Incremental Urbanism:
A study of incremental housing production and the challenge of its inclusion in contemporary planning processes in Mumbai, India

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Incremental Urbanism

A study of incremental housing production and the challenge of its inclusion in contemporary planning processes in Mumbai, India

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Abstract (e)

Whilst urbanisation reached an unprecedented dimension, in a not so distant future half of the urban population will live in 'informal' settlements. Often subsumed under the pejorative term slum, these habitats account for the majority of the future urban growth. Incremental urban development was once accepted as a viable means of addressing housing needs for large parts of the urban population. However, these approaches were largely abandoned in the 1990s in favour of mass housing provided through public private partnerships. While these largely failed in providing the required quantities and produced poor urban spaces, the scale of the phenomenon is such that incremental urban development needs reconsidering. However, in contrast to the well-documented experiences of the 1970s and 1980s, there is a lack of knowledge about the actual functioning of incremental development in contemporary regimes of urbanisation.

Adopting an approach informed by French pragmatist sociology (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), particularly the sociology of convention (Thévenot 1984), this research investigates into the production of slums at two levels: the intricate reality of housing production in Mumbai's slums and the contemporary controversies revolving around urban development. Engaging in an empirically driven investigation, it offers a fine-grained account of incremental urbanism in the making.

Building on fieldwork in a 'self-built' resettlement colony in Mumbai forty years after it was established, this research examines how incrementally developing settlements are made, maintained, and transformed through everyday practices of local actors. Standing at the crossroads of the market, the political, and the social the so-called contractors are key figures engaged in the processes of construction and house making. As mediators in and of incremental urbanism they produce not only built-up space but also social space. Focusing on contractors as hitherto under-examined figures reveals that self-help housing in Mumbai, in contrast to conventional believes about housing practices of the urban poor, is by and large a professionalised mode of urban production. This research offers a refined account of the intricate reality of housing production and the ambiguous nature of incremental urbanism.

Regarding urban planning, this research analyses the on-going revision of the Mumbai Development Plan 2014-2034 and the controversies accompanying it, which brings to the forefront the interplay of powers and arguments that otherwise are disguised in the dispersed and detached everyday making of the city. To better understand the discourse on current planning practices and struggles over conflicting approaches towards slums, this research examines the arguments and legitimization principles that underpin four major positions advocated in the controversies as the 'good' way to urbanisation. Considering them as equally valid positions allows drawing comparisons between the different conceptualisations of urban planning and development, and the role and legitimacy they confer to modes of incremental urbanism.

Reading the two moments in the production of Mumbai's slums together sheds light on the challenges to incorporate incremental urbanism into planning processes. It was argued that these challenges lie not solely with the conflicting rationalities – or cosmos – of how to create a just city, which clash in the controversies, but also with the ambiguity of incremental urbanism itself. Both of which contribute to complex processes of invisibilisation, or subalternisation, of incremental urbanism.

Keywords:

Incremental urbanism, Housing production, Slums, India, Mumbai

Abstract (d)

Die weltweite Urbanisierung führt insbesondere in den Städten des globalen Südens zu einem Wachstum informeller Siedlungen. Oft geringschätzig als Slums bezeichnet, bestimmt deren inkrementelle Form der Stadtentwicklung das Leben und die Möglichkeiten eines Grossteils der städtischen Bevölkerung. Inkrementelle Stadtentwicklung war einst eine anerkannte Lösung, um der wachsenden Nachfrage nach Wohnraum zu begegnen. Die Akzeptanz gegenüber dieser schrittweisen, von Bewohnern getragenen Stadtentwicklung wurde in den 1990er Jahre jedoch durch eine Fokussierung auf Massenwohnungsbau abgelöst. Dies lieferte jedoch meist weder quantitativ noch qualitativ befriedigende Resultate und gleichzeitig hat das inkrementelle Siedlungswachstum stetig weiter zugenommen. Während die Projekte aus den 1970er und 1980er Jahren relativ gut dokumentiert sind, fehlt es an Wissen über das Funktionieren solcher Urbanisierungsprozesse unter zeitgenössischen Bedingungen.

Angelehnt an die neuere französische pragmatische Soziologie (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006) und insbesondere die Soziologie der Konventionen (Thévenot 1984), befasst sich diese Forschungsarbeit mit inkrementeller Stadtproduktion auf zwei Ebenen. Zum einen untersucht sie den konkreten Bauprozess in Mumbais Slumsiedlungen, zum anderen analysiert sie die aktuelle Kontroverse um den Development Plan von Mumbai. Die empirische Untersuchung mündet in einer dichten Beschreibung inkrementeller Stadtentwicklungsprozesse.

Ausgehend von Feldforschung in einer vor vierzig Jahren gegründeten site-and-service Siedlung, analysiert diese Arbeit die sozial-räumliche Produktion informeller Siedlungen. Untersucht wird der Bauprozess einzelner Gebäude sowie städtischer Räume und deren Konsolidierung. Der Fokus liegt auf dem Beitrag, welche lokale Akteure zur Produktion, Unterhalt und Transformation inkrementell wachsender Siedlungen leisten. Entgegen gängiger Annahmen zeigt sich, dass die „selbst-bau“ Praktiken eine professionalisierte Form urbaner Produktion sind. Sogenannte Contractors sind die zentralen Figuren in solch inkrementellen Urbanisierungsprozessen. Basierend auf einer Untersuchung der Rolle dieser bis anhin vernachlässigten Akteure, trägt diese Arbeit zu einem vertieften Verständnis der komplexen Realität inkrementeller Stadtentwicklung bei.

In den Kontroversen um die Revision des Mumbai Development Plan 2014-2034 werden unterschiedliche Visionen der „guten" Stadt verhandelt. Die Kontroversen machen das Zusammenspiel unterschiedlicher Machtverhältnisse und Argumentationen der Stadtentwicklung sichtbar. Um den aktuellen Planungsdiskurs und insbesondere die konfliktreiche Auseinandersetzung um die Rolle von Slums besser zu verstehen, untersucht dieses Forschungsprojekt die Argumente und Legitimationsprinzipien vier unterschiedlicher in der Kontroverse vertretener Positionen. Dabei werden alle Standpunkte als gleichwertig betrachtet, um ihre Konzepte von Stadtplanung und -entwicklung, sowie die Rolle und Legitimität, welche sie inkrementeller Stadtentwicklung zuschreiben, zu vergleichen.

Die Untersuchung dieser beiden Ebenen erlaubt es einen neuen Blick auf die Herausforderungen und Schwierigkeiten der Integrierung inkrementeller Stadtentwicklung in Planungsprozesse zu werfen. Dabei wird deutlich, dass die Problematik nicht nur auf grundsätzlich gegensätzlichen Vorstellungen einer „guten" Stadt beruht, sondern auch in der Ambiguität inkrementeller Stadtentwicklung selbst. Im Zusammenspiel tragen beide Ebenen zu den komplexen Prozessen der Marginalisierung, oder Subalternisierung inkrementeller Stadtentwicklung bei.

Stichworte:

Inkrementelle Stadtentwicklung, Slums, Indien Mumbai

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Prologue

A little over a decade ago, a student of architecture on exchange at that time, on the first day of my visit to Mumbai, I 'inadvertently' walked into what I then assumed to be a slum. Following a teenage resident I had asked for directions at fast pace deeper inside, I experienced, like most 'outsiders', an unease as the alley narrowed and the buildings closed in on each other above my head, turning a bright day into dim light. Notwithstanding the somewhat perplexing feeling of being out of place, where things seem familiar but also strange and one does not know how to act appropriately, this experience sparked my curiosity. While retrospectively, I could not verify where my 'first time in India' experience took place, it had a lasting effect. Ever since, I have had a certain kind of fascination for such habitats. It is a fascination born out of disbelief about how something like a slum 'happens' in the first place and a curiosity of how it is actually 'made, and despite all the obvious constraints, it nevertheless seems to 'work'. It is surely, to a certain extent, this fascination – after a 'detour' as a practicing architect – that brought me back to academic studies for a more thorough investigation into the production of slums.

Pursuing a PhD allowed me to return to Mumbai's slums and inquire in detail into the production of slums as it unfolds. The intention was to analyse what I knew best: construction practices and practitioners of housing production, or in other words - architecture and architects. I set out presuming to document shoddy building practices, dangerous and illegal structures, makeshift constructions, and arbitrary spatial organisations with lots of room for technical improvement and spatial innovation. In contrast to what I expected, I learned that housing practices in Mumbai's slums, in principle, are not that different from what I knew from architectural studies and practice in my home city of Zurich. The more time I spent on site and the more I was able to see behind the façade, in every sense of the term, the more difficult it became to distinguish what is actually specific and what is different from construction practices I am familiar with. Beyond apparent limited financial means and seemingly 'low-tech' equipment, the questions of coordination among multiple actors and interests; interpretation and translation of clients ambitions, needs and financial possibilities into spatial arrangements; along with mastering of technical constraints arising from the site; as well as negotiation of building regulations with officials, appear strangely familiar – to borrow from Roy (2009a) – to the eye of a 'western' observer, including myself. While I am, and to a certain extent probably always will be, foreign to the context of Mumbai's slums, I am familiar with the process of construction and those involved in it. Hence, central to my research is the figure of the contractor, a key actor

engaged in construction in Mumbai's incrementally developing neighbourhoods. As a kind of alter-architect, the contractor served as mirror and lens through which I tried to make sense of the complex process of housing production. Consequently their everyday practices of housing construction became the focal point of my research.

I had the luck to work in collaboration with Matias Echanove and Rahul Srivastava and their team at URBZ, who engaged practically and intellectually with the production of what they termed 'homegrown neighbourhoods'. They substantially supported my research by hosting me in their local offices in Dharvi and Shivajinagr and offering possibilities for extended exchange and advice as well as by facilitating access to key persons and places. This allowed me to build a strong basis for both my fieldwork as well as intellectual engagement with the reality of housing production.

Yet, I felt the need to investigate the production of slums on a second level complementing the study of everyday practices at a micro level, which would allow me to situate my research in a larger context. Here, two events coincided. During my fieldwork in 2015, the on-going controversies around the revision of Mumbai's development plan reached a preliminary climax, triggered by the publication of its draft for public scrutiny. Among several others shortcomings, it excluded slums from its vision of urban development, giving rise to an unprecedented public outcry and to its subsequent withdrawal. The second and contingent event was the possibility to initiate a collaborative research project conducted by the School of Habitat Studies, Tata Institute of Social Science (TISS), Mumbai and the Laboratory of Urban Sociology, Ecole Polytechnique Federale de Lausanne (EPFL), with the intention to study the technical, social, and political controversies revolving around the 2014-2034 Mumbai Development Plan. The exchange with my fellow PhD students Richa Bhardwaj and Salomé Houllier, as well as supervisors Amita Bhide and Christine Lutringer, was truly enriching and my research profited from it enormously.

The controversies offered the possibility to examine the discourse over current planning practices and struggles about conflicting approaches towards slums in Mumbai. Similar to the analysis of the construction process of houses in Shivajinagar we chose an actor-centred approach in order to study the development plan in the making. We sought to understand the different and conflicting activities and perspectives of the diverse actors engaged in the intricate process of co-producing Mumbai's urban future. Hence, the focus lies on the activities and perspectives of planners, state agents, politicians, civil society groups, as well as architects, developers, and builders. Of particular interest for my research is how these different actors justify and substantiate their claims on the city in a public debate.

Besides the analysis of (English) media coverage of the controversies, official documents, press releases, online content, plans and counterplans, and so on we engaged in extensive interviews with representatives of the diverse actor groups. Similar to the field experience, each interview was like the discovery of a new 'cosmos' or an extension thereof. Diving into each interviewee's perspective on planning, its potential, and objectives allowed us to see their own point of view for how they envisaged the 'just' city and the 'good' mode of development. Seeing through these multiple lenses reveals the conflictive nature of planning as an intricate process of co-production, where, among others, dissenting conceptualisations of slums are negotiated.

At both levels of investigation – the everyday practices of local actors and the abstract conceptualizations of slums in the contemporary planning controversies – this research is an inquiry into the ambiguous nature of Mumbai's slums. Thereby the analysis of the local construction system sheds light on the incremental mode of development prevalent in such settlements. The way they are actually built defies customary conceptions of self-built housing and development of slums such as those which are defended in the controversies revolving around the development plan. As these positions do not reflect the intricate reality of slums, the examination of the conflicting perspectives reveals why slums are difficult to include in contemporary conceptions of planning.

1 Introduction

Over the last decade urbanisation and its global scale gained unprecedented attention from both academics and the broad public, inter alia fuelled by debates about the scale of the global urban population (Brenner and Schmid 2015; UN-Habitat 2006). Within this renewed interest the UN-Habitat publication *The Challenge Of the Slums* (UN-Habitat 2003) certainly served as a wake-up call. A slew of subsequent publications (e.g. UN-Habitat 2010a; 2010b; 2015) and growing awareness lead the way to enshrine the case of cities including addressing slums within the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations 2015). The proliferation of 'spontaneous' settlements – often subsumed under the fiercely disputed term slum[1] – is often inevitably associated with fast-developing megacities in the so-called global South (Davis 2006). While the perception oscillates between 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair', they are generally considered a manifestation of the major challenge of the 'urban age', which is inadequate housing for the urban poor.

Incremental urban development was once accepted as a viable means of addressing housing needs of emerging countries. The work of early proponents such as Charles Abrams (1964) and John Turner (1967) paved the way for over two decades of experimentation by municipalities and international agencies such as the World Bank. Those approaches recognised the capabilities of residents to develop their own neighbourhoods and improve them over time to the extent where they become viable parts of the city. Such policies leveraged the potential of residents to multiply the effects of state interventions — and those of international organisations — in urban development.

However, they were abandoned in the 1990s (World Bank 1997). Many cities have since then returned to a policy of providing mass housing via public private partnerships. Much effort has been put into enhancing mass housing schemes and multiple studies evaluated those programs (e.g. Bhide, Shahjahan, and Shinde 2003; Nijman 2008). Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that these approaches failed to deliver the numbers needed and have generally produced bad quality housing and poor urbanism (Birkinshaw 2013; Echanove and Srivastava 2010; Echanove and Srivastava 2015a). Despite their drawbacks, such approaches towards urban development still persist

1 The term slum is itself object of much of academic debate for all its blurring and blanketing of reality and pejorative associations invoked (Rao 2006; Gilbert 2007; Arabindoo 2011a). In a later chapter (2.1) I will look closer into the theoretical and practical implication linked with *the* slum. At this point it suffices to bear in mind that slums are both conceptually and physically constructed (Björkman 2014). Given the wide spread use in Mumbai of the term in both, everyday speak and official language where it denotes an official planning category, I will maintain the word slum with all its ambiguity throughout this thesis.

in many cities of the so-called global South, including Mumbai, India. In this context, slums, deemed dangerous and unfit for living, became targets for redevelopment in the effort to transform Mumbai into a World Class City. Predictably, such transformation processes rarely go smoothly. Official attempts to urban restructuring geared at meeting global standards and norms often meet with fierce local opposition. In Mumbai this recently was the case when a wide range of citizens, NGOs and institutions challenged the official vision of an internationally competitive city, which the newly revised development plan was meant to enable. In contrast to wholesale redevelopment they demanded to recognise slums as vital parts of the city and called for a return to slums upgrading as officially accepted and supported form of urban development. The escalating controversies became the arena where conflicting visions of urban development collide. Here the role slums are supposed to play in the city's urban future and the legitimacy of their incremental mode of development were publicly negotiated.

Naturally, people, and particularly poor people, always have built their houses and neighbourhoods by themselves. Still, today, despite countless rectifying actions and even without support, "20 to 70 per cent of the urban population in developing cities […] produce their housing incrementally" (Wakely and Riley 2011). The scale – in Mumbai reportedly over 60% of the population lives in slums – of the phenomenon is such that international agencies are reconsidering ways of supporting incremental development. The World Bank (World Bank 2011a; World Bank 2011b), UN-Habitat (UN-Habitat 2012), Cities Alliance (Wakely and Riley 2011), and also private developers and multinationals such as Lafarge-Holcim (Lafarge.com 2013) are adapting their strategies for a future where incremental development will continue to play a major role for a large part of the world population.

However, in contrast to the well-documented experiences of the 1970s and 1980s there is a lack of knowledge of the actual functioning of incremental development in contemporary regimes of urbanisation. Surprisingly, little is known about the everyday spatial practices of local actors that produce such incrementally developing settlements and how these settlements socially and physically develop. Following Pushpa Arabindoo's call for renewed ethnographic engagement to understand the emerging spatial practices of the urban poor (Arabindoo 2011b), this research projects contributes to the closing of this gap and offers an empiric description of incremental urbanisation processes in order to better understand the social and physical production of space in Mumbai's slums.

Incremental urbanism in the making

By incremental development, I mean the step-by-step, resident driven improvements and transformations of houses and, by extension, that of neighbourhoods over an extended period of time, which is in accordance with their changing economic and social situation. This study regards incremental urbanism as an 'alternative' to prevailing urban ideologies and an equally valuable mode of urbanisation, from which we have to learn to better understand the forces and dynamics that shape the making of contemporary cities in India and elsewhere. Hence, the research aims to inform urban theory with empirical evidence and spark imaginaries and contribute to a renewed understanding of urban dynamics. The thick description (Geertz 1973) presented here deepens our understanding of the social, political, and technical complexity of contemporary urban development.

The objective is to develop a practical understanding of how incrementally developing habitats are made, maintained, and unmade through everyday practices. At the centre stand the processes of physical construction and house making with a special focus on the role of local actors, such as residents, construction workers, and public officials. In Mumbai the key figures engaged in building houses are the so-called contractors. As central mediators in the process of constructing houses, they mediate between labourers, clients, community and state agents. While erecting houses and assuring that they withstand physical and social pressure, contractors make possible urban development as well as further their own interests. Navigating technical difficulties, client demands, legal, political and economical constraints they produce not only built-up space but also social space.

Despite their crucial role in the production of the city, contractors occupy a marginal space in academic research. Studies done in the network of URBZ are rather the exception.[2] While often evoked as a central figure in Mumbai's 'homegrown' neighbourhoods in the writings of Echanove and Srivastava (e.g. Echanove and Srivastava 2012; Echanove and Srivastava 2013; Echanove and Srivastava 2015b), there is no comprehensive study on the wide variety of their practices. In contrast, in relation to housing production contractors are referenced at various places. For instance, URBZ carried out multiple analyses about construction of houses, among others in Shivajinagar (Moitra 2012a; Moitra 2012b; Moitra et al. 2012). Further, there are several studies on the process of incrementally consolidating houses among others by the Mumbai based housing NGO SPARC (Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres), which documented in detail the material transformation of housing and explicitly point to the involvement of contractors in the process (Sheela Patel and Kunte 2013). While they primarily search

2 In a Pakistani context Aasim Sajjad Akhtar (2011) writes on patronage and class as modes of labour control in the 'informal economy' of housing construction.

solutions to improve practices of local contractors and construction practices, they point to the lack of research in this regard: "Some experimental and action research by organizations working with these issues have documented practices, while others have explored training contractors. But the exploration is still very tentative" (Sheela Patel and Kunte 2013, n.p.). Additionally an analysis of construction techniques utilised in informal settlements in Mumbai by the World Bank (2011a; 2011b) – where interestingly one of the case studies was Shivajinagar – documents the large range of housing typologies and stages of consolidation (see also Mitchell 2010 for Delhi). While informed by contractors and explicitly meant as guide to serve "as a quick reference for house owners and contractors in informal settlements" (World Bank 2011b, 4) to build better, their practice is not object of this study.

Similarly, the practices of local organisations, such as Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and NGOs engaging in poverty reduction, including housing, attracted quite some scholarly attention (e.g. Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004). In the context of Mumbai particularly the Housing Alliance (consisting of the three civic organisations SPARC, NSDF, and Mahila Milan) gained international reputation, among others through the work of Arjun Appadurai (2001) on deep democracy, but also through their own efforts to increase their local, national and international visibility. Although the focus on organised collectives is important, much of the city-making processes happen in a more discrete manner. While not less organised, the practice of individual actors, such as contractors, can tell us much about the condition of contemporary urbanisation.

Focusing on the everyday activities of contractors allows examining the city in the making – i.e. the city made and unmade through countless interaction of heterogeneous actors involved in solving innumerable practical problems (Latour 1998). It is the actions of ordinary inhabitants in their daily routine, which incrementally assemble the city. In this process, the contractor holds an important position as they stand at the crossroads of the market, the political, and the social. A marginal actor in approaches to user-driven urbanisation and a negligible craftsman in studies of 'organically grown' settlements, contractors have attracted surprisingly little attention in urban studies. Tackling this gap, this research sheds light on contractors and their ambiguous role as mediator of incremental development.

All through its imagined and built existence houses possess an immense capacity of mobilising countless actors. Hence this research project adopts a performative perspective on housing production and considers a building not by what it is but by what it does (Yaneva 2009): provoking reactions and bringing together heterogeneous actors over space and time in the "controversial space that a building almost always is" (Latour and Yaneva 2008, 87). Across scales, concerns about housing form the basis of multiple conflicts. The lack of housing is a trope for much popular and academic work

on Mumbai and haunts much of everyday experience and conversations across the social spectrum (Appadurai 2000). In apparent contrast to Mumbai's reality as India's financial capital, adequate shelter is a distant dream and daily struggle for much of its population, not only for the poor. Yet, the residents of India's most populous city are 'housed', albeit on very unequal terms regarding tenure security, materiality, access to basic service, dwelling size, crowding, location and so on. Hence it is no surprise that the question of housing came to play an important role in the controversies that were triggered by the revision of Mumbai's development plan.

The revision of Mumbai's development plan currently underway is the third iteration since India's independence. It is expected to have a significant impact on Mumbai's population, as it will contribute to the way the city will be made, maintained, and transformed over the coming twenty years. Almost from the very beginning in 2008 the revision process was contested by civil society groups. The slowly escalating controversies over the city's urban future reached its preliminary climax when on the 24th of February 2015 the draft of the 2014-2034 Development Plan was released for public consultation. An unprecedented public outcry and a deluge of complaints, both by experts and the civil society, forced Maharashtra's chief minister, on April 21st, to 'scrape' the plan and order a four-month overhaul and screening of all objections. Crucial for the indignation and disapproval, which led to the vehement public rejection was among others the denial of an acceptable future for Mumbai's urban poor and their habitats within the official vision of the city's urban future.

The crisis of Mumbai's development plan is illustrative of a much more fundamental crisis of current planning tools and processes and the theories on which they are based. Bringing to the forefront the interplays of powers and arguments that otherwise are disguised in the dispersed and detached everyday making of the city, the controversies offer the possibility to examine the contentious dynamics and complexities of present-day's planning practices. Such analysis allows refining our understanding of the increasing heterogeneity of contemporary urban development and the challenges it raises regarding urban planning. In this controversy, contradicting conceptions of the good city are negotiated, inclusive conflicting approaches towards slums and incremental development. Hence the objective of this investigation into the contemporary planning discourse is the disentangling of different worldviews – or 'cosmos' – and their conflicting conceptualisation of planning and development, that were presented in the controversies. This helps to understand the difficult inclusion of incremental urban development as an acknowledged mode of urbanisation in contemporary urban planning.

The challenges of the heterogeneous city

The explorative approach of this thesis also owes to the present condition of today's cities, which could be described as one of increased heterogeneity. Our urban world has become increasingly diverse and complex on multiple levels accountable for social, spatial, and temporal heterogeneities, which go beyond a mere multiplicity of populations and cultures. The heterogeneous city is characterized by an increase of flows, like migration of any imaginable kind, ways of life, and contrasted ways of living notwithstanding similar economic strata. One might distinguish various pathways of urbanisation: from locally anchored contractor systems to huge international projects resulting in different urban fabrics, creating complex, inter-scalar and interacted spaces, where international financed projects are in close vicinity to locally rooted development projects or else entire city areas following particular logics. The heterogeneities at stake are various, multiple and evolve at different scales: heterogeneities of convictions, of ways of life (rhythms, capabilities), of habitats (huts, villas, skyscrapers), of urban forms (slums, high rise, low rise), of actors (dwellers, government officials, NGOs employees) and economic processes (financial circuits, market and capital entangling, macroeconomic models). All of them interact to form complex and contrasted urban dynamics. To a certain extent such increased heterogeneity certainly can be ascribed to accelerated urbanisation processes and increased (global) mobility and interconnectedness between and across social groups.

In the context of European cities Taşan-Kok and colleagues (2014) introduce the notion of hyper-diversity to refer to the intensified diversities of today's urban population, which can no longer be captured only by classical categories such as on socio-economic, social or ethnic terms, but needs to take into account the diversity of lifestyles, attitudes, and activities. The latter might vary considerably among seemingly homogenous groups categorized under the former terms. Hence everyday activities and with it spatial and temporal experience, use of the city, as well as interactions can differ considerably between members of the same socio-economic and ethnical group. The implications are far reaching, as traditional categories such as 'the poor' or 'the slum dweller' can no longer be understood as a homogenous category of individuals and as such targeted as distinct social groups inhabiting discrete territories through specific policies (Taşan-Kok et al. 2014), for example housing or slum programmes.

The increasing heterogeneities observable in cities of the global North are matched, if not eclipsed, by the realities which urban scholars of the South grapple with. Here, urban life since long evolves at and beyond the limits of conventional conceptualisations of the city (Simone 2011b; 2014), and today's rapid urbanisation renders these processes particular evident. With reference to Oren Yiftachel (2006), Vanessa Watson, for example, points to these 'new' urban conditions arising primarily

from demographic change as well as persisting ‘suborn realities’ which continue to characterise many cities of the global ‘South’ (Watson 2009a; 2013). As the shift to the urban occurs primarily in poorer countries of the global South, today’s rapid urban growth is also an urbanisation of poverty and inequality, which in turn fuels the proliferation of settlements with dire living condition (UN-Habitat 2003), where services are rather provided by community and informal networks than the state. At the same time processes of worldwide economic liberalisation brought about uneven gains, increased inequality, intensified competition and insecurity, and subsequent growth of the informal ‘sector’, which rely on non-state networks such as kinship, religious groups, place of origin and so on. In that socio-economic transformation urban life takes on new qualities to the extent that informality, from income generation and housing to the mode of navigating everyday urban life, became the norm rather then the exception (Roy and AlSayyad 2004). In these ‘new’ urban condition, Watson notes, ‘stubborn realities’ pertain to actors and related modes of engagement as well as processes: The state is not only weak but also ‘fractured’ and co-opted by different interest groups at various levels; Civil society can not be regarded as a homogenous and a (self) organised “source of democracy”, but rather is highly fragmented along economic, political, ethnic, class, cast lines; State interventions, including planning, are bound up in a game over power and influence, always suspected of being partial and aimed at political gain and hence challenged; Community organisations assert their interests and influence through demonstrations, violence or resorting to courts respectively. In state-society interactions the search for consensus by means of dialogue and collaborative processes is replaced by deliberate conflict (and sometime violence), in which often irreconcilable ‘conflicting rationalities’ collide (Watson 2013, 5). While Watson draws a rather bleak picture of urban conditions marked primarily by conflict and violence, it makes clear that increasing heterogeneity is not restricted to a changing society but matched on the level of the state, both of which in turn fundamentally reshape the mode of interaction between the two. Obviously such social changes affect the ways in which urban space is transformed, often manifest in fragmented urban form. For example, one observes the densification of inner city slums as well as the urbanisation of extended former rural areas beyond cities’ periphery (McGee 1991; 2014; Qadeer 2004). These spatial transformations driven by low-income households are contrast with the creation of elite enclaves and gated communities both in the city centre as well as in the peripheries. All of which exist in parallel to each other.

The argument here is that this increased heterogeneity is not restricted to diversification and enlarged complexity of social categories and everyday practices but is also linked to a diversity of urban forms and actual and possible modes of development. For cities this means not only accommodating such an amplified heterogeneity and allow

peaceful living together, but ideally also offering multiple modes of development in order to live up to contrasting aspirations about urban live and futures. Such increased urban heterogeneity is a challenge on multiple levels: from urban experiences and practices to theories. This puts us at least in front of two major tasks: Firstly a renewed inquiry into the diversity and realities of urbanisation processes, and secondly questioning how urban planning deals with this increased heterogeneity.

Planning Mumbai's heterogeneities

Cities like Mumbai are no exception to such increased heterogeneity of ways of life, urban fabrics and urban transformation processes. We might partly locate the origin of such diversity in its rich and changeful history, which not only can be read in its built form (Dwivedi and Mehrotra 2001) but continues to inform urban practices and forms of development. For instance, it seems possible to identify in Mumbai at least three major types of urban forms, each of them following a distinct mode of development: the high rise, the slum, and at least two different kinds of urban villages; the latter historically centred their respective form of livelihood around fishing and agriculture respectively that survived amidst a sprawling city (Echanove et. al, 2015). Further, one might add tribal hamlets still existing in and around Mumbai's Sanjay Gandhi National Park.

This diversification of the paths to urbanisation is matched with an increasing heterogeneity of the authorities on the national, state and city levels involved in the planning and transformation of the city. For example, in Mumbai there are a number of state agencies that plan different parts of the city: Metropolitan Mumbai Region Development Authority (MMRDA), Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM), Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA), Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA), and several others. Then there are parastatal agencies, like for example the Mumbai Transformation Support Unit (MTSU), a governmental think tank set up to facilitate the process of Mumbai's transformation by advising on, coordinating and monitoring projects to improve quality of life. Finally, there are all the different political parties on state, city and local levels with close links to the real estate industry and development mafia (Weinstein 2008), that participate in the construction of the city. All of the above compete over territorial and thematic influence.

This preliminary peek into the city's urban reality already gives us an idea of the heterogeneous and complex administrative and political system posing a veritable challenge to city planning. Planning is not anymore an exercise of a prevalent actor that combines and aligns the various forces shaping the city in order to follow its plan, but on the contrary, it implies constant, upstream negotiations and translations to be able

to draw a common plan and overcome the increasing social, political, and technical complexities. In the process, it forces professionals (planners, architects, geographers, researchers) to go beyond the multiple dichotomies that rule most of the urban world, such as the high-rise and the slum, nature and culture, or social and material.

Such disjunctive conceptions are based on narrow conceptualisations of what a good city is; how it is produced and what urban form is envisaged. The high-rise and the slum symbolize the two opposite ends of such prevailing visions of the city, where formal and informal development are irreconcilably contrasted (Echanove and Srivastava 2011). Such concepts praise a deterministic interpretation of development (Robinson 2006) and legitimise certain urban developments and criminalise others (Roy 2011). In such a reductive understanding of development the "incremental" mode of urban development of slums is not considered within official development procedures and thus has to be either transformed through resettlement programmes and mass housing or eradicated (Pattaroni and Baitsch 2015).

According to Krishna Menon (2007), it is due to the history of the planning profession itself that urban planning as it is performed today in India is not able to mitigate the negative effects of rapid urbanisation going along with globalisation and to cope with the challenges of the increasing complexity of contemporary urban conditions. This is partly owed to the colonial legacy and to the inactivity of planning authorities to adjust theories, processes, and tools to local conditions (Menon 2007). From a more general perspective Watson (2009a) argues along the same lines. In as far as the case of India parallels most of planning history throughout the global South the following overview draws on Watson's outline. The planning models and ideologies inherited form the British conveyed a modernist vision of the good city, which at the time were oriented, on the one hand, to create acceptable conditions to foreign settlers, for example, improving sanitary conditions through slum removal and, on the other hand, to extend administrative control over territories and the population living within. Hence, from the onset, planning in many cities of the south was oriented to protect exclusive urban land rights, all the while promoting a modernist imagery of the city. The primary tool in this exercise of power was the master plan and linked zoning regulations, rendering planning inherently exclusionary in nature, particular for the poorer sections of society (Watson 2009b). The rigid regime of master planning leaves large parts of the society no other option then resorting to nonconforming practices of occupying land and creating shelter, ultimately creating the informal urban development it wanted to control. At the same time the government facilitated these informal practices on humanitarian grounds, presenting itself as open and inclusive (Yiftachel and Yakobi 2004). Despite the obvious drawbacks, post-colonial planning authorities retained modernist planning and putting it into the service of a new elite. Watson's generalised

account of planning history in cities of the global South eerily resembles the case of Mumbai, where "master planning and zoning ordinances introduced under British rule still persist" (Watson 2009a, 2262) but has seriously been subverted by powerful groups (elite residents, real estate developers and investors, political parties, and criminal organisations) which employ planning instruments to further particular interests and secure exclusive influence over urban land.

One of the consequences of an intricate history and entangled practice, which play out in a context of pervasive informality, where neither civil society nor the state can be seen as homogenous, is that planning is perceived as detached form everyday life and experience of a majority of the population and considered inappropriate and inadequate in the face of contemporary urban conditions. At the same time planning became the means through which groups of all kind and social-economic background, including the poor (Mitlin 2001; 2008; Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004; Sheela Patel and Mitlin 2004), assert claims on the state. Under the rubric of co-production, Diana Mitlin (2008), for example, examines the diverse strategies of NGO's, grassroots organisation and civil society movements to work together with the state and actively contribute in shaping planning policies and take part in implementation, as for example in the case of a people managed resettlement in Mumbai (Sheela Patel, d'Cruz, and Burra 2002). She argues that grassroots organisations intentionally engage in co-production in order to access state services on a short-term basis but also to garner long-term benefits. Thereby co-production particularly includes community empowerment as a means to shift the balance of power (at least locally). Mitlin argues that co-production is often more efficient for the urban poor to secure state resources than protests or lobbying. In her review article Watson sets such "social movement-initiated co-production" apart from "state-initiated concepts of co-production", whereby the former entails "community empowerment as an end in itself" and the later is primarily concerned with "efficient and cost-effective state service delivery" (Watson 2014, 65). Co-production then is a shift in the way citizens engage with the state and can be interpreted as a reaction to the heterogeneous landscape of urban planning practice in the context of a fragmented state-society relation as described above. In that light, planning must be rather seen as "a contested field of interacting activities by multiple actors" than the "prerogative of professionals who act in isolation from other spheres of action" (Miraftab 2009, 41).

Needless to say that planning a process, which is at once perceived as out-dated and detached from reality and at the same time seized by various groups to make claims on the city, is not without conflicts. Recently this became evident again in the preparation for Mumbai's new development plan, when the techno-rational conceptions of the municipal corporation collided with the imminently political logic of survival and daily struggles of slums (Bhide 2011). Amita Bhide's interpretation echoes what

Watson termed the clash of 'conflicting rationalities', "which so frequently occurs when plan or development project touches the lives and livelihoods of households and communities" (Watson 2003, 396). 'Conflicting rationalities' point to the deep divide in conceptualising the 'good' live and 'proper' citizens as well as linked modes of urban development, or in Watson's word they describe the "reality of fundamentally different worldviews and different value-systems" (ibid.) which come to the fore, for instance, in planning controversies.

Such interpretations draw from what is referred to in international literature as "post-colonial" approaches or "subaltern urbanism", which argue that urban planning and theory throughout the world remain under Western influence and its associated notions of modernity and development (Robinson 2006). Hence, derived conceptualizations such as the opposition of the formal and informal (Roy 2005), appear unfit to tackle the multiple challenges faced by cities in the global South. Such analysis is not limited to cities and regions where planning is rooted in modernist theories and operate through associated instruments such as master plans, but also in contexts which reformed planning approaches are adopted, such as those embracing participation and claim to acknowledge for differences and multiculturalism. Also the later are based on underlying normative assumptions, for example, about the nature of the state and civil society and hence prone to failure due to the deeply 'conflicting rationalities' at work within planning, on the one side, and those of actual existing urban realities on the other (Watson 2003).

The point of departure for urban scholars of the South is the absolute crucial role of the locality in which theory is formed. Geographical, historical and also personal circumstances inevitably frame the context in in which knowledge about the city emerges, theories are built and planning approaches formed – that is how urban problems are identified, framed, addressed and sometimes solved. In their recently published volume on planning in the global South (Bhan, Srinivas, and Watson 2018), Bhan and colleagues, for instance, underline the importance of context by outlining each editors' personal academic background. At the same time this move allows them to highlight the multiplicity of 'southern' approaches. The specificities of context in which a particular urban theory arises are the reasons why it cannot easily be transferred beyond the place of origin – generally the global North – to other places – usually the global South – with different contexts, histories and urban trajectories. The discrepancy between urban thought and reality partially explains the at times disruptive consequences of globally circulating urban theories, policies and practise in the places where they land.

Since the birth of urban studies in cities of the global North, they remain the locus of most theoretical production and dominant theories from where they assert global

validity. Meanwhile, over the past decades, the worldwide dynamics of urbanisation dramatically shifted to the South. This shift left urban theory somewhat off-centred demanding readjustment. Certainly, the present situation has also to do with the politics of knowledge – i.e. the place of academic institutions and global distribution of resources, which results in an overrepresentation of certain theoretical positions. Parnell and Robinson (2012) trenchantly note that "[a]t the heart of this tension is the fact that a relatively small group of highly visible theorists tend, perfectly reasonably, to write about their own backyards" (595). In as far as cases of southern urbanism are considered northern scholarship largely is "treating places outside the Anglo-American heartland as sources of data rather than as sites of theorization in their own right" (Parnell and Robinson 2012, 596). Part of a re-centring of urban theory includes, as Parnell and Robinson (2012) argue to revisit dominant theories in urban study: i.e. the critique of neoliberalism and its pretension of global relevance as explanatory framework of urban change.[3] Thereby their intention is not to replace established theory, or to argue it has no explanatory power in the South, but rather to 'provincialise' it, that is, to put it in relation to its European history and culture and to acknowledge that these histories might significantly differ from those in places elsewhere (Chakrabarty 2000). Hence, one has to cognise that in cities shaped by informality, poverty, traditional authorities and week states there are other, and potentially more relevant, drivers of urban change, which exist alongside processes of neoliberal urban restructuring. Such southern perspective on urbanism is fundamentally different from arguing that neoliberalism looks and plays out differently in different places. In that sense, "neoliberalization is just one of many processes shaping cities" (Parnell and Robinson 2012, 602).

More recently one observes increasingly concentrated attempts to overcome the geographical bias of urban studies and intensified efforts to account for the global South as the "new epicentre of urbanism" gained momentum (Parnell and Oldfield 2014, 1; also Bhan, Srinivas, and Watson 2018). Thereby the stated intention is not to point out the limits of or even abolish northern theories but offering alternative ways of doing urban research by putting a southern perspective to the fore and thereby revive urban theory. In that light "seeing form the South" might be helpful to advance understanding of urban realities and advance planning theory and practice (Watson 2009a). "Southern urbanism is thus a political construct, devised to shift assumptions and alter the locus of intellectual power" (Parnell 2014, 541) and a call for expanding our

3 On a different level, similar attempts to displace neoliberalism as the dominant explicative model are under way in what has become known as the assemblage debate. Assemblage and its relation to critical urban studies of a Marxian orientation is discussed in more detail in the chapter 3. At this point it suffice to note that a number of researches engaged in that debate are concerned with cities of the South (e.g. Simone 2011b; McFarlane 2011b; 2011c; Dovey 2011).

understanding of urbanisation processes based on empirical evidence and experience of southern cities.

