Urban Poverty, Local Governance and Everyday Politics in Mumbai

Joop de Wit

Urban Poverty, Local Governance and Everyday Politics in Mumbai

This book explores the informal (political) patronage relations between the urban poor and service delivery organisations in Mumbai, India. It examines the conditions of people in the slums and traces the extent to which they are subject to social and political exclusion. Delving into the roles of the slum-based mediators and municipal councillors, it brings out the problems in the functioning of democracy at the ground level, as election candidates target vote banks with freebies and private-sector funding to manage their campaigns. Starting from social justice concerns, this book combines theory and insights from disciplines as diverse as political science, anthropology and policy studies. It provides a comprehensive, multi-level overview of the various actors within local municipal governance and democracy as also consequences for citizenship, urban poverty, gender relations, public services, and neoliberal politics.

Lucid and rich in ethnographic data, this book will be useful to scholars, researchers and students of social anthropology, urban studies, urban sociology, political science, public policy and governance, as well as practitioners and policymakers.

Joop de Wit is Senior Lecturer in Public Policy and Development Management, International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University (ISS), The Hague, The Netherlands. An anthropologist, his research interests are political science, governance, policy issues, urban poverty, and decentralisation. He has published the books *Poverty, Policy and Politics in Madras Slums: Dynamics of Survival, Gender and Leadership* (1996) and *New Forms of Urban Governance in India: Shifts, Models, Networks and Contestations* (co-edited with I.S.A. Baud, 2008) as well as numerous articles.

Cities and the Urban Imperative
Series Editor: Sujata Patel, Professor
Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad

For a full list of titles in this series, please visit https://www.routledge.com/Cities-and-the-Urban-Imperative/book-series/CUI

This series introduces a holistic approach to studying cities, the urban experience and its imaginations. It assesses what is distinctive of the urban phenomenon in India, and also delineates the characteristic uniqueness of particular cities as they embrace change and create ways of experiencing modernities.

Taking an interdisciplinary route, the series evaluates the many facets of urbanisation and city formation and explores the challenges faced in relation to regional, national and global processes.

The books in this series present the changing trends in macro- and micro-urban processes; the nature of demographic patterns of migration and natural growth therein; spatial reorganisation and segregation in urban areas; uneven economic development of manufacturing and services in cities; unequal access to power in the context of formal citizenship; increasing everyday violence and declining organised protest; and breakdown of urban family life in juxtaposition with the reconstitution of community. They trace how new forms of socialities are replacing old forms of trust and solidarity and how these are being institutionalised in distinct and diverse ways within South Asia.

Also in this Series

Participolis
Consent and Contention in Neoliberal Urban Governance
Editors: Karen Coelho, Lalitha Kamath and M. Vijayabaskar

Dharavi
From Mega-Slum to Urban Paradigm
Marie-Caroline Saglio-Yatzimirsky

Beyond Kolkata
Rajarhat and the Dystopia of Urban Imagination
Ishita Dey, Ranabir Samaddar and Suhit K. Sen

Urban Poverty, Local Governance and Everyday Politics in Mumbai

Joop de Wit

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK

Contents

Preface

I carried out my first anthropological slum study in Madras in 1984 and kept engaged with urban poverty and governance in India ever since. A first step was my PhD research in the same city in the late 1980s. Rather than only targeting the urban poor, I now expanded my scope to include the interfaces between slum people and the local government in service delivery and policy making, noting the importance of informal patronage and political relations. Following my PhD I had a most instructive time in the 1990s in Bangalore as resident programme advisor of the Dutch-funded Bangalore urban poverty programme. From 2003 to 2006 I was part of a team leading an Indo-Dutch research project to investigate changing forms of urban governance in India, together with Isa Baud of Amsterdam University and Amitabh Kundu of the Jawaharlal Nehru University. The research cities were Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai (formerly Madras). The latter studied the evolution of public–private partnerships and new forms of urban finance. My focus was urban decentralisation where I gradually came to consider the local councillors as the key agents linking poor city people to organisations and institutions critical for them. In areas such as health, education, sanitation, and also police problems, councillors displayed a solid mediation and problem-solving capacity. But there was always a price, for instance bribes or the promise to vote for their parties.

Madras in the 1980s was still a relatively parochial place, where the local state for slum people was mostly the corporation and slum board, with little evidence of privately provided services. The private business sector was small, and there was no capitalism in its present dominant form; nobody talked much about middle classes. India then had a regime of protectionist and interventionist policies under 'Licence Raj' with low 'Hindu' rates of economic growth. All this changed with the opening up of India from 1991, the start of India's neoliberal

trajectory. We saw this evolving in our research, with increased urban growth and indications that India's rich and poor were growing apart. Income polarisation increased; high-rise apartment towers and shopping malls emerged in cities alongside sprawling slums, which, however, did not seem to change much. India opened up to outside forces of globalisation, following global trends of deregulation and involving non-state actors – notably private-sector firms but also NGOs – to co-govern with the state. A general move occurred towards discourses and practices now labelled 'multi-stakeholder governance' with agreeable assumptions of pluralism and hopes for better, even 'good governance'. And where Mumbai goes, it did grow economically and capitalism struck roots, with lots more money going around. But 'bad governance' also increased, and the benefits of growth were not being shared equally across its classes.

So when faced with the choice to locate my follow-up studies in my 'home city' Chennai, in Delhi or in Mumbai, the latter city seemed to offer most. It was the most globalised Indian city where neoliberal policies, for example seen in public–private cooperation, took hold earlier than elsewhere. With half of its population living in slums, I knew I could study urban poverty in relation to basic services. Mumbai had a lively local democracy with 227 councillors elected to the council of the rich and powerful Mumbai City Corporation (BMC). But apart from this, I decided for the city as I like Mumbai and always much enjoy being there. One can sense it is a powerhouse where stakes are high, a place where people, rich and poor, are all on the move. Notwithstanding poor governance, the megacity remains an intense, vibrant and rich place of culture and street life. It has been labelled a rather tolerant 'city of dreams', attracting both the ultra-rich and dejected Bihari peasants. I kept visiting the city over the years and gradually collected a mass of primary and secondary data, which form the basis of this book. Increasingly I recognised the primacy of politics, which led me to probe local democracy dynamics with its culmination in fiercely fought ward-level elections.

I kept working with contacts and networks established during the Indo-Dutch research project, including local officials, councillors and slum contacts as well as academics and researchers. I worked with scholars of the Jawaharlal Nehru University and Mumbai University, in the latter notably with Abhay Pethe whose advice and Mumbai writings proved invaluable if only to confirm my initial assumptions. My interactions over the years with many staff of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) were always useful, where I like to mention Amita Bidhe especially. I am indebted to the All India Institute of

Local Self-Government led by Sneha Palnitkar not only for lots of rich documentation but also for hospitality in my early research years. N. Sridaran of the Delhi School of Planning and Architecture was my window to Delhi and a rich source of urban knowledge. The Indo-Dutch research project coincided with an urban governance project of the Delhi-based Centre de Sciences Humaines, and many of the very rich research findings it yielded found their way into my book. Mutually beneficial and pleasant cooperation ensued with team members, one of whom the much missed late Jos Mooij of ISS, with warm relations enduring with Marie-Helene Zerah, Veronique Dupont and Loraine Kennedy. I kept benefiting from working with Isa Baud with whom I edited a book, while I cooperated closely with three of her PhD students working on Mumbai. Navtej Nainan wrote rich accounts on the local Mumbai state, the different faces of councillors and the far too close relations between powerful building firms and political parties. Padma Desai delved deeply into 'everyday' realities of Mumbai slum upgrading. Lots of details about ward office–level activities and the role of Mumbai's councillors there were uncovered by Tara van Dijk. One fine day I was lucky to meet Mr Deepak Dopat who leads a small but effective research organisation. Apart from many others who helped me gauge details and mechanisms at the slum and ward levels – notably slum-level NGO workers – he was most instrumental in my multi-year drive to put together the pieces of the puzzle making up everyday local governance and politics. Then, over the years I learnt a lot from the many friends I made in Chennai, Mumbai, Delhi, and Bangalore. I enjoyed their company at all sorts of occasions and got to know their views and concerns. These, as well as relevant illustrations and examples tabled by them, are perhaps not used but did feed into this work.

But all such great colleagues do not guarantee good research. One needs informants, and I was lucky to succeed in finding a large variety for this book, which moves from slum households to mediators on to Mumbai's many government institutions. I am very grateful first to the numerous councillors I met over the years. Little by little I came to understand how they work and what drives them. They would notice that the valuation of their performance in this book, based on strong evidence, is not quite favourable. Yet I like to note that an overall assessment is hard to make where they form a heterogeneous group of 227 actors, all working in their own way, in shades from white to black – just like the officials with whom they work closely. And I do acknowledge them as political survivors who come up and survive in rough, competitive and risky conditions. I met and

learnt a lot from officials in many of Mumbai's governance agencies, especially those in the Mumbai Corporation (BMC) – the centre of municipal governance. I am grateful to them for sharing views and concerns and for enlightening me on both formal rules and practices, but also 'behind-the-facade' dynamics of informality. Last but not least I want to extent a word of thanks to Mumbai's slum people and neighbourhood social and party workers. I was with them in the huts, houses and streets of their slums in a city belt stretching from Borivali to Malad to Dharavi to Chembur. Always with a translator/assistant, I felt welcome there and at ease, talking individually or in tea shops/focus groups about slum life, slum politics and how men and women navigated complex slum conditions and associated opportunities and risks.

My book compiled all knowledge so collected into one comprehensive account, and I was unavoidably drawn to study what seemed a dominant system of 'informal governance', which figures large in this book. Things like corruption, nepotism and political patronage get plenty of attention where they occur in opaque networks of cooperating or colluding actors. Yet nowhere do I single out anyone as I target the overall system, the relations between actors, their agency and the interfaces between different 'life worlds'. My aim is to present one view as to how Mumbai seems to work and what are the operative mechanisms and trends. But since I often navigate relatively unknown and deep waters, this book is also a research agenda, noting many areas where more evidence is needed. Social justice concerns also form a motivation for my book, where I feel part of a growing group of academics and development practitioners observing alarming trends of globally deepening processes of social and political exclusion or even 'expulsions'. My book can be seen as a case study of exclusion mechanisms for one global city which are likely to operate elsewhere. Exclusion in Mumbai shows, for example, in that poor people are being squeezed between reduced public/social-sector services such as health and education and too costly private ones. While poor women and girls have always bore the brunt of urban poverty, such exclusionary trends affect them particularly severely. A final factor to mention is the agreement among most impartial Mumbai watchers that the metropolis could perform much better. It ranks poorly in a global city index, with governance seen as the key constraint. Not only poor people but all *Mumbaikars* would benefit from improved administration. But, in all this and in any plan for change or repair, it is vital to go beyond de-politicised discourses of governance and superficial accounts of democracy which

only consider the 'formal'. To avoid the risk of wasting money or unwittingly being part of the problems, we need to start from actual, local, everyday realities and praxis and be clear as to how systems work and for whom.

I have been fortunate in working with talented academics who shaped my education and world views. Where the fields of slum studies and political anthropology go, I like to mention two. Jan van der Linden guided me into the fascinating world of the urban and slums. Before the concept of 'governance' even existed, he inspired me to use his 'Relations between Actors in Slum Upgrading' framework. My late neighbour Jeremy Boissevain's study 'Friends of Friends' and his work on patronage, political networks and the local mafia were another important inspiration. In this latter field I was lucky to find an active ally in Ward Berenschot with whom I share a strong interest in patronage and political clientelism and whose writings helped shape and sharpen this book. Thanks to Ward and also Abhay Pethe for providing valuable comments and advice on earlier texts of this book, helping to strengthen it. Sujata Patel, the editor of the Routledge Series in which this book appears, was a constant source of encouragement and gentle pressure while providing advice at critical junctions. She saw the potential of my book several years back and was patient enough to wait to see its final completion. Many thanks to Sujata and to Shoma Choudhury of Routledge for a very pleasant cooperation. Thanks too to Steve Graham and Chris Orton for allowing me to reproduce their Mumbai map.

One cannot write a book alone, and many people have directly or indirectly contributed with their interest, encouragement and suggestions. This is where I first like to acknowledge the importance of working in the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), my academic home. I gained a lot from being part of its fertile ground for development-oriented knowledge, debate and global inputs on the part of my colleagues and our international students alike. ISS provided research support and made possible much of my fieldwork financially. One class I teach already many years is about the stuff of this book, entitled: 'People, Patronage and Politics'. We always have a great time in collecting examples from far too many countries where voters receive a remarkable range of 'freebies' as pre-election gifts and on the ways parties try to make voters keep their promise.

For many different reasons I want to finally mention special persons close to me as friends and neighbours and for steady interest and loyalty: Monique, Bas, Hans, Corrie, Susan and Ramesh, Ria and Charly, Simon, and Ester and Wim. My wife Els and daughter Marieke were always

there while this book gradually took shape. My wife Els and daughter Marieke were always there while this book gradually took shape. I enjoyed their support in many practical ways, as well as their confidence and encouragement. They accommodated but also energized my rhythm of ISS teaching, trips abroad and intensive spells of book writing. All that, as they know, is deeply appreciated. I dedicate this book to them.

