could accept their abandonment within institutionalized inclusion. Overall, such processes and their effects demonstrate the complexity of heterogenous, emerging, yet pervasive aspects of the political which mobilizes life and its constituents as a new site of politics.

Maybe this is a conducive place to think about the two different types of non-state actors: SPARC and GBGBA—an NGO and grassroots collective

respectively—and their politics of Community work, at times colloquially called social work. We might recall the bridging NGO (SPARC) from chapter 1: it was amongst over 2,500 NGOs globally who have partnered with states towards the Millennium Development Goals (Di Muzio, 2008). I have discussed and reinvestigated critical scholarly works from NGOs as adapted and theorized by scholars in Article 1. Chapter 1 reminds us of their extra-state collaboration with state and global institutions. Now, private players have replaced them, and the NGO that could have "stormed the barricades" (Mitlin & Patel 2005, p. 3), or emerged as the face of the poor, has been delisted from state cooperation or people-based intervention. The resettlement cell—whose establishment was mentioned as a significant achievement by the World Bank—is well-manned and equipped for direct resettlement (without NGO or transit stay). Once a significant bridge between the state and the poor as a state extension or vehicle of state democratization (see analysis, Article I), the NGO and its social infrastructure was first predated upon, then metabolized into, the state's overwhelming inclusionary vision for the poor, and is now made redundant.

One of the reviewers of Article I suggested to me that I emphasize how the state shaped the role of the NGO. This was a political and scholarly necessity, but raises significant question. For example, for whom did the deepening of democracy work? Should a state-like NGO be exempted from the violence that it was complicit with? Alternatively, could the NGO maintain the "civility of civic governmentality" (Roy, 2009a)? In consonance with Roy's anxieties, we see that while the framework of deep democracy bears the theoretical possibility of emancipatory and radical urban change, it remains a site of coercive power play that limits its own radical capacity. It resembles a new technology of governmentality, devoid of civility in operation or of democratization in scope. Unfortunately, with the seizure of the organizational capacity now, a discursive critique of sheer depoliticization of urban poverty through state and NGO's engagement is clear.

Alternatively, we see a new kind of non-state biopolitics playing out in case 2 (Articles III, IV). GBGBA's, activities have been analysed from Marxist, radical, or resistive social praxis perspectives that aim to critique capitalist urban renewal and exclusionary resettlement interventions (also, sections 2.2, 2.3). The GBGBA's involvement uniquely began from outside the redevelopment regime, and beyond the established theorization that recognises the organization's work in facilitating dispossession through slum clearances (Roy, 2009a). It is salient to

see GBGBA's engagement with human destitution and finding ways to mobilize a new inclusionary politics within state-led inclusion. It involved a serious legal and judicialized over three or four years, over a year of street protests and bureaucratic negotiation for alternative resettlement and forms of governing. These processes invoked Indian constitutional directives, using bio-pathology, with populist means of attaining visibility, episodes of resistance, partially formalized state institutions and political party-led interventions using the vocabulary of need, assistance, humanitarianism, and legal imperatives.

The case offers serious, even alarming, political and discursive opportunities to revisit the reformation of the politics of the poor. GBGBA representatives and Samiti members exposed the state's outright violence, illegalities, and transgressions. These culpabilities are serious: the state powers were invested in allowing and maintaining preventable deaths of its legitimized population through a mix of calculated and unintended means. Even more serious is the display of what Das (2004) has called the "signature of the state". The protestors and the resistive organizing were also aware of the politics of redevelopment, but chose not to directly interfere with it, rather engaged in life-saving consequences. They, and their mode of politics, were informed of the possibilities of state violence or outright rejection.

Such political advancements and formation of rationalities occurred within the state's inclusion. Even in the direst of social and human consequences, the underlying political economy of preventable deaths remained largely unquestioned as reordering governmentality became increasingly important for the concerned population. Within the new governmental question, their themes, activities, modes of negotiation, and outcomes changed vis-à-vis the state institution's engagements. As well, new institutions emerged (like that of environmental, health and urban governance agencies, the SRA, and judicial initiatives) with their differential mandates, evaluations, and functions, adding arbitrariness in the vocabulary of state function as well as the politics of life. New state opacity, and (il)legitimacy emerged that the collective had to engage with through patient negotiation. A new affirmative form of biopolitics arose, from which the conditions of slow or fast negation of life-enabling situations emerged, to re-shape governing techniques and social composites.

Here, we witness new facets of the *Politics of the Governed* (Chatterjee, 2004). On the one hand, cooperation with the state institutions and their interventions seems inevitable. But, on the other hand performing state responsibilities and

creating a discursive void between the governor and the governed is destined to happen. NGOs or grassroot collectives become, willingly or unwillingly, intermediators between the state and the poor and start functioning as a shadow state. In a situation where the demise of the collective or resistive politics of the poor is a documented reality (Das & Randeria, 2015), the new politics of the poor occasionally emerges at sociopolitical sites that are often hidden and made ambiguous by a veneer of inclusion and new entitlements, like housing, over urban destitution. These new collective politics shift the possibility of entitlements (like housing) and state care through a new, grassroots, NGO-mediated and state-recognised bio-politicization of the poor's life. The vocabulary of livability, biophysical integrity, semi-informal negotiation, and alternative forms of urban belonging emerge at the social margins, forming the new politics of the governed.