However, it is not enough to note the explanatory limits of traditional concepts used to analyse, build, and govern contemporary cities as they become increasingly inadequate to account for the complex and contested reality of urban habitats in cities in the global North and South (Pattaroni and Baitsch 2015). This is more than an epistemological question, as normative and dominant visions of urban development embedded in conventional theories inform and shape tools of urban transformation, such as master plans or slum policies. Such planning tools in turn deny and actively reduce the diversity of "patterns and pathways to urbanisation" constitutive of the complex contemporary urban fabric (Schmid 2013). Among other factors, they contribute to the further marginalisation of slums, considering them, due to their informality and their intricate spatial characteristics, as one of the major hindrances for urban development (Echanove & Srivastava, 2015).

The way in which slums were dealt with in the revision of Mumbai's development plan is illustrative of the marginalisation effects of contemporary planning. Indeed, the proposed development plan radically excluded slum settlements by simply leaving blank these territories on the maps, denying them a future within its framework. This neglect in a city where reportedly over 60% of the population lives in slums and housing is one of the major concerns not only fuelled on-going controversies but also calls into question the legitimacy of the planning process itself. The controversies, which unfolded around the revision of Mumbai's development plan are highly representative of the tensions and conflicts pervading the development and regulation of contemporary cities, along with the transformation of the tools of urban planning. The escalating crisis of the development plan reflects a discrepancy of public concerns and aspirations on urban development and the visions of planning authorities, which do not account for the increasingly intricate and diverse realities of habitats and ways of life in today's cities.

This research engages in an analysis of the different positions defended in the controversies over the city's urban future, in order to better understand what is at stake in those debates and the heterogeneous fabric of Mumbai they reveal. At the center of the investigation into the clash of 'conflicting rationalities' (Watson 2003) stand the different conceptions of urban planning and development, and in particular their specific way incremental urbanism is framed. Thereby the study offers a an account of those contentious dynamics of planning processes, in order to refining our understanding of what is planning in the heterogeneous city and, more broadly, to account for the intricate complexity of contemporary urban worlds.

1.1 Research question

This research is an attempt to better understand the processes of incremental urban development under present-day urban conditions. The scale of the phenomena — i.e. the large percentage of the global urban population living in incrementally developing settlements and the prevalent difficulties for cities to come up with appropriate answers to this 'challenge' — is a result, at least partly, of misconceptions at multiple levels about the processes and dynamics at play in the development of these neighbourhoods, as well as a neglect of their contribution to urban development at large. Hence the primary research question that this thesis addresses reads as follows:

What is the role of incremental urbanism in the making of the contemporary city?

In order to answer such a question we have to investigate at least two levels of complexity in the production of incremental urbanism. The first is the practice of actually existing transformation processes in incrementally developing settlements (i.e. its practical role in the production of urban spaces), and the second relates to the discourses over the nature of incremental urbanism, its potential, and limits (i.e. the role and legitimacy conferred to those production processes). In that sense this research is an effort to assess the place that incremental urbanism occupies in the city and in the life of its residents. What role does incremental development play in the life of urban dwellers? Does incremental improvement of the built environment comprise emancipatory moments or is it better understood as a coping mechanism? Do we understand incremental urbanism as a failure of planning or as the result of illegal and informal activities of the urban poor?

The answers to such questions not only inform the perceptions and positions of diverse urban actors but also guide planning approaches and direct actions. This manifests for example in the exclusion of slums in the official vision of urban development and their redevelopment through formal housing programmes. Thus the part of incremental urbanism in the creation of the city depends largely on what role it is allowed to play. Consequently we might ask: to which contexts different actors link incremental urbanism? How and in relation to which situation do they refer to it and what does it evoke or imply for them? What role is incremental urbanism assigned by authorities, planning experts, housing activists, or academics in their conception of a just urban development? What place does it occupy in the media or in public debates? How do these different actors conceptualise it and what relevance do they ascribe to it in the development of the city?

These questions are examined in this thesis using the case of Mumbai, India. Accordingly we might reformulate the research question as: Which role – practically and politically – does incremental urbanism play in Mumbai's urban development?

In order to better understand how the settlements in which the majority of the city's population lives are actually made, and how they are conceptualised, I investigate what I call incremental urbanism at two complementing levels: *Making* and *Planning*.

Under the header *Making* I explore the processes of accretion and consolidation at the level of individual housing construction. Here the following questions guide my exploration: How are incrementally developing habitats made, maintained, and unmade through everyday practices of housing production? What is the role of local actors in this process? In particular, what is the role contractors play in the socio-spatial creation of the built environment? Are they simply entrepreneurs or do they contribute to the social cohesion of the local community? Do they further individual interests and particular gains, or are they more guided and controlled by community action? How do contractors mediate the complex and often conflictive process of housing production? How do they mediate between different actors and diverging interests?

By looking at the work of these local actors, this research contributes to the following questions: How can we characterise the system of housing production in incrementally growing neighbourhoods? How does the increased specialisation and professionalisation in housing production that emerged in settlements conceived as and established as 'self-built' alter the processes of urban production? Guided by these questions, this research can be understood as an investigation into the 'self' of self-built neighbourhoods. Or in other words, what stands behind auto-construction in contemporary conditions? How does the reality of auto-construction evolve in a context of advancing consolidation? Summarily these inquiries into the practices of incremental urbanism might be condensed in the following question:

How is housing production in Mumbai's incrementally developing settlements actually taking place?

The empirical account of incremental development practices presented in this thesis tells us how large parts of the city of Mumbai are actually produced. In order to better understand what role incremental urbanisation plays in a larger framework of city making, a complementary investigation into the contemporary discourse over planning is proposed. For that the example of the controversies revolving around the revision of Mumbai's development plan serve as the case study. Such public discourses reflect the balance of power – i.e. who has a saying in the debate, whose voice is being heard and whose is muted, which form of urban transformation is legitimised and which is criminalised, which arguments are considered relevant, and which positions translate into planning instruments and legitimates public and state action. In such debates over a common urban future and the way to reach it, state coercion – implicit in every act of planning – is negotiated and publically justified.

In as far as the controversies over Mumbai's urban future is the place of negotiations over which mode of urban development and form is fostered and which is negated, we learn much about the (poor) legitimacy conferred to incremental process in the making city – i.e. its subalternisation.

Hence, the part entitled *Planning* examines the different conflicting positions towards incremental urbanism adopted in the planning controversies revolving around the revision of Mumbai's development plan. It asks which are the main positions represented in the controversies and how they are legitimised? What are their underlying conceptions of planning and development? And what are the guiding principles that govern the respective envisioned urban order and transformation they foresee? Analysing the underlying foundations of these positions, the research sheds light on their competitive relations and reveals why and to what extent they are irreconcilable. This allows us to better understand the difficulties of those who advocate for the inclusion of incremental urbanism in Mumbai's planning framework to make their claims heard. More generally, to what extent is incremental urbanism compatible (or not) with Mumbai's contemporary planning regime? In that sense the controversies are, among others, a public exchange of arguments over the just framing of incremental development and its relevance in Mumbai's urban future. As such the research investigate the following question:

How is incremental urbanism framed in contemporary controversies over Mumbai's urban development?

By framing, I understand how the various processes – the different actors, materialities, spatiality, and so on – relevant in incremental urbanism are categorised, ordered, and valued. As conceptualisations of how cities (ought to) work, they inform approaches towards urban development and determine which actors and processes are considered relevant in the making of the city. In respect to the topic of this research, such framings govern what place incremental urbanism is allocated in Mumbai's urban development. Certain conceptions of planning and development are more welcoming of or even embrace incremental urbanism and others are excluding, negating, or ignoring it. As such framing has an oppressive effect, which in the case of urban planning often is conveyed via planning instruments and discourses of legitimation. That such controversies over conflicting framings have an effect on the urban reality is particularly obvious when the discourse revolves around the crafting of planning instruments. To what extent planning instruments have the intended effect and how they are implemented is yet another question and would require additional studies. Nevertheless, framing objects and objectives of planning influence how planning tools are conceptualised and crafted. Which parameter of a building is regulated and which is not, thus assigning importance to different aspects of urban reality and ignores

others. Hence this research asks how do planning tools foster or negate different modes of urban development, such as incremental urbanism.

In essence, this research addresses the question of what incremental urbanism is, that is a certain way to produce the city along with its reception. It investigates the practices and discourses of incremental urbanism and points to the problematic relation between the two moments of urban production. In doing so it contributes to better understanding the multiple ways in which incremental urbanism is rendered invisible – both academic and political. The empirical account of housing production questions conventional conceptions of incremental development and points to our often vague knowledge of urban processes and the related blind spots. Moreover a careful description aims at better assessing how the reality of urban production in incrementally developing neighbourhoods is reflected (or not) in contemporary debates. Here invisibillisation happens on an abstract level of conceptualisation when the complex reality of incremental urbanism is made to fit a particular worldview. On a practical level these moments of invisibilisation are translated into planning instruments and through public and private action engraved into the city. In revealing these mechanisms we better understand the social and physical production of space in Mumbai's incrementally developing settlements. In doing so it contributes to a better understanding of the forces and dynamics driving incremental urbanism and extends our understanding of contemporary urban transformation

1.2 Choice of the case study

In the past decade Mumbai has become increasingly prominent in both the academic and popular imaginaries[4] as paradigmatic for urban development in cities of the global South. Much focus lies in the city's rapid urban change and particularly its slum settlements and the policies, activism, and social movements accompanying and driving their transformation. For example, places like Dharavi (e.g. Sharma 2000) and the Dharavi Redevelopment Program (Konermann 2010; Weinstein 2014) or, more generally, the city's slum rehabilitation programs garnered much scholarly attention. So much so that Andrew Harris (2012) demands for caution regarding Mumbai's metonymic urbanism attaining exemplarily status for urban development in South Asia and beyond. All the while he welcomes Mumbai's new position as a counterweight to the Western origins of much of urban theory, which he identifies as the reason for a limited and limiting focus on issues and locations in academic research. Following

4 While both Neuwirth's Shadow City (2006) and a Davis' Planet of Slums (2006) hold a chapter on Mumbai, it is certainly Slumdog Millionaire (Boyle and Tandan 2009), which catapulted Mumbai's slums into public awareness. The imaginary about the live in the city's neighbourhoods of the poor transported in the award winning film triggered a fierce academic debate (see for example Echanove and Srivastava 2009; Sengupta 2010; Roy 2011).

Harris's call for nuanced analysis and rooted theorisation of Mumbai's urban realities, this research investigates – to borrow from Robinson (2006) – the ordinary process of everyday urbanism. To do justice to this claim, it is essential to point to the specificities and uniqueness of the case study as well as to the elements of ordinariness. This is how one can assess its relevance beyond its singularity.

The ordinary neighbourhood called Shivajinagar

The objective to investigate the practices of incremental development and in particular to examine the dynamics of the local building industry centred on contractors, defined the kind of settlement suitable as a case study for this research. The literature suggests and exploratory field visits confirmed that contractors build most of the slums – notified and non-notified slums – in Mumbai. Therefore further criteria for the choice of settlement serving as the case study became decisive.

For the research on housing production I was on the lookout for a neighbourhood, where construction activity is high and where residents can make admittedly constrained choices regarding their homes beyond meeting basic needs. The socio-economic situation of the residents must allow them to afford contracting a contractor to build their homes. They should have certain room for manoeuvre, permitting them to make choices, for example about different contractors, the kind of houses and materials, and so on. Meeting these conditions, the resettlement colony Shivajinagar, Govandi in the M-East ward was identified as the case study. The sheer size of the settlement with a population estimated around 250,000 inhabitants made it the home for a wide socio-economic variety of households, although situated at the lower end of the city's spectrum. It is at least in parts, the neighbourhood of those who I call the *not so poor* – i.e. those who are just about beyond penury and have attained a certain, although frail, socio-economic security. In this respect Shivajinagar is home to those who Simone calls the possible "urban majority" and who represent the "missing people" outside of much of research and public focus (Simone 2014).

The socio-economic position correlates with the built environment, as the latter is brought in line with the possibilities and ambitions of the former. So a certain degree of consolidation of the settlement was expected and desired for the research. However, the consolidation should not yet have reached saturation. By saturation I understand that most houses have reached the maximum dimension tolerated by officials, for example a height limit or a given number of floors. Although such limits constantly shift, certain thresholds turn out to be rigid for longer periods of time particularly in older and well-established neighbourhoods. For this research it was an advantage that in Shivajinagar houses of varying degrees of consolidation are found next to each

other. At the time of research many structures were one or two-storey buildings, which could be considerably enlarged by adding an additional floor. At the time of fieldwork, Shivajinagar was undergoing a phase of high construction activities. Interestingly, towards the end of this research the construction activity noticeably calmed down as most of the houses reached the current height restriction imposed by the municipality and contractors had more difficulties securing further assignments.

Shivajinagar, however, also has a particular history. It is certainly not the 'model' slum haunting much of the imaginaries: an 'organically' grown settlement with narrow damp lanes winding through a maze of makeshift huts and so on. Quite the contrary, Shivajinagar is an officially planned municipal housing colony with a gridded layout, through which a chain of historical shifts in urban policy and neglect by the local municipality was turned into a slum (Björkman 2014). However, this is by far not a singular case. In Mumbai there are several neighbourhoods, which follow similar patterns as Shivajinagar. That is, a land-based resettlement colony was established in the 1970s in the urban periphery to house slum dwellers evicted from their inner city settlements, where residents were to build their houses themselves. While they might vary in overall size, layout, and level of consolidation and certainly differ regarding the advantages or disadvantages emerging from their specific locations, these settlements are illustrative of how the approach towards housing the poor changed over time. Established as a municipal housing colony following the principles of self-help housing, they were re-categorised as a slum in order to facilitate basic service delivery. However, today the same planning category exposes them to the threat of redevelopment under private-public partnership programmes.

Shivajinagar allows us to study the processes of 'self-help' housing in a settlement, which was planned and intended to develop incrementally, after 40 years of consolidation. It is interesting to study a case of 'self-help' housing at the moment where the promises of consolidation – while never terminated – actually became reality. This allows us to assess to what extent the underlying assumptions of the concepts, which stand at the origin of settlements like Shivajinagar hold true under contemporary conditions.

In respect to the overall relevance of the case study for other kinds of settlements in Mumbai it is worth pointing to the specificity of resettlement colonies, which is their legal status. While land tenure is in principle legal, albeit more often than not rather complex, the process of incremental development in a resettlement colony seems to be comparable to areas where there is a similar *perceived* tenure security, such as 'naturally' grown and established slums. This assumption can be supported by the work of Echanove and Srivastava (e.g. 2012; 2015b) in various neighbourhoods in Mumbai suggesting that contractor-driven incremental development follows similar lines as in Shivajinagar, regardless of their different legal statues and tenure regimes.

While Shivajinagar is not a singular case in Mumbai in respect to its history as a 'planned' slum, it is certainly not unique regarding the way in which the process of consolidation proceeds. Given that incremental development is the prevalent process of city-making in many of Mumbai's neighbourhoods, accounting for the majority of its population, it is rather shocking that in official efforts for urban development, incremental urbanism is constantly side-lined. This mismatch became particularly obvious in the controversies over Mumbai's new development plan.

The specificities of the Mumbai Development Plan controversies

The public indignation about planning and the subsequent outcry, which characterised the process of Mumbai's development plan revision, is not an unparalleled event in India's effort to plan its cities. For example, from 2001 onwards the revision of Delhi's master plan was heavily contested by civil society groups[5] and its (non) participatory process critiqued (e.g. P. Prakash 2013). Also preceding the events in Mumbai but territorially closer, in Pune – Maharashtra's second largest city – local actors fiercely opposed the development plan. Here their struggle can be directly linked to those in Mumbai. As a demonstration of discontent with the planning process a civil society group literally immersed a printout of the development plan in the river (*The Times of India* 14/04/2013). This media-effective act of resistance supposedly inspired the *Dump this DP* campaign, which would become important in Mumbai. The link is even more evident when one considers that a key person of this campaign originates from Pune.

These two examples of open contestation, however, should not make us believe that contemporary (master) planning in Indian cities invariably faces opposition. Gautam Bhan's (2017) call for resurrecting a public debate on urban planning suggests that the opposite is true. Given that in India some 2000 cities have a master plan (Ansari 2004), we must assume that most of the official planning efforts remain largely unnoticed by a larger public. For example in India's most planned city, Chandigarh, the revision of its master plan 2031 was passed recently without triggering major public opposition. In Bangalore, where the same international consultants were engaged as later in Mumbai, the master plan was prepared in 18 months and adopted within two years (Sundaresan 2014). Although the rather quick process implies so, the Bangalore case was not immune to external – or depending on the perspective local – influence and contestations (Sundaresan 2013). However, these activities occurred as part of the planning process in the form of pressure of interest groups behind the scenes and post-adoption of the plan through juristic intervention in courts. The way in which the

5 An insight into the vast activities of civil society is provided in the homepage of MPISG (Architexturez 2013), which was initiated by planner and activist Gita Dewan Verma.

planning process and its result were shaped – interference and clandestine influencing by powerful groups – in the case of Bangalore resembles past experiences in Mumbai. The first revision of Mumbai's development plan set the stage for claim-making by various groups during the 16 years from the beginning to its adoption (Nainan 2012; Nainan 2014).

The drafting and revision of land use plans, such as the development plan in Mumbai, have a long history of contestation. However, the contemporary controversies in Mumbai are in their intensity and dimension distinct from historical and contemporary Indian examples. This public debate not only brought to the fore players who preferred to engage behind closed doors but also mobilised previously unheard of actors publicly demanding a say in shaping Mumbai's urban future. The involvement of a larger public is reflected in active engagement with planning issues, for example through identifying and reporting errors in the official land use maps or drafting alternative visions[6] and engaging in counter planning exercises.

That times are changing was realised across all ranks. Reaction to the outcry, which folled the publication of the Existing Land Use Surevey, a senior municipal officer from the development plan department reasoned, "things have come to such a state that we have to take into account the public's view".[7] For him it was the increased awareness about the importance and long-term effects of the development plan along with a wider availability of information, that stand behind the public indignation: "it has come to the point [where] people are aware; we have to open up". The consultative and ward-level workshops were presented as the consequent reaction of the municipality to this changed situation.

The controversies revolving around the making of Mumbai's development plan is representative of the fault lines – such as conflicts over housing, environmental questions and basic service provision as well as negotiating participation and balancing conflicting visions of urban development – pervading contemporary planning across India and beyond. What makes the case of Mumbai unique is the scope of the controversies reflecting a moment when planning becomes a public problem and marking a shift in the way planning is (re-)thought, carried out, and contested. As such the controversies represent an opportunity to study the challenges faced by contemporary planning, which, while often latent, usually remain disguised in many cities.

In that sense the controversies offer a unique chance to study the negotiation over which role slums and more generally incremental urbanism are to play in Mumbai's

6 For an example, see the case of Sunderbaug, which was documented in the framework of the Flash Research Project (Bhardwaj 2016).

7 Interview conducted in 2014.

urban future. Questions about adequate and affordable housing underlie much public indignation about the municipal visions of urban development. In their aspiration of a World Class City status slums are absent and as an effect large parts of the city's urban fabric and population is excluded from the envisioned development. In contrast, the demand for acknowledging incremental urbanism as a valid form of urban development fuelled much opposition and contributed to the large-scale public mobilisation. Analysing the public debate and exchange of arguments allows the study of contemporary planning processes in the making and hence helps us to better understand both the process and consequences of planning as a result of – sometimes conflictive – co-production.

1.3 Contextualisation

In order to understand incremental urbanism in present-day Mumbai we have to put it into relation to urban transformation in contemporary Mumbai at large. For that we have to investigate into the historical trajectories and the contemporary conditions of urban development. In as far as slums are the place where incremental urbanism primarily plays out, it is crucial to shed light on the mode of transformation, which is officially envisioned and the linked programs that are supposed to enable this transformation. This allows us to understand better on the one hand the condition under which contemporary incremental urbanism takes place and on the other hand the competitive relation among the different modes of urban transformation. In that sense, this chapter presents an overview of the city of Mumbai, followed by a short historical overview outline of its urban development and will conclude with a closer look at contemporary slum redevelopment programs.

1.3.1 City profile

The city known as Mumbai[8] today is located on a peninsula protruding into the Arabian Sea from India's west coast. It is the capital of the State of Maharashtra (Figure 1) and together with neighbouring regions it constitutes the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) (Figure 2). The city of Mumbai consists of two historically emerged regions, Mumbai City district and Mumbai Suburban district, which together spread over 603.4

8 In 1995 the city of Bombay was officially renamed Mumbai. The then governing regional party Shiv Sena and its ally Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) aimed at supplanting the colonial past and install a local identity by returning to the allegedly vernacular name Mumbai. It was argued that the name Mumbai derived from the local goddess Mumbadevi is worshiped by the native fishermen who inhabited the estuary, which became Mumbai. See Thomas Blom Hansen (2001) for the politics of naming and identity. While I will use Mumbai throughout this research, I refer to the city as Bombay when writing about the time before its name was changed.

square kilometres. Out of this 437.7 square kilometres are under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM). The remaining area is distributed among various national and state administration, among others the Defence Ministry, Atomic Energy Commission or the Forest Department. The city is administratively organised in 24 Wards (Figure 3). With a population of 12.4 million Greater Mumbai is, according to the Census of 2011, India's most populous city and second largest urban agglomeration, which is home to 18.4 million.

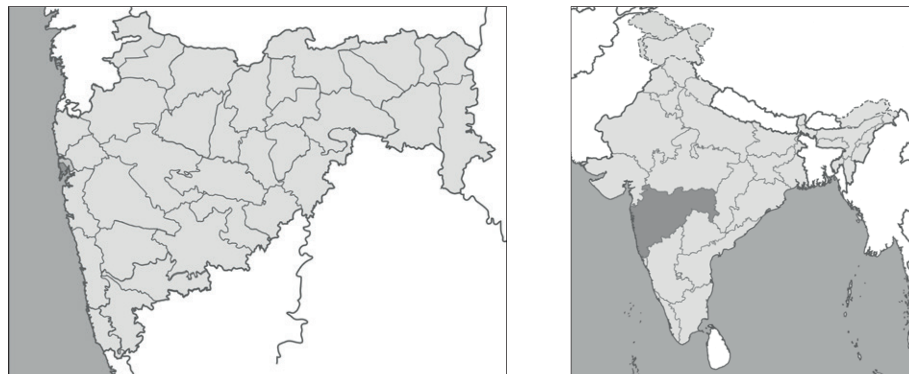


Figure 1 State of Mahrastra and overview of India
Adapted from Wikipedia

Mumbai is the financial capital of India accounting for somewhere around five per cent of the India's GDP and is home to the central financial institutions, among others the Reserve Bank of India, State Bank of India, Bombay Stock Exchange and the National Stock Exchange of India around which a wealth of local, national and multinationals corporations flourish. Mumbai is also the nations cultural capital, as the productivity and success of its movie industry illustrates. While home to some of the wealthiest and most influential people, large part of the population lives in poverty, which together with a severely restricted land and housing market manifests in a large slum population. According to the latest census the city has a population of 12.4 million out of which 5.2 million, or 42 per cent, reside in slums (Census 2011). One has to note that these numbers are heavily contested and often contradictory depending on the definition used and even official numbers vary widely (for discussion see Chapter 2.1). Earlier estimates by the census bureau for 2011 reported over 60 per cent of Mumbai's population are slum dwellers (*Hindustan Times* 17/10/2010) and the NGO UDRI estimated that these 60 per cent are living on 8 per cent of the land (UDRI 2014, 352). The territorial distribution of slums is uneven (Figure 4) largely concentrating in the suburbs. Table 1 gives an overview of Mumbai's demographic development and the development of slum dwellers.

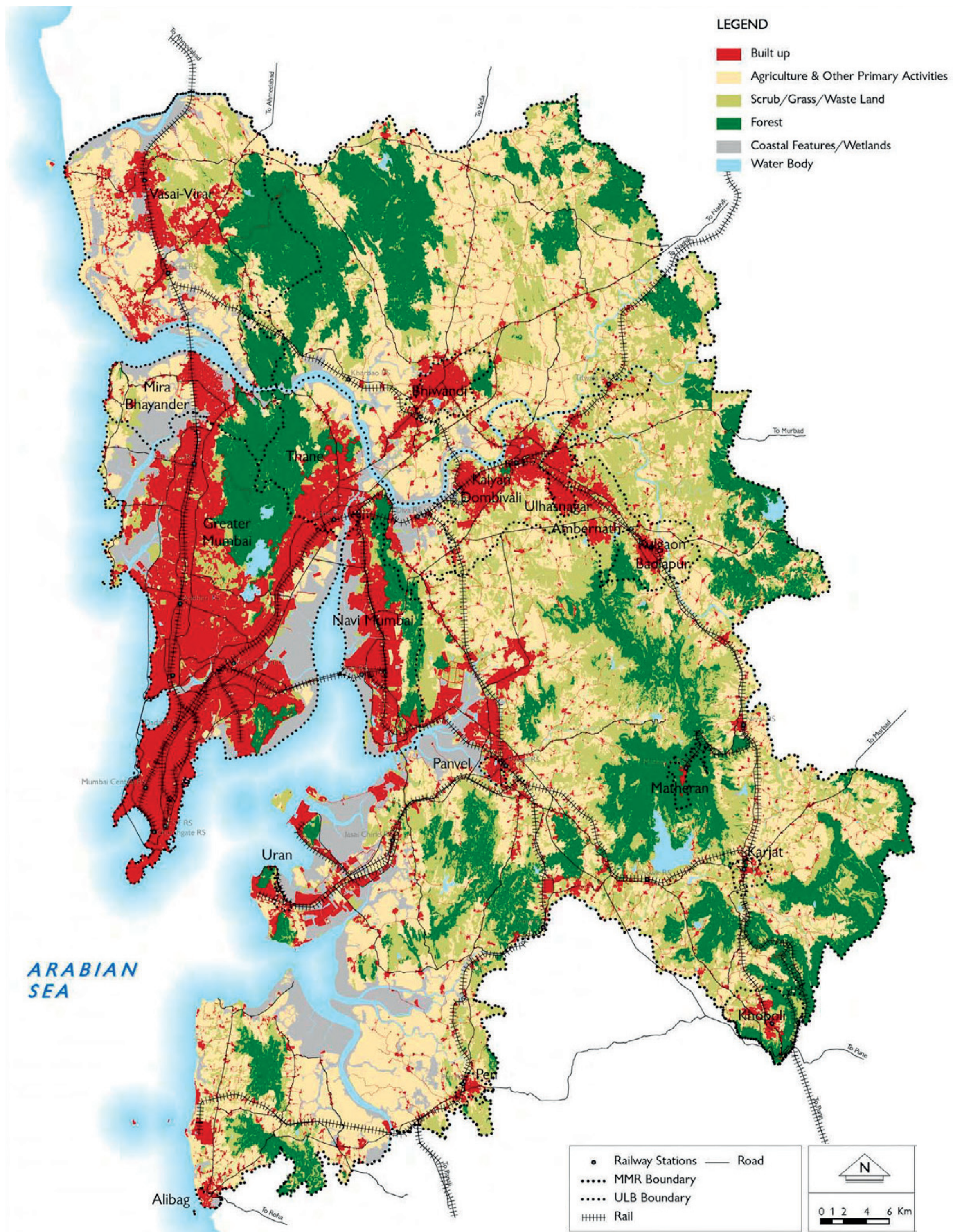


Figure 2 Mumbai Metropolitan Regional
Draft Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Plan 2016-2036, (MMRDA 2016, Map No. 8)

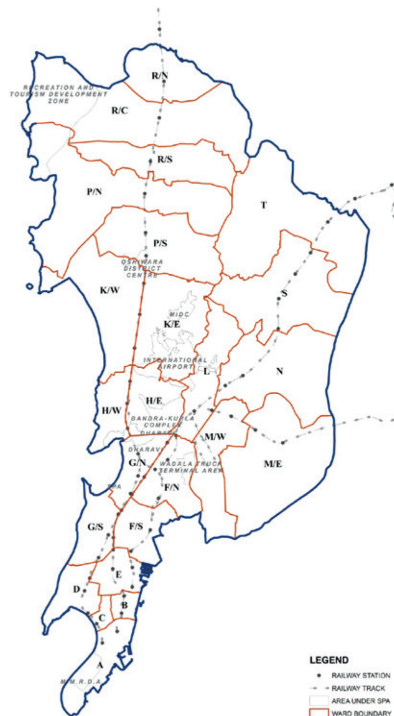


Figure 3 Mumbai Ward Map (MCGM 2016)

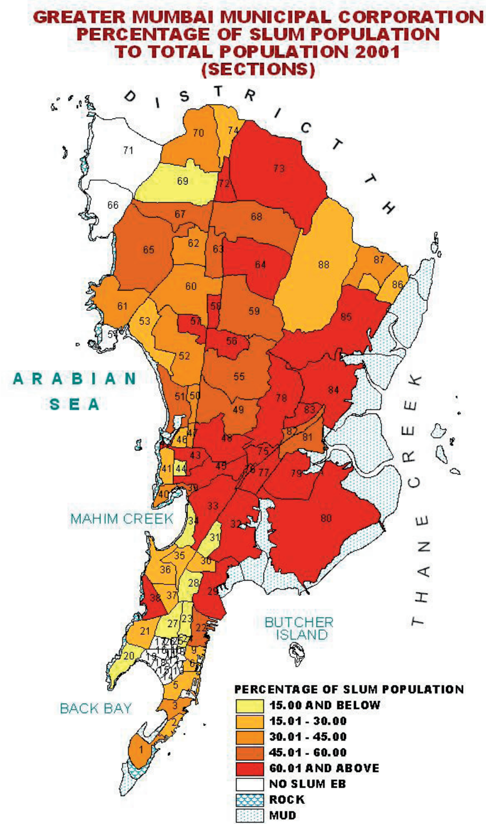


Figure 4 Distribution of slum population (Census 2001)

Year	*1901*	*1911*	*1921*	*1931*	*1941*	*1951*	*1961*	*1971*	*1981*	*1991*	*2001*	*2011*
Total Pop.	*0.9*	*1.2*	*1.4*	*1.4*	*1.8*	*3.0*	*4.2*	*6.0*	*8.2*	*9.9*	*11.9*	*12.4*
Slum Pop.									*2.3*	*2.3*	*6.4*	*5.2*
Per cent									*28*	*24*	*54*	*42*

Table 1 Demographic development and slum population of Greater Mumbai
In million. Sources: Agregated from Census 2011, Risbud 2003 and Singh 2006.

1.3.2 Urban trajectories

The origin of Mumbai's heterogeneous urban landscape is more intricate than a cursory glance in history books makes us believe. While at different times divers logics of development existed in parallel and competed with each other, they never completely superseded each other. The existence and traces of earlier settlements and their particular form of live is an important pillar in the position of scholars and activist (e.g. Echanove and Srivastava 2010; 2011; 2015a; Bhide 2013) in their argument for a more nuanced understanding of Mumbai's urban development. While history is mostly written with a focus on those in power, there exists an equally long and mostly hidden history of subaltern urbanism – including forms of incremental urbanism. These older and to a certain extent still persisting trajectories of urban development continue to inform present-day Mumbai.

The multiple origins of Mumbai

Most accounts[9] about Mumbai's origin begin with the seven islands of Bombay and its native inhabitants the fishermen known as Koli and their settlements called Koliwadas. Much less is said about other inhabitants such as the agricultural oriented Agri and their settlements called Gaothans or even the indigenous tribes Adivasi living in Adivasi Padas. Several of these settlements can still be found today, however, many of them unrecognisably transformed. Today the existence of native settlements is widely acknowledged and often serves to support political claims of the city.

Despite archaeological traces of inhabitation (e.g. Ghosh 1989), Bombay's urban history commonly is seen to start with European colonization, when an urban nucleus on 'pristine' land was established. The history of colonial city making attracted much of scholarly attention in urban studies. With a focus on the British influence, the narrative of a continuous development starting from one central place at the southern tip of the peninsula remains prevalent. Such a view of a uniformly expanding city with a changing but more or less clear-cut border between urban and rural omits the various trajectories of development, which Bombay follows to this day. Native villages, for example, were not only incorporated as Mumbai grew, but they were often the nucleus of growth and development themselves.

Similarly, the distinctively different approach to territory and people of the dissimilar European colonial powers ruling over the territory now known as Mumbai and their legacy and relevance for urban development often goes unnoticed. While under the Portuguese rule many of the Koli people were forced to convert to Christianity, the

9 Where not noted otherwise, this historical section is based on research done as part of my master thesis (Baitsch 2007) following in general lines Nissel (1997; 1999).

traditional structure of their settlements was respected. After the Portuguese wrested the power over the islands of Bombay from the Sultan of Gujarat in 1534, the territory remained contested between Maharati and Portuguese, leading to the creation of diverse forts strategically located on the multiple islands to control the territory. Under British rule an inverse approach was adopted. While religious freedom was granted, the territory was radically transformed. The city was walled and planned, land wrested from the sea as reclamations joined islands,[10] urban expansion and industrial areas projected and developed. Notwithstanding these enormous efforts, large tracts of land and population remained beyond state influence and the so-called native town developed beyond the esplanade – i.e. the empty fields outside the city walls.[11]

The colonial port city and its native town

In 1661 the British gained control over Bombay when the islands changed hands from the Portuguese as part of a dowry in the marriage between Charles II of England and Catherine of Braganza, daughter of King John IV of Portugal. Soon the British started shifting their activities to Bombay to support and expand their trade activities. In 1668 the city was leased out to the East India Company, who henceforth defined the destinies of Bombay. While profiting from a natural harbour, which provided easy defence, the same cut off the erstwhile trade post from the hinterland and its resources (particularly fresh water but also labour), made it difficult to survive on the barren island. When in 1715 the town was fortified, the nucleus of the colonial settlement was created. Within the walls the city included, racially segregated, both, colonisers and colonized and the church gate street divided the city in a British part in the south and an Indian north. For defence reason, an empty plain extends beyond the walls on which construction was not allowed. North of these esplanades the new town or the native town for the poorer classes of the indigenous population emerged. These early developments continue to have an effect in todays urban life (Kosambi and Brush 1988).

Bombay's ascent as India's central port city runs in parallel whit the rise of the British Empire. However, for quite some time, it was not clear if the city would be worth the investment made by the East India Company, and not assume the position of a small production site rather than a trade city (Farooqui 2006). In 1820 this question was obsolete as the Opium trade with China took of. In 1858 the power of the East India

10 In their book *Soak*, Mathur and Cunha (2009) examine Mumbai's ambiguous relation to land. They argue that the question where the sea ends and land starts is constantly shifting and can never be unambiguously answered in a city that sits on an estuary. What actually is terra firma in Mumbai has a long and contested history, which continues to influence today's urban development. In a city that is mainly located on reclaimed land little above sea level and land for future development is scarce, these questions remain relevant also for the case study of Shivajinagar, where residents to this day struggle with the water soaked ground.

11 See for example Dwivedi and Mehrotra (2001) for a richly illustrated history of Mumbai's urban development.

Company was transferred to the British Crown and to the establishing of the British Raj.

Different from cities like Delhi or Kolkata, Bombay did not emerge as a centre of power but as a colonial market city, where the colonial rule largely depended on cooperation with indigenous elites. The economic rise was linked to social changes. In particular the East Indian Company encouraged mercantile communities to move to Mumbai. Privileging commercial interest over other concerns, they did not tolerate religious discrimination. In so far Bombay is not so much a "colonial city with its colonial/ indigenous spatial dualism but is an easily recognisable capitalist city with class differentiation determining its spatial pattern" (Farooqui 1996, 2746). The trade focus of a company governed city development created a rather inclusive city for those who are engaged in the mercantile business. Of greater concern were events, such as wars and later pirates, which disturbed trade activities. Concurrence with other cities was addressed by diverting trade through Mumbai by improving its infrastructure (Bhide 2013), such as improving protection through the fort, land reclamation and extension of the harbour.

In that light planning and implementation have to be understood as a united forceful project of the state aiming at extending influence and dominance over territory and populations (Bhide 2016). It is in this period that the foundation of planning policies, which continue to be valid today, were laid: the Town Planning Act and the Improvement Trust Act. While the Town Planning Act was geared towards city extension, the Improvement Acts and the relating Improvement Trusts were directed at inner city renewals. Targeted at the city's unsanitary areas, the later pursued its aim mainly through slum clearing (Kidambi 2001). Yet, the territorial jurisdiction of planning was limited to the fort area and its immediate vicinity. Other parts of the town, namely the native town, did not benefit from planning efforts, effectively creating a divided city. On the one side the state inserted itself into the fabric of the city through regulating property, surveys and implementing infrastructure, and on the other side the city was left to its own. Meanwhile, this division allowed recurring on the labour of the excluded but not extending services to them.

The rise of industrial Bombay and its Chawls

At the beginning of the transition from trade city to an industrial city was a change of market relations. Due to the American civil war (1861 to 1865) the British Empire lost its main source of raw cotton and subsequently covered its needs through imports from India. What was a shift in the market on a global level, the replacement of one supplier of raw cotton by another, had major consequences for affected cities and particularly

for Bombay. The increased demand let the prices for raw cotton and semi-finished products rise. These new opportunities and subsequent riches kick-started the city's industrialisation and resulted in an enormous investment in textile mills. However, not only colonisers pushed the socio-economic and spatial transformation but also national elites were heavily involved in building up this new Bombay. Similarly, infrastructure investment formerly part of the colonial duty, was soon shared with national elites (Chandavarkar 1994). The cotton mills and railways became the new insignia of the industrial Bombay. To house the mill workers who flocked to the city, housing was created in the vicinity of the mills. These so-called Chawls are two or three storied tenement buildings with single or double rooms connected by common balconies. Both the government as well as private landlords built these cheap houses and rented them mainly to male low-wage migrant workers. While meant as a response to the severe housing shortage, these efforts were by far not adequate, leaving large parts of the urban poor to house themselves. Ever since spiralling land and housing prices remained a dominant issue in the life of the city.

Planning instruments and laws were repeatedly used to expel unwanted activities, like polluting and hazardous small-scale industries, as well as certain groups of inhabitants, such as prostitutes and slum dwellers, from the city to the peripheries. Faced with multiple exclusion, a "parallel culture of power and influence emerged" in the quarters and streets of the urban poor catering to their social and economic needs (Bhide 2013, 12). The industrial city simply ignored the informal city, while using it as warehouse for the labour force. Under the gaze of a flourishing economy, the two systems mark the two worlds co-existed in parallel to each other all the while profiting from each other (Chandavarkar 1994). While inequalities were neglected and pushed to the peripheries, the city was fairly well serviced with infrastructure at its centre. Planning and governing the city in a colonial manner under the banner of 'public good' continued for quite a while and was only transformed into a functionalist model in the 60ies.

The post-independence city

The big change of post-independence was the extension of (parts of) citizenship rights, and in particular voting rights. Through this transition larger population became entailed to the benefits of planning, which in turn was thought much more a comprehensive undertaking. As a political project, the future Indian city was thought to overcome the divided city of a colonial past granting amenities to the excluded. Thereby planning became the tool to address inequity. While in principle there was no 'other city' anymore, in reality the divisions between an elite and a continually suppressed majority continued to shape cities across the country.

Gyan Prakash (2010) gives a vivid description of the spirit that enlivened architects and urban planners at the time of India's independence. Functionalist planning would overcome India's huge urban problems, which primarily arose from unplanned growth. In this atmosphere of future optimism India's first master plans, including Mumbai's Development Plan of 1964 (64DP) were conceived. With his unique aloofness, Prakash remarks that as soon as India became independent, the power to decide was seized by technocrats while bypassing the citizens. In the case of planning in Bombay this were foremost the architects, whose claim over expertise was propagated by the influential architecture and art magazine MARG.