<div style="text-align: right">

Amsterdam
29 February 2016

</div>

Abbreviations

AAP	Aam Aadmi Party, established in 2014, ruling Delhi since 2015
AC	assistant commissioner (or ward officer – WO)
ACB	Anti-Corruption Bureau
AE	assistant engineer (in ward office)
ALM	Advanced Locality Management – BMC policy with incentives to engage middle-class neighbourhood communities in neighbourhood management
AMC	additional municipal commissioners (four high IAS-level positions in BMC)
BEST	Bombay Electric Supply and Transport Agency
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BMC	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (also MCGM or Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai)
BPL	below poverty line (income-based indicator to define poverty)
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
BSUP	Basic Services for the Urban Poor programme under JNNURM
CAA	Constitutional Amendment Act (e.g. 74th CAA on urban decentralisation)
CAG	comptroller and auditor general of India
CBO	community-based organisation
CDP	city development plan (e.g. under JNNURM/BSUP)
CIDCO	City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra
CM	chief minister (of one Indian state)
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPM	Communist Party of India (Marxist)

CRZ	coastal regulation zone, where rules apply to protect vulnerable coastal stretches
CSO	civil society organisation (e.g. CBO, NGO, RWA)
DCR	Development Control Regulations for Greater Mumbai
DMC	deputy municipal commissioner (heads one of the seven administrative Mumbai zones)
DP	development plan for Mumbai (1991–2011, 2014–34)
EC	Election Commission
EVM	electronic voting machine
EWS	economically weaker section (as opposed to low-income groups and higher-income groups)
FHH	female-headed household
FIR	first information report (first step in police investigation)
FSI	floor-space-index: allowable building area per square feet of land
GoI	Government of India
GoM	Government of Maharashtra
IAS	Indian Administrative Service, transferable elite cadre career officials
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Scheme
IHSDP	Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme
JE	junior engineer (in ward office)
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
MBPT	Mumbai Port Trust
MC	municipal corporator
MCGM	Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, now mostly named BMC
MHADA	Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority
MLA	member of the legislative assembly (state level)
MMR	(Greater) Mumbai Metropolitan Region
MMRDA	Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority
MNS	Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (political party, offshoot of SS)
MP	member of parliament (Central Parliament in Delhi)
MPC	metropolitan planning committee (to be formed under the 74th CAA)
MSRDC	Maharashtra State Road Development Corporation
MUDP	Mumbai Urban Development Project
MUTP	Mumbai Urban Transport Project
NCP	Nationalist Congress Party
NDZ	no-development zone
NFC	National Finance Commission (on central–state relations)

|	
NGO	non-governmental organisation
OBC	other backward caste, a group of relatively disadvantaged caste people, but of higher status than the scheduled castes (SCs)
OCG	organised crime group (mafia)
PAP	project-affected persons
PCP	public–community partnership
PDS	public distribution system of subsidised essential food stuffs
PIL	public interest litigation
PPP	public–private partnership
PWD	public works department
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana – slum development program
RCF	rail coach factory – Indian Railways
RPI	Republican Party of India
Rs	Indian rupees (one euro is Rs 75 and one dollar is Rs 67 in June 2016)
RTI	Right to Information Act
RWA	resident welfare association
SAP	slum adoption program of the BMC
SC	scheduled caste (former untouchables) or Dalits
SEC	State Election Commission
SFC	State Finance Commission
SHG	self-help groups
SJSRY	Swarna Jayanti Shaharu Rojgar Yojana – urban poverty alleviation scheme
SRA	slum rehabilitation authority
SRS	slum redevelopment scheme as implemented by SRA
SS	Shiv Sena, a political party
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, centrally funded education programme/scheme
SSP	slum sanitation project
ST	scheduled tribes
SWM	solid waste management
TDR	transferable development rights
ULB	urban local body
WB	World Bank
WCMs	wards committees
WO	ward officer, another name for assistant commissioner
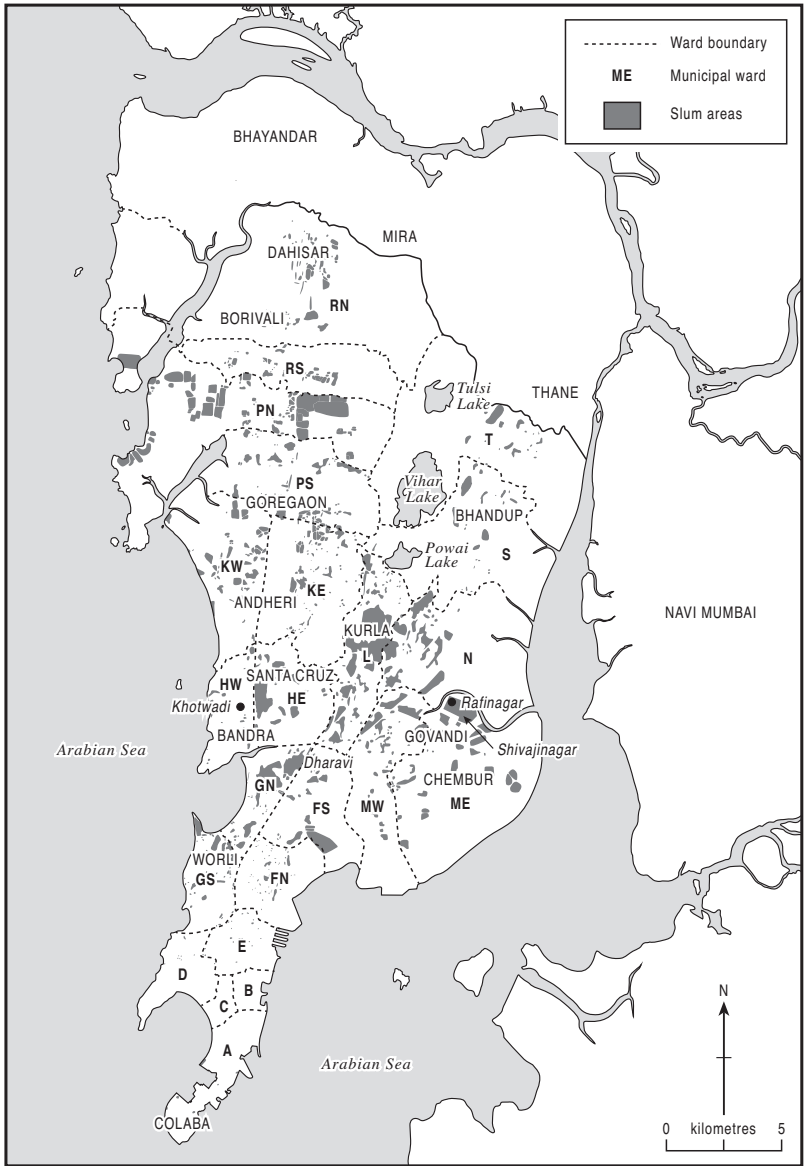
Figure 1 Map of Mumbai Showing Slum Areas and Municipal Wards

Source: This map was prepared by Chris Orton and is reproduced with permission of Steve Graham, Newcastle University, United Kingdom.

Introduction

In 1993, Mrs Amita from Bihar state bought a small plot of land in an emerging slum located in a marshy coastal area of North-West Mumbai. She paid Rs 10,000 to a Shiv Sena party worker, an agent linked to an influential party member. The land sale took place despite the fact that the area was, in fact, a no-development zone (NDZ) as a protected and vulnerable mangrove area. She agreed to pay Rs 80 monthly as rent or protection money. Amita was lucky when she was directed to another 'agent' who offered to informally get her a ration card for Rs 4,000. She now had access to cheaper foodstuffs in subsidised food shops, but more important it meant proof of being a Mumbai resident, which enabled her to obtain a voter identity card. After more people settled in, the water problem became urgent. At the behest of an opposition party agent, plumbers were paid to make an illegal connection to the water mains, which upset nearby middle-class colony people who worried about water quality. In 2003 the entire slum was demolished: 5,000 houses, 36 toilets, 2 temples, clinics and other amenities were turned to rubble by the Mumbai Corporation (BMC), but people returned. After the demolition, Amita found that the more powerful residents such as shopkeepers and cattle-shed owners captured larger pieces of land, moving away from the creek towards the drier, higher grounds and the main road. The poor were left with marshy plots and huts closer to the creek, making them more vulnerable to impacts of high tides – and to even more mosquitoes. Again, in 2004, 250 houses were demolished by the BMC, part of a massive citywide eviction drive that affected about 90,000 households. One thousand four hundred 'illegal' huts were demolished in 2013. But people – perhaps 40,000 – are still there today. Building firms are in touch with politicians in the hope that this formal no-development/NDZ area could become a possible future location for real estate development, through informal processes that had worked in other city areas.[1]

I begin this book on Mumbai's urban poor by introducing the main 'stakeholders' in the slums, municipal government and politics who will take the centre stage in its chapters. We see migrants trying to settle in a city; a slum evolves with its own internal divisions; politicians and party workers act as mediators to help provide services – ostensibly hoping for votes. Middle-class residents feel uneasy about the slum, and builders see prospects to make money out of real estate. The case raises many questions as to the reasons why politicians play such an active role and why this slum, on a clearly unsuitable and prohibited location, remains there for 20 odd years, even while it was demolished several times. How to explain the apparent coexistence of what looks like 'formal' rules such as no-development rules and 'informal' dynamics where illegal plots are sold and water mains are illegally tapped? This book hopes to answer such questions, by specifically examining the dynamics of politics and power, as well as governance changes resulting from recent national and global developments. The liberalisation of the Mumbai and Indian economy, a related exposure to the forces of globalisation and neoliberalism, and the increasing presence of vocal middle classes have strongly impacted Mumbai as a global city as well as its poor and slum people.

This is India changing with the good news of considerable economic growth over the past 20 years where its path of neoliberalism paid rich dividends. Unfortunately, the benefits of increased prosperity have not accrued, or 'trickled down', equally to all. One cannot escape to see processes of polarisation of incomes and assets between India's upper- and middle-income groups on the one hand and vast numbers of poor people on the other hand. In spite of the government rhetoric of 'inclusive governance', or 'housing for all by 2022', fears of processes of segregation are mounting. In Mumbai as in other cities, these can already be seen in the emergence of well-serviced 'gated cities'; large shopping malls; and fancy, glass-towered office blocks – which coexist with populous slum areas. Poor people here face the daily struggle to acquire wages and to live in substandard conditions and insecure housing and grossly inadequate basic services while relying on what many see as deteriorating public government schools and hospitals. This growing apart of poor and working classes from middle and upper classes is not limited to India or its cities; such trends are documented also in countries such as the United States, China and Kenya. It is only good that processes of income polarisation and exclusion currently get much attention (e.g. Oxfam 2015). One voice here is from Sassen (2014) who postulates that global money and investment flows lead to increasing 'expulsions of people', be it house evictions in Spain or the United States

or people evicted after land grabs in Africa or Cambodia. Framing 'exclusion' as a form of discrimination, she feels that we see a movement towards deliberate expulsion ('foreclosure') of people, mostly as a result of the concentration of capital and power in companies which are supported by too helpful states. State elites and company elites often have the same interests. Politicians believe that growth is key, which can be achieved 'by merging more or less with the global business elite'. She expects a kind of global demarcation in areas where profits are made and, on the other hand, in neglected areas without prospects, which may disintegrate in processes of global marginalisation.[2]

It appears as if both dimensions of increasing inequality and expulsions can be witnessed in India, as well as a blurring of formerly more distinct roles, relations and identities of businesspeople and politicians. In the broadest sense, this book wants to assess the extent and nature of such processes for Mumbai as well as its determinants, by investigating the changing relations between the local state and its urban poor against the context of changes in India's political economy. Taking into account social, policy and political dimensions, this book hopes to contribute to a better understanding of such deeply worrying global trends by uncovering and illustrating the factors and mechanisms at work in the relatively limited arena of governance and political actors in one global megacity.

Engaging with urban poverty and governance in India

Ever since I engaged with the study of urban India from 1984 (de Wit 1985), I targeted the urban poor in the slums. My Chennai slum study 'Poverty, Policy and Politics in Madras Slums' traced the interfaces between two slums, city agencies and politicians in India's pre-liberalisation era (de Wit 1996). My work as project advisor of a Dutch-funded Bangalore Urban Poverty Alleviation programme (BUPP) taught me the hard way the obstacles of introducing modern, Western-originated buzzwords such as 'participation' and 'empowerment' in slums as complex human habitats (de Wit 2002). Over time I recognised more and more that the prospects for reducing urban poverty obviously start from the efforts, 'agency' and characteristics of the poor themselves but that the local state played a decisive role as to whether these efforts were enabled or rather undermined or even discouraged. Poverty is clearly much more bearable if provisions exist for support in areas such as health, education, water supply, and sanitation, certainly if these are uniformly available to all. But it was

obvious that the Indian state was not providing such a uniform system or social safety net, even while a range of apparently well-drafted laws and policies – or 'schemes' – did exist. This puzzle of an apparently active state and policy machinery coexisting with persistent and dire poverty led me to move away from slum studies per se to instead target the nature and dynamics of the policy delivery system in relation to the urban poor. My focus shifted to state–society relations and the interfaces between cities and the poor, within a 'multi-stakeholder governance' framework to assess the dynamics and impacts of governance changes (Baud and de Wit 2008). I was particularly interested in the outcomes of the urban decentralisation policy under the 74th Constitutional Amendment, with its promise of improved governance in terms of proximity, local democracy and participation (de Wit *et al.* 2008). Whereas the 'governance' discourse proved helpful to identify the interests of and relations between weaker and stronger stakeholders, I realised its limitations as a de-politicised perspective underplaying two critical dimensions. One the one hand, it neglects power and power relations as reflected in, but not limited to, party politics and, on the other, the coexistence in most countries of formal and informal institutions and relations.

If governance targets stakeholders in their roles and capacities to 'co-govern' with the government, one would assume most attention for elected politicians, the key movers and agents of democracy. Elected to lead the government, they are expected to act as representatives on the needs and priorities of the voters, ideally all citizens. So while there are plenty studies on urban governance in India – especially its metropolises – surprisingly little seems to be known and published about the actual workings of urban democracy and the winners and losers of the evolving Indian democracy over time. After all, India is a 'new democracy'. The Western liberal democracy model has been transplanted there for only about 65 years. With a long tradition of caste-based hierarchies and historical patterns of inequality, it was never to be expected that Indian democracy would be very similar to that of Sweden, the United States or South Africa. One would expect some 'indigenisation' of the model, where Indian democracy can be considered as a 'variation of democracy' (Goankar 2007; Michelutti 2008; Paley 2002; Witsoe 2013: 4–5). Whereas there are many studies about the more procedural aspects of democracy such as election outcomes and where and why parties win or lose, few studies target the changing nature of urban politics, parties and politicians and increasing evidence of political corruption. One indication concerns 'vote-buying' practices, where voters receive pre-election inducements such

as cash or other 'goodies' or 'freebies'. There is no doubt that such and other election strategies are very costly, but only very few studies probe the origin of the massive funds to support parties and candidates (Prabash 2010; Quraishi 2014). Urban democracy is affected by a shifting power balance with indications that Indian middle and upper classes are turning away from electoral politics and prefer to target local state officials directly or through their resident welfare associations. Their need for local government services is reduced through their increasing reliance on privately provided services such as private schools, hospitals, backup water supply, and electricity systems. In contrast, for poor people all over the world, the local state is very important as they typically rely or relied only or mostly on publicly provided state services.