6.2.3. Reordering regime

The third, and final, research question asked: *How do resettlements scenarios affect, if at all, and in what ways, the urban redevelopment outcomes as well as resettlement governance?* As discussed earlier, scholarly discussions have been limited to dispossessions for slum clearances and the linked possibilities of resistance, disruption, and alternatives to urban renewal (section 2.1). In this dissertation, I have extended the discussion on the redevelopment-resettlement axis and the emergent forms of dispossession and governmentalities that could shape and reshape each other, not only through the limited scope of land-based dispossession, but through its management by resettlement and rehabilitation. These concern multiple and even contradictory technologies of making and unmaking living conditions (Mbembe, 2003). This question is pertinent to locate, analyse and theorize the present, and maybe certain futures of the city. However, the analysis that I present here is neither radical nor emancipatory, but a city-scale unfolding ambiguous possibility. I use three frames from case 2 here (Articles II, III, IV): opposition to slum clearance, restructuring resettlement governance, and opposition to urban renewal.

   With regard to opposition to slum clearance, Article II shows that some residents from certain slum areas could demonstrate their "occupancy" (Benjamin, 2008) against the state-led dispossessive agenda with uniform compensation. Rather than dubbing it resistance, or collective challenge to the state's violent interventions (cf. Tilly, 2003), I am interested in what constitutes

this occupant enclosure and how it relates to state-led dispossessive inclusion. Based on the empirical findings of Article II, it could be argued that urban informality of slum areas, is not a uniform sociopolitical or judicial-legal arena. Certain urban informalities form inconsistent relations vis-à-vis ambiguous land ownership, plural legal regulation and property relations that arise with the introduction of newly proposed governing techniques.

However, the legal frameworks and their effects are in conflict and even contradictory to each other (Bertelsen, 2009). For example, while the judiciary argues for slum clearances and securitization in the public's interest, the municipal authority invokes the security and safety of *bona fide* urbanity through the slum act and, more importantly, a colonial-era special permission act. However, these stringent interventions do not attend sufficiently to the contextual legibility of informality. These directions are opposed, in what, following Simone (2020a, p. 604), might be called "hodgepodge" governance. This also shows the il/legibility of a state that tends to further dominate ambitions through its apparently complex and overlapping planning and interventions. In the background, urban residents argue against uniform and totalizing practices of resettlement-based governmentality and pluralize the conditions of rehabilitability. However, such a situation is a juridical-administrative impasse.

The second aspect concerns the restructuring of resettlement governance. In other words, it concerns the effect of state-led dispossessive practices on the institutionalized practices of governmentality. This analysis arises, like the next question discussed below, from a post-resettlement context, and in the intersection of Articles III and IV. These issues are salient because of two interconnected factors on the redevelopment-resettlement axis: post-dispossession contexts, and the new politics of life of people first dispossessed and then repossessed through the state programmes. To briefly recall, the populations resettled in Mahul had judicialized their case, arguing that state interventions were complicit in their life-threatening rehousing. This legal activism from below (Eckert, 2006) contested state transgressions to demand alternative forms of governing rather than the ongoing urban renewal. This political opportunity emerged within apparent "harmonious co-existence and complementarity",… but also the "considerable ambiguity, tension and conflict" (Bertelsen, 2009, p. 133) between the several state institutions and their sovereign powers. It is here that pluri-centric state institutions interfaced their mutual contradictions and reshaped the politics of resettlement.

In Article III, I show the emergent lateral forms of agencies arising from within stringent conditions of domination, however this is neither monumental nor transformative (Berlant, 2007). Following from a range of mobilization (Article IV), we see that the politics of life has exceptional impacts on the state's ways of governing its population. Unique to the promised effect were interventions to stop further relocation and mass re-resettlement. However, we should recall that such judicial directives concern Asia's richest municipal authority with one of the largest urban bureaucracies, and in a city where the state agencies cumulatively hoard over 100,000 resettlement tenements for future projects. The state authorities also argued for the lack of alternative resettlements, or financial capacity to pay to resettled populations in Mahul. Such interventions would, for them, delay or jeopardize ongoing and future renewal projects. In a sense, these arguments, again, emanate a different form of necropolitical-economic relation from within the bureaucracy that assigns a hierarchical standard of optimal housing and living conditions (cf. Jha, 2023).

Alongside such political-economic rationalities, new bureaucratic governing strategies evolved. From Article IV we see that the relocated poor engaged with a variety of efforts towards the re-politization of their bio-pathologies. However, in dealing with the poor's lives, the resettlement governance partially informalized itself. We see that despite the associated legal and administrative need to relocate and reformulate resettlement governance, the state institutions and dominant political parties engaged with GBGBA and the collective of the poor to informalize the politics of life and attend to otherwise legal demands with a mix of popular support, judicial action, humanitarianism, and sustained negotiation. Such bottom-up sociopolitical formations, nevertheless, pave the way for a form of affirmative biopolitics to negate or reorder the state-led necro- or thanatopolitics effects. As a massive reordering in post-dispossession governmentality, for example, to provide massive resettlement for the concerned population, was not possible or favourable for state institutions. It opened discursive space for consequences to the ongoing urban renewal.