However, questions of implementation were not addressed adequately resulting in a comprehensive plan coalesced with limited capacity to deliver. In order to compensate for this shortcoming, several laws were established to allow the state to intervene and deliver. These empowerments followed a general trend of the time in India where state interventions were seen as legitimate to counter private interests, which were perceived as working against public interests. Interventions in land and housing markets were intended to secure public welfare. Planning then was just one among several tools of constraint. While implementation was limited due to restricted allocation of resource, constraints for private initiatives were constructed.

The comprehensive 64DP, of which barely 20% were implemented, restricted private development and resulted in the creation of a parallel 'informal city' (Bhide 2016). Promoted by the electoral politics this informal city emerged at the spatial as well as legal interstices of the formal city. Where as the political wing was relaying on these settlements as vote banks, the bureaucracy was not in favour of them. Along side the restrictive formal land and settlement regime a parallel informal one emerged, which is based on non-property and non-commodity relations to land and development.

The neoliberal city

While the year 1991 marked the arrival of liberalization politics in India, the actual process was rather a lengthy transition, riddled with several ruptures. The rise of the neoliberal city has to be seen as an outcome of a larger changing context and changing trajectories. For Amita Bhide the period of contemporary neo-liberal city starts almost a decade later, at the turn of the century (Bhide 2013). The transition and the multiple events that lead to the current regime need to be unfolded as all of them together made this transition possible. Above the inflicted changes are revealing of the functioning of neoliberal transformation processes.

The port was the single most important factor for the rise of Mumbai, first as a trade and later as an industrial city started losing its importance from the 1970ies on, when

the economy began shifting from industry to services. Primarily, this was linked to the decline of the textile mills in the wake of successful labour struggles of 1982/83. From the formerly 250’000 mill workers in 1971 only 40’000 were left by 1996 (Nissel 1997; 1999). Increasing real-estate prices pushed much of the industrial production to the periphery and the workforce followed this movement. The spatial relocation was accompanied by the informalisation of work through advancing subcontracting, which lead in the long term to dismantling the power of labour unions. By 1991 65% of the workforce was engaged in the informal sector and 35 per cent in the organised sector. This represents a total reversal from the situation in 1961 (MMRDA 1996).

Meanwhile, the census of 1991 lifts Bombay at the top of India’s city hierarchy with a population crossing the 10 million mark. However, this is a statistical catching up effect as the census introduced the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) as the statistical entity, which for the first time includes proximate suburbs in the survey.

As the manufacturing sector steadily gave way to the more profitable real-estate industry, the textile mill land became more valuable than the actual production activity itself (Bhide 2013). Among other actors the potential profits in real-estate attracted criminal syndicates, which were loosing much of their profit from black market smuggling due to liberalized markets and subsequently diminished demands (Weinstein 2008). Meanwhile the economic centre of gravity shifted more and more to the tertiary sector. With the Bombay Stock Exchange and a booming financial sector the city rose to India’s primary financial hub. The commercialisation of centrally located areas, such as the Fort and the Bazar zone contributed its share to the increasing real-estate prices. This not only relocated the producing industry but also many residents out of the Central Business District (CBD) towards the north. One of the consequences was the increased level of commuting for which Mumbai is well known.

While by and large spared from large eruption of civil violence, the events of the communal riots of 1992/93 appear even more drastic. They caused not only a high death toll and expelled a significant number of residents but also hardened social and spatial segregation. A formerly highly dense and interlinked urban fabric where people were strongly linked to their habitats was shaken up by the riots. Relationships between communities broke down leading to a much more segregated social fabric, where Muslim and Hindu communities separated from each other and any moved out of the city, renting out their spaces. This is widely perceived as the end of the cosmopolitan city (Sharma 1996; Hansen 2001; Mehta 2004). Interesting to note that after 1993 many redevelopment projects initiated before the riots actually took off.

Those changing conditions are unevenly reflected in planning. While in some cases these trends were enabled by planning, in other cases planning efforts decisively tried

to act against them. Most often they were not in sync and planning was rather reactive if not a plaything of external forces than an anticipating activity directing development. This was surely the case for the first revision of the development plan (Nainan 2012). This second DP, which should have come into force in 1984, needed ten years until it was sanctioned in all its parts in 1994.[12] It was conceptualized before the economic liberalization and did not take into account much of the linked consequences. By and large it continued the socialist, state-led planning dictum engrained in the 64 DP and continued aiming at containing urban growth. Together with Bombay's restrictive geography and further restraining land and housing policies this lead to a frozen housing real-estate economy and an increasingly severe housing crisis. However, by the time the plan was finalized, a process of undermining its objectives already started (Bhide 2016; Nainan 2014). This 'hollowing out' took place in the realm of the Development Control Regulations (DCR), which make the plan operational. The DCR create an urban fabric that is in complete opposition to the objectives of the 91DP.

According to Bhide (2016) there were several principal ways in which the constrained land market were addressed. On the legislative domain efforts were undertaken to gain discretionary exemption, for example from the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA). From the side of state institutions a shift from comprehensive large-scale planning to a focus on projects, particularly around infrastructure and transportation, can be observed. A good example is the fact that the World Bank financed the Mumbai Urban Transport Project. Project-bound funding – national and international – was ring fenced and linked to corresponding plans and territories. Such project planning allowed bypassing lengthy planning procedures, public sanctioning, and political processes. Besides these practice-oriented actions engaged in opinion making through formulating visions for city's future. The first iteration is the Vision Mumbai by McKinsey (McKinsey 2003) commissioned by the corporate NGO Mumbai First, which was conceived along the model of London First. The McKinsey report compares Mumbai to global standards, obviously identifying numerous lacunas and suggesting policy recommendation to overcome them. Ever since publication, the report is a rewarding target for critics of globalization and liberalization (e.g. Zérah 2009; Banerjee-Guha 2009). This is not surprising in respect to the success of this private initiative aimed at influencing policies, which ultimately became part of the state agenda (Banerjee-Guha 2009). Vision Mumbai was adopted by the state government as part of the city's vision document, which was commissioned by the central government for the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). The most recent iteration of such Vision planning is the Concept Plan by MTSU meant to inform the soon-to-be Regional Plan and the 2014 DP.

12 See Nainan (2014) for an analysis oft the lengthy and conflictive process.

However, above vision planning and project planning, defanging of building regulations and putting them into the service of the construction industry proved to be the most effective in circumventing Mumbai's restrictive development policies. All started with the introduction of the concept of *redevelopment* under the now famous DCR rule with number 33. It was directed as a means to address the problem of 'cessed' buildings. Cessed buildings are usually centrally located buildings, which fall under rent control. In order to repair these buildings the government raised a tax, a cess, hence the name. Yet, all attempts to solve the problem of neglected maintenance failed due to the impossibility of raising the income from rent controlled buildings. As a consequence many houses dilapidated to such an extent that they could collapse any time. The concept of redevelopment should solve the problem by granting incentives to private developers in the form of development rights. The additional development rights would allow private developers to rebuild larger buildings than what would have been permitted otherwise and hence permit them to make a profit from redeveloping dilapidated cessed buildings. On top, for the state there is no additional cost involved in granting this so-called 'incentive FSI'.

As this scheme was successful in some cases, the rule 33 was made applicable to other cases. Today 35 cases fall under the concept of redevelopment. This solution has been sold, advanced, and multiplied into a win-win situation. Redevelopment is exerted whenever urban problems seemed intractable: to address slum question as well as to promote open spaces or stimulating the production of social and physical infrastructure. The threefold beneficiaries are the developers, who get development rights (and access to land) in a highly restrictive land market, the government, which doesn't have to spend any money to have an urban issue tackled, and finally the people who supposedly are living in squalor who get proper housing. A further and crucial step towards the marketization of urban development was made when incentive FSI was unlinked from the place where it was created. With the introduction of the Transferable Development Right (TDR) the additionally granted development rights could be used elsewhere or sold in the free market. Through the instrument of TDR one could, for example, redevelop a slum in a low-profile area and use the granted development rights in a high profile area, increasing the profits considerably.

This solution seems typical for planning under a neoliberal regime, where the state plays the role of facilitator by providing a legal framework linking all stakeholders through spatial incentives (Bhide 2016). Former state responsibilities are assigned to market actors, who address key issues of the city in this public-private partnership (PPP). In Mumbai the principle of redevelopment by PPP was extended to the entire spectrum of urban transformation. Where it was not successful, the incentives were gradually increased. This brings us to the conditions of the redevelopment model, which are

scarcity and a high demand, whether of affordable housing or urban amenities. The most valuable scarcity in the city of Mumbai are development rights, which makes it a powerful (and profitable) tool in the hand of the municipality. Parts of the restricted development rights are due to Mumbai's geographical location on a peninsula, which makes horizontal extension difficult. Together with spiralling real estate and land prices the concept or redevelopment had fatal effects on urban development.

The 94DP states that it wants to limit the growth of the city, decongest the city, de-industrialise the city and reduce office space. This is in contrast to the outcome of the DCRs: the population has more then doubled. The DCR facilitated transformation of industrial land into residential and commercial land. Commercial growth centres have emerged at places that were not foreseen. On the level of urban fabric the 94DP speaks of a homogeneous city with a flat FSI, the DCR and particularly the TDR, however, generated a highly uneven distribution of built-up space. The uncontrolled development led to a mismatch with infrastructure provision. As the concept foresaw de-congestion, infrastructure was not conceived to live up to a contrary demographic development. In respect to water provision, for example, Björkmann (2015) argues, it is precisely the marketisation of urban development, which led to haphazard development, that caused the infrastructural deficiencies.

More over, this uneven spatial development brings about also uneven social redistribution. The contemporary FSI/TDR regime is leading to spatial concentration of poverty, for example in the M-East Ward. At the same time it produces a concentration of luxury. Slum TDR happens to be one of the most profitable ways for developers to secure land. Studies demonstrated that M-East Ward alone is responsible for over 64% of the city's slum TDR, all of which is used to create luxurious residential project in the western suburbs (TISS 2015; Bhide 2016). Once more a divided city is produced. However, this time, division was induced through planning, as in opposition to non-planning as it was the case in the colonial time.

1.3.3 Slum redevelopment

As elaborated in the historical account on Mumbai's urban trajectories, redevelopment became the predominant logic of urban transformation over the last decades. Thereby slums play a major role. In fact they are both the target and the source of much of Mumbai's redevelopment projects. The following sheds light on the official framework that enables slum redevelopment and its consequences.

When in the mid 1990s the so-called Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) was established, it was interpreted as offering an alternative approach to slums without the disadvantage of existing projects. They would avoid the political opposition and

effects of displacement involved in slum clearance and the protracted improvements of slum up-gradation projects (SUP). Particularly the latter were perceived as inefficient as projects under SUP didn't yield fast enough and visible results. The intention was a more efficient use of limited financial resources by encouraging the participation of private parties.[13] Furthermore, redevelopment as a tangible solution – formal houses replacing slums – fits well with politicians' search for symbolic gestures. Beyond political profit, such projects lend themselves to generate financial returns through direct or indirect involvement (Panwalker 1996).

As by the MRTP, the planning of all notified slums fall under the jurisdiction of the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA), which came into being as the sole planning authority responsible for SRS. Today, SRS is the only option the authority offers. All other programs have ben phased out. The Afzalpurkar Committee, who at the time recommended the scheme, estimated that in-situ rehabilitations would be possible in 80 percent of the slum. The committee argued that "if inequality has to be removed there has to be unequal law" and "slum dwellers deserve this preferential unequal treatment to bring them into mainstream of social, cultural and economic fabric of this pulsating city" (SRA 2016). And it continued: "To enhance their standard of living, an authorized dwelling unit is a first step in the right direction". Adopting the argumentative of reservation, the SRS was framed as beneficial for the slum dwellers.

The SRS was introduced in Mumbai in 1995 under the pressure of the state government. In fact SRS continued previous redevelopment approaches, starting as early as 1985 with the Prime Minister's Grant Project (PMGP), which was followed by the Slum Redevelopment Scheme (SRD) in 1991.[14] These early policies were part of the DCR rule number 33 subsection 10 and as incentive allowed an increased FSI of 2.5. It was eligible for dwellers, which were registered on the electoral rolls of 1985. However the many proposals for these early projects translated poorly into implementation (Mukhija 2003, 3). This changed in the aftermath of the 1995 election, when the local right wing party Shiv Sena won the local elections with the promise of "free housing" for slum dwellers. Thereafter, the SRS was considerably enlarged in terms of permissible slums as well as in respect to the possible incentives on offer. Now slum dwellers are eligible when they can prove having lived in Mumbai before 1995.[15] In order to boost the SRS projects' performance the government adopted several measures. Two central

13 Along similar lines a scheme for so-called Project Affected People (PAP) was created. All slum dwellers, which needed to be rehoused due to a government-supported project, would be eligible for a free house. In contrast to SRS projects, which are developed in-situ, PAP housing necessarily involves in re-localization.

14 For a review of Mumbai's housing policies see for example O'Hare, Abbott, and Barke (1998)

15 This so-called cut-off date was subsequently extended creating a multiplication overlaying eligibilities where different populations are included and excluded. The cut-off date is often identified as the single most harmful element and draws of much critique: "our experiences from field show that the cutoff date of 1st December 1995 excludes as many as 30-40 % of the slum households" (TISS and CRH 2017).

steps were undertaken: Firstly, the SRS were opened to the private sector, allowing developers to undertake SRS projects and cross subsidize their efforts through a free sales component, under which the developers could sell apartments on the free market. Secondly, the incentive FSI was increased, allowing higher buildings, and hence increase the financial feasibility and the profit for the developers. All of these moves happened during a time when the real estate market in Mumbai was among the most expensive in the world.

Nijmann (2008) gives a good description of how the SRS are intended to work. A slum community might embark on a SRS when it is eligible and when it has consensus of 70 per cent among the affected people. SRA then grants the community legal rights to the land, after which they select a developer to build their new houses. However, in reality often the developer is approaching communities. The developer is compensated for his efforts with the sale of apartments that are beyond the need of the slum dwellers. This component is referred to as the free sales component. If there is not sufficient space to utilize all the incentive FSI on the plot, the developer is entitled to TDR. This TDR can then be used elsewhere north of the rehabilitation site or it can be sold on the market. While the government remains in control of the land, the community needs to organize to get the permissions. However the developer siphons off the high market values of the land (Nijman 2008). Neither costs nor profits are passed to the slum dweller. The free housing were completely cross-subsidised by the profits that could be made in the open real-estate market.

Yet not only the developer needed increased incentives for the scheme to become successful. Also the participation of the slum dwellers was bought, for example through increasing the size of the 'free house'. From a meagre 180 square feet (16.8 sqm) under early schemes, the area was increased to 225 (20.9 sqm) and finally 269 square feet (25 sqm). However, the dimension of the flat is fixed, irrespective of family size or the size of the slum dwelling. The flats consist of a living room, kitchen/alcove, bedroom, bath and a toilet. While, in principle, the apartments legally cannot be sold within 10 years, many rehabilitated slum dwellers sell their new property and move out (Cadavid 2010). There are further consequences of SRS. In the process of redevelopment non-eligible slum dwellers would be evicted. In as far as only slum dwellers living on the ground floor with the right 'property' documents were eligible, residents on the upper floor and certainly tenants are excluded. Loosing tenants means also losing income for those rehabilitated.

It is interesting to note that the majority of the population is convinced by the advantages of the redevelopment scheme (Panwalker 1996). Slum dwellers, involved administrations agencies and politicians alike share this position. In his account of a successful redevelopment Vinit Mukhija (2003) argues, that slum dwellers do not

necessarily prefer upgrading their own houses, which was the assumption that underlies the up-gradation approach of SUP. However, the increasing resistance of many dwellers against the implementations suggests, that these programs are only in favour as long as it is not concerning themselves (Baitsch 2007). While there are accounts of successful projects, one has to keep in mind that these cases happened against the odds (Nijman 2008).

Conceptually, the SRS is replacing illegal structures with legal structures, thereby reintroducing land, which was out of reach of the formal real-estate market. The apartments although officially saleable only after 10 years, often in-officially enter the housing market earlier. Housing becomes a standardised commodity. For this slums are turned into an exploitable resource for market development. Their value is reduced to the value of the land on which they are built. As a result of such an approach slums are either interpreted as lucrative or worthless resource. Consequently, slums are either utilized to garner profit or simply ignored. Slums corresponding to the later case are interpreted as market externalities, for which further favourable conditions must be created through either additional incentives or reducing standards for the slum dwellers.

Today, twenty years after the SRS was established a seminar by TISS and a Committee for Right to Housing (CRH) draws a devastating conclusion of the scheme:

> In the last 20 years, ever since SRS's establishment in 1997, its success rate has been less than 13 percent. As many as 1,524 projects were started out of which 1,100 are still being developed and only 197 projects have been completed. A mere 1.53 lakh families have been rehabilitated against the promise of 8 lakh units promised in the first 5 or 6 years. (TISS and CRH 2017)

Despite all the attention garnered from academics, housing activists and the public, and despite the number of publication could make us believe the success of SRS remains remarkably limited. However, this should not downplay the hardships for the affected families. The meagre success of the program did not escape the SRA either and in a report the authority points out the hindrances and how they are to be overcome (SRA 2016): They acknowledge that there are several constraints ranging from "non consented" to "non-co-operative slum dwellers" to "non-performing developers". But also on the policy and administrative front there are many "bottlenecks". Nevertheless SRA proposes a way forward in extending the scheme and for example include central government land. Further bureaucratic process should be simplified, for example, through administrative reforms or through increased accountability and ease of distinguishing between eligible and non-eligible slum dwellers by the use of GIS and biometric survey. This latest advances of the SRA are illustrative of the continued state

efforts in 'enabling' Mumbai's housing market. Vinit Mukhija (2001) demonstrated that the enabling approach to slum redevelopment required not necessarily less but different state involvement. It makes necessary the creation of new regulations as well as deregulation.

Despite the low implementation rate and the strenuous process when implemented, the SRS sheds a long shadow over the life of many. A quick excursion to two encounters made during my field visits might illustrates how deep SRS affects the life in Mumbai's slums. Also and in particular when the projects are not even at the horizon of possibility.

Rather bewildered I remarked a depilated temple in SN occupying the centre of a common space. Used as a garbage dump, it was obviously abandoned. Given the devotion with which locals looked after their places of worship the condition of this one appeared strange. The same space is often used for smaller temples and linked religious ceremonies, in some case as workspace for basket waving, and on other occasions as playground for children. Asking my informant for the story behind the abandoned temple, he shrugged and answered that a guy from the neighbourhood built the temple and as soon as was officially approved as religious structure, it was abandoned. This guy speculated, I was explained, to claim additional space in case of redevelopment.

In another case the rumour spread that redevelopment might happen in the neighbourhood where my informant lived. One of his distant family members suggested, that they should build a wall inside their house and then claim a second apartment in case the redevelopment would be implemented.

SRS, and more generally the redevelopment approach, centre-stages the housing problem as the single most important issue of Mumbai, which overpowers and enters into conflict with other problems, such as those of livelihood. It also overrides other issues such as cast or class or religion (Bhide 2016). This is not to say, that those fault lines doe not play a role, but that they play a secondary role, which is solved through choice of market actors in a housing market. The example of the abandoned temple points to the moments where community claims loose ground versus individual claims. And the example of the speculative subdivision evokes familial conflict potential where aspirations of a younger generation collide with the reluctance of the elder.

The regime of redevelopment has become so pervasive in Mumbai that it affects not only slum dwellers, but also low-income and middle class people such as people living in cessed buildings, in MHADA social housing or middle class housing cooperatives, all of them can potentially undergo redevelopment. And of course the high-level housing, which is built using the TDR, are part of this redevelopment cycle. Fuelled by incentive FSI/TDR, redevelopment regime turns every citizen into a speculator. Yet speculation stretches beyond developers and individuals but also includes the

state, which makes much of its income on the basis of passing building permits and stamp duty on construction projects. With the redevelopment regime, the state created a housing market. This market, however, is not created by using state resources but by granting exceptions to the restrictive regulations. The mechanisms of planning and urban transformation are narrowed to marketable exchange and in fact reducing the possibilities of engaging with the state regarding urban development. As the state virtually withdraws from planning and engagement in urban development, there remains only one mode of development, which is the negotiation with the developer.

In Mumbai after the millennium a relatively stable situation was established, in which everyone is actually or potentially making a profit. Highly heterogeneous groups are competing for a claim on the city and playing along in the speculative market called redevelopment. Yet this framework was about to be shaken up in the upcoming DP controversies.

1.4 Structure of the research

In general this thesis comprises two main parts: *Making* and *Planning*. The order in which these two parts are presented here might be a bit unusual. However, I favoured this structure to the more classical arrangement moving from the macro to the micro scale, as it reflects the way in which this research evolved. In so doing it retraces the course of my search for a better understanding of what incremental urbanism is, which started out with an enquiry into the everyday practices of housing production in Mumbai's incrementally developing neighbourhoods before engaging in an analysis of contemporary planning discourse. To a certain extent this sequence also reflects, how large parts of urbanisation happens. Even though many planners would argue differently, planning more often than not comes after the making. This is certainly the case regarding Mumbai's incrementally developing settlements and the planning controversies, which revolved around their future in the framework of the revised development plan. Further it ties in with the underlying conviction that the starting point for urban planning must be the existing city.

The introductory chapter established the framework for this research and points to the problematic of incrementally developing settlements, which is on the one hand its demographic dimension and on the other their general neglect by both, governments as well as academic. This is partly due to a lack of knowledge about the actual working of incremental urbanism and partly due to misconceptions underlying contemporary planning processes. Accordingly, the research question driving this study is formulated to contribute to a better understanding of the role incremental urbanisms plays in the making of contemporary cities. Further the choice of the case study was justified by

mapping to what extent Shivajinagar is a singular case and what we can generalise from the learning's of this neighbourhood. Similarly, the particularities of the planning controversies revolving around the revision of Mumbai's development plan were put on the table. In order to contextualise the research the introduction ends with a short history of Mumbai with a focus on the changeful history of the way in which slums were handled over time.

Chapter 2 engages in a literature review and presents the state of the art. At first, it offers some clarification regarding key terms used in this research. This is particularly needed as the terms slum, informality and incremental urbanism often are used interchangeably. Hence, the different concepts undelaying these terms are differentiated and made fruitful for this research. In a second step the origins of the concept of incremental urbanism are presented. This leads us to the arguments of those who endorse incremental urbanism as a solution to address the pressing housing needs and to improve living condition under conditions of rapid urbanisation and widespread poverty. The chapter ends with considering the advantages and limits of incremental urbanism as a concept to describe the process of constant transformation.

The third chapter outlines the theoretical framework adopted for this research, which is informed by French pragmatist sociology, and in particular by the sociology of conventions, better know in the Anglophone world as economy of conventions (EC). Laying the ground for this research, this chapter fleshes out the fundamentals of EC focusing on those interrelated concepts relevant for studying incremental urbanism through the lens of housing production on the one hand and the discourse on urban planning on the other. Further, with reference to the assemblage discourse the relevance of EC for urban studies is discussed.

Chapter 4 describes the methods how the data for this research is gathered and analysed. It mentions the conditions under which interviews were made and presents the experiments, success and difficulties of the visual tools used as well as the limitations of the empirical evidences. In that sense it reflects my research as an empirically driven investigation into the production of the city.

Chapter 5 is the first in the section labelled *Making* and introduces and contextualises the case study of this research project, the settlement Shivajinagar. By situating this neighbourhood geographically, socially, economically and materially, as well as in respect to its particular history this chapter frames and introduces the empirical part of the research.

Entitled *Building houses, homes and livelihoods,* Chapter 6 inquires into the different functions to which resident put their houses and the reasons behind their transformations.

Thereby it looks into domestic, productive and commercial dimensions between which housing in incrementally developing settlements oscillates.

In Chapter 7 a seemingly simple project – the construction of a wall between two houses – allows investigating the making, maintaining and stabilisation of social, symbolic and material boundaries, which underlay and make possible incremental urbanism. In examining how neighbourhood is negotiated the chapter reflect aspects of the shortcomings of incremental development.

The empirical Chapter 8 titled *Mediating incremental urbanisation* puts the contractor in the centre. It examines the different relations he establishes with clients, labourers and state agents. Thereby it reflects his role in creating, handling and contesting the local conventions, which govern housing production, and which allows him to master the conflictive process construction almost always is.

Chapter 9 is the first in the part *Planning* and unfolds the course of the events in the controversies revolving around the revision of Mumbai's development plan, where diverse actors attempt to frame urban development according to their respective visions of Mumbai's future. Thereby it examines how proponents of incremental urbanism try to find a voice and make their claims heard and documents the various moments of its invisibilisation.

Chapter 10 presents *The controversies as a confrontation of conflicting cosmos.* Four different cosmos are established on the basis of arguments put forward by respective representatives to justify their position, underpinning arguments and raising critique. The outline of the four cosmos allows comparing the different conceptualisations of urban planning and development and thereby framing the controversies not as one between different interest groups or between the state, civil society and the private sector, but as one among conflicting conceptualisations of planning and related objectives.

Chapter 11 enquires about *The role of incremental development in the DP controversies* and outlines the different arguments for and against the inclusion of Mumbai's slums in the development plan as well as the diverse suggestions of how this could be achieved. In a second step, it proposes an analysis of the different cosmos and their respective approach towards the inclusion incremental urbanism.

Finally chapter 12 concludes the research and presents some further thoughts based on the findings.

2 Incremental Urbanism

The term incremental is commonly used as a way to describe stepwise development that is opportunity driven, associated with 'make do' and coping, and usually positioned in opposition to a planned way of development. Thereby, an increment is understood as a small step in a long and potentially open-ended process. Incremental, thus, is a step-by-step process often associated with longer time periods. However, incremental does not mean piecemeal or disjointed. The process might be fragmented over time and place, but the different steps are not necessarily disconnected. Indeed, each step builds on the preceding one, yet they might not point towards the same goal. The qualifier, incremental, then characterises a mode of development, which entails both potentiality and restricted means.

The paragon imaginary of an incremental development is a patchwork building which has a different look and feel at every floor level, all cobbled together from different and recycled materials, with one part that is obviously not finished and is continuously under construction. In short, the whole building displays a makeshift character and boasts, at best, a 'do-it-yourself chic'. Building practices are seen as primarily oriented towards fulfilling immediate needs, and as such, are valued over long-term goals and community concerns or a common good.

Regarding the urban dimension, the term incremental development often is used to describe and set apart the mode of urban production in poorer communities, or historically, spatially and perceptually distant populations living in self-built settlements. As such, it evokes two associations: The first domain are historically traditional (rural and urban) modes of development. The second field with which incremental development is associated are contemporary habitats of the urban poor (slums or informal settlements) and by extension, state-supported programs dealing with them. The latter are often framed under the term 'aided self-help housing', linked to either in-situ upgrading programs or site and service schemes.

In urban studies, the term incremental experienced an increasing use over the last decade, most prominently in respect to housing (Greene and Rojas 2008; Wakely and Riley 2011; Garland 2013; Goethert 2014), infrastructure (King 2017; Silver 2014) and urban development (McFarlane 2011a; Dovey 2014). For instance, Dovey notices an increased use of the term incrementalism as partial synonym for informal urbanism and to describe the development of slums, which "describes a scale of process and form rather than formality, legality or liveability" (Dovey 2014, 46). Despite its propagated

use, comprehensive definitions for incremental urbanism are rare. Dovey offers a fairly precise, although rather materialistic definition:

> Incremental urbanism is a way of describing the process of room-by-room accretion through which informal settlement agglomerate. Incremental urbanism operates on sites without cranes, where structures span less than five meters, where materials are transported by hand and stored in the interstices of existing structures. It describes a process whereby the shape of urban morphology and public spaces emerges incrementally through multiplicity of design decisions and without any prevailing master plan. It embodies a process of self-organization where negotiations between neighbours result in an informal spatial code with laneways of varying width and permeability. It is a process of intensification as rooms are added horizontality and vertically until a limit is reached at about 3-5 storeys. (Dovey 2014, 46)

Of interest, however, is less the somewhat restrictive techno-material illustration employed in this definition, and more the emphasis on the procedural dimension of incremental development. It is the procedural and performative dimension of local coordination and negotiation and its linked material manifestation of emergence, accretion, and intensification of the built environment which informs and characterises incremental urbanism as a specific mode of urban development. It is the promise of progress lying within these dynamic processes, which fascinates practitioners and academics alike, and which the advocates of incremental development like to harness for urban planning and development.

In order to delimit the topic of this research more precisely, this chapter attempts to untangle the knotty relation between the terms slum, informality, and incremental urbanism, and the associated concepts of legality, liveability, and poverty. To do so, the subchapter 2.1 in a first step unfolds the contested notion of the slum and the role it plays in thinking about the city and the urban poor, with particular attention given to the connotation the slum assumed in the context of Mumbai. Secondly, it traces the debate on the formal-informal divide and the linked concept of (urban) informality. The intention is to clarify differences and similarities of the concepts slum and informality and point out their shortcomings in regard to the object of this study – i.e., incremental development as a specific mode of urbanisation. Following this, sub-chapter 2 deals with the various strands of advocacy for incremental urbanism. In focus here are three moments in urban studies where incremental consolidation processes play a central role: firstly, the historic perspective on the formation of urban habitats; secondly, the experience of self-help housing; and thirdly, the translation into planning practices such as upgradation schemes or site and service projects. The respective parts point out the limitations of, and criticism faced by, the respective conceptualisations. Finally,

the last sub-chapter 2.3 maps out what is understood by incremental urbanism by presenting an approximation to, and limits of, that concept. Thereby pointing to the various geographical and social places of incremental urbanism and shedding light on the contractors as emerging experts and mediators of urban transformation with a particular kind of expert knowledge. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the contribution incremental urbanism can make to advance our understanding of contemporary city making.

2.1 Of slums, informal settlements and the city

Before we continue, there is a need for some clarification regarding key terms used in this research. This is particularly needed as the terms slum, informality, and incremental urbanism often are employed as near synonyms and used interchangeably. While it can hardly be denied that the different concepts partly overlap, it is important to work out the major distinctions between them. This is important not only because of the theoretical consequences, but even more so because of the implications these terms and their changing conceptualisations have on urban life. For example, slums often develop incrementally, but incremental urbanism is not exclusively a feature of slums and neither of these terms qualifies settlements necessarily as informal. Although, sometimes they are. This is further complicated because these terms have different connotations with respect to the (historical, geographical, and social) contexts in which they are used. This is particularly true for the term slum: A settlement colloquially called a slum is not the same as a slum in Mumbai's official planning terms, and this is not the same as a slum defined by the UN Habitat. Beyond historical and geographical contexts, one must differentiate the slum as a theoretical construct from its manifestation in diverse genres of popular culture and academic debate across different disciplines. These debates are anything else then isolated or separated, but mutually interconnected and cross-referential.

2.1.1 Shifting notions of the slum

For a beginning, it is worthwhile to briefly sketch out the history of the different concepts and how they are used.[16] The term slum as a spatial and conceptual entity emerged in the industrialising cities of Victorian England when the municipality began to designate areas which posed a danger to the health of inhabitants. More importantly, however, these areas were not only identified as unhealthy for the people living there, but also as the potential origin of epidemics putting the entire city at risk. In parallel, these areas were seen as hotbeds of immorality, crime, and violence. The

16 See for example Gilbert (2007) for a trenchant overview and further references on the history of the term slum.

negative association with ill health and crime is the historical baggage which, until today, the term slum could not get rid of.

The problem was thought to be eradicated in cities of the 'First World' by the 1960s, and so the focus shifted to cities in the 'Third World', of which the slum supposedly became the exclusive feature. Thereby the fast growing cities of Latin America emerged as the geographical hotspot of academic and popular interest. In the 1970s and 1980s, academics and activists turned against the underplying negative assumptions to more neutral terms in order to describe and delimit the field of their studies. Terms such as 'squatter settlements', 'shanty towns' and 'self-help communities' came into vogue, replacing slums in the writing of considerable authors. Meanwhile, the term slum never vanished in policy circles due to the many existing slum programs. The World Bank initiative, *Cities without Slums* (World Bank and UNCHS 2000), in the late 1990s put the term back on the front pages of both academic and popular publications. Besides attracting much scholarly attention, the increasingly widespread interest manifested in a surge of cultural production ranging from alarmist publications (Davis 2006; Neuwirth 2006) to attempts of more neutral documentation (Konermann 2010), as well as works of fiction in literature (Boo 2012) and award-winning movies (Meirelles and Lund 2004; Boyle and Tandan 2009). The renewed propagation of the slum was noticed with worry and open rejection (Rao 2006; Gilbert 2007; Arabindoo 2011b). Making use of the spike in interest, one observes efforts in redirecting attention, as well as attempts to circumvent problems, by proposing alternatives. Most prominently in this regard is the concept of informality and the linked territorial expression of the informal settlement. Before turning to informality in more detail in a subsequent part, I would like to point out the underlying difficulties inherent to notions of both the slum and the informal settlement.

What makes the slum, and its supposedly politically correct version of the informal settlement, so difficult to grasp is that both these terms are heavily charged with (negative) values, particularly because of their close association with (urban) poverty. The conflation of slums with poverty is also the worry of inhabitants, activists, and scholars alike. Concerned with the negative connotation the term slum carries and the linked stigmatisation of the inhabitants of such areas, Alan Gilbert (2007) writes against the renewed rise of the term slum in international debates and particularly in its reintroduction by the United Nations in their *Cities without Slum* initiative (World Bank and UNCHS 2000). Alan Gilbert worries that the "emotive" term becomes (again) the conceptual catch basin for urban poverty, as it "confuses the physical problem of poor quality housing with the characteristics of the people living there". Adopting the term, slum, for its high visibility, attractive to both politicians at all levels and donors of all stripes, might outweigh the benefits linked to programs like *Cities without Slum.*

The pejorative associations linked with the term slum – inhumane living condition, disease, crime, violence, and so on – might revive the preconceptions vis-à-vis these settlements. If the concerns are indeed with reducing poverty, and in particular urban poverty, then the approach through the term slum is questionable on several levels. In particular, housing condition as the most visible expression of poverty is a misleading shortcut. On the one hand, not all people living in slums are poor, and on the other, poverty is not confined to those territories and does not manifest in the form of the metonymic slum and its material deficiency. More importantly, the term, slum, tends to equalise downwards a highly diverse landscape of human settlements spanning a wide range of material, social, political, and economic conditions, reducing them to the lowest common dominator: substandard housing unfit for human living.

The crux of definitions

When the slum serves as the territorial handle to assess and target urban poverty, its definition becomes crucial. This is exactly the intention which lies at the basis of the most often cited slum definition, that of the UN-Habitat. Determined to evaluate the achievements made under the millennium development goal, the UN-Habitat came up with 'functional' slum indicators:

> A slum household consists of one or a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area, lacking one or more of the following five amenities: (1) durable housing (a permanent structure providing protection from extreme climatic conditions); (2) sufficient living area (no more than three people sharing a room); (3) access to improved water (water that is sufficient, affordable and can be obtained without extreme effort); (4) access to improved sanitation facilities (a private toilet, or a public one shared with a reasonable number of people); and (5) secure tenure (de facto or de jure secure tenure status and protection against forced eviction). (UN-Habitat 2010a, 33)

While this definition is debated on multiple levels, most experts acknowledge the limitations (and linked omissions) of such a technical approach.[17] Some argue the UN-Habitat catalogue of criteria is too limited already in its functional scope and should be extended with contextual dimensions, such as access to local amenities (healthcare, schools, and so on), public transport, and finance (Bolay, Pedrazzini, and Chenal 2016). Others argue that definitions of absolute measures impossibly fit with the wide

17 It is interesting to point to the assumption that slums are only an urban phenomena. As the question of what is considered urban is highly debated (Brenner 2013) this piles one shaky concept on top of another. This is particularly true in the case of India, where the definition of the urban adopted, for example in the census, is better understood from a historical and political point of view than from a perspective focusing on the built environment (Denis and Marius-Gnanou 2011; Denis, Mukhopadhyay, and Zerah 2012) let alone from how it is lived and experienced (Echanove and Srivastava 2014a). As a consequence national slum policies miss considerable numbers of potential beneficiaries.

diversity within and among slums across the globe (Gilbert 2007). Applying the UN-Habitat definition to Mumbai, for example, would lead to a paradoxical situation. As households only have to miss one of the criteria in order to qualify, much of the city's housing – including that which has been formally planned – would be turned into slums. The reverse is also true: many settlements locally designated as slums fulfil all of UN-Habitat's criteria for a decent living. This indicates that, at times, there are significantly contrasting notions of what a slum is.

The UN Habitat's intention to globally measure slums and their reduction, respectively, meets with another problem. In contrast to the simplifying tendencies inherent to the term slum as a stereotype, each national, regional and sometimes city administration has its own understanding what a slum is, and how it is defined. Consequently, national surveys commonly deviate from numbers published by the United Nations. This fact didn't escape the Indian government, either, when it compiled its census (Government of India 2012). Yet, the difficulty of comparability was already foreseen. Tasked with elaborating a definition for the 2011 census, a high-level committee report emphasisises the difficulty of establishing a definition suitable for public policies (Government of India 2010). To make its point, the report lists a variety of slum definitions, including the one from Maharashtra (which is relevant for Mumbai), existing alongside different administrative institutions and levels (international, national, and regional) and further clarifies that these have changed over time. In the attempt to fulfil statistical needs, the Government of India came up with a proposal "broad enough to encompass almost all of the others":

> A slum is a compact settlement of at least 20 households with a collection of poorly built tenements, mostly of temporary nature, crowded together usually with inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities in unhygienic conditions. (Government of India 2010, n.p.)

Interesting to point out is the difference of the basic unit to define a slum. While for UN-Habitat a single household might qualify, the definition of the Indian Government requires a minimum of 20 households to register a settlement as a slum. The threshold of 20 households is justified by the need to ensure feasibility of the statistical undertaking. As a consequence, the Indian census is blind to large parts (and certainly its severest forms) of urban poverty, which is not found in slums falling under this definition (Arabindoo 2011a).

Mumbai's 'planned' slums

In Mumbai, the term, slum, is an official planning category defined by the Government of Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act

(hereafter referred to as Slum Act) as "any area [which] is or may be a source of danger to health, safety or convenience of the public of that area or of its neighbourhood, by reason of the area having inadequate or no basic amenities, or being insanitary, squalid, overcrowded or otherwise" (Government of Maharashtra 1971). This act allowed any such area to be declared as a slum. As an official settlement category, the term, slum, is not linked in any way to the informal or the unplanned. The recognition – or notification, in the official language – of a settlement as a slum was intended to facilitate service delivery to underserved neighbourhoods and not to separate legal from illegal, or planned from unplanned areas. Residents of a notified slum are granted certain occupancy rights protecting them from forcible eviction. In contrast, the legal term used to denote violation of planning convention is 'encroachment', which indicates unauthorised occupation of land or non-compliance with zoning regulations. The Slum Act of 1971 enshrined contemporary discourse in the law, featuring slums as a valuable housing solution. In the following municipal efforts concentrated on upgrades and service provision in incrementally-growing neighbourhoods.