Similar trends can be observed in Mumbai. More or less in concert with other state and parastatal agencies, it is the BMC that provides the services that are most important for poor people. In a way it is rather an old-fashioned corporation engaged with services such as water, transport, public schools, and hospitals. But it is no surprise that it cannot supply all services to all people. The city has grown very fast over the past 60 odd years from 3 to over 12 million inhabitants, accommodating many poor migrants. Both administrative and financial capacities have been and are under stress, and in a way it is remarkable that the city is as liveable as it is, considering the multi-faceted challenges it coped with over the years. After all, it is South Asia's most globalised city and a busy port and transport hub. Its economy grew by 4.6 per cent in 2013. Many companies have headquarters here, and it contributes significantly to India's tax incomes and growth. In a Global Cities Initiative report which compares Mumbai with other global cities, it is pictured as a 'city of dreams', and it is true that it attracts both the global high and mighty and dejected Bihari peasants. It represents a symbol of opportunity, modern life and vibrant culture. But Mumbai scores poorly on many indicators in the ranks of global cities and is seen to be both successful and underperforming, and at risk to compromise its long-term appeal (Clark and Moonen 2014). The latter source (Clark and Moonen 2014: 21) perceives its governance framework as the most fundamental obstacle, and my study intends to delve deeply into what constitutes Mumbai multi-agency governance and changes over time – with urban poverty outcomes as its benchmark but noting other areas where the city could do better.

One example is that BMC policy is changing too, where it embraces neoliberal reforms by giving ample opportunities to the private sector. Just like we see in other countries with a similar trajectory, it is the

poor who are affected most here. Mumbai slum housing is now to be produced through public–private–community 'partnerships'; basic services come with user fees, and there is a mushrooming of private schools and clinics. At the same time indications are of a neglect or even closure of public schools, clinics and hospitals – making access to quality health and education even more problematic. This seems one reason that the urban poor are much more engaged with local democracy while voting more in elections. Access to local state institutions is sought by using mediators, who are most effective if linked to politics, notably local political leaders and municipal councillors, in Mumbai named 'corporators'. Electoral competition between parties in slums is considerable, with slums much more politicised than non-slum city areas. I argue that the propensity of poor and other people to use mediators to get access to the state is mirrored by a preference of state agents – officials and politicians – to allocate state benefits on a personal, case-by-case basis. Such dynamics are captured in the perspective of the 'mediated state' (Berenschot 2010). This perspective highlights supply-side problems for the state to cater to the needs of all, but also the power and dependency mechanisms where state agents position themselves as 'gatekeepers' to extract rents as bribes or votes. Rich people, poor people and businesspeople are all affected by the way Mumbai's local state works, but poor people have fewest options or alternatives. They depend on politically linked agents in their quest for public entitlements and state support and are the most active and committed voters locally. This raises the question as to whether the slum dwellers' political preferences and electoral support translate into policies or reforms addressing the structural determinants of their poverty. Or could it be that the poor are critical 'vote banks', helping elect politicians who turn their back on them as soon as elected, so condoning trends of socio-economic exclusion and spatial segregation?

Initial evidence is not encouraging. In an earlier study (de Wit and Berner 2009), I argued that, for many reasons, poor urban people generally fail to organise for sustained and effective collective action and that, in contrast, they 'position themselves for patronage', preferring to rely on vertical brokerage relations with local mediators. This, in turn, is accommodated but also sustained by politicians in what has been termed 'patronage democracies' (Chandra 2004, 2007). As elaborated in the next chapter, Chandra believes that politicians misuse their discretionary powers to allocate state benefits and opportunities to individuals, not in return for bribes but for votes with the image of 'elections as auctions'. The juxtaposition of formal democracy and democratic institutions such as the Election Commission, and such

informal (dependency) mechanisms of (political) patronage therefore will be a key theme of this book, following perspectives stressing the critical role of institutions, for example as 'the rules of the game' in relation to governance and poverty (cf. Jones and Presler-Marshall 2012). The study of local democracy and local politics will naturally focus on the manifestation of power, which I assume to take place foremost through informal dynamics and 'everyday political practices'. Even though hard to study, I anticipated rewards in terms of depicting realities as experienced by all stakeholders and the 'behind the facade' mechanisms of formal electoral democracy, which may be more important than formal laws, rules and institutions.

I refer here to perspectives considering the formal state – represented by ministries, political parties, courts, the constitution, and municipal rules as facades behind or around which important informal institutions and dynamics operate. Examples are systems of corruption and nepotism, collusion between state officials and private firms, patronage relations, and incidences of vote buying and political corruption. The study of such informal dynamics has not been quite pronounced in India (a rare example is Harris-White 2003: 74, who studied the 'actually existing state' and who refers to the Indian state as a 'shadow state'). This is in some contrast to, for example, Africa where more research is done into what is called 'everyday governance' or 'everyday politics'. Looking beyond the formal state, the focus is on actual realities – formal, informal or hybrid forms – which determine 'who gets what, when, how', when it comes to access to services, housing, licences, pensions, and the like (e.g. Blundo 2006; Lund 2006 on 'twilight institutions'). Lindberg (2003) asks the question as to whether democratisation in Ghana contributes to the reproduction of neo-patrimonialism, rather than actually counteracting it. A study on South Africa, entitled 'Patronage Politics Divides Us', examines local politics by assessing dynamics of poverty, patronage and inequality (MISTRA 2014).

The study of urban India: too little attention for the poor, informality and politics

This book argues that informality is not a separate part or characteristic of the local state or its subjects but in fact an integral, if not dominant, trait of power-driven politics and governance. Far too little attention is devoted to such informal realities and mechanisms. It seems likely that the well-meant work of donor agencies and even NGOs is undermined by a stubborn reliance on the facades of formal institutions and processes, rather than on 'everyday realities'. This book wants to probe

these by investigating what I believe are three understudied areas or 'black boxes' in the study of one Indian metropolis: the changing conditions and power position of the urban poor vis-à-vis other governance actors; the nature of local democracy by focusing on the roles of municipal councillors in relation to the urban poor; and the role of the private, corporate business sector as regards local politics and governance. On the one hand, this book wants to probe the 'everyday' micro-level political relations and governance mechanisms operating between poor urban households, slums as unique human habitats, and the municipality, in this case the powerful and rich Mumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC). But it also aims to examine the bigger picture, to take a broad helicopter view of city-level evolution starting from another apparent gap in the study of Indian urban governance, which is a lack of contextualisation. I try and bring together and interrelate diverse socio-cultural (caste, gender, identity) and socio-economic dimensions (poverty, informal-sector labour, land dynamics) with the aforementioned political mechanisms while tracing urban governance and policy outcomes.

Even while this book broadly considers urban politics and governance in relation to the urban poor, where the Mumbai municipal corporators (MCs) are considered key agents, the point of reference of this book is the city's urban poor and slum dwellers. Slums accommodate half of Mumbai's population, and I argue that both relatively well-established lower-income groups and poor people can be found there. But to a higher or lesser degree, all slum people face problems of shelter insecurity and inadequate services notably as regards water, toilets and health care. Among the far-from-homogenous slum people, divisions such as those of caste, religion, gender, income, and political affiliation may hinder organised claim-making action but also allow for internal exploitation inside slums where 'landlords' exploit tenants and local moneylenders disturb already-indebted households (Boo 2012; de Wit 1996). There is a need to establish who and where precisely are the urban poor of Mumbai, those of at the bottom of the city's vast pyramids of assets and resources. This book has a bias towards the position and critical role of women and girls as regards household management and overall livelihoods, making the case that urban poverty is most severe among women and girls, Dalits (the former untouchables) and minorities such as Muslims and recent migrants.

Yet this book is not a slum study, where its focus is on the interfaces of municipal governance in Mumbai by exploring the relations between the 227 elected MCs and the urban poor/the city slums. Following Gowda and Sridharan (2012: 235) and Weinstein (2014) in terming them 'political entrepreneurs', I ask the question as to whether MCs play a role in the inclusion of the poor in the social, economic and

political fabric of the city. By impartially considering them as versatile and powerful 'spiders in citywide webs', I trace their political history over time – for example against the rise of the Shiv Sena political party, now dominating city politics. I picture them as political survivors, skilfully adjusting to changing times, and to changing stakeholders in governance and democracy, for example their strained relations with the upcoming middle classes and their associations. In contrast, it appears as if their relations with private-sector firms and the corporate sector are getting ever closer – to the extent that some see a blurring of positions where many Mumbai corporators receive election funding from private-sector firms, and many develop into prosperous business-people. It has been argued that the most powerful Mumbai governance stakeholders are not, in fact, its politicians, but rather the very powerful real estate and building business firms of Mumbai. Engaging in transactions in and on the scarce and hence extremely expensive city land, they construct middle- and upper-class housing and are actively involved in the lucrative business of 'slum redevelopment' (Nainan 2006, 2012). They are believed to be very close to the Mumbai political parties and politicians, which may take the form of deals between the party and a builder, who is 'enabled' or 'facilitated' by local politicians such as corporators. Indications are that builders and developers help finance the election campaigns of corporators and their parties in return for future secret deals and agreements. As noted, such funds may be used to provide inducements to voters in the context of India's dominant model of 'vote bank politics'. I argue that such practice is not new; I noted it in comparatively modest forms in my former Chennai research. Scott (1969) investigated the relations between politicians, the business sector and poor voters long back by applying the perspective of 'machine politics' to India. Yet it is puzzling that not more attention is given today to such dynamics, if only now that India's business sector has grown so powerful in a context of relatively unregulated governance, so much so that some are perceiving a trend of India moving towards a 'corporate state' (Ravindran 2013: 245) or having traits of 'crony capitalism'.[3] So whereas this book is partly a study of the policies and bureaucracy of the Mumbai City Corporation, I assert that the real action, the actual decision making and the articulation of interests and power, lays in politics and with politicians. The study of governance needs to be fully informed by its submission to politics, or, perhaps more accurately, politicians. Ultimately then, this is a study of local democratic practice in one Indian city, where it is assumed that things may be pretty similar in other Indian cities, but conceivably also in the cities of other developing countries. It is hoped that this study's

methods and broad scope may inspire others to engage similarly with other megacities. I now present a brief overview of the state of current research on India's large cities and urban development to contextualise this book and to indicate where it wants to fill perceived gaps.

Urban poverty

It has been noted that there is something of an upsurge in the studies on the city in South Asia, with a range of books and articles targeting the Indian city, many of which seek to understand the economic, political and social life of cities mostly through the lens of neoliberalism and globalisation (e.g. Anjaria and McFarlane 2011: 5; Coelho *et al.* 2013; Desai and Sanyal 2012; Shatkin 2014). As mentioned, I perceive a neglect of three themes in the current studies: the everyday livelihoods of the urban poor; the omnipresence of 'informality', notably a neglect of corruption as an integral and essential part of India's urban governance; and, most striking, a neglect of politics and the critical role of politicians in urban governance, especially the working of vote bank politics where local democracy meets with service delivery dynamics for and livelihoods of poor people.

There is no doubt that India experiences far-reaching changes in terms of governance, with novel power configurations of stakeholders in the national and global private sector, in foreign direct investment, in public–private partnerships (PPPs), and in new ways of urban finance such as the massive Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) (Banerjee-Guha 2010; Baud and de Wit 2008; Sivaramakrishnan 2011). Shatkin and Vidyarthi (2014) perceive two emerging lines of inquiry, one of which targeting India's urban political economy in relation to spatial change. An example could be Roy's (2009a: 826) exploration of new geographies of theory as applied to South Asia. Here the concept of informality mostly figures in terms of the 'production of space', which produces an 'uneven geography of spatial value thereby facilitating the urban logic of creative destruction' (Roy 2009a: 826); Roy does not further elaborate or clarify this latter process. Another suggested theme concerns the contextual factors impacting the social and political dynamics of Indian cities. Many studies here are framed in post-colonial theory, focusing 'cultural resistance to externally imposed political and social projects' (Shatkin and Vidyarthi 2014: 3). Such inquiries may start from an interest in the 'subaltern', a complex term which may be taken to mean the poor and marginalised (e.g. 'the subalterns as the poor who devise strategies to contest the power of literate bureaucrats'; Gupta 2012: 37). The

term may refer to the Indian population categorised as not belonging to the elites and to the conditions of the people outside the elite class, associated with a sense of subordination (Roy 2011a: 226). For all the frequent mentioning of the 'subaltern classes', and a concern that they are experiencing processes of exclusion, marginalisation or enduring structural violence (Gupta 2012), it seems striking that much of the recent writing on Indian cities neglects these groups not only in terms of their livelihoods but also as to how they perceive matters. One notes a preference to discuss urban developments in relatively broad terms, mostly in sweeping language of the 'neoliberal' globalisation or the 'post-colonial' globalisation (e.g. Roy 2011a).

This is in some contrast to a felt need to engage more with the study of urban poverty, where Coelho and Maringanti (2012: 40) argue that

> There is an urgent need for more careful and sensitive work, both empirical and theoretical, that explores urban poverty as shaped by struggles over resources and meanings and by city-specific political constellations defined by infrastructure projects, party and patronage networks and urban renewal processes.