The third and final aspect relates to the possible effect of resettlements on urban renewal. To recall the debate briefly, while state institutions (like the municipal authority) wished to continue resettlement in life-threatening housing conditions, the judicial apparatus ruled against ongoing eviction and resettlements if the state could not provide safe housing. We see a decoupling of state institutions, with the project implementing agency having responsibility for the communities, and

other institutions having responsibility for urban governance. It is noteworthy that, despite the legal ruling, the concerned state authority forcefully engaged in eviction and resettlement. Several collectives, again, appealed to the court and stopped it. Alternatively, the concerned state institutions continued with alternative uses of their tenements for other projects, such as transit stays. However, over 15,000 tenements remain to be cleared, with the inhabitants resettled and rehabilitated.

State institutions could not govern the to-be-dispossessed, take even minimal care of their lives post-dispossession (as ordered in the judicial case), and it could not be legally complicit in creating life-constraining circumstances. As a result, the slum clearances for the pipeline, and its securitization have, at least, been partially halted. Thus, urban renewal is also paused. Understanding this as resistance might be helpful or misleading. In either case, it should be linked to the bio-politicization of resistance, where the body is the site of struggle and negotiation.

Nevertheless, we see that urban infrastructural futures are dependent on the management of the displaced through rehousing in a safe and habitable situation. Otherwise, the making of infrastructures takes a different turn (Article II), while the biopolitical struggles at the urban margins keep engaging with urban institutions and their politics (Articles III and IV). We also see an abductive theoretical reasoning of the ways redevelopment is a function of governmentality in cities like Mumbai (see chapter 4). In light of the empirical findings, we can also argue that urban renewal projects, like the legal apparatus of the state, are governed through "considerable ambiguity and conflict" (Bertelsen, 2009, p. 133) amongst state institutions that create different dispositifs, rationalities, effects, and counter-effects.

Overall, with a detailed discussion of the three interlinked questions on redevelopmental dis/possession, the politics of the resettled and restructuring regime, I have also explained the diverse, and even messy, ways in which coordination, and conflict with urban institutions, constantly reorders resettlement governance in Mumbai. We can briefly summarize the discussion with a few analytical reflections.

First, redevelopment dispossession is a result of an uneven conglomeration of state institutions, market logics, and urban bureaucratic imperatives with varied spatio-political and human consequences. Dispossession is not just a simplistic land-based articulation of urban change. Rather, it encompasses a variety of

market or non-capitalist prerogatives through violent and coercive displacement, and the complex management of dispossessed populations through resettlements. Rather than centralized macro-institutional market-led logics, judicial, administrative, legal, urban land, and governance paradigms, whether with synergistic or with antagonistic mandates, coalesce to enact urban renewal. The presence of these paradigms and their mandates is made explicit through myriad dispositifs in action.

Further, resettlement in itself has emerged as a site of redevelopmental dispossession in the guise of accommodative and inclusive urban growth. The regulations around planning, architecture, environment, and settlement are some of the additional dispositifs that form the materiality of resettlements and have variegated effects on the government of dis/re-possessed populations. Political subjectivities of dis/possession vis-à-vis urban change are formed through the reforming salient subjective positions and their interfaces with the institutional actors, materialities of resettlement housing, and emergent politics of negotiation or abandonment or both.

Second, the redevelopment regimes, in relation with the other urban governance institutions, continuously shape the politics of the poor. This began with non-state mediation (by NGOs) between the state and the population, with a discourse of inclusion. The inclusion was based on the dispositifs of cut-off dates, eligibility of the subjects, availability of documents, and its ratification through bureaucratic practices. The mediating NGO and its activities were governmentalized, while state-led interventions were violent and repressive. The organic leadership and their relation with local or city politics was fragmented and made inconclusive through the alternative state-led inclusionary paradigm.

However, through these interventions, and against the planned formalization of informal politics and housing-based urban citizenship ideals, there was a resurgence of the informalization of state institutions and the politics of the post-dispossession or resettlement. While state institutions function through unclear directives and some degree of arbitrariness, there is also a constant formation of intermediaries between the state and lived realities. The new politics of the poor demanding life-allowing conditions is also informalized through the needs for legibility, bureaucratic uncertainty, the intermediary (another grassroots organization), and the poor's capacity to negotiate using various tools for politicization and dealing with looming depoliticizing effects. This is an unsettling

political and academic scenario, where destitution within inclusion requires a new political vocabulary and engagement.

Third, and finally, the pre- and post-resettlement scenarios have mixed and limited effects on the politics of urban renewal and resettlement governance. The life-threatening consequences of inclusion have certain possible effects only when legitimate or illegitimate state actions, through the interpretation of the consequences, is judicialized and politicized across institutions. Resettlement governance assigns a new role to the state in rehabilitation after dispossession. State institutions tend to outsource its responsibilities to other actors like NGOs or to the political realm. In the particular condition of life-threatening consequences, the state institution's engagement remains arbitrary, without clear objectives or outcomes. Resettlement governance is further informalized and takes on the vocabularies of exceptional human need and a humanistic ethics of intervention, however, with limited effects.