While the 1971 Slum Act 'created' notified slums and non-notified slums, there are further categories of human settlements such as the pavement dwellers, which fall under neither category. These people literally live on the city's pavements. While many have little more than a place to sleep at night, some communities consolidated to the point where they constructed permanent dwellings of considerable dimensions (Allemand and Sagnières 2015). The declaration of slums as notified was based on humanitarian grounds and primarily included settlements located on public land. While settlements on private land were principally not excluded from notification, the processes tended to be protracted (Bhide 2006). Even certain officially planned municipal housing colonies, such as the case study of this research, Shivajinagar, were labelled slum. Although this particular settlement was never officially notified as a slum, it is treated for policy reasons as such (Björkman 2015). However, the missing official slum recognition does not prevent official surveys like the existing land use plan to identify Shivajinagar as a slum (see later Figure 16), and the development plan to zone the territory accordingly.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, it was an advantage to become notified as a slum in order to sustain claims on the state regarding service delivery and occupancy rights (Bhide 2006). Such positive connotation of slum classification stands in contrast to reservations of certain academics to use the term because of its derogative associations. Yet, such an empowering notion of the term slum is not a thing of the past. In the present day's context of neo-liberal urban restructuring which manifests in Mumbai through slum rehabilitation projects, the slum has "become a key entity through which the [urban poor] negotiate their presence in the city" (Arabindoo 2011a, 642).

Well-understood here is the great difference in making claims on the state for service delivery, or to be included (or not) in resettlement projects. However, in both cases the classification as slum warrants slum dwellers state support or compensation.

In everyday language, Mumbaikars hardly make a difference between a notified and non-notified slum, and both residents and outsiders of such settlements use the term to characterise these habitats. In casual encounters and even more often in job interviews, residents tend, rather, to avoid the name and exact location where they live in order to avoid negative association linked to specific neighbourhoods. Given the prevalent everyday use of the word, slum, including the often deliberate ambiguity which is invoked, and given that slum is an official planning category, it seems presumptuous to avoid the term. In this research, I will be using the term, slum, in all its contested and intertwined meanings, while trying (as much as possible) to make explicit the implicit reference in the given context.

In contrast to the omnipresent slum, incremental urbanism and incremental development are not terms used widely in Mumbai. Housing activists advocating for slum upgrading on a regular basis refer to incremental development in their arguments. Indeed, demanding official acknowledgment of and formalising frameworks for such modes of urban development is one of their central claims. However, the slum as a settlement category by and large outshines the ways in which these areas develop. Besides the wide variety among the different settlements, the reference to a slum in Mumbai almost always implies a settlement, which develops incrementally. Hence, we can safely assume that a reference to slum in the context of Mumbai's development plan controversies can be taken as a stand-in for an incrementally developing settlement, and by extension, incremental urbanism.

2.1.2 Ill-defined informal settlements

As described above, the revival of the 'slum' induced multiple efforts for its reinterpretation and intensified search for alternative and less value charged notions. The informal settlement is the most prominent, although certainly not unproblematic, among such attempts. The following will lay out why the term, informal settlement, and the underlying conception of informality do not offer a suitable framework, and are indeed rather misleading approaches to the subject of this research.

Searching for a non-derogatory term, and to avoid preconceptions, the architects from Urban Think Thank (UTT) proposed the conceptual framework of the *informal city* to delimit the object of study (Brillembourg et al. 2005). In doing so, they adopt a qualifier which was in use in academic and public debates for some time. Just like the term

slum, informality as an analytical concept has a history of its own.[18] The concept of informality emerged in a context of studies on parallel economies in Ghana, which coined the term to identify and distinguish officially recorded (and taxed) economic activities from those which are not, and hence are invisible to economists (Hart 1973). The expression, informal economy, served to point to the fact that there is indeed an economy which was hitherto not accounted for. From there, it quickly made its way to qualify entire sectors before it assumed spatial dimensions and was used to label entire settlements. Roy and AlSayyad (2004) locate the conceptual origin of urban informality – the manifestation of informal processes in the urban environment – in the experience and scholarship of Latin American cities. In that light, UTT's choice of the term informal to talk about urbanisation processes in Caracas is little surprising.

Informality as an analytical lens, of course, has its own difficulties. The heaviest baggage clearly is that the *informal* is above all established in opposition to the *formal* (rule, manners, attire, or code). Thereby the formal is the generally accepted (and typically state-backed) normative standard of how things ought to be. For the city, this is usually conceptually linked to modernity and liberalism. In that reading, the informal is the deviation of a formal condition. Hence, on the level of the city, the informal represents the *un*planned and *un*regulated habitat that both outgrows and overgrows the traditional city, proliferating in its periphery and interstitial spaces. The absence of a regulatory framework, including the corresponding experts responsible for it, results in an unrecognisable form emerging from improvised self-building and make-do activities. While UTT positions the informal city in contrast to the conventional concepts conveyed in architecture and planning, it is the dichotomy of the formal/informal, with which not only UTT struggles. The established antagonism, and with it, the looming danger of hierarchisation, is exactly not their intention:

> Informal does not mean 'lacking form'. It implies, for us, something that arises from within itself and its makers, whose form has not yet been recognized, or is unfinished, but which is subject to rules and procedures potentially as specific and necessary as those that govern the official, formal city-making. (Brillembourg et al. 2005, 18)

One notes that the informal is actually understood as being similar to the formal but not recognised as such. The formal-informal divide should be better understood depending on the respective study selected as a continuum: a highly interconnected and intertwined amalgamation, or of a hybrid nature. Simultaneously with this blending and blurring, the point of reference is routinely called into question. The

18 See for example AlSayyad (2004) for a historiography of the term informality and Echanove (2013) for an extended review of its origins. McFarlane and Waibel (2012) provide an overview of its use in academic literature.

formal city exists only in the heads of architects and planners who control and order the city, as long as it remains on paper (Brillembourg et al. 2005, 20). Such dissolution on all ends undermines the very concept of informality. If the formal city is a myth, then its opposite, the informal city, is just as fictional.

The troubles arising from the antagonistic informal-formal framework are carried forward in the conceptualisation of its actors. Different then the slum, which is almost always a label applied from an outside perspective, informality brings the practices of inhabitants – or the *makers* as UTT in the above quote calls them – of such settlements to the fore. While this is principally a welcome shift, the makers are established as counterparts to the formal creators of the city, i.e., the state and its experts.[19] The latter usually are portrayed in a negative light as those who actually created the informal settlement in the first place, either by neglect or on purpose. Hence, inhabitants are left with no other option then to develop their habitat and homes themselves. Thereby, their survival strategies and self-organisation are praised as adaptable, flexible, and creative in a context of deprivation. In doing so, the informality lens tends to foster a perspective holding up the values of entrepreneurship and inventiveness in a world characterised by enduring uncertainty resulting from absent support, or at times, open hostility by the state.

Despite all good intentions and efforts in pointing out the intricacy and pervasion of the formal and informal within the 'informal city', and with the similarities of formal and informal processes (not only of UTTs studies), the informal remains the *other*, the "unknown" and describes "a discoverable, yet unidentified, logic" (Brillembourg et al. 2005, 18), which urban scholars set out to explore. In this reading, informality is just another umbrella term for all the diverse informal forms that exist. In doing so, the notion of the informal, similar to the slum, runs the risk of reducing a complex and diverse reality.

In their book *Urban Informalities* McFarlane and Waibel (2012) proclaim, as the title suggests, a multiplicity of (conceptual) informalities. They distinguish between informality as: spatial categorisation, which manifests, for example, territorially as the slum or the city; an organisational form such as informally organised labour; a governmental tool where the formal-informal divide is used as an organisational device; and a negotiable value. While the first three are subjected to the dualistic notion of the formal-informal divide described above, the fourth conceptualisation proposes an alternative reading, which essentially goes back to Roy's and AlSayyad's (2004) interpretation of informality as an organising urban logic:

19 This opposition reiterates another futile dualistic concept: that of bottom-up versus top-down planning.

> [Informality] is a process of structuration that constitutes the rules of the game, determining the nature of transaction between individuals and institutions and within institutions. If formality operates through the fixing of value, including the mapping of spatial value, then informality operates through the constant negotiability of value and the unmapping of space. (Roy and AlSayyad 2004, 5)

The argument is that "the organising divide is not so much that between formality and informality as the differentiation that exist within informality" (Roy and AlSayyad 2004, 5). While the two editors share the same premise that the city is always already formal and informal, they arrive at different conclusions, owing to their respective cases. AlSayyad (2004) understands urban informality as a way of life, whose structuring logic is not limited to questions of housing and labour, but permeates all aspects of urban life. Arguing along the same lines as Gilbert, Roy has reservation about this notion, as, according to her, it evokes a coherent mode of life correlating with social organisation and cultural mind-set. In a subsequent series of influential articles (Roy 2009a; 2009b; 2011) she makes it a point not to confuse informality with poverty and its spatial manifestation, the informal settlement. For her, urban production in cities of the global South is actually perpetuated by informal processes across the socio-economic spectrum:

> Urban informality then is not restricted to the bounded space of the slum or deproletarianized/entrepreneurial labor; instead, it is a mode of the production of space that connects the seemingly separated geographies of slum and suburb. […] Informal urbanization is as much the purview of wealthy urbanites as it is of slum dwellers. These forms of urban informality — from Delhi's farmhouses to Kolkata's new towns to Mumbai's shopping malls—are no more legal than the metonymic slum. (Roy 2011, 233)

However, Roy does not stop at identifying informality at work in processes of urban production by both the poor and the rich, but points out that informality actually pertains to state action. In that reading, informality is within the scope of the state and not beyond it. Regarding the city and the way it is produced, informality is not something that escapes state efforts – i.e., planning – but rather, is produced by it:

> Informality then is not a set of unregulated activities that lies beyond the reach of planning; rather it is planning that inscribes the informal by designating some activities as authorized and others as unauthorized, by demolishing slums while granting legal status to equally illegal suburban developments. (Roy 2009a, 10)

While it is the state's task to define what is formal or informal, the state itself often operates informally. The state holds the sovereign power to both, creating the (formal) rules of the game and suspending them. Thereby it establishes a "state of exception"

which allows the rendering of urban forms legitimate or illegitimate at will. In fact, it is exactly this extra-legal space which permits the state to operate and which extends the grip to domains and territories it otherwise (formally) would not get hold of.

Informality or thinking the city through the slum

One of the consequences of Roy's 'generalisation' of informality is that the city is understood as a stomping ground of a multitude of rivalling modes of informalities competing for public and official recognition (and legitimisation) and territories. On an analytical level, Roy's conceptualisation presents a symmetrisation of different forms of informality, and by extension, different modes of urban production. As argued elsewhere (Pattaroni and Baitsch 2015), this move resonates with attempts by French pragmatic sociology, where symmetrisation is one of the key analytical tools. Treating different modalities of urbanisation within the same framework allows the shedding of a renewed light on today's contested (urban) realities while avoiding hasty categorisation owed to pre-established conceptualisations, such as disjunctive and reductive dichotomies like the formal-informal. This move allows Roy to turn against the celebration of slums as entrepreneurial habitats, as such perspectives "remain bound to the study of spaces of poverty, of essential forms of popular agency, of the habitus of the dispossessed, of the entrepreneurialism of self-organizing economies" (Roy 2011, 231). Instead, within the framework of a generalised informality, the focus shifts to the question of valorisation and criminalisation of different modes of urbanisation by the state. Thus, informality becomes a "heuristic device that uncovers the ever-shifting urban relationship between the legal and illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorized" (Roy 2011, 233).

However, declaring informality not as a characteristic of particular territories and demographics, but as an urban logic which is distinct of urbanisation in cities of the global South, merely relocates the problem. While such a generalisation might allow one to point out the arbitrariness of the formal and the informal, this conceptualisation fosters the opposition between processes of urbanisation in the South and North. While it is a strong argument against the qualification of settlements as formal or informal, such a conceptualisation is of little help in what Roy ultimately aims at – i.e., to unlink subaltern urbanism from particular territories and demographics – and reproduces the dichotomy of the formal and informal at a different scale: "the megacity is the 'subaltern' of urban studies" (Roy 2011, 224). In a way, her attempts to symmetrise urban production do not go far enough.

Roy writes against dystopic perspectives on cities in the global South, as is evident in the writing of Mike Davis (2006), where the cities are perceived largely by what

they lack. The slum stands exemplarily for the condition of these megacities, which, hence, are in dire need of (governance capacity, productivity, service provision, and so on) development. With her critique, she contributes to an ever-growing postcolonial literature opposing such 'developmentalist' perspectives (Robinson 2002) and linked hierarchisation (of cultures, people, cities, territories, and so on), which emerge from a northern vantage point and still inform much of urban theory and practice (Watson 2009a; 2013). Instead of seeing southern cities occupied by a race of catching up with northern experiences of modernity, they should be understood as producing urban modernity in their own right (Robinson 2006).

The point of departure and resistance for postcolonial urban scholars is the popular, and to a certain extent also academic, perspective on cities in the global South. In this view, the slum has become the icon of urbanisation in the global South, and as such, it is the epitome of failed urban planning due to a weak state and prevalent corruption in the face of rapid urban growth, migration, and widespread poverty resulting in inhuman living condition for the urban poor. As with any icon, this perspective has more to do with imaginations and preconceptions about (perceived) distant places than with actual existing urban realities. Writing about Dharavi, Mumbai's 'flagship' slum, Kalpana Sharma, for example, notes that these places are made slum by everyone else but the residents: "For a Place like Dharavi, the slum, is the creation of the city government, of sociologists, of social workers, of people who do not live in this connected and disconnected worlds of continuous settlements" (Sharma 2000, 3).

For both external observers and "inhabitants", the slum is elusive and always outside (Echanove and Srivastava 2014b), giving rise to conflicting perspectives — the clash of which we witness in the Mumbai development planning debate. The slum is the elsewhere and the other, by delimitation of and through which the 'real' city is conceptualised. This position as the conceptual 'other' allowed scholars of the urban, right from Engels' observations in Manchester (Engels 1845) to contemporary analysis of Caracas (Brillembourg et al. 2005), Lagos (Koolhaas, Fort, and Boeri 2000), or Mumbai, to employ the slum as an analytical tool to reflect the city and society at large. It is the slum as a theoretical entity which Vyjayanthi Rao (2006) wants to make fruitful. She proposes two axes along which the slum as a theory allows us to think about the city: On the one hand this is a framing along the line of the functional and dysfunctional, and on the other hand it is democratisation and violence, which serve as the conceptual background for examining the nature of both the urban and the South.

Conversely, Pedrazzini et al. (2016) remind us that slums as well as the slum dweller are theoretically constructed figures, and that a theory of slum, whatever its orientation, is unlikely to change the negative perception a general public carries of slums. In the same vein, Arabindoo (2011a) argues against the slum as a theory, and maintains that such an

approach does not help to understand the diversity of such territories nor the experience of people facing eviction and resettlements. As such, theoretical approaches are more concealing than revealing, and she calls for an intensified empirical engagement with forms of urbanism linked to urban poverty. An inspiring example of such an approach which pays attention to the complexities, heterogeneities, and, at times, contradictions of urban life is AbdouMaliq Simone's research on cities of the South and Southeast Asia (Simone 2011a; 2014; Simone and Fauzan 2013). Simone's interest lies with the active contributions of people in bringing about urban change. Putting the peoples' practises at the centre permits focusing on their agency, and accounts for the ambiguity of what he elsewhere calls "feral urbanism" (Simone 2016). In the feral city, different things happen at the same time, not necessarily excluding each other:

> Differences in how things are built and places lived, they do indicate specific instances and embodiments of power, interest, and identity. And these may be at work, and be worked out, through the divisions, configurations of space; through different ways in which land, building, and material are used. […] Different statuses of land, different trajectories of agglomeration and parceling, reinvestment and accommodation to decline, constant incremental improvements, and acts of doing nothing, trends toward accumulation and consolidation, as well as letting things disperse and dissipate. All of these different trajectories prove that they could *all exist next to each other*. (Simone 2016)

Following Arbindoo's call, this study investigates the equivocal activities, forms, use, and functions present in the feral city, and focuses on the restless activities of residents to update and constantly re-invent, re-describe, and re-negotiate it. In this sense, it turns to the practices of urban dwellers and the ways in which urban transformation is brought about. In doing so, it sheds light on the performative capacities of the subaltern to self-develop, for example, through incremental development.

2.2 Advocating for incremental urbanism

2.2.1 Historicizing incremental urbanisation

The historical development of cities is often a reference point for advocates of incremental urbanism. Historic downtowns and inner city neighbourhoods are evoked as examples for successful consolidation processes (Zack 2013). It is argued that development by master plan is in fact the historical exception, even though it might dominate education, planning debates and imaginaries of development.

By the way of photographic collages Echanove and Srivastava contrast Mumbai's slums with European cities as they "mashup" streetscapes from Genoa or Berlin with

those from Dharavi (Grima 2012) and highlighte similarities of urban forms. However, for them the similarities are not limited to urban forms but are equally to be found in socio-economic use of space.

For Vinayak Bharne (2013) religious practices stand at the basis of an ancient Hindu tradition of place making and urbanisation as an incremental process. It is the continuous commemoration of anointed trees, anonymous temples and shrines and their evolution, which act as elusive sacred nuclei of much of incremental transformation. As place of both, sacred and profane activity, their continued veneration and incrementally growing importance undermines every planning effort and even withstands forceful elimination of 'illegal' religious structures by authorities. He argues that such seemingly archaic patterns of religious practise function as "grassroots urbanism" and stand at the basis of entire incrementally developing temple towns, such as Madurai and continue to inform contemporary urban processes (Bharne 2013).

The reference to historic consolidation processes lends credibility to the arguments for incremental development by pointing to the long-term perspective. It demonstrates the potential of slow paced improvement process to reach 'modern European' level, including service provision. Moreover, the urban form emerging from 'organically growing' settlements can very well continue to exist in a current context of 'modern' cities and indeed might generate desirable place to live. Such historical arguments aim at reframing the current often harsh realities of such settlements as starting point in a much longer process, instead of a threat to residents and the city at large, which call f0r immediate solutions through redevelopment.

Framing incremental urbanism as a continuity of historical processes makes it impossible to assigns identifiable authorship of the process and rather roots it in every day practices by the people. Such historical reference serves as justification for those who advocate to 'mimic' this seemingly 'natural' processes in governmental aided housing projects (Goethert 2014) and those who argue in favour of appropriate policies towards existing settlements. Such naturalization, however, risks blanketing the complexity of incremental urbanism as a highly ambiguous mode of development and also does not do justice to changing social conditions in today's cities. Development is not happening just like that, but through a process of innumerable encounters between actors of unequal powers and knowledge, and equally many individual decision-making processes. As such they cannot be simply seen as a continuity of historical processes.

2.2.2 Incremental development and self-help housing

There is a long tradition of advocating for incremental development. Teaching in Mumbai from 1919 to 1925, Patrick Geddes (1947) was among the first who criticised the colonial way of city planning for being driven by aesthetic concerns only. He argued against gridiron planning and cutting through congested neighbourhoods as a measure to sanitise the city, as such methods actually produce and increase further congestion and sanitation problems elsewhere. In contrast, he proposed a conservative approach, which would leave the neighbourhood intact and only remove the most dilapidated buildings, thereby enhancing the city. Geddes can be considered as an early precursor in both his critique of the counterproductive effect of intrusive planning as well as in his proposals to base planning on careful surveys and include the existing built fabric into urban development.

Much more prominent than Geddes, however, are the ideas from the 1970s, notably John Turner (Turner 1967; Turner 1968; Turner and Fichter 1972; Turner 1977) and Charles Abrams (1964); they are usually mentioned as the protagonists of the self-help housing idea. Although the ideas and the practices are much older, as they can be traced to the early periods, notably the 1930s (R. Harris 1998; R. Harris 2003a; R. Harris 2003b). Turner was neither particularly original nor innovative compared to his contemporary predecessors and practitioners, but he became one of the most read and visible personalities in the following years. Reflecting the zeitgeist, his particularly appealing writing fell on fruitful ground among practitioners, academics, and with international development agencies, which would spread these ideas along their engagement and money in countries around the world.

Given the influence credited to Turner, it is worthwhile to shortly return to his ideas. Turner's own theoretical stance was formed during his engagement from 1957-1965 in squatter settlements of Peru. At the time, Peru was known for its progressive approach in housing policy and community development. His critique was primarily directed towards governmental housing provision in large-scale projects following functionalist ideals, which has failed in both developed countries like the US and developing countries such as Peru. This is due to multiple reasons, but he firstly identifies the absence of political will and commitment on the side of the state as well as a lack of allocated resources. Secondly, the limited means and efforts are invested wrongly in mass housing projects, which are not flexible enough and do not provide the right kind of shelter. This approach does not recognise the social cost of mass housing projects as it is based on misconceptions about dweller priorities, which results in units that are too expensive for the intended beneficiaries. Furthermore, dweller priorities are often exactly in opposition to those promoted in state-led projects.

Turner locates the problems of a functionalist approach in its techno-rational understanding of housing: "[w]hen housing is seen as a physical product, it will be judged by physical criteria alone" (Turner and Fichter 1972, vii). Such a perception determines how housing standards are conceived and translated into building code, such as coefficients and floor space per capita, air circulation calculations, and so on, which usually are based on a hypothetical standard inhabitant. The resulting "authoritarian solutions to technocratically posed problems" (Turner and Fichter 1972, viii) are built on false premises. Raising the material quality of houses is not the same as raising the quality of the residents' lives. Housing is not reducible to technical questions but has to serve material and psychological needs. Further, household priorities of dwellers are often different than those established in governmental programs.

In contrast to the 'instant development' of mass housing production, Turner positions 'progressive development' of dweller-driven housing. Given the right supportive conditions – little support or policy framework – dwellers can build satisfactory houses. Such houses are produced not only for less than any governmental program possibly could achieve but are also in accordance with dwellers' priorities and needs. He sees enormous potential in greater user autonomy in provision of housing, which only has to be triggered.

Already in 1963, Turner presented his vision of the housing problem and how it could be solved in the August issue of *Architectural Design*, which he edited (Turner 1963). Here, Turner turns the view on the slums upside down: instead of seeing them as chaotic and dangerous, they are presented as potential. This is illustrated on the very first page of the magazine's title *Dwelling Resources in South America* along with a photo of the *Barriada La Tablada*, Lima, Peru. This most clearly states that squatter settlements are not the problem but the solution, and we have to work with the existing. Such 'progressive development' is illustrated in the same publication through a documentation of consolidation of houses and, in extension, the barriada: a settlement begins with a collective land invasion at the urban fringes and slowly consolidates after negotiations with the government. Despite the hardship, people incrementally build their houses and establish their neighbourhood through mutual aid and community action. In short, the elaborations serve as powerful demonstrations of the capability and willingness of dwellers to create and maintain their built environment. Furthermore, Turner argues that the lessons learned from Lima and elsewhere are of 'universal' importance beyond South America, including the developed world.

Given the enthusiastic advocating for incremental housing, it is important to point to the limits, which the authors of the widely circulating *Freedom to Build* (Turner and Fichter 1972) highlight. Fichter, in the preface, acknowledges the limits of their proposal, as their evidence is based strongly on upward mobile families, and the 'hopeless' poor

remain just as much as a dilemma. Making this distinction creates a new outsider – those who cannot be saved. He further acknowledges that improved housing will not solve the multilayered problems in the life of the poor and that housing cannot be approached as an isolated problem. This is not a solution for all housing problems but might increase living conditions for many.

2.2.3 Incremental development as urban planning tool

Along with other, Turner's studies on slum/squatters, which "documented the desire and ability of the urban poor to provide shelter and services for themselves"(Laquian 1983), inspired the idea of aided self-help housing, which was adopted by both international aid agencies and cities around the globe as a valuable mode of urbanisation. Its ingredients include mutual aid, self-help construction, community action, gradual housing consolidation, and progressive or incremental development.

Taking advantage of the dynamics present in existing forms of urban development, aided self-help housing as a planning principle came to take two forms: site and service projects and community upgrading. While community upgrading entails improving existing communities and built fabric, site and service projects, in contrast, usually involve relocation, hence the latter are often costlier for the beneficiaries than upgrading, where existing houses serve as the starting point. While as a side effect, site and service projects tend to exclude the poorest sections of the communities, as they often cannot afford the cost involved, they also foster clustering of poverty due to the selection of beneficiaries according to social-economic parameters (Laquian 1983). Most importantly, however, both concepts are, in fact, processes of recognition and legalisation as they formalise an urban development, which often was considered illegal before. Such aided self-help housing policies as means of formalisation, on the one hand, aim to minimise the negative effects of urban development and, on the other hand, establish state control over an otherwise unmanageable urban phenomenon. In site and service projects, this control is brought through landownership, varying largely in kind.

In Mumbai – known as Bombay at the time – both concepts were employed and enshrined in the Maharashtra Slum Area (Improvement, Clearance & Redevelopment) Act, 1971 (Government of Maharashtra 1971), eliminating uncompensated slum clearance. Community upgrading was implemented with the assistance of the World Bank in the mid 1980s under the name 'slum upgradation programs'. As the case study of this research, the neighbourhood Shivajinagar was created in the early 1970s, during the time of self-help housing discussion, as a land-based resettlement project, I will shortly present the main concepts of site and service projects.

While the idea of site and services, in principle, aims to provide plots of land and the minimum essential infrastructure to beneficiaries, there are a wide variety of different schemes. These range from simple subdivided plots marked with chalk on bare earth to serviced plots with the provision of a core house unit. Similarly, infrastructure provision might comprise (or not) water connection, sewerage, and electricity connection, or even a utility wall including a latrine. While on the one hand, this has lead national or international development agencies to promote 'best practices', local municipalities often tried to reach out to as many people as possible by reducing the cost per unit, which often resulted in projects in peripheral location and minimal to non service provision.

Site and service projects build on the 'findings' of research undertaken in slums and follow ideas of dweller driven housing production promoted by Turner and others. With the shift of the state's role from provider to facilitator, housing costs are imposed on the residents. The latter benefit from developing their houses incrementally in accordance with their income and social development, hence they are neither financially overburdened nor restricted in their social mobility. Yet, the practice of site and service projects is not without difficulty and there is a downside for the beneficiaries, including the choice of the site for the relocation, bureaucratic procedure, delays in service provision, and imposition of high building standards as well as a common focus on cost recovery. Such hurdles contributed in making it difficult for many beneficiaries to participate in the first place and for projects to live up to the promises and potential of this approach.

The resettlement component of site and service projects allows the relocation of the poor and gives way for more prestigious and lucrative city building projects. This concept released the state morally and financially from its responsibility to provide adequate housing for its poorer citizens. Presuming that dwellers house themselves better and more appropriately than the state facilitated, though not legitimised, slum clearances and resettlements. It is in this light we have to see the emergence of Shivajinagar. Nevertheless, planning at that time entailed an accommodating dimension as slum settlements and their mode of development was an acknowledged way to urbanisation.

However, aided self-help housing was not without criticism, as Rod Burgess (1977; 1978) notably became Turner's antagonist. Scholars from a Marxist tradition critiqued Turner's praise of dweller control, as ignoring the fact that the poor's freedom of choices is actually constraint and "that self-help allows labour to be exploited twice over - first at work, second in the construction of the home" (Ward 1982 cited in Rakodi 1989). Further, Turner was accused of releasing the state of his duty and opening up to laissez-faire politics.

At the same time, there were stark differences among advocates supporting self-help housing. Rakodi (1989) distinguishes between an instrumental perspective, which revolves around efficient use of limited resources, and self-help as an end in itself defended as a mean to increase resident control over the built environment and strengthen the community. For example, the World Bank adopted a rather instrumental approach to self-help housing, as it allows tapping into resources – financial and labour – which would not have otherwise been released. Hence, they could considerably enlarge the reach of their projects to more beneficiaries. This promise of scaling-up was one of the compelling arguments supporting the introduction of site and service programs to tackle a seemingly boundless housing demand often associated with cities of the global South.

In contrast, for Turner and others self-help was always linked to a political process of emancipation. Turner's argument rests on the basis that houses provided by the state are unsuitable for low-income groups. Hence, he argued that the state should cede housing production to the people, who produce them more appropriately and more efficiently. Power and responsibility should shift to the people. Indeed, Turner was suspicious about the corrosive effect of state control on local housing production (R. Harris 1998) and he favoured collective housing production as a mode of empowerment. Housing, thus, is much more than shelter; it is a political act of development (Turner and Fichter 1972).

2.3 Incremental urbanism – A process not a quality

Here the starting point is tricky: the notion of the slum, the antagonistic concept of formal/informal, and the various derived conceptualisations of informality create more confusion than clarity. There is conceptual overlap, and the terms are often used interchangeably, to evocative and talk about something else. On the one hand, there is a highly charged term, and on the other, an ambiguous concept, both not helpful to delimit the object of this research. Both the slum and the informal are defined negatively, the first by the absence of liveability resulting from lack of space, durability, water, sanitation or tenure, and the latter as missing formal (state) recognition, planning, design, or building codes. Nonetheless, these terms are widely used: colloquially, as official planning categories, and in public debates as well as in academic discourse. The terms definitely have a certain legitimacy, and neither the slum nor informality are futile conceptions. They both are, indeed, important, not only from a historic perspective and to understand changing attitudes and approaches towards such settlements, but also because these debates are actually still virulent and determine how much of the urban world is thought, produced, and experienced — often creating more harm than good. Exactly because such discussions more often than not obscure a complex reality,

it is important to shift perspective. I would like to argue that neither the slum as a characterisation of liveability, nor informality as (legal) non-conformity are helpful characterisations of a built environment which is constantly transforming. Both are, at best, qualifications of momentary conditions. Beyond such characterisations, they are both descriptive and prescriptive with self-reinforcing tendencies that re-produce a status quo rather than foster change. Thus, neither slum nor informality are useful conceptualisations to think about urbanisation processes, where the built environment, legal context, and social relations are constantly changing.

Concerned with the way in which large parts of contemporary cities take form socially and physically, I propose the term incremental urbanism to delimit the field of research. This concept is a way to avoid the above-mentioned pitfalls by focusing on the mode of development to account for, describe, and better understand such processes of urban transformation. It is an attempt to shift the focus away from the necessarily subjectivity of adequate living conditions and concerns with degrees of formality, towards urban practice of consolidation and formalisation. The proposal of this research to focus on modes of urban change instead of (dis-) qualification of urban form (and life) is an attempt to navigate the deadlock dualistic concepts of the formal versus the informal, or the city versus the slum. As the term implies, incremental urbanism is oriented towards change and describes a process of formation and transformation rather then qualifying and condemning urban situations. In doing so, incremental urbanism replaces the external perspective on a given settlement and its supposed qualities with attention towards the practices and agency of city dwellers and the physical and social transformation they propel. Thereby, I understand incremental urbanism as one among multiple ways in which contemporary cities develop. There potentially exist various modes of urban production alongside and in competition with each other, which differ among others by groups of actors involved, financing mechanism, kind of build formed, lived experience, and so on. As a mode of urbanisation, incremental urbanism has varying manifestations and is necessarily diverse, responding to different conditions and contexts. Before sketching out the wide diversity within incremental urbanism, a closer look at the elements of incremental urbanism will be helpful.

Approximations

It is not easy to come up with a narrow definition of incremental urbanism. A positive definition tends to become broad and hence useless. It is easier to say what incremental urbanism is not. For example, we cannot say incremental urbanism is exclusively owner-built and owner-occupied, as tenants and rental housing play an important part in the production of the built environment. We can neither say it is exclusively self-built, as this research points out that incremental urbanism can also be professionalised.

Equally, mutual help and collective action are not unique distinguishing features when housing production is contractual and individualised. Similar distinction along axises of empowering and oppression do not help to delimit processes of incremental urbanisation from other forms of urbanisation. As the examples in the following section will make clear, incremental urbanism can whether be delimited by territory, neither within a city nor by hemisphere (South or North), nor may it serve as a socio-economic classification of involved actors. And the built form does not allow drawing an undistorted picture either. The way in which incremental urbanism evades attempts of narrow delimitation, it resembles Roy's characterisation of subaltern urbanism as "marking the limits of archival and ethnographic recognition" (Roy 2011, 224).

Nevertheless, there are certain elements which allow us to get a clearer idea of what incremental urbanism describes. Housing production in incrementally developing settlements usually entails independent projects, although coordinated construction of two or even several houses and households exists. These projects are of a relatively small scale, and can be as tiny as adding a single brick to a wall or encompass the reconstruction of an entire house. Incremental urbanism is the aggregate of numerous individual, and at times collective, projects. As a consequence of such spatially and temporally uncoordinated efforts, houses at various degrees of consolidation might exist next to each other.

The stepwise housing construction characteristic of incremental urbanism is non-deterministic. Projects rarely pursue a predefined goal such as a final design or a set number of rooms. Rather, they are open-ended in character and oriented to fulfilling present needs, unveiling possibilities, and opening up new opportunities. Intermediate steps also allow the results to be put to the test of use and time, which subsequently informs the following steps. This way, the built environment remains adaptable to changing conditions in the face of an indefinite future. While the future often is perceived as uncertain and resources are usually limited, efforts in housing improvement are undertaken when needs arise, granting timely return of investment (in the large sense of the word). In this sense, incremental urbanism is user- and demand-driven. As well, housing improvements are usually intended for immediate or midterm use, which can be achieved within a practicable timespan. However, this does not mean that there is no long-term intention behind the efforts of dwellers. Often the contrary is the case, for households often plan and invest in temporal dimension of generations.

Quite naturally, the most important aspect of incremental urbanism concerns the actors and their relation to their habitat. In general, the producers of the built environment are at the same time residents of the settlement they build. Living in incrementally developing settlements and being personally confronted everyday with the built

environment makes users into the experts of their habitat and its production. The local knowledge is arrived at through trial and error, and accumulated experience generally brings about reasonably well constructed houses. While we observe noticeable differences between situations in which owner-builders build for themselves, and professionals build for fellow settlers (as it is the case of contractors with which this research is concerned), the way in which incremental settlements develops overall remains similar. The reason for this is that both are the users of their creation: they have to bear the consequences of the transformation they ignite, which in turn leads to an increased responsibility and accountability vis-à-vis both the built environment and the community.

While individual housing projects are, more or less, carried out independently from one another, they do not develop in a material and social vacuum. Housing always is an encounter with numerous human and non-human actors which need to be mobilised, coordinated, and arranged. As such, it is a fertile field for conflicts of all sort and scale. This demands constant negotiation with a wide range of actors: near and distant neighbours, the community at large, the municipality, politicians with different constituencies, and so on. Sustained efforts to reduce confrontations and facilitate coordination give rise to local conventions which regulate, control, and make possible living together. In as far as incremental urbanism denotes houses in the making, it is a place of emergence of local building conventions. In this sense, incremental urbanism is a formation process – i.e., the social and material stabilisation of values though the creation of conventions. Certainly, this process is structured, mediated, and hierarchised, and not everybody possesses the means to re-negotiate the conventions. Precisely herein lies the concern of this research as it attempts to better understand the emergence, stabilisation, and contestation of local conventions which govern processes of housing production, and by extension, urban form and order.

Limits

At this point, there is the need for a word of caution. Incremental urbanism is a term that implies growth and positive change. However, this is not to say this process is without drawbacks, or even necessarily uplifting for all persons involved. Focusing on housing production and improvement of the built environment tends to put entrepreneurial individuals into the spotlight, thereby losing sight of those who cannot keep pace with the development of their successful neighbours. Such focus on successful examples is often connected with the hope for urban transformations which, over the long term, turn slums into decent housing (Dovey and Raharjo 2010; Dovey 2014). As with any formalisation process, incremental urbanism also has an excluding dimension. The very process of housing improvement by a community member can exert physical,

financial, and social pressure on fellow settlers. For example, new constructions might inflict damage on adjacent structures, making untimely expenditures necessary, or provoke envy among neighbours who are demanding similar investments in order to keep up with social expectation.

While such a description eerily resembles an unbound market where only the 'fittest' prevail, incremental urbanism does not stand for a completely liberalised context where the sum of self-interests result in a tragedy of the commons. Social control is often strong enough to act as a counterbalance, keeping the worst excesses in check. However, even in cases where raging market forces seem to govern incremental urbanism, it is important to note that they are embedded in a socially formatted context.

2.3.1 Places of incremental urbanism

Given that slums — whether as a planning term in Mumbai, in the broader definition of UN-Habitat, or in popular usage — are the most prominent territories of incremental urbanism, the term can be taken for a proxy of incremental development. This assumption allows us to analyse, for example, the controversies revolving around Mumbai's development plan regarding the significance different actors ascribe to incremental urbanism within the city's urban future. However, slum as a shortcut for incrementally developing settlements is not only a Mumbai phenomenon. Indeed, the slum is the paragon of incremental urbanism. This paradigmatic position of the slum, and the linked (negative) associations and preconceptions, often result in obscuring the view on other places, territories, and urban forms from being seen as developing along similar lines.

Although the concept emerged in this research from a slum context, incremental urbanism is not restricted to these territories. For example, urban villages, such as Gaothans and Koliwadas in Mumbai, develop incrementally, and thus are in many cases adequately described by incremental urbanism.[20] It is also not exclusively an urban phenomenon, and can be observed in small towns and rural areas as well (Echanove and Srivastava 2014a).

Likewise, incremental urbanism is not restricted to habitats developing without the support of planning experts. Planners and architects incorporated and inscribed (more or less successfully) processes of incremental development into their plans and projects. One of the prominent examples of planned incremental development is situated just across the creek of Shivajinagar, which serves as the case study for this research. In the early 1980s, the famous architect, Charles Correa, designed the *Artist Village* near

20 While in many of these urban villages dynamics of transformation changes dramatically in recent years as they face wholesale redevelopment or conservation under a heritage tag, certain are searching for alternative ways of development (Echanove et al. 2015).

New Bombay as a mixed income settlement with plots of different dimensions. “The houses built on them are incremental – so they can grow from a single lean-to roof (for the very poor) to urban town-houses (for the well-to-do)” (Correa 1999, 48). Over the years, the area developed into an upper middle class neighbourhood, boasting an array of highly diverse buildings of up to four stories in height (Figure 5). This concept harkens back to the famous international architecture competition held for the Proyecto Experimental de Vivenda (PREVI)[21] in Peru of the early 1970s, in which Correa was also involved. The brief for this project explicitly called for innovative ideas for houses which could be developed incrementally by the inhabitants. The echoes of these ideas can be traced to the present day — for example, Aravena’s half-houses revive similar architectural ideas (Aravena and Iacobelli 2012). Similarly, critics on such projects (Boano and Perucich 2016) take up elements from those issued on the self-help housing from four decades earlier.

Figure 5 Belapur Housing “Artist Village”, Navi Mumbai
While some structures remained unchanged from the origianl layout, most of the plots developed incrementally. Photos by the author, taken in 2015.

Beyond individual architects’ projects, the ideas behind incremental urbanisation were institutionalised to house the urban poor around the globe. Incremental consolidation and adaption of the built environment are essential parts of slum upgrading projects (Greene and Rojas 2008; Wakely and Riley 2011), a wide range of site and service projects such as core housing (Tipple and Ameen 1999), and multiple disaster recovery programs (Duyen Barenstein and Iyengar 2010). However, raising acceptance of, and confidence in, processes of user-driven improvements of the built environment remains a challenge.