Key themes mentioned include the changes in the dynamics and determinants of urban poverty, a need to count the poor and to locate them in spatial dynamics and attention for how the poor are governed. Nevertheless by and large one notes a lack of comprehensive studies providing solid evidence as to what happens to the urban subalterns, for example whether they do have or act on agency – despite enormous odds and oppressive structures. How, actually, do changes under the present neoliberal Indian regime impact the urban poor, for example in terms of ever more evidence of user fees and the privatisation of quality education and health care? What seems to be missing are in-depth, micro-level studies, first, of the subaltern urban poor as such, how they cope, how they adjust to governance and political changes. In my endeavour to triangulate my own Mumbai slum data and findings over 10 years of research with those of others, I was surprised to find only few recent slum or urban poverty studies (older monographs are Desai 1995; Lobo and Das 2001). Consistent probably with pressure on and time constraints of academics to publish articles rather than books, there are very useful recent but single-topic contributions, mostly and understandably focusing on one dimension such as water, slum relocation, gender and suicide, food security, and quite a few studies on the Dharavi slum. Very useful recent exceptions are the detailed ethnography of a Mumbai airport slum by Boo (2012) and a book with inside views from Dharavi (Campana

2013). It appears as if preoccupations with Indian city studies today largely miss grassroots/slum level and political realities, focusing more on issues of geography and 'space'. There are too few anthropological or ethnographic-type studies uncovering everyday struggles by the urban poor and the ways they perceive and practise politics. Many useful city studies lack a contextualisation as to how slum life links to politics, how elections link to builders and developers and how municipal governance is undermined by systemic corruption. A notable exception is the work by Berenschot (2010, 2011), whose excellent work on political fixers, the role of goondas and the 'mediated state' in Ahmadabad are an inspiration for this book, as elaborated later. Likewise, I benefited much from and built on the work of Khan (2005), Kumar and Landy (2009), Leftwich (2005), and Witsoe (2013). As a political anthropologist and long-term teacher on governance and public policy, I thought it might be good to apply something like a holistic perspective 'integrating the material with the nonmaterial or the pragmatic with the ideal' (Pardo and Prato 2012: 85). I saw the need for a text addressing issues of power, identity, gender, and inequality in relation to governance and democracy, linking and bridging several disciplines, notably anthropology, political science and policy studies.

Informality and corruption

Today, corruption is a dominant theme in India, if only as an election theme in the 2014 national elections framed as 'good governance', the recent Delhi election which brought to power the 'common man' AAP Party and the short-lived popularity of Anna Hazare's anti-corruption movement. It surprises to see little engagement with the theme in current urban studies. Even while admitting the existence of a sphere of informality (which contested concept is elaborated later), few studies target the omnipresence of informality such as the entrenched and systemic corruption, which has an enormous negative impact on the daily lives of the urban poor (e.g. hawkers, auto rickshaws, prostitutes). Beyond such 'petty corruption', there are far too many signs that public budgets are misused by politicians and officials, including entitlements for the poor (Debroy and Bhandari 2012). Gupta (2012: 78) disagrees with the distinction that Chatterjee (2004) makes between the state, civil society and political society; he argues that

> instead of taking the distinction between the state and civil society as a point of departure and then analytically mopping up the vast remainder with a third term (*political society*) I propose to employ

the discourse of corruption to argue that scholars need to reinter-
pret what they mean by terms like the state and civil society.

He believes that, in India, the discourse of corruption is a key arena
through which the state, citizens and other organisations imagine the
state; 'it is a mechanism through which the state itself is discursively con-
stituted. Corruption is an essential lens for understanding the meaning
of the state in the Indian context'. Following from this, I will assess this
notion that corruption is not just an accidental and dysfunctional aspect
of the state but in fact central to it against Mumbai realities. The distinc-
tion by Chatterjee (2004) between 'political' and 'civil' society is shown
to be unhelpful and confusing, as realities are of major porosities in the
roles and status of all city actors (Kumar and Landy 2009). Hence, I
intend to go beyond less relevant discourses and fuzzy concepts such
as 'imagined states', 'community participation' and empowerment to
concretely ask the question what corruption means for Mumbai's urban
poor and for all those, in fact, dependent on them: from local brokers
and employers to corporators keen to be elected (this may be what Roy
2011a: 229 means by 'poverty capital'). Generally, studies of governance,
democracy and urban development which neglect corruption, informal-
ity and illegality seem to be futile, and not only where India goes.

Local governance, local democracy and everyday politics

Neglected local governance

India is 'the world's largest democracy', so one would expect urban
studies to at least take into account the role of politics and politicians
in urban governance, but this is not always the case. This is a surpris-
ing lacuna if one considers the vibrancy of Indian democracy and the
fact that politics is the bread and butter of Indians rich and poor, as
one cannot escape notice in daily news coverage in newspapers and on
TV. It also shows in a degree of neglect for politics in terms of assess-
ing dimensions of power such as the basis of power in slums and of
politicians, as well as forms of power use and abuse. Where the term
'urban' ultimately refers to a limited category of space such as 'the city',
one explanation may be linked to the fact that 'local' governance and
democracy studies are under-represented in India, as argued by Mooij
and Lama-Rewal (2009: 93). They perceive a general lack of interest
among political scientists interest in local-level politics in India, but it seems
there is a more general lack of academic interest in the 'local'. This

seems matched by little interest in urban local governance on the part of Indian policymakers and officials. If only for political and electoral (vote bank) reasons, Indian policies, welfare programmes and political activity have tended to favour rural populations more than those urban, where the majority of India's population (voters) lives. Rajivan (2013: 140) notes a fundamental disrespect and disregard for lower levels of government. Yet, interestingly, he is also open to the thesis that in fact 'we know the potential power of local leadership and figure that it is better to keep those guys under leash'. This needs to be kept in mind in assessing the powers of, as well as the constraints faced by, Mumbai's corporators. This surprising lack of interest in local governance and democracy among donors, national bureaucrats or academics appears to be a global fact, as argued by Boex (2010)[4] who states convincingly that 'all development is local'. It is critical to appreciate that all development efforts and the delivery of pro-poor services on which people rely on a day-to-day basis take place at the local level, at the level of 'street-level bureaucrats' (Lipsky 1980). Whatever national governments formulate as policy and priority and whatever budgets they earmark, it is only at the local level and through local governments that policy and budgets are translated (if not transformed or reduced beyond recognition) into concrete benefits for common people. If there is no inclusive development at the local level, there will be none. And whereas there are certainly solid local urban governance studies (e.g. Hust and Mann 2005; Ruet and Tawa Lama-Rewal 2009; Siddiqui and Bhowmik 2004 on Mumbai; Sivaramakrishnan 2000, 2006), there are fewer urban studies of local politics or local democracy. This seems to contrast with the notion of a 'considerable interest in recent years in the character and consequences of poor people's politics in India and throughout the global South' (Weinstein and Ren 2009: 407). Characterising such studies in terms of 'subaltern politics', 'deep democracy', 'political society', and the 'politics of inclusion', they argue that political theorists have examined how seemingly marginalised groups assert their centrality and make political claims on the state. In their view, two main sets of questions are being asked: those about the interests and organisational capacity of the urban poor and how political mobilisation is shaped by neoliberal globalisation, transnational activism and democratic decentralisation. A second set is about the state's responsiveness to these mobilisations. Ongoing urban transformations are seen to have created more inclusive spaces while forcing the state to engage more directly with the urban poor. However, just like was noted for slum livelihoods, attention to the nitty-gritty details of such 'transformations' and 'spaces' or of poor people's capacity to organise seems

scarce (with some exceptions like Bhide 2006 and Harris 2005). What motivates the urban poor while voting in elections? Do they actually organise or mobilise under diverse and adverse conditions? Relations between the urban poor and local politicians, the role of mediators or political fixers in the everyday functioning of India's democracy and the precise nature and quality of local democracy as perceived and experienced by the urban poor also deserve much more scrutiny. But some recent studies do target the informal and often mutually beneficial relations between municipal councillors and the urban poor (Berenschot 2009, 2010, 2011), and this book is partly inspired by the perspectives presented here such as the mediated state and 'patronage democracy' (Chandra 2004, also Kumar and Landy 2009). Such authors target relations between state and society – or, rather, the blurring lines between both as well as the porosity of the assumedly separate boxes of 'executive, legislative and judiciary'. Yet, here too, the agency of the poor as voters and otherwise in what may appear to them as a remote shadow state with twilight institutions is not addressed sufficiently. Building on such work, I try to contribute to a better understanding of poor people's political behaviour and praxis, notably the role of identity, as well as of 'money' and 'muscle power' in elections. I want to go beyond shallow accounts as those by Krishna (2008: 10) on poor people and democracy, which ask the wrong questions, failing to address both the daily predicaments of the poor, the fundamental informal realities they live in, and how such an adverse context shapes their actions in what people tell them is democracy (cf. Witsoe 2013). While considering 'democracy shifts', the position and role of the Mumbai middle classes in elections and as regards councillors is examined. I contest the position that 'the middle class grows through promoting equality of opportunity, and having larger middle classes has shown to work positively for democracy' (Krishna and Booth 2008: 159). Against the background of these and other lacunae listed in the study of urban poverty, local urban governance and local/slum politics in India, I now turn to the objectives and set-up of this book. Key concepts and analytical perspectives used are further elaborated in Chapter 1.

Book objectives, research methods and book plan

Book objectives

The main concern of this book is to order and bring together a wealth of data, facts, trends, perspectives, and opinions on the poverty, politics and governance of Mumbai, as are available today.

I will note below that my fieldwork data and long-term urban engagement with India form the starting point and core basis of this book, but it could not have been written without the masses of information available from newspapers, journal articles, books, online publications, and so on. There are plenty of insightful, rich, thought-provoking articles and special books on diverse aspects of Mumbai, probably more than on any other Indian city. Academics, MA and PhD students, journalists and NGO workers have all written most usefully on slum policy, the realities of water supply, the evolution of the Mumbai mafia, practices of vote buying and BMC administration. Remarkably, and certainly conveniently, all of these are documented and in the public domain. Much of this is very useful. Yet, as indicated, there is a lack of comprehensive texts bringing together interrelated key factors and dynamics at different governance levels in their full complexity, while examining the interweaving and juxtaposition of formal and informal governance mechanisms. Early comprehensive studies provided a kind of baseline, which were gratefully used (Patel and Masselos 2003; Patel and Thorner 2003). I saw a need and an opportunity to examine these everyday dynamics of one Indian city in relation to its urban poor, which would help to see politics and governance for what they really are and bring about. To this end, first, I needed to combine perspectives and methods from several academic disciplines such as anthropology, policy studies and political science. Even while not quite innovative, there is an outline here of a method or approach which has the potential to yield much needed detailed knowledge on multiple aspects of poverty and the contextual determinants to alleviate it.

Related to this, and second, this book wants to provide an account, as impartial as possible, of governance realities of Mumbai as a kind of political anthropology case study. It offers one view as to how all the *Mumbaikars,* all stakeholders – rich and poor, common men or politician, together made and manage their city. The account seems critical, but it is evidence based where I have tried to stick close to how Mumbai people themselves see things and made sure to double-check facts where possible. I made ample use of their newspapers and journals, I watched their TV channels and over 10 years I talked to lots of people including poor slum widows to corporators to top BMC officials and Mumbai-based academics. Due to the complexity of its broad agenda, this book surely misses points, gets details wrong and may contain misunderstandings. I can only hope there is merit in my account, and I am fully open to discuss contested

findings or conclusions. Even while its governance could and should improve much – most urgently and critically in caring for its poor people – Mumbai does work in its own way. In spite of its numerous constraints, corruptions and challenges, it remains a strong city. This is a city that works, a city that moves as all citizens seem to be on the move. To me it is a fascinating place which I found easy and pleasant to engage with. No one disappointed me in my quest for ever more details and deeper understanding of the city's mysteries and complexities.

This book casts a wide net and deliberately raises many issues, hoping to better understand the larger city context of poverty and local state dynamics and how such mechanisms link to and influence each other. Here and there I enter terrains explored less or address topics not studied much or only in isolation across the wide spectrum of poverty, local democracy and public administration themes. More evidence and in-depth research is needed on many topics, with the key ones noted in the conclusions. This book is therefore also a research agenda on the broad, multi-faceted agenda of India's uneven urban development. It charts understudied areas and notes topics lacking any or solid evidence. As noted, the everyday working of local, grassroots-level democracy is an area needing much more attention, but also matters such as differences between poor men and women as patronage agents, or, in terms of informality, how and to what extent the lucrative 'transfer system' in the BMC affects its administrative machinery.

I believe that there is a lack of comprehensive city studies globally. It is likely that Mumbai realities have similarities with other large cities governed nominally as democratic cities, say Lagos, Mexico city or Manila. Probing and charting such cities through in-depth analysis of interrelated socio-economic and political traits and trends would yield critical knowledge to understand processes of inclusion and exclusion, no doubt, operating there too. This should help our understanding of poverty trends beyond poverty lines; the full and ugly impacts of corruption and help unmask many false or tenuous accounts as to the virtues and promises of local democracy globally. Democracy is here to stay, but if there are challenges or even defects, we need to see them for what they are. Only then will donor efforts for reform, or 'democratisation' and NGO efforts to organise or 'empower' people, be grounded in empirical, evidence-based realities as they should be. Since exclusion trends are global, we need solid micro- to macro- to global-level data to understand dynamics with a view to begin halting them. If only from a social justice point of view all efforts are needed here and this

book hopes to inspire students and others to get engaged in this critical field.

Where India goes, the study area of urban poverty, urban development and urban politics seems less well established, certainly when compared to similar rural topics. Detailed studies of urban dynamics are too scarce, with a specially striking absence of solid monitoring and evaluation studies of big urban programmes such as SJSRY and JNNURM, and also the Mumbai Slum Redevelopment Scheme (SRS). Is anyone learning from past policy achievements and the more frequent policy failures? All this stands in marked contrast to projections that India's urbanisation rate may rise from the present 31 per cent (2011 Census) to as much as 60 per cent (adding 404 million people) by 2050. There is a clear and present need to invest more in studying urban issues, to learn from the problems and constraints in past and current policy and to develop forward-looking scenarios and associated future needs. This book also wants to argue the case for academics to engage with this huge and increasingly important – and fascinating – theme of urban development and politics.

Finally, at the highest level of abstraction, this book aims to contribute to academic and policy debates and discourses on governance, democracy and development. It is located in political science, cultural and political anthropology and policy studies. One theme addressed is the claim that democracy contributes to development (cf. Khan 2005; Leftwich 2005; Witsoe 2013). It illustrates the relationship between local democracy and poverty alleviation from a bottom-up perspective, where India is a rich test case as a functioning democracy in a country with massive numbers of poor people.