In so doing, the state's function is again taken over by the intervening non-state actors and the collectives of the poor. Despite this, the politicization of field realities sets a judicial precedent in urban governance where the state's complicity in unethical, illegal, and life-threatening consequences could be challenged towards an alternative outcome. Within this, the state's expressed incapacity to govern the population affected through its intervention has an effect on the ongoing urban renewal project. It shows that certain post-resettlement scenarios affect populations as well as the government of urban renewal.

In exploring these research questions, the reworked theoretical framework was useful in investigating the city as site of government practice. It provides helpful anchoring insights into the linkages between the coarser macro-institutional processes, their diverse constituents, and a finer textured connection with sociopolitical and human consequences (also section 5.4). As also mentioned in section 4.1, the framework also helps in combining two realms of contemporary neoliberal processes: redevelopment and governmentality. The framework allowed us to locate emerging ontologies, materialities, and subjectivities through urban change. Abductive revision to both aspects enriches the otherwise restricted focus of the framework (see chapter 4).

The framework requires a more nuanced retheorizing, including considerations of ongoing accumulation (section 4.1), urban land governance (section 4.3), structural and institutional violence within biopolitics and governmentality, race within the nation-state, the ungovernability of populations (section 6.2.3), and

the persistent misnomer of the post-colonial –where profound illegality and para-legality are not only on the part of the state, but also the population. The last question also relates to the legibility of the truth and presence of untruth in systemic and everyday subject formation (cf. Foucault, 2005). With these limitations, we also need to refine the perspective of space and the question of justice. The question of time, and the nature of constantly changing sociopolitics must be accounted for. An alternative serious theorizing, coupled with richer empirical exploration and presentation, could offer new insights for auto-critique and further refinement. However, we should also be attentive to Foucault's (1991b) apprehension of any state programme becoming an unmanageable witch's brew.

This also relates to the limits of empirical presentation. Ethnographic work usually ends with collecting generous amounts of material. My use of ethnographic material to gain theoretical insights in this dissertation has worked fairly well. However, it leaves an unexplored, and missed, opportunity to thoroughly present the social and politics lives of these complicated, multi-scaler and time-sensitive processes. For example, the scholarly call to seriously explore resettlement lives to bring out the post-dis/re/possession circumstances still remains (Arabindoo, 2011). It would have been fruitful to locate the redevelopment pattern in M-West ward and the ongoing subjection of lives there.

Further, the questions around dwelling practices in precarious housing conditions, and everyday forms of adaptation, of forming and reforming social composites, of ongoing negotiations with urban institutions, and new marginal habitability: these experiences, beyond the single emic perspective of necrosettlements, are some remaining loose threads and avenues for future research. The sociopolitical and biophysical properties of research areas continue to change. A temporally sensitive analysis of experiences of living in resettlements, and their governance, is much required. Further, the examination of legal and administrative documents around interventions is only partially covered, and needs further exploration. A serious exploration of the works of the two NGOs that appear so divergent in their ideologies, actions, and outcomes is another avenue of future research.

6.3. For social work to come

In section 1.3, I highlighted three major challenges to contributions to academic knowledge: first, theory; second, explorations from elsewheres; and, third, trans-disciplinary focus. These three are interconnected across the dissertation. Here, I take the opportunity to reflect on the concerns of social work literature from my exploration of certain social contexts and "social work *in extremis*" (see Ottmann & Brito, 2023). For Ottmann and Brito (2023), social work *in extremis* encapsulates the brutal premise (ontic, philosophical, and ethics), planetary dominance of global powers (North versus elsewheres) and concerns to struggle against necrobiopolitical machinations. Social work, which has always been a biopolitical project at its core, must now respond to the contemporary biopolitical paradigm and its crises.

We are headed away, now, from the fancy vocabulary of emancipation, liberation, or development from International Social Work, towards complex sociopolitical realities. For example, the sociopolitics of abandonment, exclusion within inclusion, compromised survival, inequality, illiberal institutional conditions, (im)possibility of wholesale human development and unfolding un/inhabitability are intensifying. These realities are mismatched with ideological and finite disciplinary tropes. The vehement critiques of international social work principles, which first appeared in chapter 1, are central here. These includes issues like the dominance of the Western liberal worldview, globalized pedagogy and ethics, and the idea of "the human" in universal human rights and knowledge (IASSW, n.d.). A push for theoretical critique has been central to this dissertation, so has been the idea of "the human" and its constituents. In doing so, I have travelled beyond the "social work literature", and now find new possibilities of "literature for social work".[33] My submission relates to bio-necropolitical sociopolitical reality.

Few challenges bring new perspectives. Recall the focus on aspects of dis/possession and dis/possessed people and their lives. Community practice, one of the six methods of social work, featured in the R&R of people under urban redevelopment. Within this, exceptional housing policy formed the arc of critical biopolitical thinking. Post-expert-centric social and Community work initiatives,

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[33] See, for example, The *Indian Journal of Social Work* webpage, https://tiss.edu/view/6/research/the-indian-journal-of-social-work/.

departing from the Chicago school and Soul Alinsky's pioneering methods towards a new people-centric biopolitical governing and its critique, remained central. These explorations allowed for a revised thinking on the challenges around dispossessed lives, housing inequalities, collective identities, and certain human conditions.