Believing that similar processes are restricted to low-rise and self-built structures is short-sighted. Nevertheless, examples that do not fit the prevailing imaginary of

21 A documentation of the project can be found in the book *El tiempo construye / Time Builds* (García-Huidobro and Torres Torriti 2008).

incremental urbanism attract attention. Famous among them are certainly the squatted high-rise Torre David (Baan, Brillembourg, and Klumpner 2013) and the Kowloon walled city (Girard, Lambot, and Goddard 1993). Similarly, formally planned and built houses, including multi-storey structures, do not prevent residents from engaging in practices of incremental adaption and improvement (Tipple 2000). Such is the case in Gujarat, where agency-driven post-disaster reconstruction houses were appropriated and transformed by residents and adapted to their needs and desires (Duyne Barenstein 2015). Due to structural requirements and limitations of the initial layout, the possibilities for incremental development are restricted compared to self-built low-rise owner-inhabited structures.

Incremental urbanism is not restricted to the cities of the global South. Analogous processes can be observed in relatively rich and highly regularised countries such as Switzerland. A particularly striking example is the emergence of the so-called iceberg chalets in Verbier , a prime holiday destination in the Swiss Alps. Here, a group of local politicians, officials, architects, and builders successfully circumvented numerous building regulations which restricted, among others, the maximum built-up area, and prevented the selling of property to Non-Swiss residents. By extending chalets below ground and installing wellness and spa areas they constructed houses multiple in size of regular buildings for wealthy (foreign) clients. However, only a select group of actors profited from these activities, and common residents were subjected to strictly legal regulations. For quite some time, the open secret could be contained until the unequal advantage finally led to unveiling this practice (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 06/06/2016). From my personal experience as practicing architect, I can attest that less spectacular cases are widespread. As 'creative interpretation' of building codes is a part of the *raison d'être* for this profession, it is not unusual that architects brag about particularly innovative ways to construe the law. As a consequence, historical and contemporary examples of such attempts in turn lead to adjustments of building codes drawing anew the line between legal and illegal practice.

Incremental development as a gradient

Incremental development is probably a characteristic that is present in every mode of development. In certain places (such as Switzerland) or urban regimes, it is more invisible, cast in formalised practices and associated professionalism. In contrast, informal settlements are probably one of the extreme cases of incremental development. Here, the aspect of incremental is predominant – in particular, in the eyes of the foreign professional trained on object fetish. In as far as incremental designates a step-by-step approach (as it is inherent to every process), what changes is the degree of incremental within the different regimes, its acceptance, visibility, and conceptualisation.

Writing from a Delhi's periphery and focusing on infrastructure, Julia King (2017) conceptualises incremental development as a consolidation process, which is more than densification and material solidification. In her understanding, "[c]onsolidation requires the individual to reconcile him- or her-self as a part of a whole, where collective improvements are greater than the sum of individual ones" (King 2017, 79). In King's case study,[22] it is the unifying project of a common sewage treatment system which not only physically connects individual families and their houses, but socially connects them as a community to collectively manage the improvement of their living condition. For King, incrementalism is linked to collective action, and as such, "there is a potential limit for the effective use of resident-led, incremental methods" (King 2017, 79). She conceptualises incremental urbanism as the process of consolidation reflected in the built form, from the shack (kutcha) via increasingly improved (semi-pucca and pucca) one-story house to two-story (pucca) houses.[23] In such a gradient of housing consolidation, incremental development, as a collective undertaking, has a specific place, which King calls the 'sweet spot' located in the range of semi-pucca one-story houses and pucca two-story houses: "[t]he sweet spot is where residents have the means to produce community infrastructures but not the middle-class values that transcend them" (King 2017, 81). At the poorer limit, kutcha and initial forms of semi-pucca dwellings are unsuitable for improvement, and beyond a certain grade of consolidation, housing enters the domain of contractors. In her view, the latter then escapes the collective realm of incremental development and enters individualism of middle-class housing built by contractors.

My study is concerned precisely with this 'upper limit' of incrementalism, which is a zone of transition rather than a sharp divide between user-led 'collective action' and 'contractor-led' individualised commodification of housing production. What exactly happens when contractors enter the scene? I would like to argue that incremental urbanism extends beyond the limit postulated by King. However, if we accept that incremental development reflects a gradient of housing consolidation, I would agree that there are crucial shifts in this gradient, changing its nature. The appearance of contractors probably is such a point of transition.

2.3.2 Experts of incremental urbanisation

'Incremental' usually implies small steps over a stretched period of time. But then what is a small step? The construction of a housing block probably is big in the view of a single resident, but might be small in the scale of a city. When the same housing block

22 Interestingly, King's case builds upon a resettlement colony with a grid layout, partially serviced plots, and community toilets, which is quite similar to Shivajinagar. However, the neighbourhood of Savda Ghevra was established more recently in the wake of slum clearance in preparation of the 2010 Commonwealth Games.

23 The Hindi terms pucca and kutcha and their use will be discussed in more detail in the case study.

is redeveloped at the end of its life span, this time might involve an entire generation for the same resident, but from a historical perspective on the city, this is only a blink in time. Neither time nor scale really helps us to distinguish incremental development from other forms of development. Rather, it is actors who allow us to characterise incremental development. Thus, qualifiers like user-driven, user-generated, self-built, and home-grown are used to differentiate incremental urbanism from expert-driven processes of production of the built environment. This perspective implies that there is a fundamental shift in the way these actors perceive and produce the city and that somehow expert-logic is at odds with user-logic. While this is true to a certain extent, however, the way in which experts as different as planners, architects, and contractors engage with the built environment might vary considerably. Hence, we must investigate the mode of their engagement and not stop at their occupational label as ‘expert’.

The question is, who counts as expert and what are the characteristics allowing us to differentiate an expert from a layperson (or more specifically in our case experts and users)? In respect to the city, the classical experts are planners and architects, who on behalf of the state plan and build for its citizens. In contrast, the experts of incremental urbanism are the contractors and urban dwellers. I would like to use the simplistic opposition between these two sets of actors to point out a fundamental difference between the activities of planners and the practice of dwellers. I argue that there is an essential difference in the conception of the future behind these two ways of making the city, which in turn allows distinguishing incremental urbanism from how urban development is envisioned under the premise of planning. Interestingly, the two contrasting relations to the future play an important role in controversies of Mumbai’s development plan. As underlying principles, they give rise to conflicting positions defended in this public debate and allow us to better understand why they are so difficult to reconcile.

Essentially, to plan is to look ahead. That is, to envisage a future and a way to get there. In that sense, urban planning as a discipline envisages a future city in which the desired ‘good life’ unfolds. In order to make this unfolding happen, the necessary conditions must be created, including the city’s spatial arrangement and form, infrastructure network for service delivery, and so on. To chart a strategy to arrive at such imagined (healthy, beautiful, efficient, ordered, safe) future, planners come up with comprehensive plans and complex maps in order to bridge the gap between today’s ‘problems’ and tomorrow’s ‘solutions’. In particular, the high investment for infrastructure creation and the long-term engagement associated with it makes an accurate picture of the future city desirable. We might contend that planning in so far as it aims at reaching a goal adheres to a future that is deterministic in nature.

Practitioners of incremental urbanism have no less intuition about the future than planners. In contrast to planners' encompassing visions of the city and society, they often embrace an individualised future which might or might not include neighbourhoods and community. That does not mean they do not make plans. On the contrary, they have very concrete plans for themselves and often even more so for their children. These plans are tangible — sometimes material, and sometimes abstract. Regarding the built environment, they oscillate between matter-of-fact and high-flying aspirations of how their future life ought to look like, the kind of neighbourhood and community they want to live in, and so on. In any case, dwellers tend to invest heavily in the realisation of these plans (Nakamura 2013). However, the nature of these housing plans is indeterminate in the sense that there is no final state foreseen regarding, for example, its size and form.

Incremental urbanism usually revolves around immediate gains or midterm returns and is prompted by urgent needs and desires. Drivers of housing transformation range from accommodating growing families and increasing comfort, to investing surplus income. Investments and resulting spaces usually are not restricted to single purposes and will flexibly serve yet unknown uses. Housing improvements and extensions are adaptable and transformable, acting itselves as the basis for the next change as the future is negotiated every time anew. As Simone so aptly describes such practices of incremental accumulation and consolidation: "Wherever one was at the moment, it was good enough, for now, not in general, but for now. Having the sense that cities were incomplete projects was more important. As incomplete, nothing was foreclosed, wrapped or summed up" (Simone 2014, 329). Incremental urbanism can be understood as 'inching forward' into an unknown future where keeping opportunities open and remaining operational through constant adaption is essential. We might understand such 'keeping open' as both, a strategy of surviving and enabling in the face of an uncertain yet open future. In this sense, incremental urbanism is not a state of being undecided or incapable of advancing further, but rather a way to keep things afloat and to 'get ahead' and 'move on' in life.

Incremental urbanism is what enables urban dwellers to adapt to ever-changing economic and social conditions, as it is a way to reduce risk, test things out, and learn about new possibilities and opportunities housing improvement brings about. The notion of an indefinite future demands learning to make accumulation and consolidation possible in a context of uncertainty. Contractors are the experts of urban transformation under such conditions. Through experience and continued experimenting, they acquired the knowledge to bring change to the life of clients and their houses and hedge the risks involved to a certain extent.

Of knowing and learning

Knowledge, as it is often distributed unequally, can be regarded as a key resource of urban production. Hence, it is no surprise that the democratic ideal of equal distribution of, or at least access to, knowledge lies at the basis of discussions on inclusion and participation in planning. The way in which knowledge is produced, shared, and distributed tells a lot about how a city is thought of, governed, and built. As a conceptual tool, knowledge production, distribution, and appropriation can help to describe and differentiate various modes of urbanism. In particular, it allows one to distinguish incremental urbanism from other forms of urban production, notably those driven by expert planning.

At this point, it might help to bring to mind classical sociological perspectives on knowledge systems. A starting point is the village where it is assumed that knowledge is shared by all members of a community. In principle, everyone posseses, or has access to, all knowledge available and needed for everyday activities and the periodically reoccurring events in a cyclical lifestyle. Such even knowledge distribution makes possible, for example, mutual help in housing construction. In contrast, in an urban context the division of labour and professionalisation leads to advancing specialisation, and with it, knowledge distribution among people and places. Not everyone knows, or needs to know, every step of an increasingly complex urban production. One of the consequences is that goods and services, and also the exchange of knowledge, become formalised. Such formalisation facilitates and ultimately enables urban life, as people need to know about practices of exchange and coordination instead of production itself.

Incrementally developing settlements occupy a middle ground between these conceptual poles of common and specialised knowledge. Incremental urbanism as stepwise development of houses and settlements through continuous engagement of urban dwellers in improving the built environment is a place where urban knowledge is formed, professions and specialists emerge, and modes of exchange are formalised. This is what McFarlane (2011a) has in mind when he suggests that to understand such development as a learning process, by which urban dwellers learn about the city, its opportunities and limits, and how to deal with the often harsh conditions of life in urban territories. For him, urban learning has three major interrelated dimensions: *dwelling*, *coordination* and *translation*. Incremental urbanism is a particular mode of learning through dwelling: "learning through everyday urbanism that both emerge through and are productive of incremental urbanism as a crucial process of dwelling" (McFarlane 2011a, 33). In other words, "learning as dwelling occurs through a process of incremental assembly" (ibd.) by which urban dwellers create and learn about the city. This perspective on incremental urbanism as a learning process puts an emphasis

on the encounters, interactions, and confrontations with the materials and social world through which such learning takes place. While stories of settling and housing consolidation are legend, McFarlane points out that most of these narratives leave out the different ways in which dwellers navigated this process with the numerous human and non-human actors they encountered and with which they had to deal. While urban dwellers learn about the city by actively (and sometimes forcibly) engaging with the built environment, "incremental learning is not the production of an unmediated stockpile of knowledge; these forms of urban learning are stratified, unequal and controlled" (McFarlane 2011a, 38).

While McFarlane has in mind the urban dweller as owner-builder who learns about the possibilities and limits of urban territories as he builds and extends his house and home, I am concerned with one of those actors that mediates this learning process, i.e., the contractor. In places like Shivajinagar, it is often through the encounter with contractors that dwellers learn about housing production. As experts and brokers of transformation, they certainly contribute to and safeguard knowledge stratification. Hence, we could argue that it is exactly this mediating process which determines if incremental urbanism is emancipatory or not. However, we cannot assume that the emergence of the contractor marks the shift from a self-built or user-driven (or dwelt) urbanism to a market-driven mode of development. Rather, we have to investigate into the practices and carefully examine how this mediating process takes place.

Incremental urbanism can be understood as a formalisation process where knowledge is accumulated and consolidated along with the making of the built and social fabric. In this process, contractors emerge as the experts and mediators of such mode of urban transformation. Thanks to their expertise, they enable incremental improvement and mitigate the learning processes of individuals, which at times turns out painfully. Notwithstanding that many of them make a decent profit from their activity, it seems often that contractors put their knowledge in the service of the community improving the condition of the neighbourhood in which they also live.

2.3.3 Conclusion

Incremental urbanism describes a process by which human settlements consolidate, usually over longer periods of time through a continuous stepwise improvement of the built environment. It can be characterised by two closely interlinked dimensions. Accretion, on the one hand, denotes the process of material agglomeration, such as the addition of walls, rooms, or entire houses. This accumulation happens, on the other hand, through a process of self-organisation. Self-organisation points to the multiplicity of decision-making and continuous negotiation processes between local actors. These

constant negotiations give raise to local conventions, which allow coordination, govern construction processes, and manifest spatially. Unlike the contested term, slum, and the disjunctive formal-informal divide or the more elaborated concept of urban informality, incremental urbanism "describes a scale of process and form rather than formality, legality or liveability" (Dovey 2014). In this sense, my study is foremost concerned with the way in which such settlements develop. Incremental urbanism, hence, is understood as a particular mode of urbanisation, which exists among, and competes with, other diverse modes of urban production.

Often, scholars and activists identify in such processes of consolidation a promise of progress. To underline such elements, they often refer to historical examples as successful cases of city-making. However, such references to 'organically grown' examples risk falling into the trap of naturalizing incremental consolidation processes. In the same line, advocates of incremental urbanism want to make productive this promise of progress for urban planning. This intention stands behind concepts such as aided self-help housing and slum-upgrading programmes.

Mumbai is not foreign to incremental urbanisation and associated official programmes. Throughout the 1970es and 1980es, slums were improved through upgrading projects. Then, from the mid-1990s onwards, public-private partnership programmes for slum redevelopment replaced these efforts. While these programmes largely failed to provide sufficient numbers and created poor living conditions, slums continued to consolidate incrementally. While Mumbai features prominently in research on slums, considerably few studies are concerned with the actual production of these settlements. Most descriptions exhaust at relatively superficial adding walls after walls and rooms after rooms. Little research engages in how this process actually happens, leaving ample room for misconceptions.

For advocates of 'incrementalism' (Wakely and Riley 2011; Echanove and Srivastava 2012; 2015a; Dovey 2014; 2016) there is no way around in-situ upgrading, already alone because of the dimension of the challenge. Alternatives are perceived as inadequate, although sometimes inevitable. Only incremental on-site improvements might retain informal social practices and economic production, and could avoid the multiple drawbacks of replacement housing. Thereby it is irrelevant if implemented on-site or in the urban periphery, as it disrupts social, infrastructural, and economic networks, which ultimately exacerbates poverty. Further rigid spatial separation of private and public spaces in formal housing make flexible and efficient use of space for mixed activities much more difficult, if not impossible.

From Turner to Dovey, most writers, howsoever enthusiastic about the potential of incremental development, clearly draw the limits and reach of the concept. Turner's

“hopeless poor“ of dense inner city slums are not able to join the upwardly mobile squatters in Peru’s barrios (Turner and Fichter 1972), and neither are the territories prone to natural disasters and man-made hazardous fit for upgrades (Dovey 2014).

Certainly, there is valid and important critique on incremental upgrading policies and projects: self-help schemes often fail or even exacerbate existing problems, open the door for corruption and co-optation, and divert slum dwellers from political struggles. As successful projects (both aided and unaided) show, such hindrances can either be overcome, or are less an issue, than in formal housing projects, where the stakes involved tend to be much higher. In any case, arguing for incrementalism does not exclude critical analysis of the causes of slum creation – i.e., neoliberal capitalism. While this is indeed an important and needed criticism, focusing solely on economic argumentations risks missing out on dimensions of form and space. Besides, such frameworks tend to perceive slum dwellers as passive objects of processes in which they have no influence whatsoever. Instead of perceiving the practices of urban dwellers selectively as ingenious survival tactics or suffering, they should better be understood as active contributions to contemporary city making in their own right.

One of the most widely shared premises is that urban informality, or the slum, is not a new phenomenon. It accompanied humanity since it first built cities, and most likely will be with us for some time to come. However, it actually only gained visibility with the emergence of formal urbanism, which in turn was born out of an urge to do something about it. While the challenges might have changed over time and were certainly exacerbated under contemporary neoliberal conditions, they remain caught up in an antagonistic relationship to the ‘formal’ (planned, legal, aspirational) city. Given the inertia of much of urban planning – which again became evident, for instance, in the revision of Mumbai’s development plan – slums are here to stay. They will only disappear if we allow them to do so, through, for example, incremental processes.

Because words do matter in how cities are perceived, governed, and transformed, it is important to advance our conceptualisation of urban dynamics to improve our capacity to address contemporary urban challenges. Hence, there exists an urgent need to turn away from descriptive and prescriptive terms like the slum and the disjunctive formal-informal divide towards a focus on processes of urban transformation, allowing an accounting for the complex, and at times, divergent, trajectories of urban life. While accounting is important, understanding the different perspectives on incremental urbanism is important too.

Thereby, we must keep in mind that incremental urbanism is neither a natural nor an inherently empowering mode of urban development. As with any human activity, it is

both formatted and formatting. Dovey employs the notion of emergence to describe the process of formalisation at work in incrementally developing settlements: "Emergence is at once social and spatial, characterized by practices of cooperation, corruption and conflict that can escalate out of control or can stabilize through informal code" (Dovey 2014, 52). While such formalisation is neither inherently good nor bad, we ought to keep in mind that both 'escalating' and 'stabilising' are merely two extremes of the same process. Therefore, we have to look closely at formalisation processes in order to understand the advantages and draw backs of incremental development before answering the question of who profits and who suffers. Accepting incremental urbanisation as a social and material consolidation process – a place where through continuous investment in form (Thévenot 1984) conventions are invented, contested, and stabilised – allows us to advance our understanding of the constantly transforming slum, and by extension, the contemporary city, in the making.

3 An economy of conventions – Approaching the city pragmatically

In order to study incremental urbanism through the lens of housing production on the one hand and the discourse over planning on the other, I adopted an approach inspired by a recent shift in sociology, which has been described as the pragmatic turn. Subsumed under the French term *sociologie pragmatique* (pragmatic sociology) – rather a label for a family of sociological currents than a homogenous theory – a new kind of social sciences emerged in France in the 1980s (Diaz-Bone 2011b). One of the central points of reference in these 'new sociologies' is the concept of conventions (Diaz-Bone and Thévenot 2010). The sociology of conventions, better known in the Anglophone world as economy of conventions (EC), stands at the centre of the pragmatic approach adopted by this research.

EC was not developed by one leading figure but rather by a group of closely connected researchers through a series of research projects and corresponding publications in diverse fields of study. Essentially, I based my work on several foundational texts (Thévenot 1984; Thévenot, Moody, and Lafaye 2000; Boltanski and Chiapello 2005; Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), as well as review articles and introductory and secondary literature (Dodier 1993; Diaz-Bone and Thévenot 2010; Diaz-Bone 2011a; Blokker 2011; Pattaroni 2007; 2016).

The reception of EC outside the francophone world is often fragmented, also due to sparse and late translations. This is particularly true in the field of urban studies where EC only gained a certain momentum in the last decade. This happened often indirectly in the wake of research inspired by the theoretical framework of Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Latour 1998; 1999; 2005) and its claim of changing urban studies (Farias and Bender 2010). Relating to the field of architecture the work of Albena Yaneva is noteworthy regarding the conceptualisation of architectural perception and practice (Latour and Yaneva 2008; Yaneva 2009) as well as the developed methodology outlined in *Mapping Controversies in Architecture* (Yaneva 2012). Yaneva represents sort of a linking figure between a strict ANT approach and a more open position as she adopts a pragmatist perspective. From an urban point of view, the examination of a neighbourhood in Geneva as the site of production of difference (Cogato-Lanza et al. 2013) is probably what comes closest in spirit to a pragmatist approach to the city. Linked to this oeuvre several publications by and with Luca Pattaroni pave the way for a pragmatist perspective on urban phenomena, making fundamental texts of EC productive for urban analysis (Pattaroni 2007; 2015; Cantelli et al. 2009). More recently,

advancing theoretical developments in the field of EC are discussed in relation to classical strands of urban studies (Pattaroni 2016) and possible cross-fertilisation between EC and postcolonial approaches to urban studies were examined (Pattaroni and Baitsch 2015).

The pragmatic turn performed by the EC can be interpreted as a response to changing social conditions or rather its changed perception. Society is perceived as more fluid than ever, where classic sociological structuring conceptions such as class, social groups, workers, youths, women, and so on partly lose ground in explaining the increased observed heterogeneity. In the introduction to their foundational book, Boltansky and Thévenot (2006) note that renouncing such classical categories as analytical tools is exactly one of the particularities of the sociology of conventions. This is not to say that these categories are non-existent, but that they become and are made relevant in particular situations. It is in situated social interactions – hence the term *pragmatique* – where persons and objects are rendered pertinent. And it is in those moments of contextualisation when conventions gain their fundamental importance as ordering mechanisms informing people's actions. That is not only to use class as a mere explaining factor but to see how a class structure is produced and at what point, or under what conditions, it gains a performative power (Thompson 1980; Boltanski 1987; Gould 1995).

Making sense of the complexities of urban realities, which we encounter for example in housing production in incrementally developing settlements or in debates about urban planning, requires returning to the fundamentals of how people organise and coordinate their living together. Hence the focus lies on how actors master situations of uncertainty. This is where the concept of conventions is helpful, as it allows for the focusing on procedural and relational dimensions of incremental urbanism – i.e. to devote attention to the complex reality of incrementally developing neighbourhoods and the intricacy of the debate about their place in the city. In respect to the analysis of incremental urbanism, such an approach can enlarge our understanding of city-making processes.

While the part *Making* examines the practical working of conventions in the production of housing, the part *Planning* examines the negotiation about the appropriate conventions for urban development. Linking macro and micro levels, conventions have a mediating function between the concrete situation and generalisation. Therefore they allow for the examination of what role incremental urbanism in contemporary cities plays at the different scales. On the one hand EC is well-equipped to analyse human activities and interaction and hence matches well with the objective of this research to investigate the actual making of incrementally developing settlements. In particular, housing production opens up a field where multiple logics of action

collide along with their material dispositive. Riddled with situations characterised by insecurity and conflicts, construction processes are sites where interfering social and material conventions and linked imaginations of the good life constantly need to be balanced. On the other hand EC as an economy of worth allows for the analysis of debates about planning as a negotiation process between rivalling ordering principles striving for public recognition and state legitimisation, each linked to specific urban configurations or pathways to urbanisation. Approaching the controversies revolving around the revision of Mumbai's development plan from such a perspective permits the understanding of the public exchange of arguments not as one between rivalling interest groups but as one between conflicting visions and practices of urban development. Therefore, such analysis reveals the underlying assumptions between different positions and their conflicting relations and in particular sheds light on the contested role incremental urbanism plays in the making of contemporary cities. EC attention on phenomena in the making permits focusing on urban (housing) production and planning in a procedural and relational way and hence offers the possibility of better understanding the truly co-produced reality of city-making processes, which is particularly evident in the case of incremental urbanism.

This chapter lays out the fundamentals of the sociology of convention. Informing the approach of my research, the following interrelated concepts are fleshed out: conventions as normative framework of acting and coordination, which hinge upon the accomplishment of a common good. Conventions as collective products are created and maintained through an investment in form. The plurality of co-existing conventions and the consequent multiplicity of common goods is linked to actors' competencies to navigate this multiplicity. Part of such capability is to be able to justify one's actions in the case of disputes, or the other way round, raise critique and contest existing principles of legitimisation, which, for example, can be observed in controversies.

The relevance of EC – and more generally of a pragmatic approach – for urban studies will be discussed, by reference to the discourse associated with the term 'assemblage'. This allows us to set the approach of this research in relation to the dominant epistemological perspective in urban studies, which is a Marxist-informed critical theory, pointing out its possibilities and limits.

EC's fundamental conceptions and its positioning in the field of urban studies give rise to certain consequences and particularities for the research approach. It offers analytical tools, informs methodologies of analysis and directs the focus of this research. Foremost, the plurality of co-existing conventions demands a radical symmetrisation of perspectives on processes and phenomena commonly understood as antagonistic. To do so a pragmatic approach demands an emphasis on descriptive methodology.

3.1 Central concepts of economy of conventions

A comprehensible introduction to the central concepts of EC can be found in the writing of Diaz-Bone (Diaz-Bone 2011a; 2011b; Diaz-Bone and Thévenot 2010). They offer a condensed reading of *On Justification* (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006) and form the mainstay of the following outline.

In opposition to popular understanding of conventions as customs, established standards, or spontaneous agreements, conventions must be understood as the manifestation of socio-cultural logics of acting. As such, they allow actors to coordinate in situations of uncertainty and allow for evaluating action, persons, objects, and their constellation. In this sense, conventions form normative frameworks of acting and coordination. They serve as both guidelines for acting and frameworks of their evaluation. As such, conventions are at the same time linked to concrete situations and are independent of them — independent in as far as they point beyond concrete situations towards generalised logics of social interaction. The situation-transcending dimension of conventions will be made clearer in the following chapter, where the concept of orders of worth is elaborated.

One of the fundamental principles of economy of convention is that there is a plurality of co-existing conventions. This means that if one convention is collectively perceived as adequate and accepted as the logic of coordination in a given situation, the others still remain potentially available as alternatives and actors might invoke them and contest the established order. This concept of plurality has far-reaching implications, among others regarding the actor model. Another consequence of the plurality of co-existing conventions is that conventions cut across institutions. For example, in a factory, functional logics of production not only prevail, but seniority or familial relations might also play a role. In a school, monetary dimensions are important alongside questions of teaching.

In an EC perspective, actors possess the competencies of mastering the multitude of conventions, like a grammar of acting. They are able to assess the adequacy of particular conventions in a given situation, which includes being able to change between conventions and possess the competence to establish compromises between multiple conventions. The latter speaks to an acceptance of the simultaneity of multiple and contradicting normative ordering principles. Actors can handle conventions in a reflexive manner and are involved in their dynamic creation and re-creation and contribute to their (de-)stabilisation. Actors attribute values to their actions and make them meaningful for themselves and others in respect to a larger social context oriented towards creating a common good. Their capacity emerges from shared experience of coordination in the face of collective problems. As a consequence of the competencies

accredited to actors in a pragmatic perspective, one has to take seriously the critique raised, and justification made, by actors in order to explain, evaluate, and justify their actions.

As previously stated, actors create conventions in order to evaluate and coordinate actions. Conventions offer instructions for acting and at the same time represent a referential framework for judging and justifying actions, for example, when decisions have to be made or when disagreements call for a solution. In that sense, conventions are not restricted to situations, but can be invoked by actors to interpret the quality and qualification of persons, objects, or actions. They are collectively and culturally established forms of evaluating and coordinating social interaction. Conventions hold a transcendental dimension, and in that sense point beyond a given situation to a common good. As will be detailed later such common good can be, for instance, the efficient functioning of a system, equality of all members of society, or preservation of a traditional order.

As an example we might consider the construction of a house, which *per se* is a situation demanding much coordination and decision-making and usually is abound with moments of insecurity about a variety of questions. When the contractor and the house owner discuss the location of the toilet, for instance, the former might treat the issue primarily from a technical perspective pointing to difficulties with connection to the sewage system. In contrast, the house owner might foreground cultural sensibilities, referring to traditional spatial arrangements linked to the organisation of everyday activities and family life. In this situation two conflicting sets of conventions stand at disposition offering the actors to assess the future spatial arrangement of the house according to different logics. This example is also illustrative of the intimate association of conventions with objects and the way in which they relate to each other and to persons. Conventions link concrete objects and their arrangements with higher value systems, such as tradition or techno-rationalities. We might say conventions format objects – i.e. make them carriers of information – in order to bring them in accordance with an intended function. However, such formatting is costly. In the following we will look closer at costs involved in the production of conventions. While most objects cannot be unambiguously, or even exclusively, associated with a particular convention, some objects might not fit at all and again others might completely change their characteristics when linked with different conventions.

3.1.1 Investment in form or the production of conventions

In as far as conventions are principles of coordination, they are neither abstract nor constant. On the contrary, they are rooted in situations — they are not just 'out there',

but need to be invented, constructed, and maintained. As collective and cultural products, the creation of conventions is a result of a process linked to what Thévenot (1984) termed investment in form – i.e. their stabilisation in networks of actors and abstract and concrete objects (such as codes, classifications, rules, standards, and so on). For Thévenot, investment encompasses all form-giving activities (including the immobilisation of capital) necessary to make a code work. In his foundational article *Rules and implements: investment in forms,* Thévenot uses the term *code* – as in code of law, code of conduct, code of honour, dress code, and so on – to point to the wide variety of rules which regulate social interaction. For our case, the term code can be equated to convention. Along with establishing the regulations themselves, codes and conventions require the work of formal classification – i.e. laying down to which case a specific code applies. In essence, investment in form describes the process of establishing concepts (or conventions) that allow the exchange of information between various actors, thus reducing the cost for coordination. Coding or categorisation puts information into standard form so it can be interpreted and exchanged between different actors. This process needs investment in the sense of (personal) energy and time invested by actors. As such, 'forms' can be both physical as well as non-material 'objects', infrastructure networks, or abstract categories.

For instance, in order to make a factory work, investments not only must be made in material and machinery (the physical) but also in the way they are operated, which is, for example, fixed in manuals. Processes need to be coordinated and interfaces standardised (non-material objects), measures (abstract categories) of quantities and qualities as well as units of time for production defined, and so on. Further, the principles of spatial arrangement of objects (infrastructural networks) such as the machinery in a factory or the spatial organisation of a settlement demand investments in form. In that sense "creating a rule is as much of an investment as purchasing a machine" (Thévenot 1984, 23).

In the example given above where the location of a toilet is negotiated, the house owner refers to the traditional organisation of a domestic setting. The convention "as things always have been" determines where to place the toilet in relation to other rooms in the house. If we consider that such a convention is created and established over generations through innumerable repetition of everyday practices, the (collective) investment in form becomes obvious. Such conventions are stronger the more they are enmeshed with other conventions such as different roles (privileges and duties) of family members, questions of age and gender and so on. Or the technical-rational argument of the contractor is linked to the logics of a waterborne sewage system, which works with gravitational flows and abundant availability of water and which is

mastered through calculations and measurements as evident in standardised diameters of piping, or of their minimal inclination and so on.

Consequently, the focus in sociology of convention lies on the effort that goes into creating and (de)stabilising conventions, which govern humans living together. Markets, for example, need to be made, not only by physically producing objects and turning them into exchangeable products, but also by creating the (conceptual) conditions for such exchanges. In fact, one of the major points of sociology that made the pragmatic turn is to perceive markets not as fiction, but as things that are made (Callon 1999) and are embedded in, and produced through, elaborate networks of conventions.

3.1.2 The orders of worth, an application of the concept of conventions

Before moving on to the analytical implication for this research, this part elaborates on the theoretical framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot in their book *On Justification: On Economies Of Worth* (2006 [1991]). The economies of worth can be understood as a variation of the concept of convention (Diaz-Bone 2011a). This application of the concept of conventions serves as the analytical framework for the analysis of the controversies revolving around the making of Mumbai's development plan, which is presented in the part *Planning*.

Thévenot and Boltanski build their argument on the following assumptions: Living together is characterised by both conflicts and the search for consent. In cases where disagreement is not solved by raw force, humans are competent enough to resolve a situation through non-violent negotiations and find agreement by referring to legitimate generalisations.[24] In order to sustain such justifications, and to render them legitimate, they must be based in legitimate forms – i.e. principles according to which a just society is ordered – of a common good. Boltanski and Thévenot argue that there is a multitude of such superior ordering principles, which allow us to justify actions and settle conflicts, and which they call "orders of worth". These principles are simultaneously valid in different situations and constitute a horizontal pluralism. Society is thus not constituted by a single order but by the interweaving of a multitude of orders, which simultaneously co-exist in the same social space.

24 It is clear, that not all situation can be analysed using the framework developed in *On Justification* and alternative regimes which are, for instance, reigned by love, violence or familiarity work fundamentally different (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999). Analysing the related concepts of EC and ethnomethodology, Dodier (1995) in his pioneering article on *The conventional fundaments of action* further clarifies the sphere of relevance of a sociology of convention. For Dodier EC is at once more limited to a certain kind of cases – i.e. legitimate actions – and at the same time allows to make claims of larger range or depth then Garfinkel's ethnomethodology.

In *On Justification* they distinguish six historically rooted justification principles and the corresponding orders of worth, which each forms a polity (or world): the equality in a civic world, the competitiveness in a market world, the creativity in an inspired world, the public opinion in the world of fame, the efficiency in an industrial world, and tradition in a domestic world. Table 2 presents the six worlds as synthetised by Boltanksi and Thévenot (2006) with their respective higher or guiding principles as well as the canonical metaphysic oeuvres from which they derived the world. It is important to note that the number of possible orders of worth is not absolute, but it cannot be infinite either, otherwise humans would not be able to reach agreement and create a shared common world. Indeed in later works the numbers of principles is extended by that of an environmental order (Thévenot, Moody, and Lafaye 2000) and networked order (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005).

World	**Inspiration**	**Domestic**	**Fame**	**Civic**	**Market**	**Industrial**
Higher common principle	The out-pouring of inspiration	Engen-derment according to tradition / Descent / hierarchy / tradition	The reality of opinion the other / big public	Preemi-nence of collectives / every-body / collective will	Competi-tion Rivalry	Efficiency perfor-mance / Future
Meta-physic	Saint Augustine	Bossuet	Hobbes	Rousseau	Adam Smith	Saint-Simon

Table 2 Outline of the six worlds as developed by Boltanksi and Thévenot (2006)

Each world has a particular form of coherence and consists of beings most suitable to accomplish this coherence. Accordingly not all beings 'exist' in all worlds but they are rarely exclusive to one world and they are valued differently in different settings. For example, children hold an assigned position as offspring in a domestic world, but are only future citizens in a civic world where they are not allowed to participate in votes and are at best a consumer segment in a market world. Humans tend to shift their association between different ordering principles. Coherence of beings – people and objects – in a given situation (or within a world) is established and agreement is reached through a test. Tests arrange persons and objects in relations specific to each world. Tests, such as disputes, call for qualifying (categorising) persons and objects and their relative worth in accordance with a polity. Such arrangements of different

beings require investments in coordination (Thévenot 1984). At the basis of the concept of orders of worth is the concept of convention, which enable actors to coordinate their actions to reach a common goal. The attention in a sociology of order of worth is given to the constant effort (investment) humans put into evaluating situations and justifying actions, to reach (temporary) agreements and establish compromises.

The legitimacy of a particular order of worth thus is situated and relies on the configuration[25] of the situation (its objects and persons and how they relate) – it cannot be defined outside a specific context. And yet tests concerning the appropriate order of worth or justification principles carry a situation-transcending or structural element by the reference to the legitimising principle of a shared common good. With respect to the examined topic – the controversies revolving around Mumbai's development plan – the world of inspiration and the world of fame play a minor role. Table 3 shows an overview of the different relevant worlds, their guiding principles, and beings on which they are based. Essentially it is an analytical grid used to establish the different worlds. In this grid the overarching principle describes the convention which coordinates and stabilises each world. These principles orient all beings which inhabit a world and the relation among each other. They are generalisations of justifications and allow for the evaluation of the relevance of subjects and objects, and assess their relation among each other. It defines what is valuable (what entities have worth) and what is non-valuable (what entities count for nothing), and thus establishes a hierarchy of worth and with it a mode of ordering. Dignity, then, is the human characteristic on which each ordering principle is based, such as familiarity and custom in the domestic realm or the desire for recognition in the world of opinions. Further, each world also has its very own form of investment, which is both accepted and expected and brings people and objects in accordance with the higher principle. This can be renunciation, as in forgoing of egoism in the domestic world, or by investment in a classical sense of the word, as constant investment of time and money to keep up with the dynamic of progress in the industrial world.

25 Boltanksi and Thévenot use the French term "dispositif" to describe the assemblage of "beings" present and relevant in a given situation.

World	**Domestic**	**Civic**	**Market**	**Industrial**
Higher common principle	Engenderment according to tradition	Pre-eminence of collectives	Competition	Efficiency
State of worthiness	Hierarchic superiority	Rule governed and representative	Desirable	Efficient
Dignity	The poise of habit	Aspiration to civil rights	Interest	Work
Subjects	Superiors and inferiors	Collective persons and their representatives	Competitors	Professionals
Objects	Rules of etiquette	Legal forms	Wealth	Means
Investment	Renunciation of selfishness	Renunciation of the particular	Opportunism	Progress
Relations of worth	Respect and responsibility	Relation of delegation	Possess	Control
Relationship	Company of well-brought-up people	Gather for collective action	Interest	Function
Figures	Soul of the home	The democratic republic	Market	Organisation
Test	Family ceremonies	Demonstration for a just cause	Deal	Trial
Judgment	Knowing to bestow trust	The verdict of the vote	Price	Effective
Evidence	The exemplarily anecdote	The legal text	Money	Measure
The Fall	Lack of inhibition	Division	Enslavement to money	Instrumental action

Table 3 The domestic, civic, market and industrial world and their respective 'beings' Adapted by the author from Boltanski and Thévenot (2006).

Forms of critique

The horizontal multiplicity of ordering principles and their simultaneous validity allows us to understand the principle of criticism differently. On the one hand this means taking seriously the critique raised and justification given by people. On the other hand different kinds of critique can be distinguished. The symmetrisation of value systems allows for the differentiation between critique raised from within the same world to which it is addressed from critique that originates from the strand of another world. *Internal critique* of a given situation adopts the normative dimension of the particular order and demonstrates that the situation in reality is subject to another 'illegitimate' principle. More *fundamental critique* does not only critique the correct application of a justification principle but questions the legitimacy of the principle as such. A consequence of such an approach is that adopting such an external position and raising critique is not any more solely the domain of sociologists but open to all actors.

Compromises

As we do not inhabit a proper world which adheres only to one ordering principle, but a messy and complex reality where multiple orders of worth are simultaneously present, Boltanski and Thévenot introduce the concept of the compromise (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). In everyday life we usually deal with compromises and not with pure worlds uncontaminated by persons and objects from other worlds. A compromise is an arrangement agreed upon in the name of public good.[26] Such agreements rest on mutual understanding to settle a conflict without completely resolving it through tests based on one or the other world. In compromises the basis of agreement is not made explicit and the intentions to act in the name of public good are assumed. This orientation towards a public good goes beyond and thus includes the orders of worth partaking in the compromise. A compromise however remains hybrid and thus vulnerable to critique, which is kept in suspension. Boltanski and Thévenot exemplify such a compromise in workers' rights, where a civic object is combined with an industrial being. In a compromise, beings of multiple worlds are present and relevant without leading to conflicts. A compromise makes it impossible to valuate these beings according to their relevant order of worth, but neither unhinges them from their world.