Research methods

This book is based on a combination of primary and secondary data. Even while a first study took place into the role and position of women municipal councillors in Mumbai in 2002 (de Wit and Holzner 2003), data collection for this book through interviews, surveys, slum-level group discussions and the like started in 2004 with a research project funded jointly by the Netherlands and India IDPAD[5] research programme. The project *New Forms of Governance in Indian Mega-cities: Decentralisation, Financial Management and Partnerships in Urban Environmental Services* explored governance shifts in Urban India (Baud and de Wit 2008; Kundu 2006). Concentrating on the background to and impacts of India's urban decentralisation, my focus was on the BMC administration, its local corporators, and the nature and

performance of the newly established wards committees (WCMs) from 2000. Over three years many interviews were held with corporators, ward- and city-level officials, including top bureaucrats and junior engineers, while a questionnaire-based survey was held under corporators and ward officials with the support of M. Pinto. (Pinto and de Wit 2006). The research project also covered New Delhi, where changing arenas of urban governance were studied, (de Wit 2009a) and Chennai where the focus was mostly on local corporators but also on slum women self-help groups (de Wit 2009b; de Wit and Berner 2009). Apart from the one-time surveys, good relations were established with many corporators, in terms of visiting their offices and houses, witnessing the working of party offices such as the Shiv Sena *shakas* and joining meeting hours where corporators meet (poor) people of their constituency. Many such contacts have been nurtured and maintained up to the present day, representing a rich source of information on facts and trends. Following the end of the project follow up research was carried out over subsequent years in Mumbai for short periods with an initial focus on the slum adoption programme (SAP) under which, at least on paper, slum dwellers and their 'community organisations' were to be enabled and paid to keep their own slums clean (de Wit 2010a). Following Blundo (2006) I framed the programme as a grassroots-level example of 'the informal privatisation of slum services'. Follow-up visits were made to the major Mumbai relocation areas in later years. The evolution of a one SRS, initiated in 2007, was traced over time, starting with a baseline survey and tracing turbulent community dynamics resulting from the contested involvement of two building firms, each linking with one local slum leader/faction. These experiences and dynamics have fed into the present book, but the plans to add a chapter on these have been dropped for reasons of space (de Wit 2016 forthcoming). With a view to underpin the democratic and electoral dimensions of Mumbai's local governance, a study was made of the 2012 Mumbai municipal elections. Targeting one ward with many slums and working from there, we followed the campaigning of several candidate corporators, associating ourselves with some of them.

So while key methods to collect data over time have included participant observation, open ended as well as structured interviews and questionnaire surveys, these have mostly targeted politicians/corporators, officials and key informants such as academics, retired commissioners, private-sector entrepreneurs and contractors. It is one limitation of this book that it aims to start from the urban poor, but that it is not a slum study, in the sense of not being fully based on primary slum data. Always with an assistant, I spent lots of time in many slums in

most parts of the city (in tea shops, near massive garbage dumps, at political meetings, in all types of dwellings), with plenty 'focus group discussions'. Yet I did not carry out my own slum surveys as I did for my 1996 Madras book. For that reason, Chapter 3 on the Mumbai slums is mostly based on secondary sources. I tried as best as possible to fill this gap by using secondary data from many other studies, just like how I filled gaps in hard to grapple topics related to informality and corruption. As indicated, only few in-depth Mumbai slum studies seem to exist, reason why I benefited much from the detailed slum study of everyday life and household struggles by Boo (2012). I made grateful use of the comprehensive 2009 Mumbai Development Report (MCGM 2009), and a range of articles targeting specific issues such as nutrition, domestic violence or slum sanitation, and articles, papers and reports from NGOs working in the slum (e.g. Campana 2013). Very useful too was Bjorkman's (2013) study of pre-election slum level money allocations. A second limitation of this book pertains to its endeavour to uncover as much as possible of the actual informal governance realities of 'rent seeking', brokerage and politicisation. Such dynamics and mechanisms have been brought out, but, as could be expected, it proved hard to get straight and frank answers from either politicians or bureaucrats on such sensitive matters. It was often only indirectly, in bits and pieces, during very informal meetings and over meals that clues, pointers and facts might be given: for example the nature and size of the expected cuts payable by a contractor to BMC officials; the amounts to be paid for a lucrative transfer; the way money is distributed to voters just before the elections. Such knowledge has continuously been validated/triangulated with other informants as well as newspapers, and the most likely outcomes are presented here. As indicated, I am open to correction and adjustment, and any errors are completely mine. Even if I caught some facts wrong, I hope at least to have uncovered the key operative forces and mechanisms.

Over all these years, support was provided by excellent research assistants and translators – who also collected data in periods between fieldwork. In addition I was in touch with NGO workers in several slums as another rich information source. I benefited much through working closely with the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and Mumbai University, the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi and the All India Institute of Local Self-Government (which published the Mumbai Human Development Report [MMCM 2009]). Grateful use was made of excellent data sources as represented in the work by PhD and MA scholars, especially Nainan (2006, 2012), but also Desai (2002) and van Dijk (2006, 2011a).

It is important to note that less attractive facts and trends as regards the BMC administration, cases of malfeasance or poor management, which are part of this book, are not new. These are and have been reported and documented by some of the earlier authors, and on an almost daily basis in the newspapers. If that is not convincing, this book's findings are corroborated by high-status official reports investigating BMC irregularities. There is, first of all, the damning report on the Thane Municipal Corporation (TMC; neighbouring the BMC and part of the Greater Mumbai area) drafted by the Nandlal Commission, which reported in detail on systemic corruption and systems of agreed cuts accruing to officers and corporators.[6] Another important negative landmark report was the committee investigating realities of Mumbai city planning led by retired Maharashtra chief secretary D'Souza in 1987. It scrutinised the Mumbai's development plan and 'is a scathing indictment of the Sena-ruled BMC. The Committee judged that builder's testimony has exerted undue influence in the drafting of the Development Plan' (Thakkar 2003: 261). The discussion in the BMC Council gave rise to ugly scenes and a virtual battle of words between ruling and opposition parties, but the report did nothing to improve matters: 'irregularities in matters of land continue . . . a prominent part is played by politicians in all these deals' (Thakkar 2003: 261). Another devastating report was published by a committee led by the former municipal commissioner S. S. Tinaikar, bringing out in detail the working of corruption in the BMC contracting and implementation of works with depressingly numerous cases of malfeasance and collusion of politicians–officials–contractors (Nainan 2012; Pinto and Pinto 2005: 513–14; Tinaikar 2003). The comprehensive, forthright book by Pinto and Pinto (2005) itself is an excellent source to understand the assumed but also real workings of the BMC. So it is not that this book should surprise BMC staff or observers. Generally, the majority of facts and trends in this book are in the public domain and accessible to all, where I took care to back up or triangulate my own findings and views with widely available secondary sources. My main job was to compile and then order this mass of data.

And, in addition, for all of India's challenges in governance and democracy, it is a liberal democracy in at least the sense of having unusually free and open media. TV stations, newspapers, online sites and journals openly and deeply report on and probe even the most sensitive and unholy corruption cases, scams and illicit deals and cases of 'the nexus' between powerful stakeholders. One may ask as to whether all this has actually helped reduce such negative, even disturbing, phenomena, but the media have greatly helped to inform this book with a

view to be alerted to, illustrate or underpin relevant incidents and critical processes. It will not be surprising to see plenty of references to the Mumbai edition of the *Times of India,* but one will find references to *Indian Express, DNA*, *Hindustan Times,* and *The Hindu*, apart from quotes from journals such as *Frontline, Tehelka* and *India Today*. I am aware of the risks involved: some papers are close to certain political parties and/or owned by self-interested private-sector firms; some papers may not be expected to publish certain news,[7] so there might be a bias in the articles used. To reduce risks here, I avoided clearly biased reports, while cross-checking information with other media and my own informants.

Plan of the book

Having set the agenda of this book, in Chapter 1 I briefly introduce the key general and analytical perspectives needed for contextualising this study and to ground it firmly in India's trends of urban poverty and governance on the one hand, and in relevant current conceptual and theoretical perspectives on the other. I depict urbanisation trends, the size and nature of urban poverty and growing urban inequality. Shifts in urban governance following India's wholehearted embracement of a neoliberal regime are traced. The changing nature of Indian politics is theorised next: the apparent emergence of a new type of 'political entrepreneur' politician less bothered about the long-term welfare of voters or constituencies, but self-interestedly focused on rent seeking when in office, which may well explain the increase of dynastic politics. The chapter concludes by reviewing requisite concepts, theory and perspectives which guide the presentation of the book and are verified with its materials of the book. I compile a patronage-based analytical frame, with related and partly overlapping perspectives of mediated state and patronage democracy, with the concept of machine politics to draw attention to the growing interest and role of businesspeople in democracy.

Chapter 2 sets the context of Mumbai's municipal governance. It provides the facts about the population and conditions of housing and services and goes on to describe the set-up and mandate of the BMC. After depicting its several parts, committees and hierarchies, I assess the outcomes of the efforts towards urban decentralisation: the formation of 16 WCMs sub-city Wards Committees, the changed relations between corporators and ward-level officials and the disappointing impacts where participation and accountability go. Other key Mumbai (and Maharashtra state-level) agencies such as the Mumbai Metropolitan Development

Authority (MMRDA) and the Slum Redevelopment Authority (SRA) and their often conflictual and tedious relations are also introduced here. Reflecting on what we may call the 'divided neoliberal city', I examine the growth and rising powers of the Mumbai middle classes and what this means for the half of the city population living in slums.

Conditions in these slums are explored in Chapter 3, including facts and data on land and housing, the nature and coverage of basic services such as water, electricity and woefully inadequate toilet conditions. Attention is given to changing patterns of school enrolment and health care provision away from the public (BMC) to the private sector, with serious implications for poor parents and patients. Of course not all six million slum people of Mumbai are poor – indeed, some say that many of them do quite well while not paying taxes. So I sketch internal slum divisions/hierarchies of income, assets, gender, and vulnerability and question the ability of the poor to organise for better services or even real change. Prospects here obviously start from power relations in each slum but cannot be seen as separate from the supra-slum-level context: whether or not people themselves contact agencies like the BMC; the role of brokers who can double as gatekeepers; and the nature and organisational basis of political parties and the police. It is already noted here that the most important slum relations in a ward somehow come together in the person of the corporator, notably from the ruling party – but even opposition-party corporators are shown to be as 'helpful' as they can. The chapter concludes with a review of past and current slum policies, which, apart from the controversial and non-performing SRS, are actually hard to identify and evaluate. Rather, there were and are many schemes which can be easily manipulated and misused in the context of a mediated state. What should be programmed entitlements by policy or law often become claims to fight for in return for lots of bureaucratic hassle, bribes or a need to express loyalty to a party.

Since I consider the corporators as the key agents, if not masters of Mumbai's local governance, the central and core Chapter 4 is fully devoted to their backgrounds, their ways of working, their activities, and the citywide formal and informal networks of which they are part. Assuming that ultimately Mumbai's political parties determine their entry into (and exit from) politics, I consider MCs' position in and duties towards parties and how relations are entertained with developers, builders and other private firms. The chapter deals with the locally considered very detrimental 'corporator–contractor–official nexus', while listing the average cuts or bribes circulating in such informal 'cabals'. Corruption is shown to be most likely in the land and housing

sectors and in offices where people interact with the offices of the local state, but I point out that certainly not all BMC staff are engaged in malfeasance and that not all corporators are corrupt. And even corrupt corporators combine profitable money-making rackets with providing support to women suffering domestic violence or to facilitate access into schools, hospitals and jobs – be it mostly with a bias towards people loyal to them. As their actual democratic role is assumed to represent all (and not only the ruling party) voters, their concrete activities vis-à-vis the urban poor are assessed in some detail: are they agents of inclusion or exclusion?

The ways and means through which corporators are elected are the topic of Chapter 5, which investigates the 'everyday realities' of municipal elections. I describe the preparations and organisation of the local Mumbai elections in February 2012, where the massive formal machinery to engage nearly 10 million voters in citywide elections is contrasted with actual and largely informal practices of campaigning and voting. This is about illicit spending on allocating cash and other goodies to prospective voters, slum- and ward-level turf wars between candidates and their agents and the use of persuasion or what is called 'muscle power' or the 'fear factor'. As much as possible I trace the role of the private sector to support parties and candidates. Relations between them are shown to be entirely non-transparent, with too much evidence of shady reciprocal benefits around campaign financing. Once more it is shown that it is poor people who vote most, illustrating the awkward situation that they may help to power politicians who care less for them than for most other city groups.

The final conclusion wraps up the book by summarising its key arguments while answering questions raised in this introduction. These conclusions start by mapping changes in Mumbai's stakeholders in governance and politics, after which the conditions of poor slum women, men and children and their prospects are outlined. In terms of the agency of poor people, I suggest assumptions on differential patronage roles for men and women, which are proposed for further study. I then turn my attention to the relations between and conditions inside Mumbai's governance agencies, tracing patterns of formality and informality, and to the politics of service delivery through 'mediated local state agencies'. Final sections address the workings and impacts of local democracy and the changing nature of parties and politicians. I reflect on trends where politicians seem to move closer to businesspeople and firms – while politicians turn businessmen and businessmen politician. I suggest that poor slum people are by and large unaware of what 'democracy' could actually mean for them. They seem to pragmatically exploit those

useful bits and pieces they encounter, including election goodies or making money by working for a candidate. In the context of the mediated state, most poor voters appear to go for the candidate with a reputation of being generally helpful and able to 'pull funds into our slum'.