Further, the issues of rights (basic or civil) and citizenship formed entitlements and unstable belonging pathways for certain of the urban poor, as explored through layered and multi-scalar approaches. The moment of a glorious and monumental agency is almost over. Conditional and layered forms of capacities seem to have replaced it. People invoke new capacities through subjective, judicial, resistive, or collective approaches. Further, social action, as another constituent of social work, came to the fore under the direst of human and sociopolitical conditions. A departure from radical and movement-based literature towards new non-movements and negotiative action through grassroot resistive collective and concerned people shaped new knowledge from practice. Here, vocabularies of resistance emerge through negotiation the and biopoliticization of the living, the dead, and multiple lives in between. A productive sphere of "rights" seems to be rooted in life and its politics.

We observe that certain rights of the human are considered legitimate only when it pertains to life-and-death situations. and the governing forms are made responsible, or an alternative mobilized. Nevertheless, despite movements, resistive outlooks, and negotiation, the "practice" of "new" social action, processes, and results remains subject to sovereign, arbitrary consequences, and is selective in approach. The possibilities and limitations of urban social work "practice" dealing with extreme dispossessive conditions, to ameliorate vulnerabilities and make human lives liveable, come squarely here. It is another site "beyond" professional social practice, where the conflict of the "bio" and its "politics" are confronted. In sum, my approaches have dealt with certain new, non-universal "human" conditions.

Overall, what I have dealt with are crises of standardized vocabularies of, for example, democracy, development, welfare, rights, citizenship, or even of being human. Surviving, knowing, exposing, and somewhat protecting, resisting and reorganizing lives under extremis served the purpose of these enquiries. It also serves dual purposes: epistemological and practical. On the one hand the limitation of contemporary biopolitical project was under investigation. On the other hand, uses of "exception", from Agamben's (1998) ontologies and its

derivatives (Mbembe, 2003), helped to break free of the limits of Western political thought, and forged ways to locate governing apparatuses and outcomes locally, and certain reactions from "below". Turning the struggle against necropolitics or thanatopolitics or apparent deadly machinations which are considered "central to social work" (Ottmann & Brito, 2023, p. 12) came to the fore. Finding alternatives could help towards pedagogy and praxis. These circumstances are not official, but vernacularized; not standardized, but popular; not accepted, but intended; and not established but in becoming. They challenge ontic, ethical, philosophical, as well as standardized interventions.

This is the awakening of a new social work. The crises of Western humanism and philosophical thought is explicit in exceptions and camp logics. Critical post-humanist scholarship builds on these deficiencies to rebuild philosophy, humanism, collective identity and living.

Dissociating from ontological and epistemological divides creates a productive field of knowing and conceptualizing (see discussion, Ottmann & Brito, 2023; Mbembe, 2019) around colonizing governmental machinery, (ab)uses of powers, the suspension or reduction of the human into biological substance and new values (ethical and otherwise). More so, the vision of "we" in forms of collective humanism for emancipatory collective survival, action or living is contested under even direct of circumstances (cf. Agamben, 1993, as in Article IV).

A serious reapproach to contemporary biopolitical theory and its relation to human "lives" is central to social work. Social work has remained exemplary of neoliberal biopolitical practices of governing from above, below, and in between. These practices cover myriad calculations and control under neoliberal normativism (Webb, 2020). However, as we have seen, the seduction of neoliberal freedom is ultimately ineffective. Technologies of conduct and professed freedom are colonizing. The explorations of this dissertation allow us to locate ways to save us from negative biopolitics and safeguard human lives, through insurgent forms of calculation and control that ensued a mix of positive and negative control and certain, however limited, attempts of (negative) protection and safeguarding (Esposito, 2011). It opens up a standpoint for investigation of power relations, knowledge, and subjectification towards new governing. We must also realize the boundaries of protection and the human condition for pedagogy and practice within the violent resurgence of governing orders and their impacts on "human" conditions. This is a new wave of social work. Overall, it is not the time or place

to suggest what should be done; rather, it is the time and place to ask what we do understand, and how we understand what needs to be done.

6.4. A past of urban futures

In this final section, I return to the discussion of urban, and slum, futures that first appeared in chapter 1 and unfolded through an exploration of planning, execution, and effect in subsequent chapters. The dissertation is concerned with two mega infrastructural projects in the last two decades: a rapid transport system for world-class city-making, and a robust infrastructural future to save the city from becoming a graveyard. Yet, commuting is still crowded and Mumbai's transport project "failed", at least partially, as the World Bank has also acknowledged (Korde, 2018). But this is not simply accounted for by alluding to the failure of the plan itself, but through the unaccounted complexities of the megacity, such as increased travel demands. New transport projects have since been proposed: flyovers, monorails, metros, elevated tracks, double-storey transport highways. Some await environmental clearance, others grapple with the need for slum clearance.

Like the transport project, the pipeline project was also presented as being an urgent necessity for the urban body-politic. Its planning has also transmogrified in the last two decades (see Article II). The, project's ideal plan kept changing, based on the problematics of urban land and population governance, in becoming uneven verticalized, aesthetic, and securitized modernist ideals. Nevertheless, the state's power expressed in the project introduced brutal interventions and life-constraining alternative circumstances. However, the plan, which is subject to alteration, makes new infrastructural connections and normalizes new disconnections between unprivileged areas and ordinary neighbourhoods.