A compromise can anytime be called into question by referring to one of the involved worlds as the only relevant one. In that sense it is fragile. On the other hand, a compromise can be stabilised by establishing objects, which by ascribing them an identity sustains the public good. The rise of numerous stabilising objects might give

26 While compromises are made in the name of public good, the ordering principles of world support a common good.

birth to an emerging world. Building on ambiguous beings, objects or characteristics, which can be interpreted according to multiple worlds, facilitates the creation of a compromise. For example the "product" is such an ambiguous object that might take on different connotation whether it appears as a desired good in a market world, or as a technical object in the industrial world. Creating a compromise essentially comprises reaching an agreement on such beings and finding (or creating) for all acceptable categories.

In contrast to the compromise in the name of public good is what Boltanski and Thévenot term private arrangement. A compromise oriented at the public good serves the interests of others and not just those parties involved in making the compromise. Private agreements, however, are based on a mutual understanding on the value of a good convenient to the involved persons at this given situation. Crafted in favour of the concerned persons, such agreements cannot be generalised. Claiming the existence of a private agreement often serves as a basis for critique. If one wants to critique a compromise one can decide to denounce it as a private agreement. Framing the agreement between builders and the bureaucracy as corruption is a common example of such forms of critique.

3.1.3 The development plan controversies, a call for justifications

The controversies, which revolve around the making of Mumbai's development plan, is understood as a bundle of tests in the sense of Boltanski and Thévenot. The term 'controversies' points to the uncertainties that arise around the common project of planning Mumbai's future, where conflicting claims on the city, its future and the modes of development call for justification. These uncertainties provoke a formalisation of critical perspectives and the crystallisation of opposed perspectives based on contrasted identification and qualification of people, objects, and causal links at play. Raising fundamental questions about urban development, the making of the development plan 2034 is perfectly suited to shed light on the conflicting visions of urban future.

The conception of orders of worth offers a framework for the analysis of the diverse critiques and allows for the characterisation of the conflicting positions and their competitive relations. The approach permits one to symmetrically account for competing visions over the future of the city and the different paths to urbanisation. In doing so it gives voice to positions that are routinely ignored and suppressed and sheds light on their contribution in shaping the co-production of the city, which are often overlooked in retrospective analyses.

The controversies as an arena of conflicting cosmos

As mentioned above, situations subject to only one world rarely exist. Rather, in reality most situations constitute a compromise between several worlds. Hence, every institution or organisation must be able to tolerate situations bearing other worlds to reach a certain stability. Such compromises are also a way to avoid critique, often by establishing hybrid beings, which due to their ambiguity refer to two or more worlds. The more such beings are present in a situation, the more stable the compromise.

The controversies on the Mumbai development plan confronts us with multiple and conflicting visions of the city, planning, and just modes of development. All of these positions can be understood as specific compromises of multiple worlds. Derived from real existing positions defended in the controversies, I call such compromises cosmos in order to indicate their world-like dimension and coherence, which points to the claim of their overarching legitimating power. As such their structure resembles those of the worlds.[27] All of them are oriented by a particular ordering principle and they are equipped (and continuously extended) with relevant objects and persons. However, due to their composite nature, the diverse cosmoses are not necessarily as distinct as the worlds. While some of them are in strong opposition, others resemble each other and differ only on minor points. Part of the analysis is to illustrate on which combination of worlds these cosmoses were built and which kind of compromise they struck between them.

The idea of the cosmos is about how actors in the controversies frame the reality and possible problems as well as their appropriate solution. It discusses the rationales, which stabilises qualifications of objects, people and problems. Cosmos is a way to grasp the coherence and inertia of a position, particularly when it is adopted in public, as is the case in controversies. Be it orally or in written form, the coherence of position is important. While some of them are quite specific to the place from which they emerged – i.e. Mumbai – others are built on widely circulating discourses and arguments. Born in a debate around planning, the cosmoses presented in this study are oriented towards questions of urban development. Hence they aim at answering questions like, what are the underlying conceptions of the city? Of ordering the common good? What role does incremental urbanism play in the development of the city? What are the drivers of urbanisation? Which values rule decision-making processes?

27 One might look at the cosmos as a world in the making. Indeed the ‘project cosmos’ as it emerged from the analysis of the RDDP in this research resembles the order of worth developed in *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005). Due to the dynamic of this research it was not possible to make this link fruitful.

Cosmoses, as conceptions of how to create a just city, build on an expectation of not only how the built environment should be produced and organised, but also how people are supposed or are expected to act. They imply a double formatting of spaces and of people. The cosmoses then link to the 'correct' tools of planning and ordering, which foster such correct behaviour and limit misconduct. However, actors, such as the 'city dweller', often escape the allocation to a singular cosmos. They are at home in multiple cosmoses and keep shifting between them according to different situations. There is no such thing as a singular construction of actors.

Similarly, some concepts and objects are not easily translatable from one cosmos to the other. Such beings do not have an equivalent, or they simply are irrelevant, in another cosmos. This problem of translatability, where cosmos share with the orders of worth or worlds, where for example 'children' as beings of a domestic world become 'future citizens' in a civic world. In the case of a cosmos concerned with planning, such problems of translation emerge for example in the way questions of dwelling – in its value of use dimension – are hardly accounted for in a cosmos oriented towards market-driven development which builds on detachment – the one of "free" financial flows but also of the informed consumer – as major prerequisite to function.

As cosmoses relate thinking patterns and orient actions, for example by the way of planning tools, they are more or less accommodating for certain modes of development, investment models (financial and non financial), forms of built environment, and so on. In facilitating certain modes of development and suppressing others, cosmoses as ordering principles violate or suppress alternative pathways of urbanisation. This is the moment when a certain cosmos becomes dominant and its expectation gains the significance of norms, hence entailing domination and oppressing effects.

The controversies are not only places where these cosmos and their violent dimensions become visible, but also where they are produced and reproduced. Further it is also a moment where they are challenged and adapt to changing conditions. Focusing on the production of these cosmoses allows us to understand how certain pathways of urbanisation become less legitimate and less visible and how these are also oppressed. In this sense, the analysis of the cosmoses in the making contributes to a better understanding of how each of them conceptualises incremental urbanisation, and what role it assigns to it in the production of the city. In this analysis the focus lies on the discourse around competing justifications models and conflicting visions of the city. Thereby the theoretical assumption is that they are embedded in broader historical and geographical circulations of ideas, technical and material conventions. [28] Hence it

28 There is a wealth of studies on 'traveling concepts' in urban studies, particular in respect to planning concepts and urban policies (see Jacobs 2011 for a review on urban policy mobilities). For example Michael Guggenheim and Ola Söderström examine how the "mobility of ideas and models regarding urban society

is more about knowledge production, less about the tactics and strategies of imposing one or the other perspective, be they intentional or not. Such analysis would require a complementary research. It is as much about the production of knowledge of the city and the processes of its transformation as about how this knowledge is ingrained and stabilised in institutional frameworks, such as the development plan and its various regulations. In that sense, the approach informed by a sociology of convention and in particular the concept of orders of worth allow us to understand the controversies as moments where this knowledge is contested, challenged, and remodelled.

Yet the idea of cosmos is not exclusively about conceptual and abstract theoretical constructs of a variety of just cities and different modes of ordering. Cosmoses as variation of conventions have practical implications. This is most obvious when considering the way laws and regulations such as development control rules or building codes are formulated. Such state sanctioned conventions allow certain kinds of urban actors to carry out particular forms of urban transformations and supress other actors and forms of development. Cosmos allow us to evaluate different kinds of territories or particular uses as of high or low value and frame certain uses and urban forms as desirables and others as problematic or criminal. They format how urban challenges are identified, approached, and addressed. Beyond the implication in formulating laws and policies and the consequent implication on legality and state action, cosmos as a generalised model of acting also orient individual decision-making processes and actions. For instance, they legitimate the practices of bureaucrats, developers, investors, and individual city dwellers in respect to how to perceive and transform the city.

3.2 Urban Studies – Assemblage and Economy of Conventions

From those sociological currents which have performed the pragmatic turn, Actor Network Theory (ANT) developed by and around Bruno Latour (Callon 1986; 1999; Latour 1998; 1999; 2005; Farias and Bender 2010) internationally received the most attention in the field of urban studies. Emerging in a context of mutual exchange and influence, ANT and EC share epistemological similarities. Both aim at overcoming several restraints of 'classical' sociology, particularly in opposition to Pierre Bourdieu's theories of fields, which is conceived as deterministic. For instance, they share similarities in their rejection of an 'outside' explanatory position for social analysis. In the perspective developed in *On justification* (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), such

and space, of building types and architects themselves, of migrants, images and material" (Guggenheim and Söderström 2010, 3) informs and shapes buildings and urban form across geographies and cultures. As 'circulating entities' of how the urban is imagined and produced these 'models' are akin to what I call cosmoses in this study.

a position could be interpreted as belonging primarily to a civic world, which serves as the locus from which critique on a market world is issued (Diaz-Bone 2011a, 34). Affinities can also be found in their approach towards the non-human world. They both accredit importance to non-human entities – i.e. the capacity to act is not only to be found with individual actors, but located in the situated configuration and interrelation between objects and humans. Knowledge is dispersed among actors, conventions, objects, and their respective relations. In their plea for symmetrical analysis and a strong focus on social phenomena in the making as well as in their relationality, sociology of convention and Actor Network Theory (ANT) could be considered "symmetrical twins"(Guggenheim and Potthast 2012). While the degree of affinity between the two, however, remains debated (Diaz-Bone 2011a), fundamentally it is the concept of convention which marks the strongest difference.

Irrespective of their similarities and differences, in urban studies both renewed sociological theories are confronted with the challenges of sorting the relation to and proving the usefulness in the face of the dominant current of analysis – i.e. critical urban studies of a Marxian orientation. Together with further theoretical currents, for instance theories inspired by a Deleuzian perspective, ANT and EC are subsumed and discussed under the notion of assemblage. The assemblage 'war' – carried out in five successive issues of *CITY* (2/2011-6/2011) – between advocates of a reformed sociology intended to enrich critical urban studies (McFarlane 2011b; Farías 2011; Dovey 2011; Simone 2011b) and their counterparts defending a critical geography in the Marxist tradition (Brenner, Madden, and Wachsmuth 2011) is a fight over the 'right' way to theorise about the city. The debated question is about the relation between the two epistemologies: whether assemblage is a useful theory or merely a methodology and if the former is the case, can assemblage and critical urban studies enrich each other or are they non-reconcilable? While the reformed sociology proponents draw largely — but not exclusively — on ANT and the Latourian tradition, the more recent theoretical contribution of EC, starting with Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), are considered less so. However, it is not the intention of this research to identify the specific position of EC in this large and complex debate. Rather, re-drawing the grand lines of the debate and making use of epistemological affinities between ANT and EC allows us to highlight several important points in order to situate the position adopted in this research.

McFarlane's reflections on "connections and differences between assemblage thinking and strands of critical urbanism" (McFarlane 2011b, 204)[29] triggered a rich debate. From the literature and his own research, he deduces three contributions of how

29 As it happens, McFarlane's work and theorisation happened to be grounded in close proximity to my own fieldwork. However, the exact site of his research lies in the much poorer neighbourhood of Rafiq Nagar (McFarlane spells it Rafinagar), than the comparatively richer areas of Shivajinagar and Baiganwadi I was concerned with.

assemblage thinking might inform critical urban studies: assemblage as a descriptive orientation, as a concept concerned with conceptualizing agency differently, and as a critical imaginary.

As ‘descriptive orientation’, assemblage can shed light on “urban inequalities as produced through history and potential” or the “actual and the possible” (McFarlane 2011b, 208). The focus on processes of production and emergence has implications for the way urban transformation processes are conceptualised, as it allows for the release of neoliberal urbanism from its task as the ‘inevitable’ analytical tool, and relocating it within a wider field of processes transforming our cities. As an example, McFarlane refers to McGuirk and Dowling’s (2009) reconceptualisation of Sydney’s masterplanned residential estates, not as icons of neoliberalisation, but as “contextual and enacted political constructions”. They employ “neoliberalism as an assemblage of diverse practices and projects” (McGuirk and Dowling 2009, 174) rather than as a universal project.

> [T]he analytic of assemblage offers one possible route for conceiving neoliberalism not as a universal and coherent project, or even as a generalised hegemonic process characterised by local contingencies, but as a loose collection of urban logics and processes that may or may not structure urban change in different places. They [McGuirk and Dowling] seek to conceive urban change through the lens of ‘situated assemblages’ of different logics, actors, histories, projects and practices that serve not to reify neoliberalism as hegemonic and ascendant, but as one set of possibilities among many. (McFarlane 2011b, 209)

This displacing of the imaginary neoliberal urbanism as the dominant explicative model informing urban theory demands being “open to the practical co-existence of multiple political projects, modes of governance, practices and outcomes” (McGuirk and Dowling 2009, 177). Their attempt to situate neoliberal critique in a wider sphere, where multiple (conflicting) co-existing practices and politics shape urban change resonates with attempts present in sociology after the pragmatic turn. For instance, the sociology of conventions as an economy of orders of worth postulates a horizontal multiplicity of different value systems (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006; Thévenot, Moody, and Lafaye 2000; Boltanski and Chiapello 2005).

For McFarlane, assemblage as *concept* allows for a reconsideration of the concept of agency, as distributed across the social and the material, in that assemblage is close to ANT, highlighting the agency of materiality as a site of study. Materiality must be thought of procedurally – i.e., not as stable substance, but as a momentary or transient ‘materialisation’ of agency.

Brenner and colleagues, in their first response to the concept of assemblage (and in particular to McFarlane (2011b)), assign assemblage to merely a "methodological application" (Brenner, Madden, and Wachsmuth 2011, 230), from where it is suitable to contribute to revitalising critical urban theory. For them, the fundamental question of whether and to what extent assemblage — as ontology — might contribute to critical urban theory remains highly dubious. Without attention to the "structuration of urban processes", i.e., the hierarchies of power relations, "ontological approaches to assemblage analysis deprive themselves of key explanatory tools" to account for the "context of contexts" (Brenner, Madden, and Wachsmuth 2011, 233–34). In failing to situate a possibly valuable and enriching assemblage analysis in relation to the underlying contexts, assemblage runs the risk of not being able to distinguish between important and un-important actors and collapsing into "naïve objectivism".

In contrast to McFarlane's attempts to reconcile the two approaches and Brenner et al.'s critique of the insufficient theoretical concept of assemblage, stands Ignacio Farías' (2011) position. In his response to Brenner and colleagues, Farías underlines the epistemological irreconcilability of ANT (as a prominent stand-in for assemblage thinking) and critical urbanism, as they offer completely different scopes of study. However, Farías fiercely contradicts the accusation that assemblage is incapable of accounting for asymmetric power relations. In fact, he adopts exactly the opposite position:

> Precisely because asymmetry is not presumed and explained structurally or contextually, the study of urban assemblages involves unveiling the actual practices, processes, sociomaterial orderings, reproducing asymmetries in the distribution of resources, of power and of agency capacities, opening up black-boxed arrangements and ways in which actors, things or processes are made present and made absent. (Farías 2011, 370)

In that sense, urban assemblage is about the production of asymmetries or structures. Farías argues that description as an "explorative engagement" is a necessary foregoing epistemological position, which arises from the uncertainty, controversial, and conflictive nature of the object of study, which the city is (Farías 2011, 366). In fact the object of study is his major argument. Farías points to a sensitive issue, when questioning if the object of concern in critical urban studies actually is the city and space or if it is instead capitalism and its contemporary organisation. He argues that, starting from the foundational work of Lefebvre to recent works of critical urban scholars, including those of Brenner, it was the study of changing forms of capitalism which were at the core of their interest and that these changes happened to take place in and through the transformation of cities. Hence, cities are rather a "historical contingency" (Farías 2011, 368) and not the necessary fix of capitalism and, thus, space of its critique.

Less confronting then Farías, AbdouMaliq Simone (2011b) is concerned with the same question of how to understand the object of urban studies. In his contribution to the debate Simone observes that much of urban theories comes with a preconceived and value loaded notion of what the city is. In contrast, assemblage thinking might overcome linked restrictions and normative dichotomies, and hence make us aware of what the city is *as well*. In his perspective, the city – or to use Simone's preferred expression, urban life – is something that is constantly reinventing and transforming itself also into previously unseen and unheard instances, emerging from coincidental encounters of people and materials. Simone sees the advantage of assemblage in offering a way of thinking, which is in line with how urban life evolves. In his words: "to think about assemblages as a modality through which the urban instantiates itself" (Simone 2011b, 356). Like McFarlane and Dovey, Simone does not deny the existence and importance of capitalism in shaping the city. However, assemblage thinking allows us to account for the complexity of urban change, which cannot be reduced to one primal cause – i.e. capitalism.

While Farías positions assemblage as an alternative to critical urban studies with which it is ontologically not compatible, Simone accredits less importance to the abstract ontological debate. He rather seeks to broaden the possibilities to understand urban life and not reducing it to phenomena of capitalist accumulation and exploitation. Assemblage thinking then is one way, among others, to think about cities.

Essentially it is the different understanding of agency of urban actors, which allows for a more differentiated analysis. Here, the conceptualisation of agency intrinsic to assemblage is promising to grasp urban complexities without all to quickly fit it in prefabricated pigeonholes. One attempt in that direction is the concept of the *majority,* which Simone develops elsewhere in more detail (2014) and which resonates at several levels with the concerns of this research. It is this majority who bears the burden of building most construction of the city (not state schemes), and at the same time escapes to a large extent full state control. Simone's concern is with making visible and accounting for the contribution of this majority in the making of the city through their everyday practices. It is about the agency of the 'urban poor' and what they accomplished themselves in the process of alleviating their situation through incremental development. For Simone the conceptualisation of the 'urban poor' is often short-sighted and reductive:

> For example, no matter what the urban poor did, they were always to be considered the 'urban poor', as even their 'accomplishments' were to be registered not in their contributions to remaking notions of urban life itself but in their creative manipulation of dire circumstances. (Simone 2011b, 357)

Assemblage thinking offers a conceptualisation of agency, which enables the emphasis of the contribution of the majority in the co-production of cities. This goes beyond the restricted analysis of seeing them merely as 'victims' of a process in which the individual, and particularly the poor individual, is a passive subject to forces beyond her influence. In that sense, we might actually ask, when is the 'context of contexts' actually the relevant context for the individual and subsequently for the observer? This perspective allows us to address questions about the agency of the different stakeholders in the making of the city and in particular within incremental urbanism.

Symmetrical but not flat – the question of criticality

However, the question remains, whether or not we can express (detect, describe, analyse, and critique) moments of oppression and dominance. Unsurprisingly the question of criticality is the concern of Brenner et al. (2011). In this respect EC as developed in *On Justification* (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006) goes an important step further than ANT: while keeping an emphasis on description, the world is not radically flattened[30]. In a way, the perspective of Thévenot and Boltansky allows us to re-situate the pursuit of critical sociology and its critique of capitalism by positioning it in a framework of multiple orders of worth. Dodier points out that it is the different conceptualisation of agency that forms the basis of the pragmatic shift and its mode of critical thinking:

> [A] pragmatic approach, while abandoning the epistemological primacy of strategic intention, does not abandon but displaces the paths of a sociological critique. In a theory of conscious or unconscious intention, the critique is already present in the model of the agent that is used from the outset. It draws its authority not only from conjecture about the agent, but also from the fact that this conjecture will inevitably be justified by the empirical data as collected. (Dodier 1995, 163)

Pragmatic sociology, Dodier continues, does not pre-install criticality in its actor model but the critique, for example, on the discrepancy between words and action might be part of the inquiry and its results.

EC, as an economy of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), investigates the prerequisites and possibility of critique – i.e. the existence of alternative value systems or, as they conceptualise it, a multiplicity of orders of worth. In doing so, they put out in the open the fundamentals and at the same time relativise the unique position adopted by critical sociology. By this pragmatic turn, critical sociology becomes just one among multiple possible and equally valid positions. Nevertheless, EC does not let go of critical thinking, but repositions the critical task of sociology. Without getting

30 From an ANT perspective the orders of worth as an explanatory tool, which stands 'behind' actors justifications is not radical enough in its symmetrisation (Latour 2005).

lost in a mere descriptive endeavour, EC as a sociology of orders of worth allows one to give an answer to the questions of who profits and who suffers in a given situation.

However, differing from other theoretical frameworks, EC does not differentiate between phenomena that demand explanation and explanatory phenomena. Instead of searching for the hidden (capitalist) agenda and going behind a mere description of various 'assemblages', EC offers to link 'ideology' and concrete configurations, abstract visions, and concrete situations, by taking seriously the arrangement of abstract and concrete objects and persons. It is rooted in a strong but detailed description, and based on the experience of space, while nevertheless keeping its capacity of critique. This perspective stands in contrast to critical urban studies in the tradition of Marx, where the city is the black box and capitalism is the tool to open it. From a pragmatist perspective, both capitalism and the city (or urbanisation) are in need of investigation as produced and highly formatted phenomena. Only in this way can a truly relational understanding of realty be developed.

3.3 A pragmatist perspective on city making

Adopting an approach to city-making informed by a pragmatic sociology, in particular in the variation of an economy of convention, means taking all involved actors seriously. This necessitates paying attention to both how actors make sense of the world *and* their actions. That is, how issues of ordering living together are framed, evaluated, judged, and contested, and how conflicts are solved, evaded or suspended, in both discourse *and* everyday life. Taking actors seriously also means acknowledging their critical capability to deal with these challenges as they, for instance, arise persistently in the process of city-making. The conceptualisation of agency in EC sheds a light on the contribution of (local) actors in shaping the city. This compels one to pay attention to and account for the often conflict-loaded interplay of different actors and their diverse contributions in this complex process of coproduction. In that sense we can understand city-making as a constant negotiation process at different scales and levels and between multiple logics of how to order the world.

A pragmatist perspective focuses on processes as they develop and in particular allows for the analysis of conflict-loaded negotiation processes. For example, it examines the making, stabilising and contesting of the conventions that rule housing production in incrementally developing settlements. This necessitates paying attention to everyday activities and situations, where confrontations of different logics inherent to housing production become evident. Such is the case in moments of decision-making, when actors have to balance economic, political, and social constraints and bring them in accordance with their values, which often leads to adjusting preferences and

aspirations. In that sense, housing production, not only in incrementally developing settlements, can be understood as the process of (re-)negotiating the values of a good life and creating, maintaining, and contesting the conventions that orientate it. On another level, the controversy of Mumbai's development plan is an excellent opportunity to examine contemporary planning processes in the making. In this controversy, contradicting conceptions of the good city are negotiated among diverse stakeholders. At stake are questions like: What and who is important to the city? What does it mean to make a city inclusive, competitive and sustainable? What is the place of the poor? How do we ensure (or not) room for a variety of ways of life and different urban transformation processes? In particular, what is the space given (or not) to incremental urban development?

If we want to understand such negotiation processes, we have to look at phenomena in a processual and relational way, i.e. phenomena in the making. Such a perspective stands in contrast to approaches that examine development plans retrospectively and assess their importance after they come into force and have (or not) transformed the city. The controversies revolving around the making of Mumbai's development plan offer an ideal opportunity for such a procedural analysis, as they make visible rivalling and habitually marginalised pathways to urbanisation by contesting the dominant model of urban development. Bringing to the forefront the interplay of powers and arguments that otherwise are disguised in the dispersed and detached everyday making of the city, such an event allows us to examine which actors have a say in the planning process and which are muted, the issues that are negotiated, which arguments are voiced and how they relate to different models of spatial production. The controversies untangle these networks and allow us to study them in the making. The controversies are analysed as a negotiation process over the legitimate mode of urban development. In this competition for the best argument, the question of justification and legitimisation becomes particular important. EC in the form of sociology of orders of worth presents itself as an excellent tool for such analysis.

Often, assemblage thinking, certainly the variety of ANT, does not pay much attention to questions of justification and legitimation. Neither does the Marxist tradition take seriously the actors' arguments and critiques, often conceiving them instead as deception of 'true' interests. In contrast, sociology of convention takes the critical capacities of actors seriously. This is essential when one wants to better understand controversies as an unfolding exchange of arguments where continuously adapting positions seek legitimisation and struggle for interpretive predominance – i.e. in our case the power of naming what the issues of the city are. In public debates a justification imperative exists, which demands that actors legitimise their actions.

Controversies are driven by the critical capacities of actors who mobilise persons and objects as well as justification principles to legitimise their claims. In this process the city, its problems and potentials are constantly reframed and urban development and planning become a public problem – i.e. a matter of concern for a larger public rather than the sole professionals involved in its drafting. People engage in acknowledging and evaluating the "city as a site of trade-off" (Bhan 2017), where contrasting values need to be balanced against each other and different ways of development are negotiated. In such situations, aspirations to reach global city status collide with claims for human development, while access to basic services and housing contrast with large-scale infrastructure projects and high rises, or environmental concerns with public mass transport. While not only in Mumbai "the complexity of the trade-offs is inescapable", here the public contestation of the planning process has captured, at least for a while, public attention and expectations.

The relational and procedureal understanding of a pragmatist perspective is to acknowledge the heterogeneous and often incidental convergence and accumulation of objects and persons that characterise urban realities. For Simone the urban life, or urbanisation, is the "constantly changing patchwork of materialities always giving rise to new possibilities and problems, always trying to gather the surrounds, compensating for both the unanticipated potentials and disasters it occasions" (Simone 2011b, 355). A pragmatist perspective then is an attempt to make sense of urban complexities, which reflects the activities of city dwellers as they navigate the intricacies of city life. "The impetus to think about assemblages as a modality through which the urban instantiates itself seems to reflect a desire to make more use, better use, of all that exists in urban life" (Simone 2011b, 356). In that sense, I agree with Simone who rightly demands from researchers a radical openness towards the phenomena of urban life and forego preconception of what the city is and how it works. If we start with value loaded conception of what the city is then our analysis will only confirm what we already know. Such a perspective does neither deny the existence nor the importance of the working of capitalism, but broadens the analytical spectrum. In that sense I want the approach adopted by this research to be understood as an attempt to point to what the city is *also*.

The role of actors and the end of the researcher's privilege

EC's fundamentals, a symmetrical multitude of co-existing conventions and the claim of taking actors seriously in their critical capacity, comprises both challenges and opportunities for social scientists. The latter speaks to sociology's central project – i.e. the interpretation and evaluation of social phenomena. In as far as judgement is an essential part of action, Thévenot and Boltanski (2006) allocate the capability to make

judgements to a relational dynamic between actors and their context. They base their analysis on the need of people to qualify and relate persons and objects. In so doing, EC takes seriously the actors and their complex practices of justification and criticism, which underpin their actions. On that note, social knowledge is not any longer solely elaborated by social scientists in the form of theoretical knowledge, but implicated in social reality and its multitude of practical-theoretical positions.

However, it is not only that the actors perceived as capable to make social judgments and hence are put at par with the sociologists, but also that the multiple possible interpretations of the word are brought at level. As Dodier notes, the consequence of such horizontal multiplicity of orders of worth is far-reaching:

> Once we acknowledge the symmetrical existence of […] different worlds of action, we lose the self-assurance of those who believe in a single world and thus in a single basic reality. On the other hand, we gain the possibility of revealing the tensions which result from the confrontation between worlds. This suggests a new way of thinking of the relations between individuals. Sociologists will no longer seek to judge the validity of people's observations - this would contradict the thesis of plurality - but rather to demonstrate the difficulties of moving from one world into another. (Dodier 1993, 568)

As a consequence of the symmetrisation of orders of worth, social scientists lose their privileged external position from which they interpret the world. The researcher's claims of adopting a neutral outsider position, when scientific description is used to legitimise the behaviour of actors, is radically questioned. It is no longer possible to insist on *one* just (scientific) interpretation of the social world. Rather the task is to describe and analyse the fractures and tensions between different orders of worth. At the centre stand the often conflict-loaded relations between different sets of conventions and the resolution of these conflicts. In that sense, symmetrisation is not merely the basis to rethink the position of social scientists, but in fact the methodological tool to advance their analytical work.

3.4 Symmetrisation

The multitude of co-existing conventions, as, for example, represented by the orders of worth, also hold the key for powerful analysis. In fact symmetrisation as an analytical operation turns out to be central in theoretical innovations, including those of EC. Symmetrical thinking allows one to tackle objects and concepts considered distinct within the same analytical framework. While this is foremost a call to return to careful description of reality, symmetrisation allows one to reconsider disjunctive conceptualisations, such as the urban and the rural, or the city, the village, and the

forest (Echanove and Srivastava 2015a; Pattaroni and Baitsch 2015). This analytical operation makes evident that social interactions are highly formatted phenomena and that such formatting is constantly challenged by alternative formatting. Both stabilising and unsettling conventions demand constant investment in form – i.e. the making and unmaking of the 'just' arrangement of objects, persons, and concepts in and through concrete situations. Hence, the interest of a pragmatist approach lies in the making and unmaking of conventions. It is the study of the process of formatting rather than of the formatted that is of interest.

For example, with respect to this research symmetrisation is helpful as it allows — among others — the overcoming of the dichotomy of the informal and formal. Informality is often invoked to characterise incrementally developing settlements and distinguish them from 'formally' planned urban development. In the first place, the terms formal and informal denote the legality or illegality of a given settlement and hence point to the law as the referential framework for such judgement. In so far as the law defines the rules of how living together is valued, regulated, and sanctioned, it is a set of state legitimised conventions. Thus, the difference between formal and informal development is linked to the threshold of State recognition. However, both formal and informal developments need to be seen as governed by conventions – albeit by a different set. In this perspective the concept of conventions and their symmetrical multiplicity allows one to look at formal and informal development within the same analytical framework, and quite elegantly solves the dichotomy of the formal and informal[31]. In so far as the constructed nature of formality and informality is revealed, the focus shifts to the process of formalisation and its differentiated formal recognition – i.e. a legitimate and valide range of conventions).

Describing anew

Not at least, pragmatic sociology, including EC, is a call for a return to careful description of the intricate realities of contemporary cities. Going back to description allows one to overcome preconceived conceptions, which tend to mute complex dynamics. As urban development becomes increasingly heterogeneous, I engage in empirical examination of housing production and planning processes to deepen the understanding of the social, political, and technical complexity of contemporary urbanisation. In that sense, the thick description (Geertz 1973) presented in this study contributes to a better understanding of the conflictive processes that drive urban development. This descriptive aim is symmetrically at work at the level of the making of the built environment (how it is actually built) and the level of the planning of the city (how urban realities are represented, talked about, and regulated). Together,

31 At least conceptually, though not politically.

they constitute the dynamic and multi-layered processes where urban forms, but also urban inequalities, are shaped and contested.

4 Methods

Research is a discovery; firstly, it is a personal one, driven by curiosity about how cities are made. It is a discovery with many uncertainties: methods, theories, places, and spaces. It involves encounters with people and places of which one has a preconception, and which has to be revised or confirmed. It is an encounter with books, papers, lectures, concepts, and theories. It is also a confrontation with oneself: with what I do know and what I can possibly know. Where does this knowledge come from and on what fundamental assumptions it is based?

It is about 'learning the city', as McFarlane suggests (McFarlane 2011a). Drawing on assemblage theory (Latour 1999; Callon 1986), he argues that learning is distributed and located in space and materiality. Foregrounding the importance of materiality has recently resurrected this trend in urban studies, largely fuelled by an excitement for actor-network theories (ANT). It is through an ethnographical encounter with the material and social world that I learnt about the Mumbai's incrementally growing neighbourhoods and how they are in a perpetual state of production.

'Learning the city' is the process by which one gets to know at what time of the day one meets whom and where; on which side of the street to walk; which noises to ignore and which better not. Someone might have told you, but often only personal experience lends the city a deeper sense. When one has constantly to take care not to bang one's head and avoid cable, then one realises how intimate the built environment is and how it is tailored to the people who have built it and are using it. This is part of the learning process. Just as learning where one might sit down for a while to relax and hide from the sun to outliving the doziness of an early afternoon. What is it like to do so just once, like a random person passing by? And how is this different from returning for the second or third time to the same porch and residents start asking themselves and me for the reason to be here?

Learning, in that sense, does not only happen notionally, as an exclusively cognitive act, and noted in field books, but is an embodied experience. However, the field notes are essential to reflect and learn but also to record what quickly gets lost – i.e. the learning process, itself. All the surprises, questions, and perplexing experiences one goes through in the diverse encounters are important keys to a renewed understanding. While we need to leave the comfort zone to learn, this is also a process of familiarisation with new context and the topic of research that brings us forward. It is this constant switching between an inside and an outside view, which drives the inductive and

iterative approach adopted which is inspired by a grounded theory approach, where data guides the research.

4.4.1 Methods employed in the section *Making*

Field work

The research builds on a total of eight months of empirical fieldwork carried out between 2013 and 2016 in incrementally developing neighbourhoods in Mumbai, India. The main focus was on Shivajinagar – a resettlement colony created under a site-and-service scheme in the early 1970s in the city's periphery. While the fieldwork mostly comprised of daily field visits with direct observations on construction sites and interviews with informants, it also included living in the settlements for several days in order to grasp the full daily rhythm.

Given my obvious status as an outsider – kids regularly announced my arrival to everybody within hearing distance as *angrej* (literally meaning Englishman but used in general for all foreigners) – I was attracting quite a bit of attention, creating curiosity among residents, specially expressed by children but equally shared by adults. While on the one side, this was very helpful for making contacts; on the other side, it was at times difficult to shift the focus away from me, as a person, to what I actually was interested in. However, for the most part, the initial excitement faded quite quickly the longer I spent time in one place or returned on several consecutive days, and people went about their everyday business.

Direct observations

The fieldwork particularly entailed following the construction process of several houses. As an observer, I accompanied the building process of multiple construction sites and re-visited them during the following years when the houses were 'finished' and residents had moved in. However, I visited many more construction sites at different stages. Whenever I had a question about a particular step in the building process – like the installation of a water tank or the flooring – there was certainly a house under construction, where this stage was in progress.

It was crucial to be on site as much as possible. There were times, where I literally spent entire days on construction sites. Despite repeated assurance from the contractor and his site manager, one could rarely predict the exact date, let alone time, when a planned event at the construction site would happen. This forced me to be present in order to observe and understand the construction process in its full dimension. The positive side effect of being 'on site' was even more important, as unpredictable things

happened, which I would have otherwise missed. And it is certainly these events, which made the construction, as a mobilisation process, interesting in the first place.

Being on the construction site was also a way to follow the contractors in their daily business, as they organise and coordinate the work and workers, discuss the design with their clients, or negotiate access to electricity or water with neighbours. As it turned out, construction sites were not necessarily where contractors spent most of their time, but one could be sure that they would be present, particularly when some curious foreigner would inquire.

This ethnographic approach allowed me to follow the process of building up, not only material as the construction progressed, but also relationships with individuals involved in the process. Their comings and goings at different points in the day, as well as over the course of the construction process, determine the very unique rhythm of construction and of each and every individual house. Furthermore, the relationship developed and evolved between me, as an observer, and all possible actors involved in the process. In almost all cases, it emerged as a relationship oscillating between an ordinary everydayness and mutual curiosity about the respective other, blurring the boundaries between the observer and the observed. This was to the extent that I felt like I had eyes on the site even when I was absent. They would recount me in detail what I had missed. My interest in construction became theirs and was a means to share and exchange over common concerns, resulting in multiple conversations with contractors, site managers, labourers, house owners, and neighbours. The everyday presence allowed me to follow the residents and inquire into their life stories and those of their homes but in a less obtrusive way.

Interviews

Interviews with contractors usually took the form of meetings on construction sites and could be described as guided conversations. Most of them proudly present their sites and the previous houses they have built. Walking from site to site gave us ample opportunity for 'informal' talks. In total I was in contact with a dozen different contractors. Out of them I had close relationship with four, which I met regularly over the three years during my field visits.

In addition to the more casual and often interrupted and restarted conversations with house owners on construction sites, 26 semi-structured interviews with residents of Shivajinagar, Baiganwadi, and Rafiq Nagar were conducted. They lasted anywhere between half an hour and two hours, during which I inquired about their life and the ways in which they inhabit and transform their homes. I met with several interviewees twice and some multiple times. In the sample, women are overrepresented, as it was

they who were at home during the day, and the men often returned late in the evenings. For the most part, I was introduced to interview partners by recommendations and often 'handed on' to relatives, friends, or neighbours, quickly creating a small snowball effect. I met several of the interviewees while walking through the neighbourhood. Again, on-going construction proved to be a good entry point but was also revealing in respect to my interest, as they matched the concerns of the house owners.

In order to balance the bias arising from the focus on construction, and hence relatively wealthier residents, I went explicitly searching for poorer families. All of which were contacted through (sometimes multiple) intermediaries. Here, my local informant network proved to be very helpful.

With a few exceptions, interviews were conducted with the help of a Hindi or Marathi interpreter, depending on the interviewee. While the content and direction of the interview were prepared in advance, the conversation was translated in a condensed manner during the interview. Although some people proudly spoke English fluently, translation was often a welcome support and also served as an icebreaker. Both of my two translators were architects and had previously worked with URBZ. This helped to facilitate access, as both were female, and many of the interviewees were women. From the recording, the interpreters made a translation and transcription of the interviews. About half of them were literally transcribed and the other half written as 'stories' in condensed form. To keep with the ethnographic tradition, all names of residents and contractors in this study have been changed.

Visual tools

As an architect, I used the tools specific to my profession for documenting but also to understand and gain knowledge; I made significant use of sketching and photography. Accompanying field notes, sketches were used to document the construction process (Figure 6). Forcing me to observe, sketching as the first step to understand and often catch spatial relations and technical situations faster and easier than text. They were also used as a basis for the interaction with contractors, site managers, and house owners.

For my fieldwork, I relied extensively on photography for documentation purposes. The great value of photography lies in fast documentation. For the purpose of analysis, photos were coded (tagged) in near time. This was useful for later analyses, as well as to support human memory, as they allowed me to go 'back in time and space' and often underpin field notes and sometimes making it possible to (re-) discover connections.

Experimenting with an action camera for short videos or stop motion capture to document longer lasting events proved only partially effective. I not only encountered

technical hurdles, such as weak batteries, which could not last an extended time because of the unpredictability of events and also unexpected social reactions. Interestingly, the tiny action camera caused much more attention and worries than the large reflex camera. Without a back screen for control and no indication for recording, the action camera was perceived as intrusive. Nevertheless, in the case of the symbolic wall, it proved to be a success (Chapter 8.6).

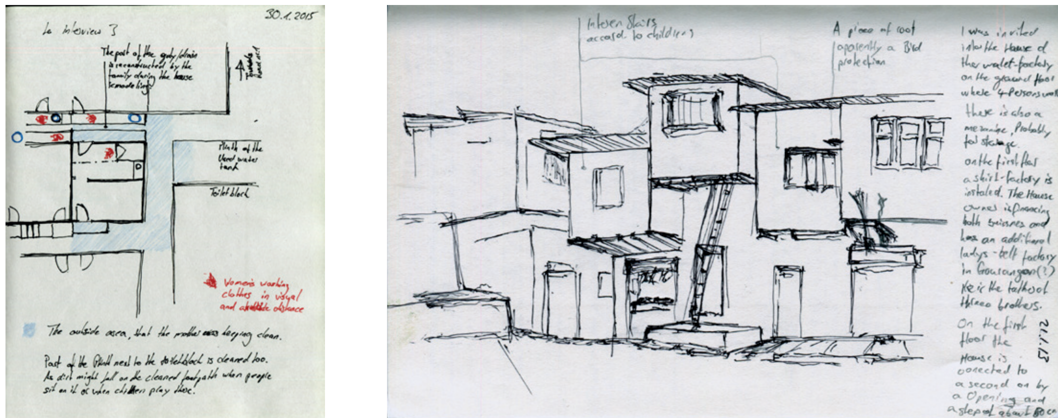


Figure 6 Sketching as a tool for observation and analysis
Field notes from the author.