Notes

1 The case of Ganpat Patil Nagar slum was studied during visits from 2004 onwards and through fieldwork by assistant N. Shewari. Recent events are documented in *Indian Express* (8 January 13) and *Times of India* (25 June 13). The controversial slum was again in the news when it was noted that it was marked in the draft 2014–34 Mumbai Development Plan as a residential zone – even while located in an NDZ Coastal Regulation Zone – 1. 'Who Is Accountable for Blunders in Draft DP 2034', *Times of India*, 22 April 2015.
2 Sassen Interview in NRC Handelsblad, 11 July 2014.
3 'Planet Plutocrat: Our Crony Capitalism Index. The Countries Where Politically Connected Businessmen Are Most Likely to Prosper', *The Economist*, 15 March 2014. Oxfam (2015: 10) discusses the capture of politics by the economic elite as a key factor to explain global inequality.
4 'The World We Want? Promoting the Notion That All Development Is Local', blog.metrotrends.org/author/jboex (accessed on 29 April 2013).
5 'Indo-Dutch Program for Alternative Development' (IDPAD). Our program was a joint effort by the JNU, Amsterdam University and ISS.
6 The Nandlal Committee Report, which had inquired into irregularities and corruption in the TMC from 1987 to 1996, named 54 corporators and 36 civic officials who had caused huge losses to the TMC. http://timesofindia. indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/PIL-planned-based-on-Nandlal-report/article-show/5035426.cms (accessed 25 August 2014).
7 Under the title 'Media Losing Credibility; Market Forces Coupled with Political Influence Totally Dominate the News Domain Today', Mr Srivastava argues that there is a need for a counter-media publication or TV news channel in a context where some media houses are part of large corporate and business houses, serving their interests above everything else (*The Sunday Indian*, 17 February 2012: 60). In the run up to 2014 national elections, Mr Kejriwal alleged that 'parties are paying the media' (*The Hindu*, 15 March 2014).

Bibliography

3iNetwork, IDFC, IIAM and IIT. 2006. *India Infrastructure Report 2006: Urban Infrastructure*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Adiga, A. 2012. *Last Man in Tower*. New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers India.

Anand, N. 2011a. 'Ignoring Power: Knowing Leakage in Mumbai's Water Supply', in J. S. Anjaria and C. McFarlane (eds.), *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*, pp. 191–212. London and New Delhi: Routledge.

Anand, N. 2011b. 'Pressure: The Polytechnics of Water Supply in Mumbai', *Cultural Anthropology*, 26(4): 542–64.

Anand, N. and A. Rademacher. 2011. 'Housing in the Urban Age: Inequality and Aspiration in Mumbai', *Antipode*, 43(5): 1748–72.

Anjaria, J. 2009. 'Guardians of the Bourgeois City: Citizenship, Public Space and Middle Class Activism in Mumbai', *City and Community*, 8(4): 391–406.

Anjaria, J. S. and C. McFarlane. 2011. *Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia*. London and New Delhi: Routledge.

Ayyar, V. 2013. 'Caste and Gender in a Mumbai Resettlement Site', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4 May (18): 44–55.

Ayyar, V. and L. Khandare. (n.d.). 'Social Networks in Slum and Rehabilitation Sites: A Study in Mumbai, India'. http://siteresources.worldbank. org/. . ./336387. . ./ayyar.pdf (accessed on 18 March 2015).

Baker, J., R. Basu, M. Cropper, S. Lall and A. Takeuchi. 2005. *Urban Poverty and Transport: The Case of Mumbai*. Washington, DC: World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 3693.

Banerjee, M. 2012. *India: The Next Superpower?* IDEAS reports, London School of Politics and Political Science. http://eprints.lse.ac.uk./43448/ (accessed on 9 August 2014).

Banerjee-Guha, S. 2009. 'Neo-Liberalising the "Urban", New Geographies of Power and Injustice in Indian Cities', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(22): 95–107.

Banerjee-Guha, S. (ed.). 2010. *Accumulation by Dispossession: Transformative Cities in the New Global Order*. New Delhi and Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Baud, I. and J. W. de Wit (eds.). 2008. *New Forms of Governance in India: Shifts, Models, Networks and Contestations*. New Delhi: Sage.

Baud, I. and N. Nainan. 2008. '"Negotiated Spaces" for Representation in Mumbai: Ward Committees, Advanced Locality Management and the Politics of Middle-Class Activism', *Environment & Urbanization*, 20(2): 1–17.

Bawa, Z. 2011. 'Where Is the State? How Is the State? Assessing Water and the State in Mumbai and Johannesburg', *Journal of Asian and Africa Studies*, 46(5): 491–503.

Bawa, Z. 2013. 'From Watertight to Watered Down: The Case of Public Consultations and People's Participation in Mumbai's Water Distribution Improvement Project', in K. Coelho, L. Kamath and M. Vijayabaskar (eds.), *Participolis, Consent and Contention in Neoliberal Urban India*, pp. 89–114. London, New York and New Delhi: Routledge.

Bedi, T. 2007. 'The Dashing Ladies of the Shiv Sena', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28 April, pp. 1534–41.

Benjamin, S. 2008. 'Occupancy Urbanism: Radicalizing Politics and Economy beyond Policy and Programs', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(3): 719–29.

Berenschot, W. 2006. 'The Machinations of Municipal Elections in Ahmedabad, India'. Paper presented at the 19th European Conference on Modern South Asia Studies, Leiden University, Leiden, 27–30 June.

Berenschot, W. 2009. *Riot Politics: Communal Violence and State-Society Mediation in Gujarat, India*. Amsterdam: Boxpress.

Berenschot, W. 2010. 'Everyday Mediation: The Politics of Public Service Delivery in Gujarat, India', *Development and Change*, 41(5): 883–905.

Berenschot, W. 2011. 'Political Fixers and the Rise of Hindu Nationalism in Gujarat, India: Lubricating a Patronage Democracy', *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 34(3): 382–401.

Bhatiya, N. and A. Chatterjee. 2010. 'Financial Inclusion in the Slums of Mumbai', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45(42): 23–26.

Bhide, A. 2006. 'From the Margins: The Experiences of Low Income Communities in Mumbai vis-à-vis Changing Patterns of Basic Services Delivery'. Paper presented at an (IDPAD) Seminar on Changing Forms of Governance in Indian Megacities, TISS, Mumbai, 18–19 January.

Bhide, A. 2011. 'Mumbai: Mumbai Reader 10', Urban Design Research Institute (quoted in Echanove, 2013).

Bhowmik, S. 2010. 'Urban Public Space and the Urban Poor', in S. Banerjee-Guha (ed.), *Accumulation by Dispossession: Transformative Cities in the New Global Order*, pp. 182–297. New Delhi and Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Bisiaux, R. 2013. 'Understanding the Mismatch among Three Definitions of Poverty', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5 January, 48: 51–59.

Bjorkman, L. 2013. 'You Can't Buy a Vote: Cash and Community in a Mumbai election', *MMG Working Paper 13–01*. http://www.mmg.mpg.de/fileadmin/user_upload/documents/wp/WP_13–01_Bjorkman_Cant-buy-a-vote.pdf (accessed on 9 November 2013).

Blundo, G. 2006. 'Dealing with the Local State: The Informal Privatization of Street-Level Bureaucracies in Senegal', *Development and Change*, 37(4): 799–821.

Boex, Jamie. 2010. 'Localizing the MDGs: Unlocking the Potential of the Local Public Sector to Engage in Development and Poverty Reduction', *IDG Working Paper* 2010–15. Washington: The Urban Institute.

Boissevain, J. 1974. *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Boo, K. 2012. *Behind the Beautiful Forevers: Life, Death and Hope in a Mumbai Undercity*. New Delhi and New York: Hamish Hamilton.

Breeding, M. E. 2011. 'The Micro-Politics of Vote Banks in Karnataka', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2 April, 46(14): 71–77.

Campana, J. 2013. *Dharavi: The City Within*. Noida and London: Harper-Collins.

Chakravarthi, R. 2007. 'India's Middle Class Failure', *Prospect Magazine* (138).

Chamaraj, K. 2015. 'Undermining RAY', *Uday India*, 14 February, pp. 34–39.

Chandra, K. 2004. 'Elections as Auctions', *Seminar*, 539(1–7). http://www.india-seminar.com/2004/539/539%20kanchan%20chandra.htm (accessed on 19 September 2013).

Chandra, K. 2007a. 'Counting Heads: A Theory of Voter and Elite Behaviour in Patronage Democracies', in H. Kitscheld and S. Wilkinson (eds.), *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, pp. 84–110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, Vikram. 2007b. *Sacred Games*. New Delhi and London: Penguin Books.

Chatterjee, P. 2004. *The Politics of the Governed: Popular Politics in Most of the World*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Chatterjee, N., G. Fernandes and M. Hernandez. 2012. 'Food Insecurity in Urban Poor Households in Mumbai, India', *Food Security*, 4(4): 619–32.

Clark, G. and T. Moonen. 2014. *Mumbai: India's Global City: A Case Study of the Global Cities Initiative: A Joint Project of Brookings and JPMorgan Chase*. Washington, DC: Global Cities Initiative.

Coelho, K., L. Kamath and M. Vijayabaskar. 2013. *Participolis, Consent and Contention in Neoliberal Urban India*. London, New York and New Delhi: Routledge.

Coelho, K. and A. Maringanti. 2012. 'Urban Poverty in India: Tools, Treatment and Politics at the Neo-Liberal Turn', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(47 & 48): 39–43.

Crook, R. and A. Sverrisson. 2003. 'Does Decentralization Contribute to Poverty Reduction? Surveying the Evidence', in P. Houtzager and Mick Moore (eds.), *Changing Paths; International Development and the New Politics of Inclusion,* pp. 233–54. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Das, P. K. 2003. 'Slums: The Continuing Struggle for Housing', in S. Patel and J. Masselos (eds.), *Bombay and Mumbai: The City in Transition*, pp. 207–44. Oxford and New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Das, S. K. 2001. *Public Office, Private Interest: Bureaucracy and Corruption in India*. New Delhi and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Debroy, B. and L. Bhandari. 2012. *Corruption in India, the DNA and RNA*. New Delhi: Konark Publishers LTD.

Demmers, J., E. Fernandez and B. Hogenboom (eds.). 2004. *Good Governance in the Era of Global Neo-Liberalism: Conflict and De-Politicization in Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa*. London: Routledge.

Desai, P. 2002. *Institutional Dimensions of Program Planning and Implementation: Three Cases of Slum Upgradation Programs in Mumbai, India*. PhD Thesis, Amsterdam: Free University.

Desai, P. and J. de Wit. 2007. 'The Slum Redevelopment Scheme in Malad, Mumbai: Evidence from the Field'. Mumbai, unpublished research report.

Desai, R. M. and R. Sanyal. 2012. *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*. London and New Delhi: Sage.

Desai, V. 1995. *Community Participation and Slum Housing: A Study of Bombay* London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

De Souza, P. 2011. 'Mumbai Water Services and Income Classes', *Urban World* 4(4): 1–10.

de Wit, J. 1985. *Slum Dwellers, Slum Leaders and the Government Apparatus: Relations between Actors in Slum Upgrading in Madras, India*. Urban Research Working Paper No. 8. Amsterdam: Free University.

de Wit, J. 1996. *Poverty, Policy and Politics in Madras Slums, Dynamics of Survival, Gender and Leadership*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage.

de Wit, J. 2002. 'Urban Poverty Alleviation in Bangalore, Institutional and Community Level Dilemmas', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21 September, pp. 3935–42.

de Wit, J. 2004. 'A Realistic Alternative Vision for Mumbai', in R. N. Sharma, R. B. Bhagat and A. Rath (eds.), *The Vision Mumbai: A Concept Plan for Mumbai City*, pp. 49–52. Mumbai: Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

de Wit, J. 2009a. 'Changing Arenas for Defining Urban India: Middle Class Associations, Municipal Councillors and the Urban Poor', *Trialog*, 3–4(102 & 103): 21–27.

de Wit, J. 2009b. 'Decentralised Urban Governance and Changing Roles of Municipal Councillors in Chennai, India'. Paper presented at the International Development Planning Review (IDPR) Conference, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, 6–7 April.

de Wit, J. 2010a. 'Decentralized Management of Solid Waste in Mumbai Slums: Informal Privatization through Patronage', *International Journal of Public Administration*, 33(12 & 13): 767–77.

de Wit, J. 2010b. 'Prospects for India's Urban Poor: Livelihoods and Mobility in Conditions of Informality and Middle Class Competition', *The Urban World*, 3(4): 1–7.

de Wit, J. 2016. 'Builders, the Local State and a Mumbai Slum Community: Slum Redevelopment Dynamics in a Public-Private-Community Partnership Project' (forthcoming journal article).

de Wit, J. and E. Berner. 2009. 'Progressive Patronage? Municipalities, NGOs, Community-Based Organizations, and the Limits to Slum Dwellers' Empowerment', *Development and Change*, 40(5): 927–47.

de Wit, J. and B. Holzner. 2003. *Supporting Decentralised Urban Governance: Training Women Municipal Councillors in Mumbai, India*. ISS Working Paper No. 386. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

de Wit, J., N. Nainan and S. Palnitkar. 2008. 'Urban Decentralisation in India: Assessing the Performance of Neighbourhood Level Wards Committees', in I. Baud and J. de Wit (eds.), *New Forms of Governance in India: Shifts, Models, Networks and Contestations*, pp. 37–65. New Delhi: Sage.

de Wit, J. and T. van Dijk. 2010. 'Political Entrepreneurs and the Urban Poor: The Role of Municipal Councillors in the Mumbai Region'. Unpublished Paper presented at the CERES Summer School at the International Institute of Social Studies, ISS, The Hague, 23–24 June.

Dhar Chakrabarti, P. G. 2001. 'Urban Crisis in India: New Initiatives for Sustainable Cities', *Development in Practice*, 11(2 & 3): 260–72.

Dibdin, M. 1988. *Ratking, an Aurelio Zen Mystery*. London: Faber and Faber.

Doshi, S. 2012. 'Gendered Slum Citizenship in Neoliberal Mumbai', in R. Desai and R. Sanyal (eds.), *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, pp. 83–109. New Delhi: Sage.

Echanove, M. 2013. *Beyond the Informal: Re-Conceptualizing Mumbai's Urban Development*. MMG Working Paper 13–13. Gottingen: Max Planck Institute.

Eckert, J. 2002. *Governing Laws – On the Appropriation and Adaptation of Control in Mumbai*. Working Paper No.33. Halle/Saale: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.

Frederickson, H. G. 2005. 'Whatever Happened to Public Administration? Governance, Governance Everywhere', in E. Ferlie, L. E. Lynn Jr. and C. Pollit (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Management*, pp. 282–305. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Geddis, A. 2008. 'Buying Power, Book Review of Schaffer, 2007 "Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying" ', *Election Law Journal*, 7(2): 141–44.