The making of the city's future has been closely linked with slum futures. Almost two decades ago, UN-HABITAT (2004) defined slums based on certain indicators: inadequate potable water, poor infrastructure and housing, overcrowding, insecure tenancy. Cities like Mumbai have had a similar vocabulary since post-colonial times. Here, the Slum Act corresponds with areas with buildings that are "unfit for human inhabitation" due to structural and built environmental issues (dilapidation, faulty infrastructure, design, narrow alleyways, light or sanitation issues), human consequences (overcrowding), or

combination of factors that could be "detrimental for safety, health or morale". The sovereign acts, neoliberal fantasies, secure urbanity, bourgeoise urban natures, amongst others, have tactically utilized the imperative of alternative slum futures for slum resettlement.

Alternative slum futures turned into slum resettlements. We are aware of subaltern aspirations, hopes, and desires for graduated urban living from below and these have also shaped scholarly and urban discourses. Over 150,000 *ex-situ* tenements have been constructed in the last two decades. Alongside the *in-situ* SRS, from which the *ex-situ* SRS developed (see chapter 2), over four million houses were planned in the 1990s for a slum-free future. This had a success rate of just over 15% (personal communication, SRS official). These outcomes are abysmal. Yet, SRS is now promulgated in new public housing schemes in Mumbai and other metropolitan cities in India.

A few city-scale observations are pertinent here, and the first concerns resettlement *ex-situ* housing (with certain similarities with *in-situ*). This is not to say that formal housing has not realized the need and expectations of formal and safe housing in a city with little housing inequality. It absolutely has! But the scheme has also colonized the aspirational capacity of the city, its dwellers and a modality of housing for people in poverty (cf. Anand & Ramedechar, 2011; cf. Appadurai, 2002). Issues of formality and safety are also contested.

The policy fallout must be recognized here. The massive construction of housing for the poor in areas that are otherwise unfit for human inhabitation is legitimized (see Articles III, IV). This might accelerate in the near future with many public housing projects proposed in salt-pan, deindustrialized lands in peripheral and toxic geographies. New habitability experiments are ongoing here (see section 2.3), as Mumbai has become one of the most polluted city globally. The built environment of these formal housing is compromising. Issues that concern slums according to the Slum Act and UN-HABITAT, including design, narrow alleyways, light, safety (for example, fire), and sanitation, also exist, or are more intense, in resettlement tenements.

For example, the population density of townships is almost thrice that of slums. Paradoxically, unlike the slums that have horizontal and vertical mixed uses, resettlements lack open space or use possibilities. Thus, perceived density is much higher. The inhabitants are squeezed into tiny spaces. These neighbourhoods are dysfunctional, and are becoming the subject of government. Bio-pathological effects, such as tuberculosis and pulmonary issues, are higher in townships and

their micro-neighbourhoods compared to any other human settlements, including slums (Article III). In summary, this type of resettlement housing is a new postcolonial reversal of slums under neoliberal reordering. It is a new subaltern polis. The "rhetoric of slum" (Arabindoo, 2011) that haunted urban theory and the city is back in the form of resettlement housing, with new ongoing biopolitical struggles.

A dialectic link between slums and urban futures has played out through SRS-linked urban renewal. This public housing has a construction life of over 30 years. The residents should have received tenurial security after 10 years and are paying new kinds of rent (maintenance, property tax, municipal tax, etc.). However at some sites, over 40% of the original residents have already sold or leased out their housing and moved elsewhere within the first 10 years, as my ongoing research indicates. For other residents, who are more resilient or with better socioeconomic levels, this is a mix of graduated living with other everyday forms of vulnerabilities, adjustment, and opportunity.

Security of tenure remains contested and mythical, even as some residents spoke of wasting over 10 years in transition, were dismayed about the future of their children, and others lamented the loss of a generation, life and vitality post-resettlement. It reflects temporal waiting by the urban poor (that is patient, violent, uncared, negotiated, or suspended) in the making of alternative urban lives. I have hinted earlier that some localities in the resettlement townships (in Vashi Naka) are slowly moving towards upgradation or gentrification. Ironically, while the redevelopment regime and its actors used the vocabulary of formal housing for resettlement, the residents are using the need for better tenements and amenities for re-redevelopment planning. For others, the forceable future of Mahul township remains that of contested habitability. But within these tussles, what was once a slum future is awaiting another alternative future.

On the other hand, the floor-surface area of Mumbai has doubled in the last three decades (Rihan et al., 2021). This development unsurprisingly correlate with massive slum redevelopment and are also linked with intensified slum FSI as I have explained earlier. Connectedly, 65% or more of the total new floor-surface is generated through *ex-situ* slum redevelopments in Mumbai's M-Ward (Nainan, 2008), and might be even more, given ongoing extensive redevelopment. The trend might intensify with upcoming climatic risk and uncertainties related to slum resettlement needs. With these facts, and referring to the discussion in chapter 2, it is safe to argue that Mumbai's futures as imagined almost two decades

ago have been built on alternate housing possibilities for the poor. However, this utopian future also brutally or shrewdly displaced the poor and sold better future prospects for the city (by displacing them) and for them (formal housing). The city's neoliberal futures have been dependent on its poor and its government. It has contributed to the foundations of the city's vertical splintering, in making elite and middle-class neighbourhoods, but at the cost of its own future that has remained contested and unclear for many decades now.