Limits of the empirical evidence

While much of my encounters with residents of Shivajinagar and their stories I report have to remain anecdotal, they nevertheless give an insight into the diversity of residents and how they use, see, and transform their houses. The research is based on a limited number of informants, and certain stories originate from a single source. Unfortunately, it was not always possible to cross-check individual stories. However, there is little reason to believe my interviewees made things up.

With a few exceptions, access to construction sites, interviewees, and information was enabled through intermediaries. While my outsider status often opened doors, these mediated contacts usually proved to be more substantial as these interviewees were less reluctant then those I met by chance. At times, long chains of the friends-of-friends the mediated contacts provided became a valuable trust network.

For me and most of my informants who facilitated interviews and accompanied me on my research, wandering through the neighbourhood and meeting residents was a discovery. One of my informants told me he got to know Shivajinagar thanks to the walks and talks we did together, and admitted he had never been to a large part of the

places and people we visited. The way in which the network of inquiries expanded had a spatial consequence. The areas I visited are concentrated in the better-off south-western corner of Shivajinagar. In respect to the interviews this could be balanced by visiting residents in other corners of the settlement. Regarding the observation of construction processes this proved to be more difficult.

As the focus was strongly directed towards construction and, explicitly, on the work of contractors, there arose an inevitable bias. Self-built houses, i.e. houses where owners physically engage in construction, or at least manage and control the construction process themselves are less covered in my study. These examples serve primarily to differentiate the work of contractors other forms of housing production.

4.4.2 Methods employed in the section *Planning*

For the analysis of the controversies on the development plan, I draw from the data sourced in the framework of the Flash research project, which entails interviews, press review, and secondary data. Given the nature of the controversies, most actors were very forthcoming in sharing their opinions and providing data to support their arguments. Interviews, resource documents and field notes were coded using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti (Figure 7). At times network analyses were used to gain an oversight. This was particularly helpful to retrace the arguments of interviewees in the development plan controversies.

Interviews

A total of 33 in depth-interviews with stakeholders involved in the controversies were conducted. The interviewees were of diverse backgrounds, and comprised planners, architects, activists, developers, politicians, government officials, inhabitants, and journalists. The interviews usually lasted around an hour and were recorded and transcribed. Most interviews were conducted in pairs of two, with a few by all three PhD students. They were held in English with the exception of those within local communities, for which Hindi or Marathi was used. The latter were translated and transcribed by our Indian partners. Additionally, two focus group discussions were held. While the first was a round of experts involving architects, activists, and planners, the second consisted of community leaders from Gaothans (urban villages), Koliwadas (fisher villages), and Adivasi Padas (tribal communities).

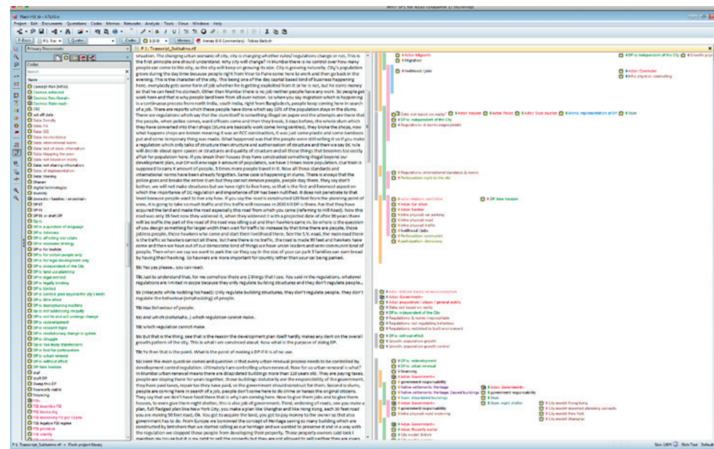
Media analysis

An analysis of english press articles served to establish an overview of the historical course of events that comprise the controversies. Covering the controversies since 2009

in almost 750 articles, the *Times of India*, *Hindustan Times*, and *Indian Express* served as the baseline for this analysis. These were complemented with selected articles from further press sources such as the *Business Standard*, *Free Press Journal*, *The Hindu* and others.

Secondary data

During the controversies, both supporters and opponents produced a remarkable amount of publications and other public actions to back their arguments or illustrate their concerns. This data production builds the primary source for the analysis, regardless of the type of media — be it guidelines; reports and maps; legislative frameworks; opinion pieces; or online platforms, including dedicated homepages, blogs, and social media. In the different parts of the analysis I elaborate on the specific data used.



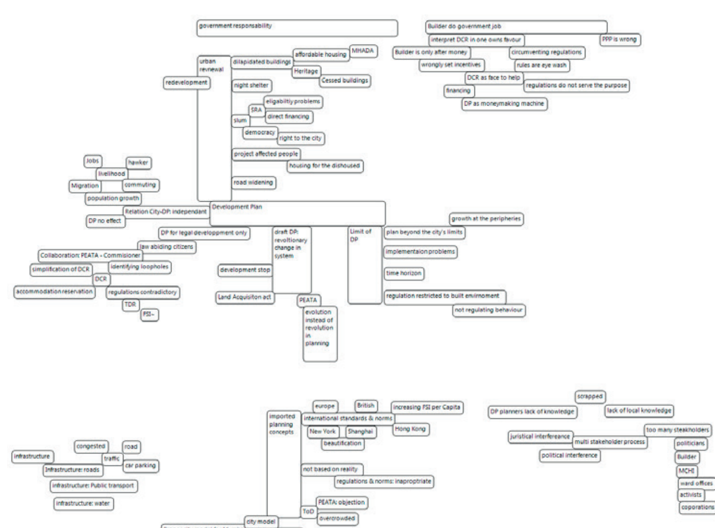


Figure 7 Coding and network analysis of an Interview

Making

5 Case study

5.1 Shivajinagar: a neighbourhood in the making

5.1.1 Contextualising – M-East Ward

Shivajinagar, the settlement, which stands at the centre of my research, is located in the M-East Ward in the eastern suburbs of Mumbai (Figure 8). The *Mumbai Human Development Report* found that the M-East Ward has the lowest human development index (0.05) of all the wards in Mumbai (MCGM 2010). It is telling that the report indicates the average life expectancy to be 39 years for the area. At present, 77.6 per cent of the population of the M-East Ward are living in over 250 slum settlements (TISS 2015, xi), whereas the census of 2011 reports an overall slum population in Mumbai of 41.9 per cent (Census 2011). The present day's context has a longer history closely linked with the history of Mumbai at large, which is worth mentioning to better understand how settlements like Shivajinagar came to be and continue to be made.

Historically, the M-Ward is shaped by two major trajectories: the establishment of polluting industries, such as the slaughterhouse, dumping ground, and chemical industries; and the immigration of low caste communities from the region around Mumbai, who successfully squatted the area. All along, the area was considered a low value, low development area. Since the 1950s, the authorities used the area to house poor people displaced from other areas in the city. This trend intensified in more recent times, as a result from the creation of multiple resettlements colonies accommodating residents of inner-city areas, whose settlements had to give way to large-scale infrastructure development and city improvement projects.

However, since the opening of the railway connection to the mainland in the early 1990s and soon thereafter the high capacity Thane Creek Bridge linking Mumbai to its twin city Navi Mumbai, the former peripheral area of Shivajinagar finds itself at a well-connected gateway from and to Mumbai (compare Figure 8 and Figure 9). The increasing potential for future development sparks interest and raises ambitions among ordinary people, planners and investors alike. Meanwhile this process is further accentuated by implementation and completion of additional transport infrastructure projects, such as the opening of the eastern freeway in 2013 and the monorail in 2014 and a the yet to be constructed metro line number two.

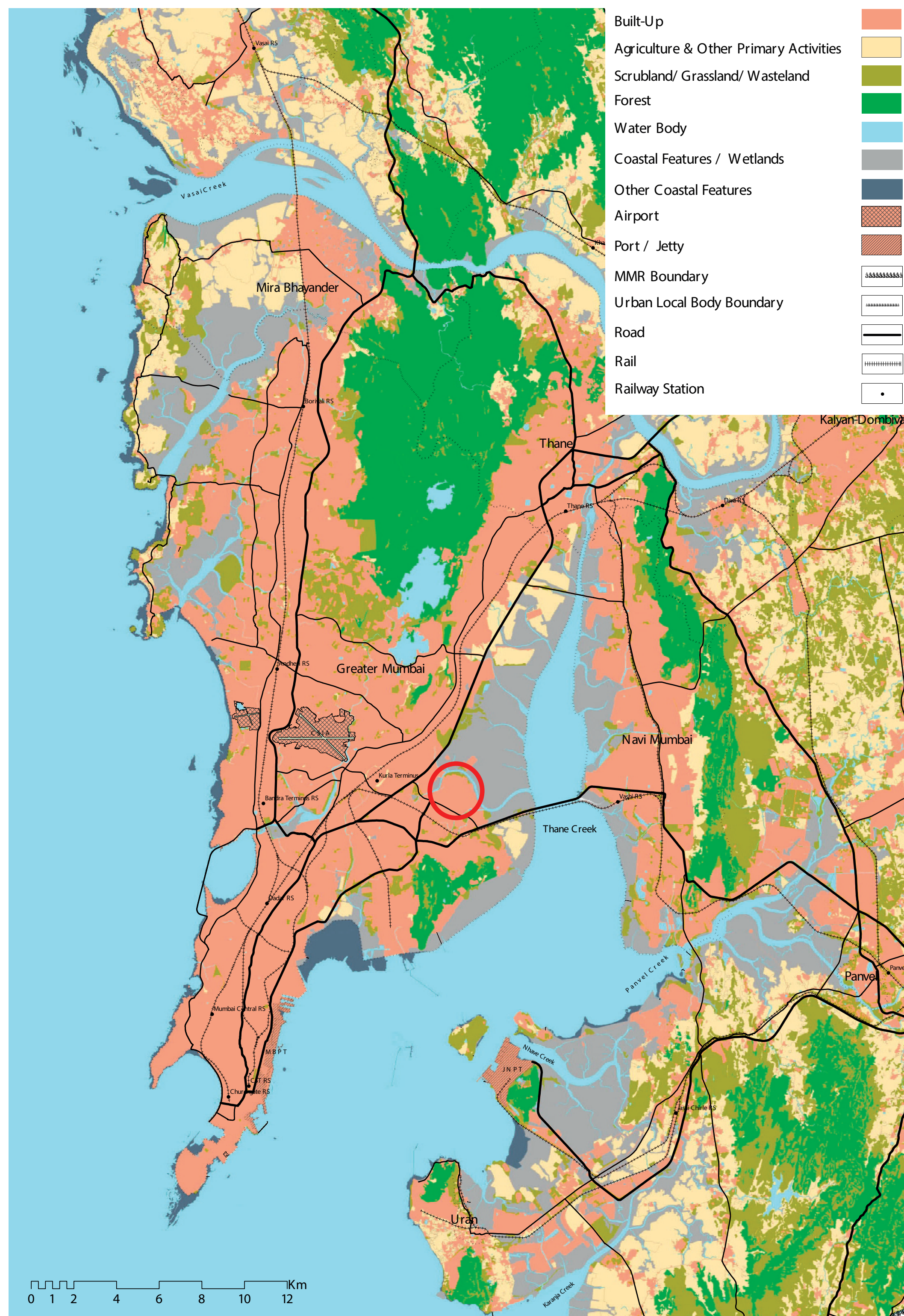


Figure 8 Location of Shivajinagar
Adapted from ELU 2016 for MMR Regional Plan 2016-36 (MMRDA 2016)

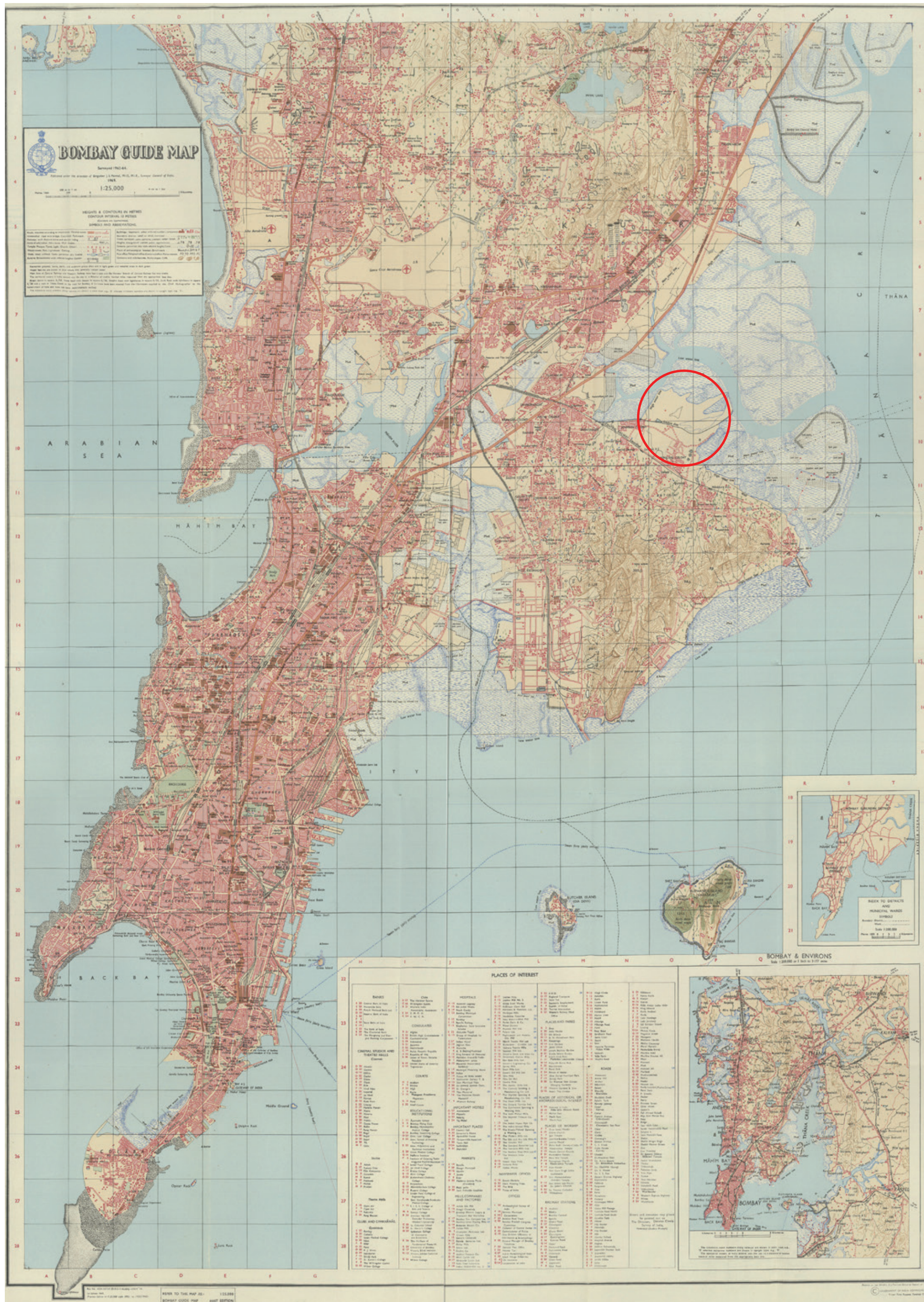


Figure 9 Bombay Guide Map, 1969
The Peripherial location of Shivajinag at the time it was established.
Map based on the 1962-64 survey (Government of India 1969).

Figure 10 Neighbourhoods of Shivajinagar
The strict territorial delamination primarily served analytical purpose and does not necessarily correspond to administrative or lived and experienced boundaries. Map adapted from M-E Ward study (TISS 2015).

5.1.2 Shivajinagar

The name Shivajinagar[32] is a commonly-used shortcut for a conglomerate of multiple neighbourhoods, each with distinct local histories and varying populations. The Tata Institute of Social Science (TISS) (2015) study counts eleven recognised slum settlements of which some peripheral parts are considered illegal (Figure 10). Shivajinagar proper, in fact, is a governmental housing colony comprised at least of two phases: Shivajinagar Phase 1 and Phase 2. Nowadays, the later is called Bainganwadi[33], which reminds us of the crop, aubergine, grown in its place before. Together with the Lotus Colony, Shivajinagar 'proper' and Bainganwadi are land-based resettlements. Several settlements emerged at their periphery and are (partly) legalised squatter neighbourhoods. Approximately half of the area follows a grid layout and the other half has grown 'organically' (Echanove, Pereira, and Srivastava 2014). For an external

32 While the suffix 'nagar' means town in Gujrati, Shivajinagar derives its name from the ancient warrior king Shivaji Bhonsle, who is said to have founded the state of Maharashtra. Perceived as an early defender of the Maharashtra case, he became an important idol of the populist political party Shiv Sena.
33 'Bainganwadi' translates as eggplant field.

visitor, it is often difficult to say where one settlement ends and the other begins. Shops are sometimes labelled with two addresses, contributing to this blurring of boundaries.

I will use the everyday shortcut Shivajinagar to refer to the entire settlement and will specify the locality more precisely when necessary. This generalisation is further justified as the majority of my fieldwork was carried out in Shivajinagar proper, in particular in its southwestern corner. Given its size, diversity and the local history of the different parts, such localisation is important. As we will see, this area belongs to the wealthier part of the settlement, which is reflected in its housing production.

Location

Shivajinagar, as part of this larger story, reflects and illustrates the ward's development trajectories. It is located on marshy land just south of Mumbai's dumping ground and in the vicinity of its main slaughterhouse, both of which helped usher it into existence. Today, the settlement is well connected, as it is situated in the M-East Ward just north of the Ghatkopar-Mankhurd Link Road, which connects the Eastern Express Highway with the Mumbai Highway and from there to Navi Mumbai. Furthermore, the Eastern Freeway found its preliminary end just about 500 meters west of Shivajinagar, offering the fastest connection to the city centre for those who can afford to travel by car. For the majority of Shivajinagar's residents, public transport is the more common mode of transport. Today, Shivajinagar is well connected by bus with the Shivaji bus terminus in the south and the bus depot to the north of the settlement. Several buses pass travel on the main road and mini buses leave from Shivajinagar Junction. Alternatively, it is about 10 minutes to Chembur train station and a little less to Govandi train station by rickshaw from the shared rickshaw stand in the southwest corner. It takes another 5 to 10 minutes from the northeast corner. At both stations, the harbour line connects the area in about one hour to Mumbai's main station, Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, and the first towns of Navi Mumbai in less than fifteen minutes.

Origin

Shivajinagar was established as a resettlement colony to absorb slum dwellers evicted from their settlements in South Mumbai, materializing primarily during the mid seventies. Shivajinagar can be seen as the downside or in the words of Matias Echanove the unintended consequence of the big 'rational' city building projects of Mumbai such as the Backbay Reclamation and the Bandra Curla Complex due to which many slums dwellers have been relocated. The making of Shivajinagar, however, was neither a linear process following a prescribed model nor is it completed today. In fact, the governmental survey from 1962-64 mapped the area as swampland (Figure 11), and

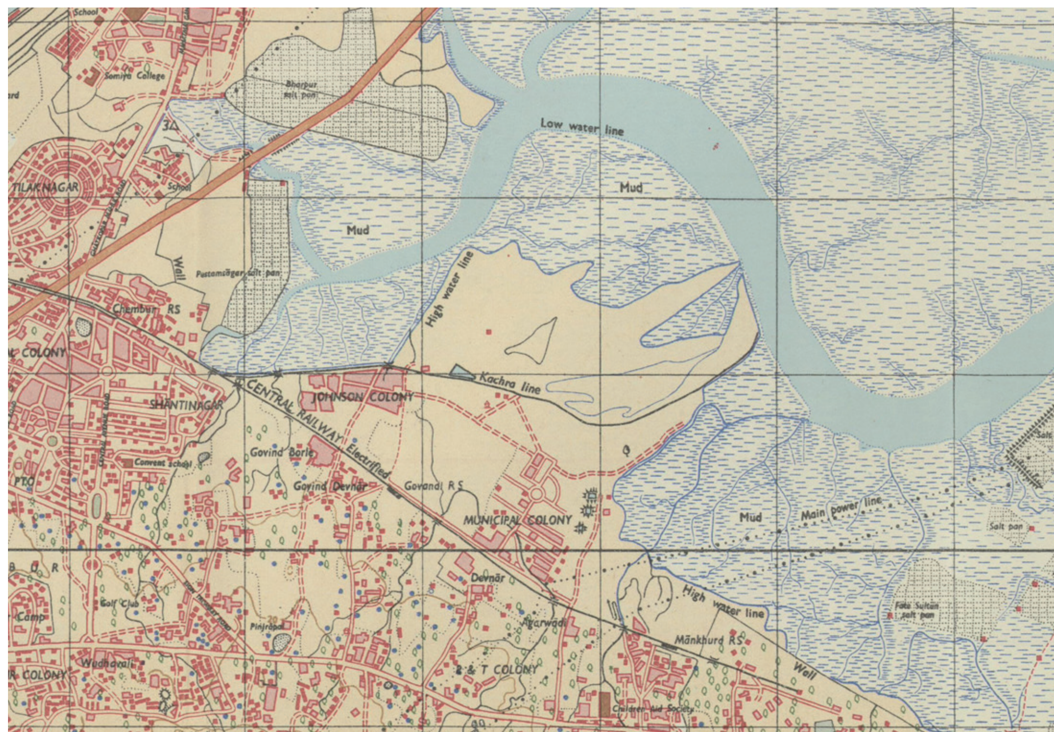


Figure 11 Detail of Bombay Guide Map
Based on the 1962-64 survey (Government of India 1969), the map shows the Kutcha Line, north of which the future Shivajinagar would be settled. The shape of the area within the high water line indicates the process of the landfill. Todays dumping ground is situated on the headland marked mud. The Slaughterhouse would come up north of Govandi.

Mumbai's first Development Plan of 1964 (64DP) labelled it as marshland. In 1968, only one year after the 64DP was sanctioned, the first residents were settled in what would become Lotus Colony (Björkman 2015). While this initial neighbourhood slowly grew by attracting immigrants to its small-scale industry, it was the large-scale eviction executed during the emergency era aimed at modernizing the city which created and populated Shivajinagar. In several waves, slum dwellers from different locations, but mainly central Mumbai, were shifted to a continuously growing governmental housing colony at Mumbai's then periphery (Figure 12).

Equipping a resettlement colony

As a resettlement colony, the area was actually well equipped by the Municipality. A grid street layout, with streets running approximately north and south, are convincingly numbered (Figure 13). The blocks, locally called 'plots', and lanes are numbered, as are the houses. The inconsistency in plot numbering indicates different extension phases of the settlements. For example, the plots to the north are not only larger in size but also

Figure 12 Satelite image
The area north of the railway track is colonized and the dumping ground spread further into the creek (Google Maps, accessed 11th Jan 2017). (Map oriented corresponding to the Bombay Guide Map).

added at a later stage. A plot comprises eight lanes serving sixteen parcels each. Per plot this is a total of 160 parcels, each of 10 by 15 feet (approximately 3 by 4.6 meters or 14 square meters) (Figure 14). The houses are back to back with a service lane of about 4 feet (1.2 meter) in between. Each block is surrounded with an open sewer draining into the Nalla (storm water drain) to the north, which flows into the creek. Within each plot, there is a shared common toilet block, and initially, four common water connections provide water (Björkman 2015). While the land belongs to the municipal corporation, the parcels were never officially leased but allotted to resettled families, who pay a monthly compensation for the provided service. Later, this was increased from time to time, and residents currently pay a nominal service fee of 100 rupees per month. In accordance with the prevailing housing discourse, site and services were provided, and houses were built by the residents according to their means. We might argue that the contemporary conceptions of self-help and self-built housing made the large-scale resettlement programs of the time possible.

Unsurprisingly, today's built fabric does not present itself as neatly as described above. Many of the lanes have eighteen or even twenty adjoining houses as the common

Figure 13 Settlement plan with plot numbering
Adpated from *Urban Study Shivaji Nagar 2014* (URBZ 2014).

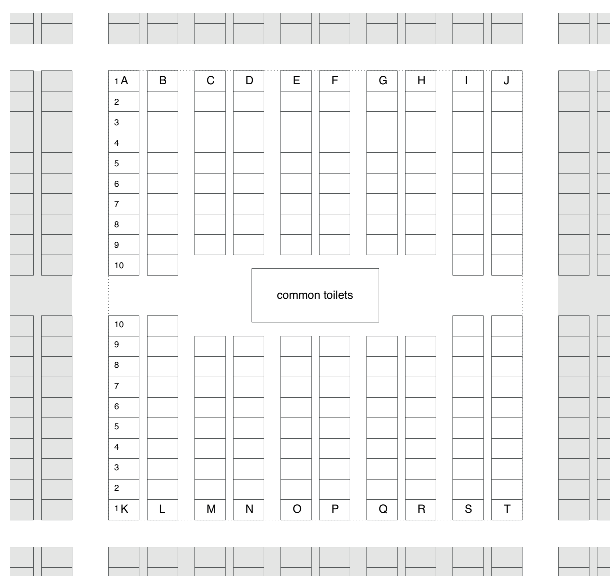


Figure 14 Schema of a block of plots in Shivajinagar
Each plot has an alphanumeric adress

space around the toilet blocks is encroached upon. Often, service lanes are reduced to a minimum or are non-existent, as houses were extended to make use of every possible space. Many of the inner open spaces around the common toilet blocks are considerably reduced. In addition to further or enlarged houses, many of the spaces accommodate temples, mosques and madrasas, some of which are shaded with a roof, under which children play carom in the late afternoon and 'gully cricket' during the day. This serves as a socializing place for adolescents, and some of them are used for production, such as basket weaving.

In comparison to other settlements, Shivajinagar builds on a favourable layout. For example, in Cheeta Camp, a resettlement of about the same age in the M-East Ward, only a small percentage of the houses were built with a service lane. The bulk of housing is constructed back to back, leaving no possibility for cross ventilation,[34] which constitutes a huge disadvantage, particularly during the hot summers and monsoon seasons. Similarly, the New Collector Colony in Malvani (P-North Ward), another resettlement of the same age and with a similar layout in the north-western suburbs, the tragedy of the common – privatization and diminishing of common outdoor space – is much more advanced (Indorewala and Wagh 2013a). The open space between houses is considerably reduced, with the roof over hang almost touching and limiting internal air circulation.

34 Personal communication with Hassan Bhai, a local community leader.

Dumping and settling

From the beginning, the dumping ground played a crucial role in the history, livelihoods of the people, and the image of the settlement, and it continuous to do so to this day. Its history reaches back over a century and is actively participating in the emergence of Shivajinagar. According to the municipal's annual report of 1904/05,[35] the first Kutchra (garbage) train reached Deonar on 13th June 1899. The 64DP Report recounts the way of the garbage (MCGM 1964, 107). One quarter of the daily 2000 tonnes of collected refuse was used at Dharavi and the rest transported by train to Deonar in order to reclaim low-lying land. From the Mahalaxmi train station, where the train was loaded on average two trains with 35 wagons a day were sent to Deonar near Govandi station. From there, the refuse train is shunted to the temporary tracks on the embankments, which were erected in the low-lying lands and emptied on "either side of the embankments" (MCGM 1964, 107). At the time of writing the DP report, 300 out of 800 acres of the foreseen land was reclaimed. And the expectation was that space would permit additional 30 to 35 years of landfill. The efforts at Deonar, where Shivajinagar would emerge, inscribe itself in Mumbai's long-time city making project through reclaiming land from the sea (Mathur and Cunha 2009).

Some long-time residents recall the refuse train, which was still operating when they settled. It was not until 1984 that the garbage train was decommissioned. In her book, Lisa Björkman (2015) gives a notable account of the concurrent process of reclamation by dumping garbage and (re-)settling of Shivajinagar's future residents. Wherever land fell dry, the hutments would spring up. This process suggests a plausible explanation for the 'irregular' streets found in the middle of Shivajinagar-Bainganwadi and the orientation of buildings within plots which do not follow the grid. Settlers started to occupy land wherever it became available by the process of reclamation – i.e. next to the railway lines, as they were continuously shifted to dump their load further afield (Björkman 2015). Such 'inconsistences' in the grid and lane layout are more frequent the further one goes towards the east and the more to the north. These traces hint at the parallel process of reclaiming, occupying, and planning as a process of slowly filling and moving in, and how the early settlers possibly inhabited the yet unoccupied territory.

Two of my interviewees told me that they contributed to reclaim the land on which they dwell today by ordering and paying for several truckloads of garbage. While such stories seemed far-fetched to me at the time, I learned that this process is actually on-going. In a low-lying area in the southeast corner, one finds an open and surprisingly green field. This ground is actually a vegetable cover floating on residual water

35 Thanks to Simpreet Shing, who graciously shared this information.

filled with garbage. When I visited the area, the municipality, for security reasons, had recently cleared several hutments erected on this wobbly ground. The floors of the structures were covered with pieces of waste plastic in the attempt to render the ground more floatable. However, it is not only at the settlement's periphery where buildable land is wrought from the erstwhile swamp. Still today the unstable ground is in fact a worry of every house owner. From the preceding mangrove,Shivajinagar inherited a high water table, which at certain places is just about one foot below street level. A study by URBZ (Srivastava et al. 2014) reveals that a soft and water-soaked layer of garbage is covered by a more solid layer consisting of debris on which houses rest. In their continuous struggle to save their houses from sinking into the marsh, high plinths are built and contractors implement elaborate foundations (Srivastava et al. 2014). Their endeavour to win high ground is challenged by the Municipality's continuous over-paving and repaving of roads and lanes (Figure 15). In this sense, Shivajinagar is not only constantly being made above ground but also below ground. The very terrain on which the settlement is built can be understood as an on-going co-production.

Figure 15 Roadwork (19th Decembery 2015)
On-going roadwork raises the terrain. The houses to the right are already halve a story below ground.

Shifting work and houses

Following earlier attempts to shift "offensive trades" outside the boundaries of Greater Bombay to the western peripheries, the Development Plan of 1964 proposed to shift the slaughterhouse from Bandra to Deonar, its current location (MCGM 1964). From the Development Plan Report, we can learn about the rational behind this proposal. The slaughterhouse established in 1867 in Bandra was perceived to be out-dated, insufficient to handle increased demand, and beyond repair (MCGM 1964, 126). This land would free about 26 acres and was envisioned to become one of the new central business centres at the fringe of the city, remedying the congestion of the island city (MCGM 1964, 47). The proposed Deonar slaughterhouse would extend over 126 acres with vastly increased capacity, which would also allow the closure of a smaller slaughterhouse in Kurla (MCGM 1964, 128). It was foreseen to include staff quarters for the workmen. The relocation of the slaughterhouse was also seen as an opportunity to relocate small-scale industries reliant on the offal as a resource. This would including shifting tanneries from inner-city locations as well as from Daharvi in order to free space for housing (MCGM 1964, 126).

When the abattoir was shifted in 1971, making space for a bus depot (TISS 2015), some of the employed labourers were resettled in Shivajinagar. At that time, at least some of them were allotted one-storey brick houses with tile-covered pitched roofs by the then elected representative and patron of the slaughterhouse. At present, few of these houses remain. Others who were shifted to Shivajinagar found only barren land, covered with mangroves and littered with garbage. While many residents never moved or left soon again, most of those who stayed built their own home. This is largely based on oral history, as there is little evidence from the time. Here, my interviews correspond with Lisa Bjökman's ethnography (Björkman 2014; Björkman 2015) and from exchanges with activists and scholars engaged in the area. As low-lying land abutting a creek, the area was swampy and mosquito infested.

The planned slum

Even though the municipal housing colony Shivajinagar was legitimately planned, today, it is referred to as slum by public and officials alike and is represented as such in current planning documents as for example in the Existing Land Use (ELU) survey (MCGM 2014) made for the upcoming development plan (Figure 16).

Through the lens of access and provision to water, in *Becoming a Slum*, Björkman (2014) examines the seemingly contradiction of Shivajinagar's history as a planned urban development, evident in its grid layout, and its present association as an 'illegal' slum. She argues that the conjuncture of hydrological vagaries and the politically-

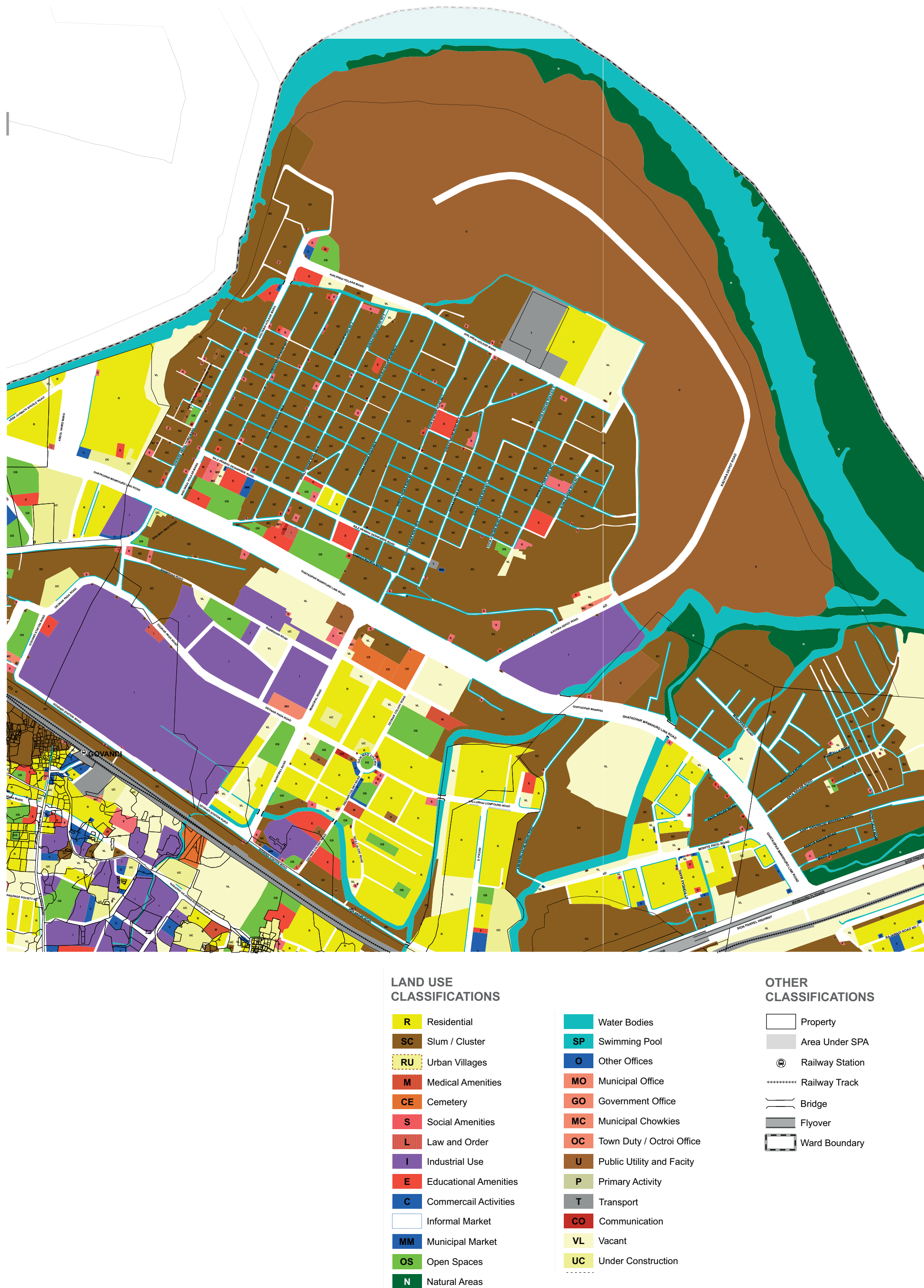


Figure 16 Extract of the Existing Land Use showing Shivajinagar and surrounding
The ELU, made in preperation for the EDDP, maps Shivajinagar as slum cluster (MCGM 2014, Ward M-East – Part II & III).

motivated criminalisation of water provision in the wake of the introduction of slum redevelopment created the condition for which Shivajinagar, as a subsequently underserved area, shall be "treated as a slum" (Björkman 2014, 54).

Figure 17 Fire at Deaonar garbage dump (26th February 2015)
Picture taken from URBZ roof top offic at Shivajinagar before the fire reached its greatest expansion about a week later.

Imaginary

Visible from every street, the dumping ground today towers about seven stories at the horizon of Shivajinagar, dominating the settlement's internal and external imaginary. In 64DP Report assumed that the Deonar dumping ground would have to be closed as it might enter into conflict with the new slaughterhouse and the emerging small-scale industry that processes its residues (MCGM 1964, 107). However, today it covers 132 hectares and receives about 3000 metric tones daily of unsegregated waste from household, construction, toxic and e-waste (Nag 2016) – i.e. one third of Mumbai's daily garbage production. Meanwhile, plans to close the Deonar dumping ground have transformed into creating a waste energy plant. However, the private company contracted in 2009 did not succeed and handed the dumping ground back to the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) shortly before a fire broke out in

early 2016 (Figure 17), which made headlines and even national politics (India 2016). While fires fuelled by decomposing garbage gases, among others the highly-flammable Methane, are fairly common, this time the wind direction was inverted, carrying the toxic fumes towards the city. The air pollution was severe in many areas of the city and surpassed the rival city Delhi. Shivajinagar's residents, many of whom rely on garbage as a livelihood, were accused of setting the fire. In the following, allegations of criminal activities circulated in the media and a nexus between corrupt bureaucrats and garbage mafia was invoked. As the fire continued fogging the city several rag pickers were arrested and some of their shanties cleared. These events illustrate once again the image associated with settlements like Shivajinagar as places where criminals live and their activities endanger lives in the whole city. Alternative and local perspectives in opposition are usually rendered insignificant: "[w]e don't just want our area to be known as the place near the dumping ground" (*DNA* 12/02/2016).

5.1.3 Housing condition and materiality

In 2011, the TISS conducted a comprehensive study on the slums in the M-East Ward (TISS 2015) in which Shivajinagar and Bainganwadi were distinct districts of their study. The study grouped the eleven settlements roughly along a north-south axis in two entities, which served as statistical units. Except where stated, the following adopts this generalisation when referring to the TISS study. In respect to housing, the study gives an impression of both the consolidation process and the current condition, which can be put in relation to the other areas of the M-Ward.

The survey results of the duration of stay say that just over half of the residents stay in Shivajinagar Bainganwadi for over 16 years. Meanwhile, little more than one third have settled within the last ten years. Interestingly, the length of stay in a settlement does not translate to the type of ownership. In Shivajinagar, the rate of house ownership (78 percent) is slightly higher than in Bainganwadi (74 percent). Consequently, the remaining households occupy rented accommodation. A similar difference in consolidation between the two settlements can be made regarding the number of rooms a household inhabits. In Shivajinagar, 60 percent of the households live in one room and 34 percent in two rooms, and in Bainganwadi, it is 64 and 31 percent, respectively.

In respect to basic amenities, in Bainganwadi, one fifth, and in Shivajinagar, almost thirty per cent, of the households have individual taps inside or outside the house. Around another thirty per cent in each settlement have access to water via public taps. The remaining thirty and forty per cent, respectively, rely on water from alternative sources, either by truck and cart or purchase from private sources.