Ghosh, A. and S. Tawa Lama-Rewal. 2005. *Democratization in Progress: Women and Local Politics in Urban India*. New Delhi: Tulika Books.

Gill, K. 2007. 'Interlinked Contracts and Social Power: Patronage and Exploitation in India's Waste Recovery Market', *Journal of Development Studies*, 43(8): 1448–74.

Goankar, R. 2007. 'On Cultures of Democracy', *Public Culture*, 19(1): 1–22.

GOI/Government of India. 1992. *The Constitution Seventy-Fourth Amendment Act 1992 on Municipalities*. New Delhi: Ministry of Urban Development.

GOI/Government of India and Ministry of Urban Development. 2013. *How to Govern India's Megacities: Towards Needed Transformation*. Vol. 1, Draft Thematic Report. New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research.

GOI/Government of India/Planning Commission. 2011. *Report of the Working Group on Urban Poverty, Slums, and Service Delivery System*. New Delhi: Steering Committee on Urbanization Planning Commission.

Gowda, M.V.R. and E. Sridharan. 2012. 'Reforming India's Party Financing and Election Expenditure Laws', *Election Law Journal*, 11(2): 226–40.

Grindle, M. 2012. *Jobs for the Boys: Patronage and the State in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grindle, M. and M. E. Hilderbrand. 1995. 'Building Sustainable Capacity in the Public Sector: What Can be Done?', *Public Administration and Development*, 15(5): 441–63.

Guha Ray, S. 2009. 'Offer Valid till Votes Last', *Tehelka*, 2 May (17).

Gupta, A. 1995. 'Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics, and the Imagined State', *American Ethnologist*, 22(2): 375–402.

Gupta, A. 2012. *Red Tape, Bureaucracy, Structural Violence and Poverty in India*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Gupte, J. 2012. 'Linking Urban Vulnerability, Extra-Legal Security, and Civil Violence: The Case of the Urban Dispossessed in Mumbai', in R. Desai and R. Sanyal (eds.), *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, pp. 190–212. New Delhi: Sage.

Hadiz, V. R. 2004. 'Decentralisation and Democracy in Indonesia: A Critique of Neo-Institutionalist Perspectives', *Development and Change*, 35(4): 697–718.

Hajare, H. P. 2002. *Economic and Social Background of Women Corporators and Their Working in Mumbai MahaNagarpalika*. Mumbai: Department of Civics and Politics of University of Mumbai.

Hansen, T. B. 2001. *Violence in Urban India: Identity Politics, 'Mumbai', and the Postcolonial City*. New Delhi: Permanent Black/Princeton University Press.

Haritas, K. 2008. 'Poverty and Marginalisation: Challenges to Poor Women's Leadership in Urban India', *Gender and Development*, 16(3): 457–69.

Harris, J. 2005. 'Political Participation, Representation and the Urban Poor: Findings from Research in Delhi', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(12): 1041–54.

Harris, J. 2007. 'Antinomies of Empowerment: Observations on Civil Society, Politics, and Urban Governance in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 30 June, pp. 2716–24.

Harris, J., K. Stokke and O. Turnquist. 2004. *Politicizing Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Harris-White, B. 2003. *India Working: Essays on Society and Economy*. Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Helmke, G. and S. Levitsky. 2004. 'Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda', *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(4): 725–40.

Heston, A. and V. Kumar. 2008. 'Institutional Flaws and Corruption Incentives in India', *Journal of Development Studies*, 44(9): 1243–61.

Heuze, D. G. 2011. 'Tej City. Protests in Mumbai, 1988–2008', Rethinking Urban Democracy, special issue of the *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, Nr 5/2011. http://samaj.revues.org/index3213.html (accessed on 7 April 2010).

Hicken, A. 2011. 'Clientelism', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 14: 289–310.

Hust, H. and M. Mann (eds.). 2005. *Urbanization and Governance in India*. New Delhi: Manohar, Centre de Sciences Humaines and South Asia Institute.

Hyden, G., J. A. Court and K. Mease. 2004. *Making Sense of Governance: Empirical Evidence from Sixteen Developing Countries*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Jagannathan, R. 2012. 'Why Mumbai's Elections Are Irrelevant to This City-State', http://mumbaiboss.com/2012/02/17 (accessed on 12 March 2012).

Jha, S., V. Rao and M. Woolcock. 2005. *Governance in the Gullies: Democratic Responsiveness and Leadership in Delhi's Slums*. Policy Research Working Papers. Washington: The Word Bank.

John, M. 2007. 'Women in Power? Gender, Caste, and the Politics of Local Urban Governance', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 29 September, pp. 3986–94.

Jones, N. and E. Presler-Marshall. 2012. 'Governance and Poverty Eradication: Applying a Gender and Social Institutions Perspective', *Public Administration and Development*, 32(4–5): 371–84.

Joseph, M. 2011. *Serious Men*. Noida and London: HarperCollins.

Kabeer, N. 1999. 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment', *Development and Change*, 30: 435–64.

Kapadia, K. 1996. 'Housing Rights for Urban Poor: Battle for Mumbai's Streets', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 15 June, pp. 1436–40.

Karn, S. K., S. Shikura and H. Harada. 2003. 'Living Environment and Health of Urban Poor: A Study in Mumbai', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 August, pp. 3575–86.

Kennedy, L., R. Duggal and S. Tawa Lama-Rawal. 2009. 'Assessing Urban Governance through the Prism of Healthcare Services in Delhi, Hyderabad and Mumbai', in J. Ruet and S. Tawa Lama-Rewal (eds.), *Governing India's Metropolises*, pp. 161–83. New Delhi and Abingdon: Routledge.

Khan, M. Q. 2005. 'Markets, States and Democracy: Patron-Client Networks and the Case for Democracy in Developing Countries', *Democratization* 12(5): 704–24.

Khan, S. 2013. 'Women, Safety, and the City of Mumbai', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 7 September, 48(12): 12–13.

Kishwar, M. P. 2005. *Deepening Democracy: Challenges of Governance and Globalisation in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kitscheld, H. and S. Wilkinson (eds.). 2007. *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krishna, A. (ed.). 2008. *Poverty, Participation and Democracy: A Global Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krishna, A. and D. Bajpai. 2015. 'Layers in Globalising Society and the New Middle Class in India: Trends, Distribution and Prospects', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50(5): 69–76.

Krishna, A. and J. Booth. 2008. 'Conclusion: Implications for Policy and Research', in A. Krishna (ed.), *Poverty, Participation and Democracy: A Global Perspective*, pp. 147–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kumar, A. 2009. 'A Class Analysis of the "Bihari Menace" ', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(28): 124–27.

Kumar, G. and F. Landy. 2009. 'Vertical Governance: Brokerage, Patronage and Corruption in Indian Metropolises', in J. Ruet and S. Tawa Lama-Rewal (eds.), *Governing India's Metropolises*, pp. 105–34. London and New Delhi: Routledge.

Kundu, A. 2006. *Final Report: New Forms of Governance in Indian Mega-Cities: Decentralisation, Financial Management and Partnerships in Urban Environmental Services. A Study Sponsored under Indo-Dutch Programme for Alternate Development*. Unpublished report, New Delhi: JNU.

Kundu, D. 2009. 'Elite Capture and Marginalisation of the Poor in Participatory Urban Governance: A Case of Resident Welfare Associations in Metro Cities', in *Government of India, India Urban Poverty Report 2009*, pp. 272–84. New Delhi: Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation.

Landy, F. and D. Ruby. 2005. 'The Public Distribution System as an Entry Point for the Study of Urban Governance: The Case of the Old City of Hyderabad'. Paper presented at a workshop of the research project 'Actors, Policies and Urban Governance', ASCI, Hyderabad, 20 September.

Leftwich, A. 2005. 'Democracy and Development: Is There Institutional Incompatibility?', *Democratization*, 12(5): 686–703.

Lindberg, S. 2003. 'It's Our Time to "Chop": Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counteract It?', *Democratization*, 10(2): 121–40.

Lipsky, M. 1980. *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lobo, L. and B. Das. 2001. *Poor in Urban India: Life in the Slums of a Western Indian City*. Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Lund, C. 2006. 'Twilight Institutions: Public Authority and Local Politics in Africa', *Development and Change*, 37(4): 685–705.

Mahadevia, D. 2013. *Urban Poverty in India and Post-MDG Framework*. New Delhi: Oxfam India working papers series OIWPS–XVII.

Manecksha, F. 2011. 'Pushing the Poor to the Periphery in Mumbai', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(51): 26–28.

Mathias, L. 2012. 'Mumbai Elections: Congress Self-Destructs, the Sena-BJP Alliance Triumphs', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(10): 10–13.

McFarlane, C. 2008. 'Sanitation in Mumbai's Informal Settlements: State, "Slum" and Infrastructure', *Environment & Planning*, 40: 88–107.

MCGM/Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai. 2009. *Human Development Report Mumbai 2009*. Prepared by All India Institute of Local Self Government with support by UNDP and Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation. Mumbai: Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai.

MCGM/Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai. (n.d.). *Slum Adoption Scheme through Community Based Organization for Slum Sanitation, Clean, Green, Decent and Pollution Free Slums*. SAP, Mumbai: MCGM, SWM department, Official leaflet.

Metha, S. 2004. *Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found*. New Delhi: Penguin.

Michelutti, L. 2008. *The Vernacularisation of Democracy: Politics, Caste and Religion in India*. New Delhi: Routledge.

MISTRA. 2014. *Patronage Politics Divides Us: A Study of Poverty, Patronage and Inequality in South Africa*. Johannesburg: MISTRA/ Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection.

Mooij, J. and Tawa Lama-Rewal. 2009. 'Class in Metropolitan India: The Rise of the Middle Classes', in J. Ruet and S. Tawa Lama-Rewal (eds.), *Governing India's Metropolises*, pp. 81–104. London and New Delhi: Routledge.

Moore, B. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Moser, C.O.N. 1995. 'Women, Gender and Urban Development Policy', *Third World Planning Review*, 17(2): 223–35.

Nainan, N. 2001. *Negotiating for Participation by NGOs in the City of Mumbai*. MSc Thesis, Rotterdam: Institute of Housing and Urban Development Studies.

Nainan, N. 2006. 'Parallel Universes: Quasi-Legal Networks in Mumbai Governance'. Paper presented at the seminar on Urban Governance in an International Perspective, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 7 January.

Nainan, N.K.B. 2008. 'Building Boomers and Fragmentation of Space in Mumbai', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 24 May, pp. 29–34.

Nainan, N.K.B. 2012. *Lakshmi Raj: Shaping Spaces in Post Industrial Mumbai: Urban Regimes, Planning Instruments and Splintering Communities*. PhD Thesis, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Nainan, N. and I. Baud. 2008. 'Negotiating for Participation: Decentralisation and NGOs in Mumbai, India', in I. Baud and J. de Wit (eds.), *New Forms of Governance in India: Shifts, Models, Networks and Contestations*, pp. 115–42. New Delhi: Sage.

Narayan, D. 2000. *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* New York: World Bank and Oxford University Press.

Narayanan, H. 2003. 'In Search of Shelter', in S. Patel and J. Masselos (eds.), *Bombay and Mumbai: The City in Transition*, pp. 183–206, Oxford and New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Nazar, B. (n.d.). *The Hollow State: Dilemmas for Management and Performance Measurement.* http://www.google.nl/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CCwQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.

barrynazar.com%2Fuploads%2F4%2F7%2F1%2F9%2F4719802%2F the_hollow_state.docx&ei= (accessed on 20 March 2015).

NCEUS and A. Sengupta. 2007. *Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganized Sector*. New Delhi: National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector NCEUS, chaired by A. Sengupta.

Nichter, S. 2008. 'Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot', *American Political Science Review*, 102(1): 19–31.

Nijman, J. 2008. 'Against the Odds: Slum Rehabilitation in Neoliberal Mumbai', *Cities*, 25: 73–85.

OXFAM. 2015. *For Richer . . . or Poorer? The Capture of Growth and Politics in Emerging Economies*. London: Oxfam. http://www.csnbricsam.org (accessed on 9 January 2016).

Paley, J. 2002. 'Towards an Anthropology of Democracy', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31: 469–96.

Palshikar, S. 2004. 'Shiv Sena, a Tiger with Many Faces?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3 April (10): 1497–507.

Pardo, I. and G. Prato. 2012. *Anthropology in the City: Methodology and Theory*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Parkar, S., V. Dawani and M. Weiss. 2008. 'Gender, Suicide, and the Socio-Cultural Context of Deliberate Self-Harm in an Urban General Hospital in Mumbai, India', *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 32: 492–515.

Patel, S. 2003. 'Bombay and Mumbai: Identities, Politics and Populism', in S. Patel and J. Masselos (eds.), *Bombay and Mumbai: The City in Transition*, pp. 3–31. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Patel, S. 2015. 'Affordable Housing with Spatial Social Justice', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 7 February, 50(6): 61–66.

Patel, S. and J. Masselos (eds.). 2003. *Bombay and Mumbai: The City in Transition*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Patel, S. and A. Thorner (eds.). 2003. *Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Patel, V. (undated). *Gender and Human Development in Mumbai*. Mumbai: SNDT Women's University. http://www.academia.edu/653020/Gender_ and_Human_Development_in_Mumbai_Prof._Vibhuti_Patel (accessed on 5 March 2013).

Patibandla, M. 2013. 'New Institutional Economics: Its Relevance to Curbing Corruption', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48(9): 55–62.

Pethe, A. 2010. *Collusion, Conflicts, Informal Systems and Rent Seeking: The Great Prototype Indian Story of Urban Land Management in Mumbai*. A Governance of Urban Land Management in Mumbai Synthesis Paper, Mumbai University, Department of Economics.

Pethe, A., S. Gandhi and V. Tandel. 2011. 'Assessing the Mumbai Metropolitan Region: A Governance Perspective', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(26 & 27): 177–94.

Pethe, A., R. Nallathiga, S. Gandhi and V. Tandel. 2014. 'Re-thinking Urban Planning in India: Learning from the Wedge between the De Jure and de Facto Development in Mumbai', *Cities* 39(2014): 120–32.