New blueprints of the future are simultaneously constituted and injected into the city. This creates the brutalism of planning: new plans are administered before one is finished or left incomplete. To solve apparent crises, and make the city resilient to risks, and there are always new ideas, new templates, new plans, new experiments, new models, and new interventions, even before the last one is realized. Certain of those are ongoing, others are changed, yet others are repackaged and re-introduced. The planning aims to solve crises, and in doing so, creates more crises to solve. Debt financing, new forms of statecraft, ad-hoc or emergency planning are routinized to govern the city. These interventions accompany brutality that is legitimized through a utopian—dystopian— imaginary of improvement and popular hope. It is a "hodgepodge" urban situation (Simone, 2020a, p. 604; also, Simone, 2020b) of messy, complex, unclear interventions, bringing successes, but also marred with failures, benevolent and progressive in effect, but also colonial and brutal in their consequences.

Urban time is crucial in this regard. On the one hand, we see that plans induce a time-bound aspiration for the city to come. On the other hand, the plans introduce interventions that create an almost permanent transitoriness of waiting, delays, improvisation, suspension, and achievements for the city (also, Simone, 2020b). The slum and its inhabitants are coaxial in these processes. The dwellers of slums under redevelopment interface with the plan as well as its effects to attain a mix of temporal uncertainty (Auyero, 2012), aspirational negotiation, and their futuristic temporal effects (Appadurai, 2002) or a composite of the two. Nevertheless, through these mixes, which remain entangled with the state's myriad governing powers, sections of the urban poor become "patients" of the state (Auyero, 2012), with no other option than to comply or seek miniscule alterations within bureaucratic imaginaries, their labyrinthine functions, and unavoidable delays as either an achievement or progress towards new ways of urban living.

Could the city plan herself? Could her population have certain sustainable futures? This is an ontological "maybe" (Simone, 2013), against a perennial impossibility (Roy, 2009c). Either is inconclusive, and just in becoming. And what we have and could deal with would be some fragments of the present and the future. Nevertheless, within the transforming urban, the fate of its inhabitants, and the dominance of Western imperialism still lingers in the hegemony of thought and in neocolonial forms of capitalism, unlike what Foucault imagined over fifty years ago. I refer readers to the quote that opened this dissertation. The redevelopment *Snowpiercer* has brought gains, but also created profound limits. Maybe it should stop or slow down for a while for the city to find its own trajectory, its potential, and its future. Such a change, however, seems unlikely. And so, the quest for new meanings continues until the end of time.

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Appendix

Settlement/site profile

- Buildings: construction, present conditions, occupancy,
- Population: families, total population,
- Resettlement: locations and volume of eviction (also, SRS documents)
- Infrastructure: school, primary healthcare center, hospital, playground, common halls, religious places; with their years of establishment
- Social Infrastructure: youth, men and women groups (formal or informal), civil society organizations (activity)
- Political infrastructure: Elected: ward counsellor, Member of Legislative Assembly, Member of Parliament, active political leaders; active groups
- Surrounding: location of the settlement, distance from urban infrastructure (bus, rail, hospital), factories, villages, other resettlement colonies, google earth mapping.

Interview/Conversation thematic guide

Pre-eviction: Experiences of stay before transfer

- Socio-economic aspects
- Economic: work, livelihood: accessibility, type, earning
- Social: individual, group and collective levels. Nature of organization (religion, neighborhood)
- Site: duration of stay, type of housing (kutcha or pakka; space; levels & experiences of precarity)
- Demolition: Preceptive dangers of demolition (before the actual demolition)

Interaction with the urban society

- Amenities and infrastructure: ID cards, amenities (water, electricity, ration) and infrastructure (school, hospital, collage)

- Civic: NGOs (types), engagement, purpose (organizations or direct engagement)
- Political: party(ies), leaders, network, functions and uses

Eviction and resettlement

- Eviction as a decision
- Rationale given: when, how, through whom
- Reactions: at individual, group and collective levels, associated NGO and political party(ies) level

Eviction as promises and entitlements

- Demolition (final): who, how, when, for how long
- Effects (when: rainy season; phase between demolition and resettlement): without home (homelessness), stay, supports needed and received, interfaces with stakeholders (who, when, how; roles)
- Entitlements: who, how, what. Role of state institutions, political leaders, local leaders, NGOs (if any)
- Unprotected families: eligibility for resettlement
- Precedented or unprecedented events (if any)

Eviction as a process/experience

- Consultations with residents: process, leadership, decision making about resettlement, resettlement site (options) and selection of Mahul
- Resident's and collective's interfaces with political society and state institutions: negotiation for resettlement

Resettlement and post-resettlement

- Compare resettlement colony to informal settlement from which moved: Built environment, Access to services and amenities (historic moments), livelihood, new resettlement community (allotment of houses), civic and political engagement
- Difficulties at locational (geographic) levels, households and community levels
- Institutional reactions: state's engagement to make Mahul inhabitable

Quality of life

- Case 1: Mahul as toxic and polluted; case 2: VN: peripheral

- Knowing about the local circumstances: when, how, parameters or symptoms (environmental, physical/medical)
- Chronology of industrial accidents (historic moments for 3 years of living)
- Impact on human life: everydayness (effluents released twice/thrice a day): personal (young, child, men, or women), family, collective or neighborhood (example); death/disease (unfolding in Mahul, relation with conditions in slums and Mahul, medicalization, subjectivities, challenges)
- Experience: towards self and towards other (how individuals see it: victimhood, helplessness, resentment, anger: towards normalization, acceptance or mobilisation)
- Coping: personal, family, house/home, close environment, colony
- Issues of CHS and federation (case 2): Leadership and management issues; Belonging and keep-up; Challenges

Framing alternative and Framing resistance (Mahul)

- Idea of adaptation or alternative: where, when, in what form
- Chronology of ideation, mobilization, action (from collective) and reaction (from state)
- Engagement/mediation of GBGBA and idea of alternative of Mahul: when, how, topic or theme, framing of issues, leadership, mobilization, organization and actions (public or collective's meetings, protest, legal demand, blockage, movement: memory based)
- Chronology of activities (timeline): collective association, changing leadership, demands and rationale, changing demands and rationale,
- Role of state institutions, NGOs participation (any?)
- Outcomes of 'movement' and resistance: (causation: A led to B: process), effect, negotiables and non-negotiable demands by the collective and management by the state, historical moments
- Non-participants (out of 5,500 HH): who, how many, why, material, ideological, leadership differences, changes in the collective's dynamics, conflicts (if any), limitations and challenges of all-inclusive mobilization, effect on movement

Thematic guide for local and collective-based activists (Case 2)

- How did and when did mobilization began in Mahul? What did you do and why did you start mobilization and resistance?
- What were the different protests in Mahul: How did you mobilise/collectivise the residents?; Who objected and why?; Who came together and why and how?
- When/why/objective did you start pipeline protest?: Any critical juncture? GBGBA's role in it?; Activist's role?; collective's role?; What initial challenges did you face in protest (police, local residents, police, political party)?; How did you solve those challenges?

What happened in pipeline protest?

- What was the planning, how did the planning change?
- How did you keep unity/keep string, what made it weaker?; Registers, mandatory says, who stayed, what other requirements came for the protest?
- What instances and stories do you have to share vis-à-vis political party, government departments, on the ground, judiciary, major moments of conflict, wins, losses.
- Why/how did you decide to live at protest site?; How was your living there?; How did you interface police, BMC (Electricity, water, waste); Vis-à-vis your old home, tenement in Mahul

Protest

- What did the protest yield?
- What were the issues that were not realized?
- Community-based conflict emerged? Leadership change?
- How/in what ways the organization supported your protest? Major conjuctures?: Major court hearings; When/how/why did you take off protest?; When/how/why did you return to Mahul?

Entitlement

- What do you think how and why did you get the first allotment?
- What were the challenges in making the list/finalizing the allotment/sending people? Rationality, reason, 5 indicators
- What do you think how and why did you get the second allotment?

Stakeholder profiling for desk research:

Population

- Individual/Family (social, economic, political dimensions)
- Family having diseases/deaths
- Active residents/ activists/ informal leaders, key respondents
- The local Collective leaders

NGOs

- Jan Hit Manch – filed PIL for safety of Tansa pipeline
- GBGBA – mobilized residents for resistance (2 representatives)
- Doctor 4 You – published report on built environment & disease in resettlement colonies (1 representative)
- YUVA's study on 1 site (project report, 1 representative)
- SRS–Commissioned organization for CHS formation (1 field professional)

State organizations and political parties

- BMC official - Ward level (Departments: Infrastructure and services)
- Medical Clinic in Mahul (2 representatives) Minister of Housing, Shiv Sena & BJP leaders that participated in meetings

Resettlement Townships

- Eversmile Construction Ltd. (constructed the resettlement colony, online project documents)
- Institutional research on Mahul (Report and 1 representative)
- Urban planner (1, discussion on development plan and outcomes)
- Industries: State-led and international-private industries and refineries (online data scrapping on reports, assessments, action plans)
- Village representatives: Ambapada and Mahul (filed the first case at the National Green Tribunal)

Interview guide for Advocate (Case 2)

- Framing the issue: How have you framed the issue, how have it changed over time, what supporting approaches and conflicting approaches emerged from it
- Major situations/turning points in judicialization: Breakthrough/Narratives from the court hearing
- Comments on: Mahul's development, Public interest, human rights and power of judicialization, response of the judges
- State institution's response: What has been the state's/BMC's and other department's/Administrative response in the court/through judicialization; Positive/Negative (MPCB)/Neutral/Difficult and undoable and why?
- Urban poor, judiciary, movement: Role of movement, protest, activists, and the poor? Implications on other resettlement projects or poor's aspects?

Interview guide on official documents:

- Affidavits; Affidavit Why and how (Despite RTI 100,000 tenements) Mahul is the only place for pipeline poor?
- Affidavit EPRC, KEM Hospital, Affidavit in the HC, recommended "immediately undertaking containment measures for emission of toluene"
- MPCB controversy and affidavit;
- NGT to MBCB why it did not do assessment for Mahul
- Affidavit – unable to identify alternative site
- Affidavit – all pollutants, VOCs are under safe limits (which report, access)
- Affidavit – pollution levels low as compared to Dec 2015 NGT Order, discourse of BMC calling NGT sweeping: Refinery complaint copy; What are gaps and why?