Pethe, A., V. Tandel and S. Gandhi. 2012. *Unravelling the Anatomy of Legal Corruption in India: Focusing on the 'Honest Graft' by the Politician.* MPRA Paper No. 39306, https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/39306/ (posted on 7 June 2012, accessed on 12 November 2015).

Phatak, V. K. and S. B. Patel. 2005. 'Would Decentralisation Have Made a Difference?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3 September, pp. 3902–4.

Piketty, T. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Pinto, D. A. and M. R. Pinto. 2005. *Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai and Ward Administration*. New Delhi: Konark Publishers.

Pinto, M. 2000. *Metropolitan City Governance in India*. New Delhi: Sage.

Pinto, M. 2008. 'Urban Governance in India–Spot Light on Mumbai', in I. Baud and J. W. de Wit (eds.), *New Forms of Governance in India: Shifts, Models, Networks and Contestations*, pp. 37–65. New Delhi: Sage.

Pinto, M. and J. de Wit. 2006. 'Field Notes of Wards Office Interviews'. Unpublished paper, Mumbai and the Hague: ISS.

Prabash, J. 2010. 'India: Mounting Influence of Money Power in Elections and the Crisis of Representation', *Asia-Pacific Journal of Social Sciences*, 86(1): 85–95.

PRAJA. 2011. *Mumbai Report Card, Municipal Councillors*. http://www.praja.org/. . ./concillors-report-card-november (accessed on 14 January 2012).

PRAJA. 2012. *White Paper on Ward-Wise Top Issues: Where Mumbai's New Municipal Councillors Need to Pay Attention February*. http://www.praja.org/white paper.php (accessed on 29 November 2012).

PRAJA. 2014a. *White Paper: Report on the State of Health of Mumbai*. Mumbai: PRAJA.

PRAJA. 2014b. *Report on 'The State of Affordable Housing in Mumbai'*. Mumbai: PRAJA.

Punwani, J. 2014. 'Electing a Representative: An Account of Medha Patkar's Election Campaign', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 49(19): 12–14.

PWC/Price Waterhouse and Coopers. 2012. *Urban Local Bodies Assessment Report, Financing Strategy and Advice: Group 1: Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai*. Mumbai: The World Bank and the Government of Maharashtra, PPIAF-SNTA program.

Quraishi, S. Y. 2014. *Un Undocumented Wonder: The Making of the Great Indian Election*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications/Rainlight.

Rajivan, K. 2013. 'Participation and Consultation in the Context of Municipal Infrastructure Financing', in K. Coelho, L. Kamath and M. Vijayabaskar (eds.), *Participolis, Consent and Contention in Neoliberal Urban India*, pp. 133–40. London, New York and New Delhi: Routledge.

Ravindran, K. T. 2013. 'Direct Democracy versus Electoral Democracy: A View from Delhi', in K. Coelho, L. Kamath and M. Vijayabaskar (eds.), *Participolis, Consent and Contention in Neoliberal Urban India*, pp. 244–49. London, New York and New Delhi: Routledge.

Revi, A. 2005. 'Lessons from the Deluge: Priorities for Multi-Hazard Risk Mitigation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3 September, pp. 3911–16.

Risbud, N. 2003. *The Case of Mumbai, India*. New Delhi: School of Planning and Architecture.

Robinson, M. 2007. 'Does Decentralisation Improve Equity and Efficiency in Public Service Provision?', *IDS Bulletin*, 38(1): 7–17.

Romero, M. J. 2015. *What Lies Beneath? A Critical Assessment of PPPs and Their Impact on Sustainable Development*. Brussels: Eurodad.

Roniger, L. 2004. 'Political Clientelism, Democracy and Market Economy', *Comparative Politics*, 36(3): 353–75.

Roy, A. 2004. 'The Gentleman's City: Urban Informality in the Calcutta of New Communism', in A. Roy and N. AlSayyad (eds.), *Urban Informality, Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia*, pp. 147–70. Lanham and Oxford: Lexington Books.

Roy, A. 2009a. 'The 21st-Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory', *Regional Studies*, 43(6): 819–30.

Roy, A. 2009b. 'Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization', *Planning Theory*, 8(1): 76–87.

Roy, A. 2011a. 'Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(2): 223–28.

Roy, A. 2011b. 'The Blockade of the World Class City: Dialectical Images of Indian Urbanism', in A. Roy and A. Ong (eds.), *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*, pp 259–78. Chisester and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Ruet, J. and S. Tawa Lama-Rewal (eds.). 2009. *Governing India's Metropolises*. New Delhi and Abingdon: Routledge.

Saigal, A. 2008. 'Community Caretaking and Women Volunteer Teachers in Mumbai Slums', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 18 October, pp. 69–75.

Sassen, S. 2014. *Expulsions, Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*. Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Schaffer, F. C. (ed.). 2007. *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*. Boulder, CO: Kumarian Press.

Schedler, A. 2002a. 'Elections without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation', *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2): 36–50.

Schedler, A. 2002b. 'Clientelism, Patrimonialism and Democratic Governance: An Overview and Framework for Assessment and Planning'. http://www.grc-exchange.org/g_themes/politicalsystems_ informal.html (accessed on 8 July 2007).

Scott, J. C. 1969. 'Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change', *The American Political Science Review*, 63(4): 1142–58.

Shah, S. (n.d.- but after 2007). *Aspects of Urban Poverty in Mumbai, Mumbai*. http://www.susiebenshah.in/PDF/PDF2.pdf (accessed on 6 March 2013).

Shatkin, G. (ed.). 2014. *Contesting the Indian City: Global Visions and the Politics of the Local*. Chichester: John Wiley.

Shatkin, G. T. and S. Vidyarthi. 2014. 'Introduction; Contesting the Indian City: Global Visions and the Politics of the Local', in G. Shatkin (ed.),

Contesting the Indian City: Global Visions and the Politics of the Local, pp. 1–38. Chichester: John Wiley.

Shetye, G. 2006. 'Functioning of Wards Committees in Maharashtra: A Case Study', in K. C. Sivaramakrishnan (ed.), *People's Participation in Urban Governance: A Comparative Study of Wards Committees in Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, and West Bengal*, pp. 211–50. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

Shrivastava, P. S. and S. R. Shrivastava. 2013. 'A Study of Spousal Domestic Violence in an Urban Slum of Mumbai', *International Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 4(1): 27–32.

Siddiqui, K. and S. K. Bhowmik. 2004. 'Mumbai', in K. Siddiqui (ed.), *Megacity Governance in South Asia: A Comparative Study*, pp. 105–88. Dhaka: University Press Limited.

Sivaramakrishnan, K. C. 2000. *Power to the People? The Politics and Progress of Decentralisation*. New Delhi: Konark.

Sivaramakrishnan, K. C. 2004. 'Municipal and Metropolitan Governance: Are They Relevant to the Urban Poor?'. Paper presented at the Forum on Urban Infrastructure and Public Service Delivery for the Urban Poor, Regional Asia, New Delhi, 24–25 June.

Sivaramakrishnan, K. C. (ed.). 2006. *People's Participation in Urban Governance: A Comparative Study of Wards Committees in Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, and West Bengal*. New Delhi: Concept Publishers.

Sivaramakrishnan, K. C. 2011. *Re-Visioning Cities: The Urban Renewal Mission*. New Delhi and Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Smitha, K. C. 2010. 'New Forms of Urban Localism: Service Delivery in Bangalore', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20 February, 45(8): 73–77.

Srivastava, S. 2009. 'Urban Spaces, Disney Divinity and Moral Middle Classes in Delhi', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 14(26 & 27): 338–45.

Stokes, S. 2005. 'Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina', *American Political Science Review*, 99(3): 315–25.

Stokes, S., T. Dunning, M. Nazareno and V. Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sudhakar, R. K. 2012. 'Profile of Youth Residing in Two Slum Areas of Mumbai', *The Urban World*, 3(2): 34–49.

Suresh, H., S. Suradkar, A. Bhide, C. Deshpande and S. Singh. 2013. *Interim Report of People's Commission on Irregularities and Illegalities in SRA Projects*. Mumbai: National Alliance of People's Movements.

Suryanarayana, M. and D. Mousumi Das. 2014. 'How Inclusive Is India's Reformed Growth?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 8 February, 49(6): 44–55.

Swyngedouw, E. 2005. 'Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janus-Face of Governance beyond the State', *Urban Studies*, 42(11): 1991–2006.

Tawa Lama-Rewal, S. 2005. 'Reservations for Women in Urban Local Bodies: A Tentative Assessment', in S. Tawa Lama-Rewal (ed.), *Electoral Reserva-*

tions, Political Representation and Social Change in India, pp. 189–207. New Delhi: Manohar and CSH.

Tawa Lama-Rewal, S. 2007. 'Neighbourhood Associations and Local Democracy: Delhi Municipal Elections 2007', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 24 November, pp. 51–60.

Tawa Lama-Rewal, S. 2009. 'Engaging with the Concept of Governance in the Study of Indian Metropolises', in J. Ruet and S. Tawa Lama-Rewal (eds.), *Governing India's Metropolises*, pp. 3–14. New Delhi and Abingdon: Routledge.

Teltumbde, A. 2012. 'Bal Thackeray and Maharashtra's Dalits', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(51): 20–22.

Thakkar, U. 2003. 'Commissioner and Corporators: Power Politics at Municipal Level', in S. Patel and A. Thorner (eds.), *Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India*, pp. 248–86. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Tinaikar, S. S. 2003. *Report of the High Power Committee: Financial Mismanagement of Municipal Corporation of Brihan Mumbai Resulting in Heavy Deficits in Budgets since 1995–9*. Mumbai: MCGM.

Tiwari, P. 2015. *Toilet Torture in Mumbai's Slums: When Will Our Political and Administrative Leaders End the Daily Assaults on Women's Safety and Dignity?* Mumbai: Mahatma Gandhi Centre/Observer Research Foundation Mumbai.

Udupi, S. A., M. A. Varghese and M. Kamath. 2000. *Attacking Urban Poverty and the Role of the SNDT Women University Mumbai*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.

UN Women. 2012. *Critical Gender Concerns in Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission*. New Delhi: UN Women South Asia Sub Regional Office. http://www.unwomensouthasia.org (accessed on 8 November 2013).

Vakulabharanam, V. and S. Motiram. 2012. 'Understanding Poverty and Inequality in Urban India since Reforms: Bringing Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches Together', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(47 & 48): 44–52.

Van der Linden, J. J. 1983. 'Actors in Squatter Settlement Upgrading: Their Interests and Roles', in J. Schoorl, J. J. van der Linden and K. S. Yap (eds.), *Between Basti Dwellers and Bureaucrats: Lessons in Squatter Settlement Upgrading in Karachi*, pp. 249–61. Oxford: Pergammon.

Van Dijk, T. 2006. *Post-74th Constitutional Amendment Ward Governance in Mumbai: How and to What Extent Does This Brand of Decentralisation and Affirmative Action Benefit the Intended?* Academic Thesis, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam/ISHSS.

Van Dijk, T. 2011a. 'Agents of Change and Obstruction: Municipal Councillors and Urban Development in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region', *Human Geography*, 4(2): 31–47.

Van Dijk, T. 2011b. 'Livelihoods, Capitals and Livelihood Trajectories: A More Sociological Conceptualisation', *Progress in Development Studies*, 11(2): 101–17.

Véron, R., G. Williams, S. Corbridge Stuart and S. Manoj. 2006. 'Decentralized Corruption or Corrupt Decentralization? Community Monitoring of Poverty Alleviation Schemes in Eastern India', *World Development*, 34(11): 1922–41.

Vithayathil, T. and G. Singh. 2012. 'Spaces of Discrimination: Residential Segregation in Indian Cities', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(37): 60–66.

Vora, R. and S. Palshikar. 2003. 'Politics of Locality, Community and Marginalisation', in S. Patel and J. Masselos (eds.), *Bombay and Mumbai: The City in Transition*, pp. 161–82. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Vreeswijk, R. 2006. *Bombay, Hyperstad*. Amsterdam: Meulenhof en de Volkskrant.

Wade, R. 1982. 'The System of Administrative and Political Corruption: Canal Irrigation in South India', *Journal of Development Studies*, 39(5): 287–328.

Weinstein, L. 2008. 'Mumbai's Development Mafias: Globalization, Organized Crime and Land Development', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1): 22–39.

Weinstein, L. 2013. 'Demolition and Dispossession: Toward an Understanding of State Violence in Millennium Mumbai', *Studies into Comparative International Development*, 48(3): 285–307.

Weinstein, L. 2014. 'One-Man Handled' Fragmented Power and Political Entrepreneurship in Globalising Mumbai', in G. Shatkin (ed.), *Contesting the Indian City: Global Visions and the Politics of the Local*, pp. 91–121. Chichester: John Wiley.

Weinstein, L. and X. Ren. 2009. 'The Changing Right to the City: Urban Renewal and Housing Rights in Globalising Shanghai and Mumbai', *City and Community*, 8(4): 407–32.

Whitehead, J. and N. More. 2007. 'Revanchism in Mumbai? Political Economy of Rent Gaps and Urban Restructuring in a Global City', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 June, pp. 2428–34.

Witsoe, J. 2013. *Democracy against Development: Lower Caste Politics and Political Modernity in Post-Colonial India*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Wood, G. 2003. 'Staying Secure, Staying Poor: The "Faustian Bargain"', *World Development*, 31(3): 455–71.

Wratten, E. 1995. 'Conceptualizing Urban Poverty', *Environment & Urbanization*, 7(1): 11–33.

Zerah, M. H. 2006. 'Assessing Surfacing Collective Action in Mumbai: A Case Study of Solid Waste Management'. Paper presented at a Workshop on Actors, Policies and Urban Governance at Mumbai University, Mumbai, 23 February.

Zerah, M. H. 2009a. 'Participatory Governance in Urban Governance and the Shifting Geometry of Power in Mumbai', *Development and Change*, 40(5): 853–77.

Zerah, M. H. 2009b. 'Reforming Solid Waste Management in Mumbai and Hyderabad: Policy Convergence, Distinctive Processes', in J. Ruet and S. Tawa Lama-Rewal (eds.), *Governing India's Metropolises*, pp. 241–69. London and New Delhi: Routledge.