We might regard toilets inside the house as one of the more desirable improvements for a household, which are valued highly particularly by women. The grade of consolidation reflects in the distribution of toilets inside the house, which among the compared sites is the highest in Shivajinagar with 18.5 per cent. In contrast, only eight per cent of the houses have in-house toilets in Bainganwadi. This becomes even more striking when the data is disaggregated by location, with the percentage of Lotus Colony climbing to almost 33 and Shivajinagar proper to nearly 20 per cent, respectively. In more peripheral areas in Shivajinagar and Bainganwadi, houses with indoor toilets are within the single digit percentages. Given the relatively high investment needed for constructing toilets inside the building – singling out space and raising the plinth for an under-floor tank – they can be taken as indicator for an advance state of housing consolidation.

Given these differences, which become apparent when the data is disaggregated by settlement, it is safe to assume that Shivajinagar proper is also doing better in other categories than the aggregated data. This is partly due to composition of the statistical unit Shivajinagar in the study, which includes several peripheral settlements, like Rafiq Nagar, which are at the lower end and are partly considered illegal and face regular evictions, as in the case of the 2016 fire. In general, over all studied indicators, it turns out that both Shivajinagar and Bainganwadi (as statistical composites) are just about average in the compared slums.

The Pucca-kutcha dichotomy

The pucca-kutcha[36] divide haunts not only construction, emphasising the development from vernacular to modern, from undeveloped to developed, from temporal to established, and from the have-not to the have. 'Kutcha' can be translated as 'raw, unripe, and crude' but also as 'uncooked, unmade, careless, and superficial'. In contrast, 'pucca' denotes 'ripe, solid, and complete' or 'cooked, inerasable, and thoroughgoing'. As with every binary, a hierarchy is implied: 'Pucca' is valued over 'kutcha'. The distinction is used in everyday parlance and official documents alike for multiple of situations, from colours used during Holi to construction materials (Gandhi 2013). Buildings can be qualified as kutcha, semi-pucca or pucca depending on which material they are made of and which technique is employed in their construction. A pucca building is constructed in brick and concrete, has proper flooring, and a roof of corrugated asbestos or concrete sheets. In contrast, a kutcha building uses materials like bamboo mats, plastic tarps, recycled gunny bags, wood or patra sheets (corrugated tin sheets). 'Traditional' construction materials, such as

36 There is a wide range of spelling: pucca is also referred to as pukka, pakka; and kutcha can be found as katcha, kachcha, or kuchcha.

mud, sun-dried bricks, or roofs covered with tiles might also be used. The same binary is taken forward in official programs, such as the Indira Awas Yojana, and defines which type of housing (materials and techniques) is eligible for subsidise. In doing so, these policies actively reduce a culturally rich, climatologically and ecologically appropriate built environment to standardised housing (Patil 2015). While we might bemoan the cultural loss and the environmental unsustainability of these changes in a rural context, the trajectory in cities definitely points towards pucca houses. This reduction to such value-charged binary of construction material might also limit the use of alternative construction material, such as sun-dried bricks instead of burned bricks, if the former is at all available at competitive prices. This definitely reflects the aspirations of the residents of Shivajinagar, who heavily invest in pucca materials. In the same direction points the appreciation of solid construction and a general over-engineering of houses, regarding, for example, the use of massive reinforcement in the concrete or the number of columns judged necessary. Hence, the contractors I engaged with were building pucca houses exclusively.[37]

In my interviews with residents, particularly in the poorer areas of Bainganwadi, construction in kutcha houses was done by the residents themselves. When they recount their histories of settling in the area and improving their houses, contractors do not play a role. The stories resemble the classical wall-by-wall improvement: plastic tarps are replaced by bamboo mats and covered by plastic, and tin sheets are replaced by brick walls, and so on. Halima, who we will meet again, is a typical case:

> Interviewer: Did Rashid [contractor] help with this?
>
> Halima: No, we did it ourselves.
>
> Interviewer: Did you employ someone?
>
> Halima: No, not like that. We would get the patra [corrugated tin sheets] and he [her husband] would assemble it.
>
> Interviewer: And all this [pointing to wooden substructure and walls]?
>
> Halima: If we have to get it done by someone else, then obviously we have to pay. Where will we get the money? So I used to hold up the patra and my husband would hammer in the sheets. We did it ourselves.

The TISS study surveyed the type of house in the sense of construction materials along the distinction between pucca and kutcha, with one mixed form (TISS 2015). This reveals that the houses in Shivajinagar were generally of sturdier quality than in Bainganwadi.

37 This is not to say that there are no contractors engaged in building kutcha and semi-pucca houses. In fact there is reason to believe that there are contractors engaged in the business of building such 'low-end' housing. However this 'sector' was less in my focus.

While both areas had a minority of around 11 per cent of houses built with kutcha materials only, Shivajinagar boasted 57 per cent of pucca houses and Bainganwadi 49.5 per cent. Consequently, the semi-pucca houses were more represented in Bainganwadi. In comparison to the other slum areas in the M-East Ward, both settlements are above average in regard to the percentage of semi pucca and pucca houses.

Today, Shivajinagar belongs to the most-established slum settlements in the M-East Ward regarding the consolidation of houses as the assessment of the M-Ward Project reveals (TISS 2015, xxiii). The same report hypothesises that the condition of housing is more linked to governmental layout than to the age of the settlement. Established or consolidated, however, does not mean that nothing is changed and construction is complete. In contrast, even a pucca house might be extended, remodelled, or even completely replaced when considered inadequate.

5.1.4 Residents of Shivajinagar

The M-E-Ward survey of 2011 counted a population of about 214000 for the entire area of Shivajinagar and its adjoining neighbourhoods (TISS 2015). The settlement covers an area of roughly 1.3 square kilometres (or 130 hectares). This comes to a population density of roughly 165000 persons per square kilometres (or 1650 persons per hectares).

The majority of the population (85%) is Muslim (Koppikar 2017b). In addition, there is a considerably large Hindu community and a smaller minority of Buddhists.

While much of the present population used to live in South Bombay, Worli, Parel, or Bandra, the area attracted poverty-driven migrants from drought-hit areas in rural Maharashtra, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, or Bihar. Nowadays, the majority of the residents are not the original settlers. A survey found that just over half of the residents stay in Shivajinagar Bainganwadi for over sixteen years[38] (TISS 2015). Among the twenty-six interviewed families, a minority of nine were resettled. All the others came during later periods. However, almost all of them had some familial ties within Shivajinagar through which they found their way there. Only one family of my sample group came through an intermediary broker and settled recently. It seems that it is opportunity rather than choice which fuels a move to Shivajinagar. As the interviews conducted were not intended to be representative in this regard, residents in other corners may have different biographies and reasons to live in Shivajinagar.

The TISS survey allows a socio-economic assessment of Shivajinagar's residents, localising and substantiating human development in the report's findings.

38 The time limit of sixteen years corresponds to the cut-off date of 1995.

People's health obviously suffers from living in the proximity to the dumping ground, as it emits toxic gases and contaminates the ground and water supply. The percentage of related diseases is above average in the areas in the vicinity (Nag 2016), contributing to the low average life expectancy of 39 years in the area ('Apnalaya.org' 2017). The areas which report high numbers of cases of tuberculosis in M-East Ward are all close to or bordering the dumping ground (TISS 2015).

With an illiteracy rate of almost 21 per cent, the M-East Ward is nearly double Mumbai's rate, and within the ward, Bainganwadi holds the depressing record of above 25 per cent. This is reflected in the average years of schooling and number of dropouts. Education is a high priority among the slum population as indicates a high percentage of borrowing for related expenses.

Livelihood

While the ward has a relatively young population, this does not translate to high employment: from the working age group (20-55) "less than 50 per cent of the men and 20 per cent of the women report some kind of income-generating activity" (TISS 2015, xiv). Almost half of the ward's working population is employed in casual labour in the informal sector, one third is self-employed, and one fifth has formal employment. The principal profession in descending order are driver, casual worker, tailor, retail vendor, domestic helper, mechanic, and security guard. Such occupations earn an average household income of 8000 rupees. While forty per cent of the households dispose of an income between 5000 and 10'000 rupees, almost one forth is below this range and not even ten per cent gain above 20'000 rupees, which corresponds to the average income in Mumbai (Koppikar 2017). Such income allows not even forty per cent to make regular savings, forcing earners to lending especially in cases of illness. While as many as seventy per cent have a bank account, this does not translate into access to credit. Dependence on family and neighbours for loans is prevalent, indicating the importance of social capital.

Today, the dumping ground still offers a source of livelihood for rag pickers, who separate the garbage and sell it to scrap dealers. Local NGOs claim that up to 4500 people are involved in rag picking on the dumping ground (Nag 2016). Several more are making a living in the recycling industry located around the dumping ground, which is highly linked with the one in Dharavi. Out of a 12 to 14hour workday, rag pickers earn roughly 200 to 400 rupees per day. According to Apnalaya, the NGO with the longest history of engagement in the area, the average income in the area is about 8,000 Rupees per Month ('Apnalaya.org' 2017), out of which 30 to 40 per cent is spent on basic needs such as water and electricity (Nag 2016). The common pattern of the

poor having to spend much more than the middle class for basic needs is repeated, leaving little for other expenditures such as education.

This precarious livelihood, where illness incurs additional expenses for treatment and income is lost during this period, renders work interruptions critical. The same link holds true in respect to housing production. Expenses for construction might be the largest when building, but there are additional costs for renting during construction time, and often income suffers, as close observation of construction is needed. Thus, there is a great emphasis on timely construction processes.

The urban poor

Saying that Shivajinagars residents are disproportionally young, poor, illiterate, jobless, and sick does not accurately describe a diverse reality. While statistically true, the differences within the neighbourhood are significant. Shivajinagar is of the size of a little town, and as diverse are the people, livelihood, aspirations and practices differ widely. We rather have to speak of a heterogeneous population, than one that statistically appears homogenous in respect to its education, income, religion, and so on. The question remains: how do we understand the slum dweller or the urban poor?

Simone calls them the missing people (Simone 2014). Shivajinagar could be described as the neighbourhood of Simone's "possible 'majority' – straddling and making ambiguous the distinctions among 'upper poor', 'working class' and 'lower middle class' – barely registered in discussions of the probable and potential futures of cities" (Simone 2014, 322). For sure, they are not the 'new' Indian middle class that has come to fascinate many scholars of Asia. Some of them might have grown up in Shivajinagar and some still maintain relations to the neighbourhood of their childhood. The residents of Shivajinagar are rather of the old (lower) middle class, as Diane E. Davis puts it (D. E. Davis 2010), which is defined by labour.[39] Indeed, I met and interviewed civil servants, merchants of all sorts, and commercial and industrial producers working within and outside of Shivajinagar. Several of them kept their economic activity in the place where they grew up and relocated the place where they sleep and raise their kids.[40]

In an overview article, Satterthwaite (2014) argues that urban poverty is by and large an underestimated phenomena regarding both scale and depth. This is mainly due to the lack and inadequacy of available data and an undue focus on income-poverty often based on an arbitrarily-defined poverty line (e.g. of 1.25 us dollar a day), which does not reflect the actual cost of the low-income population to satisfy their food and

39 In contrast to the emerging middle class, which is defined by their consumption (D. E. Davis 2010).
40 This description has to be understood as way to avoid saying 'home'. As for the shopkeeper, he operates out of Shivajinagar and not only spends most of his time in Shivajinagar but also maintains a close relationship to the area. In fact, it is probably only because he is home that he can keep his business running.

non-food needs. He argues that poverty has to be understood and tackled in line with deprivations associated with a wider range of domains, such as housing conditions, health, access to basic services, rule of law, and voice. For example, a narrow focus on income and consumption definitions of poverty risks downplaying "the multiple roles that housing and its immediate surrounds (or neighbourhoods) can have in reducing deprivation" (Satterthwaite 2014, 582). Further, he highlights the capacity and importance of the urban poor and their organisations to improvement the built environment and service provision.

According to the TISS study, housing condition correlates positively with education, (the better the housing condition the higher the education level) and even clearer with residents' health. Clearly, there is a spatial dimension to poverty within Shivajinagar. The settlement is – roughly said – structured in the following way: the further north towards the dumping ground and the further east, the poorer the neighbourhood is, which is clearly reflected in the housing condition. While such a general gradient can be observed, it exhibits a great variation in individual cases. Reflecting an individualised development pattern, one finds a cluster of newly-built houses at the north end of a road or a couple of dated single-storey houses scattered within a plot of two and three-storey buildings.

5.2 The inhabitants of research

The following portrays the people[41] who populate this research: residents and contractors of Shivajinagar. It shall serve as an overview for the reader's orientation.

Babu	The taxi driver learns housing the hard way: as a wall collapses and his contractor runs off, Babu takes construction into his own hands (Chapter 5.3). He prefers to forgo the comfort of an indoor toilet and rather invests in the education of his son (Chapter 8.5).
Chaiwala	He buys his neighbour's house to invest discretionary income. In that process, he inherits his neighbours' nephew as a tenant (Chapter 6.2.3).
Dinesh & Begum	Representing the quarter of Shivajinagar's population who are tenants. The young couple navigates a rental market with quickly-rising rents (Chapter 6.2.3).

41 All names are pseudonyms.

Halima	Mother of four and sole bread earner lives in as self-built one-storey katcha house (Chapter 5.1.3). As her neighbour erects a new house, contractor Rashid intervened in the conflict (Chapter 8.3) over the shared wall (Chapter 7).
Mama	The postman, who by collaborating with his neighbour, reduces his construction costs (Chapter 6.1.1). In the process, he enters into a dispute with his contractor, Salim, over the internal organisation of his new house (Chapter 8.5).
Manish	A RCC worker and aspiring contractor who does small remodelling jobs (Chapter 6.2.3).
Mohan	The subcontractor provides labourers to multiple contractors (Chapter 8.7).
Omkar, Contractor	Despite having moved out of Shivajinagar, Omkar spends most of his time in the area (Chapter 8.2.1). He acts as catalyst for improvement as he brings together house owners and future clients (Chapter 8.4).
Rashid, Contractor	The contractor with political ambitions patronises an entire area and settles conflicts between neighbours, including the one with Halima (Chapter 8.3).
Salim, Contractor	The contractor who caters to the 'upper crust' of Shivajinagar's residents, including Vishal's family and Mama, building his career on reputation and good political clout (Chapter 8.2.1). With Mama, he has an argument over rentable floor (Chapter 8.5).
Satish	As the young father of two, he speculates on raising real estate prices in Shivajinagar, so he can leverage his houses in order to move into an apartment in Navi Mumbai (Chapter 6.2.3).
Vishal	The second son of a well-off Jain family, whose house is rebuilt to improve his chances on the marriage market (Chapter 6.2.1). They chose contractor Salim because of his high repudiation (Chapter 8.2.1) and his ability to negotiate with the municipality (Chapter 8.6). During the construction process, a fight with his neighbour over the shared wall erupts (Chapter 7).

5.3 Learning housing the hard way

As they might open up opportunities, new houses in the neighbourhood not only increase social but also physical pressure. Due to the unstable ground on which Shivajinagar is located, very practical problems arise when new, and usually higher and heavier, houses stand next to old ones. Walls tend to crack when neighbouring houses are built and foundations start to shift (Figure 18). Usually owners who build, support their neighbours when their walls get cracks, often paying for repairs or replacing walls, sometimes even twice. Unfortunately, buildings in Shivajinagar tend to continue tilting beyond construction time and cracks reappear over longer periods. Cracked walls endanger not only statics of buildings but render them prone to leakage, both of which turned against Babu.

Figure 18 Shififting grounds
Newly built and usually heavier houses tend to shift due to the unstable ground in Shivajinagar. Neighbouring houses are affected and walls of older buildings tend to crack under the load. The already fixed cracks re-open as houses continue to sink unevenly into the marshy ground.

I came to know Babu, a taxi driver living in Shivajinagar, through a friend of mine, whom Babu drives to work on a regular basis. When she came to know about him rebuilding his house, she arranged a meeting between the two of us. On a following Sunday, he picked us up with his taxi bus and drove us to his house, where he lives

together with his oldest son, who just finished his exams for the 11th grade. His wife stays in his home village in Uttar Pradesh along with the other children. Babu moved to Shivajinagar after the floods of 2005 when he lost his former house in Sion. For two lakhs, he bought a one-storey house, which consisted mainly of half a wall and plastic sheets covered by a thin roof. Over ten years, he improved his house when he had enough money. Step-by-step, he had the wall finished, and the floor made. For each of these tasks, he hired a different contractor. However, in the night of new-year eve 2014, his fate turned. While the family was sleeping, the wall towards his right neighbor collapsed, destroyed some valuable glass utensils, and hit Babu's son on the arm but luckily did not cause any major injuries. According to Babu, the wall collapsed because the neighbor had built a four-storey house the year before, which replaced a ground-floor structure. During a monsoon, the water from the neighbor's roof kept leaking into Babu's home despite the installation of plastic planes. The wall was soaked with water and thus weakened, causing the collapse in the said night.

While Babu has always wanted to build a new house but could not afford it, this event left him no choice but to rebuild. Without contacting any competitor, he assigned the work to a contractor recommended to him by friends. He would rebuild the house for a lump sum of 1.5 Lakh Rupees. The agreement was made by worth of mouth and Babu paid almost the entire amount in advance. The contractor, however, delivered poor work. As the walls were built with an insufficient amount of cement in the mortar, they were as weak as those which they replaced. The roof is made out of old corrugated cement sheets instead of new ones, as promised. The contractor even managed to install a window the wrong way, and the kitchen was unstably cobbled together from recycled material. In addition, the water tank was never delivered, and the construction process caused further damage. The contractor promised to take care of the furniture while building and move it carefully from one side to the other. On that premise, the furniture was kept inside. Babu attempted to rescue it when he found it standing in several inches of concrete. But the damage was done. Much of these mishaps could have been easily been avoided, and Babu is accepting part of the blame. In contrast to others, Babu was not supervising the construction site and his son was too young for such a task. He continued to work long shifts to increase his income in order to pay for the new building.

To make matters worse, the contractor ran away[42] before finishing the house, not without tricking one of Babu's friends to pay the outstanding amount. At the time of the interview, Babu had invested 2.5 Lakh in his house, and was trying to rectify construction errors and work towards completing his home. During the interview,

42 It has to be noted that this is a rather rare incident, and I have not heard of another case of a runaway contractor. However, the fear among residents of such fraud is very real.

Babu never lost his poise while recounting his story, as if it had happen to somebody else. He thinks the contractor completely made a fool out of him and ripped him off. Having lost all his faith in contractors, Babu appointed a foreman paid on a daily basis and closely supervised him. He bought materials himself and only as needed. As he rebuilds his house, in effect, Babu became his own contractor. In regard to his newly-gained expertise, Babu agreed he could in fact act as contractor now, but he prefers his job as taxi driver and has no intention to do so.

The case of Babu painfully illustrates the very real danger resulting from the activities of an unequal neighbour, each of whom is trying to improve his living condition. While one neighbour builds a four-storey house that he can afford and presumably needs, the other neighbour who cannot invest equally in his house has to suffer the damage. New development threatens existing buildings both, from below, as they literally destabilise the ground on which houses in Shivajinagar stand and above as run-off monsoon rainwater passes to the lower neighbours and weekening the structural integrity of the houses. Such technical effects are only mitigated to a certain extent, as, for example, when cracks are repaired by the offending party. However, a study by URBZ (Srivastava et al. 2014; URBZ 2015a) suggests that contractors are very aware of the effects caused by the unstable ground and subsequent tilting houses on adjacent buildings. Accordingly, they undertake diverse measures and experiment with different kinds of foundations to prevent houses from sinking and tilting. Obviously, the more elaborate the foundation, the more expensive and time consuming the construction, which not everyone can afford. However, a solid foundation, which would involve piling approximately 15 meters below street level, exceeds the cost and time restrictions of regular housing.[43]

Beyond the physical-technical externalities of construction and living in a densely-built neighbourhood, Babu's difficult fate tells us about the challenges involved in building and the necessary knowledge needed to successfully face them. Having used about four contractors – from the first steps of improving to rebuilding the new house – Babu learned quite a bit about construction, but usually the hard way. In his struggle to construct a proper house, he learnt, for example, that painting the ground floor walls, when the upper floor is not finished, might result in wasting the freshly painted walls. He also became 'innovative': in order to stabilise the weak wall, Babu installed tiles with an extra amount of cement. While this might increases water proofing, it adds little to the structural stability of the wall. As a layperson, who could not rely on earlier experience or reliable external advice, Babu had only a vague understanding of materials and the complex process of construction and all its dependences. These

43 For larger building, such as temples, mosques, and community halls, such pile foundations require heavy machinery.

circumstances reveal that most residents are laypersons vis-à-vis the rather difficult and technical demanding work of housing construction in an urban environment, involving multiple specialised crafts and labour. While somewhat tragic, it is the unfortunate journey of Babu's construction that illustrates what McFarlane terms "dwelling as learning" (McFarlane 2011a).

Babu's experience with contractors is also one of trust and betrayal. The relationship between house owner and contractor is not without conflict and marked by a mixture of trust and scepticism, which is born out of (inter-) dependence between client and service provider. It is this tension-loaded relationship which nourishes residents' scepticism towards contractors, and partly explains why most of the house owners feel the need to closely supervise the construction process and the contractor, even if this involves forgoing income. This may be due to a lack of knowledge and the feeling of being dependent on the contractor's work and expertise. In fact, this is the role of contractors: experts with special access to knowledge about construction. If everything goes well, this knowledge is put into the service of the clients.

6 Building houses, homes and livelihoods

6.1 How much and what is built

In order to assess how much is being built in Shivajinagar, I conducted a simple analysis of one street and compared two sets of photos taken at different times (Figure 19). One set is taken from the homepage WoNoBo, a service similar to Google street view, which mapped parts of Shivajinagar one day in 2011.[44] The second set comprises pictures taken by myself in February 2015. The comparison is straightforward, marking all visible physical changes. The diverse changes are catalogued in different categories: newly-built houses, additional floors, half floors, terraces, terrace covers, remade façades, new paint, and so on. To simplify, we can distinguish major volumetric transformations (newly-built houses, additional stories, and terraces) and minor changes (all the rest) which can be considered under maintenance. These are set against houses, which have not changed at all.[45]

Out of 155 plots, 50 (or almost one third) have undergone major changes, and of those, 74 per cent (or 37) represent newly-built houses. Assuming linear change over the four years, every year, 6 per cent of the housing stock was renewed. Obviously, this observation is limited, as only front-row houses - prestigious plots of the affluent street number 1 - are considered. Still, this indicates how much is being built in the area. Furthermore, this observation perfectly resonates with an estimation made by URBZ in 2013 (Echanove and Srivastava 2013b), where they determined how much is being built by analysing the turnover of the 43 construction material shops found in Shivajinagar. They estimate that of the 50’000 annual structures, 3000 are built or repaired, which is a transformation of about 6 per cent of the housing stock per year.

In a bigger picture, this reflects a national-level statistical analyses on housing improvements by Sohei Nakamuro (Nakamura 2013). In comparing notified and non-notified slums, he concludes that regardless of income and tenure, and setting aside the kind of change, people eagerly and continuously invest in their homes throughout their life.

44 The exact date is not specified on their homepage. Even when the provider claims the data is not to be older than six months at the moment of launch, which was in October 2013, posters in the pictures indicate the year 2011. As of the time of writing this in early 2017, the service is no longer available.

45 Interestingly, there is only one case where a house was reduced to one storey.

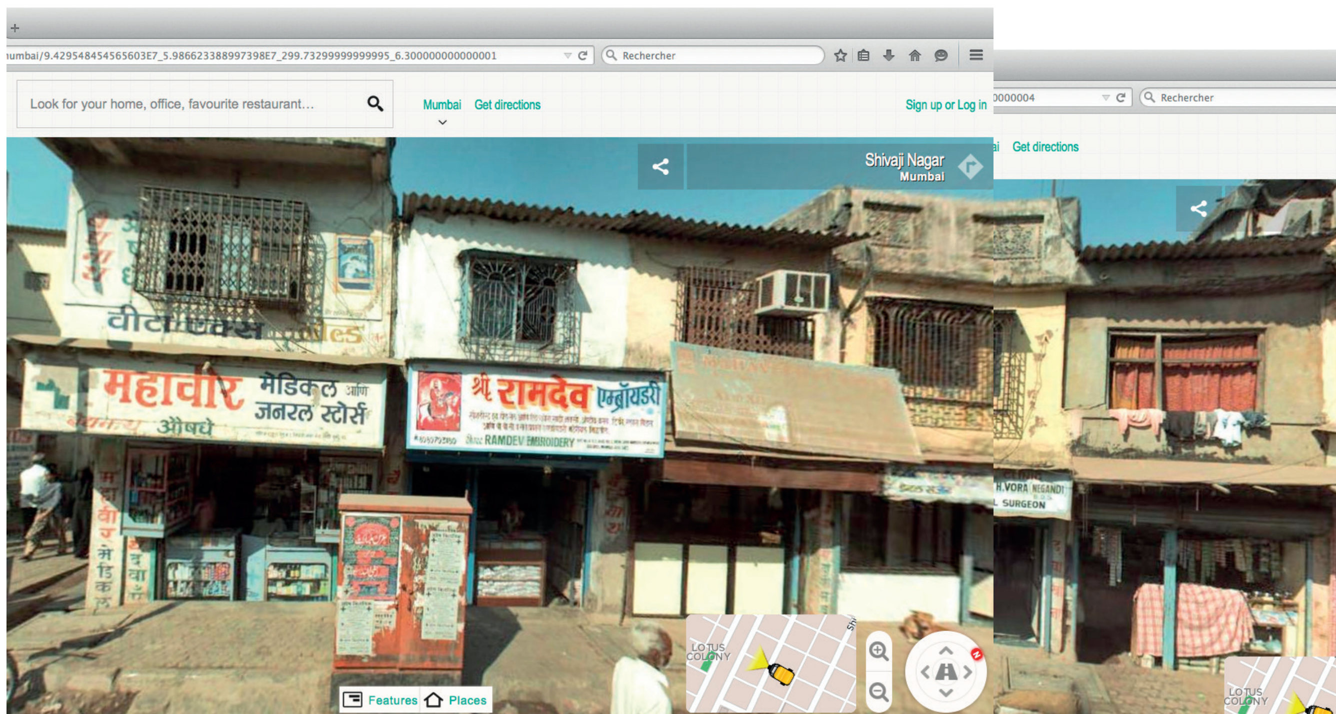
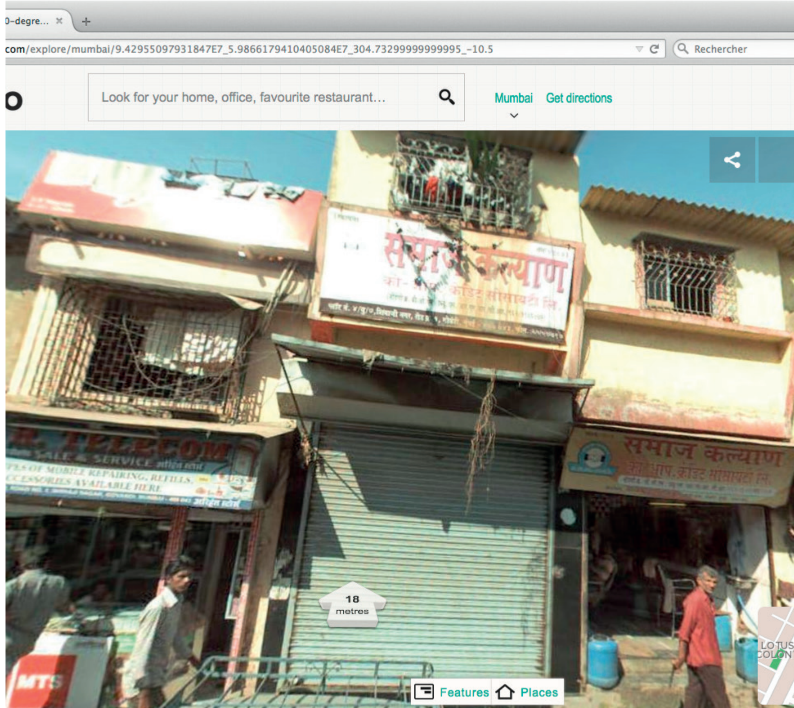


Figure 19 Comparison built up space
Above: Wonobo (streetview) presumably 2011
Below: street facade pictures taken by the author in 2014.


com/explore/mumbai/9.42955097931847E7_5.9866179410405084E7_304.73299999999995_-10.5
Rechercher
Look for your home, office, favourite restaurant…
Mumbai
Get directions
समाज कल्याण
18
metres
Features
Places
LOTUS COLONY

33_-7.300000000000001
Rechercher
Mumbai
Get directions
SHAMIM CLASSES
Features
Places

समाजकल्याण को.ऑपरेटिव सोसायटी लि.
vodafone
vodafone

6.1.1 Concurrence and collaboration

Besides events driven by reasons located within households, house transformations often have immediate impact on neighbours. It seems, for example, that housing transformation happens in bulk, suggesting that the closer a house is located to another remodelled house, the more likely it is to being transformed. Residents have hinted that envy often plays a role when people build, and there is the option to fly below the radar of officers when there is construction going on nearby. Vishal's neighbour illustrates both points. Selling the same goods as Vishal, the neighbour realised that he will definitely be outshined by his competitor's new house and shop. Hence he started to renovate the interior of his store: it had to be all new floor, new tiles, and finally new furnishing. What I didn't realise either – although I was closely following the construction process of Vishal's house – was that on the quite the neighbour extended the upper floor by a half room.

Figure 20 Saving cost by coordinating construction
Two plots are constructed simultaneously by two different contractors.

Besides social pressure and avoiding extortion from officers, one could benefit from building at the same time as one's neighbour: Mama, a postman working in the local post office and his neighbour simultaneously reconstructed their houses as a three-

storey building (Figure 20). Both houses reach the same height and use the same layout, but are built by different contractors. However, I did not meet either the owner or the neighbour's contractor.[46] Mama and his contractor both agreed that the neighbour is benefiting from the opportunity to build at the same time. Even though he pays Mama for the use of the pillars and the shared wall, he is reducing his expenses. Pooling resources to reduce financial costs requires investment in coordination, both socially and in construction. This shift of the place of investment has spatial implications. The shared structure of the two houses reflects the consensus the two neighbours reached in respect to the reconstruction of their houses. While this might be reasonable at this point in time it also literally connects and restricts their possibilities for future transformations. While constructing such spatial, technical, and social dependencies is quite common, and for some a financial necessity, they are also possible sources for conflicts. We will see this when talking about the shared wall at a later moment (Chapter 7).

6.2 Housing between community and commodity

6.2.1 Domestic dimensions of housing

In addition to physical-technical causes like seasonal flooding or, in rare instances, collapsing walls, a growing household is the most often stated reason for housing transformation in settlements like Shivajinagar. The notion of 'household' is chosen on purpose, as family, or even extended family, often does not sufficiently describe the diverse composition of people living under the same roof. It has been argued that home making is the driving force behind all housing activities (Dayaratne and Kellett 2008). In the following, I present some typical examples where domestic changes lead to the transformation of the house. In doing so, homes are adapted in relation with important changes in the household composition and rendered suitable for 'good' domestic use.

As kids come of age, and depending on the family's financial resources, a study room is often created, possibly on the mezzanine level or in a small room, extending the house vertically. Education is valued highly, so a quiet place to study justifies the investment in such an extension. On the other side, there are families, who postponed the potentially troublesome time of re-construction to the time after the board exams of their children. These exams are considered important as they determine college prospects.

46 One reason for this is that the owner is a pushcart hawker, depending on regular income. And another reason is that the construction sites were organised asynchronously to eliminate interference.

One particularly important moment in the life of many Indians is marriage. While this rite of passage is not unique to the Indian context, this is the moment when, traditionally, the bride leaves her family and moves in with the family-in-law. Given the high real estate prices in Mumbai, it is nearly impossible for the newly weds to move into an apartment of their own. This is true not only for the residents of Shivajinagar but also a large number of the urban residents. Interestingly, this is how the house comes to play a particular role in the transition. Vishal, the second son, is soon to be married: therefore, the family decides to reconstruct their house. Vishal, unlike his brother, grew up with his grandparents in the native village, as his single mother was unable to feed two children at the time of his childhood. Hence, he has lower education and is particularly missing language skills, and is thus considered to be a more difficult match for a suitable wife. While his older brother is the co-founder of a successful tile shop in Navi Mumbai, Vishal will take over the family business, a utensil shop in Shivajinagar. The newly reconstructed house would increase his chances to win over a future wife (and her parents). A fully-refurbished shop that promises continued income; a separate floor for the young couple; internal toilets and bathrooms; and tasteful, made-to-measure furnishings are convincing aspects. By projecting this prosperity and future life, the reconstructed house is used as leverage on the marriage market. It is important to note that the house is not only a symbol of wealth, but comfort and privacy make an impact.

6.2.2 Houses as place of production

In many informal neighbourhoods, houses are used for productive and commercial purposes. For many poor urban households, the home is of great importance as a place of income generation (Satterthwaite 2014), especially for women, who often are restricted to the home as place of work, be it because of domestic obligations or because of culturally-related restrictions of free movement. Shivajinagar is no exception in this respect. Besides, it is a commercially and lively area. While several dedicated streets serve as markets, most major streets are lined with stores and workshops, selling everything from groceries, everyday products, clothing, and jewellery, to construction material. As a settlement the size of a smaller (European) town, this is not surprising. For example, I was told that Shivajinagar became an attractive shopping destination for those looking for cheap (fake) fashion brands. In the upper floor workshops, in particular, the production of embroidery and dressmaking is prevalent. Nearby areas have focused on recycling and scrap dealing. Both trades are highly connected with other industrial hubs such as Dharavi and markets in central Mumbai but also oriented towards Navi Mumbai. Much of the workforce lives at the place of work, and shops and workshops are routinely transformed into dormitories during the night. Others find rental space on the upper floors of residential houses. These observations

of multiple use of space are discussed in many reports about the lives in slums around the world.

Tool house

Matias Echanove and Rahul Srivastava use the term 'tool house' to conceptualise the built form, which is produced by and deeply interconnected with such multiple forms of use of space. It is one of the more recent contributions to a familiar round of conceptualisation of self-built houses. One of its intellectual origins can be traced to Lima's politician Pedro Beltran's *la casa barata que crece*[47] (Bromley 2003; Hordijk 2011) and theorised and made popular by Turner (Turner 1968). The tool house is noteworthy in several ways, as it points beyond the efficient use of space in a context of scarcity. It is conceptualised not as a result of economic condition and social exclusion or a coping strategy by the poor, but as a manifestation and prerequisite of today's autonomous and entrepreneurial production practices prevalent in post-industrial cities such as Mumbai. As such, it suggests the question of form, not as a social or economic structure, but as "architectural typology" – i.e. the embodiment of economic forces at work (Echanove and Srivastava 2011). They put the tool house in the lineage of historically-existing forms of housing, such as the artisan's home, which served both as place for living and income generation and which continues to thrive today.

> One of the most enduring artifacts of pre-industrial society in contemporary times is the tool-house; the habitat of the artisan where work and residence co-exist amicably. Conceptually located between Le Corbusier's *machine for living* and Ivan Illich's *convivial tool*, the tool-house is an apparatus fulfilling economic and sheltering purposes. (Echanove and Srivastava 2009 emphasis in original)

They argue that similar typologies of housing continue to subsist around the world across socio-economic divides. While it is not a coincidence that the tool house was first conceptualised in Dharavi, the epitome of an industrial slum settlement, they are prevalent in many similar neighbourhoods in Mumbai, including Shivajinagar. However, they are not restricted to the slums of cities of the South. In contrast, tool houses are revived again in the 'developed world' in the form of "artists lofts, a web-designers den, and so on"(Echanove 2012). As a convincing comparison, Echanove and Srivastrava invoke the case of the successful urban development in Tokyo, where large parts of the urban fabric consist of incrementally developing neighbourhoods filled with tool houses (Echanove 2012; Echanove and Srivastava 2011). The current situation, they argue, is due to the post-war planning approach, which focused on disaster relief and infrastructure, particularly city-wide transport networks, and left

47 Literally translated: the cheap house that grows

housing and commercial development to local actors. This let them conclude that Tokyo "could well be described as one gigantic, incrementally developed slum" (Echanove and Srivastava 2011, 806). It is this non-prescriptive, non-restrictive land use which allowed the tool house neighborhoods of Tokyo to thrive.

It is this multiple use of home and workspace that characterises the tool house, and that stands in conflict with modernist planning aims, where the strict division – spatially and temporally – of use is valued highly. Given the economics of a largely self-employed society and the increase in real estate prices, the home has to double up for income generating purposes. The examples are endless: the kitchen is turned into a canteen for migrant workers over lunch; the sleeping and manufacturing spaces are separated by temporal rather than spatial dimensions, and sometimes arranged at the same time; the shop is also a storage space and performs child care functions. As such, the tool house "makes explicit the relationship between production, livelihood and spaces" (Echanove and Srivastava 2009). While it is born out of the need for space for both home and income, in a context of scarcity, "the tool house is a physical embodiment of the most intensive use of space possible" (Echanove and Srivastava 2011, 803).

As place of living and production, surplus income is often reinvested into the house, improving the condition of both aspects. In that process, it becomes a sort of self-reliant growth machine. Besides production or commercial activity, another possibility to increase income is to build and rent out spaces, again for both residential and production purposes. By doing so, space is not only put to use by the landlord but by tenants as well. In doing so, space itself becomes a resource, which is employed to improve living and financial situations. Rental spaces are not only garnering more income for the owner but also allowing newcomers to start a business and a home.

6.2.3 Housing as an economic vehicle

Saving

Houses also have a value as a kind of old-age security, as illustrated in the case of an elderly lady living in one of the few remaining original one-storey houses. She is one of the few original resettled residents I met with and has been living there for 45 years and is still working in a market sorting vegetables. Her house is situated at one of the main streets at a prime location and looks, with its partly collapsed tiled roof, like a remnant of another time among all the newly rebuilt houses. I asked her why she is not selling the house, as it would fetch a good price given its prime location. With that money, she could easily find a decent room and move out of the dangerously-damaged

old house. She replied that having grown up there, she is attached to the place and does not feel the need to move into a better place. And then she added: “[the house] is like gold to me”. At present, she is not in need of money, but when she does need it, in the case of illness, for example, then she could sell it. By living alone, she has nobody who would look after her, and the house was kind of her asset of last resort. I learned later that it is common to compare the house to gold in Maharashtra and probably in India. This comparison draws a parallel to jewellery, often of gold, which is traditionally used as a saving. The house she lives in is her savings account, which includes a relatively secure interest rate. Furthermore it is safe from her alcoholic son as it is registered in her name.

Renting

In Shivajinagar, three quarters of the households own the house they inhabit (TISS 2015). This is significantly higher than the Indian average of two thirds owner-residents in Indian slums (Nakamura 2013). Nevertheless, tenants occupy every fourth household. This is not only significant in percentage but also in total number, and certainly of relevance for both tenants and landlords. Although landlords not necessarily live in the area anymore, tenants are a source of income for large number of residents in Shivajinagar. As a consequence, individual rooms and entire houses constructed for rental spaces are widely used to generate additional income.

This is the case of an elderly couple, which sells vegetables for a living at the local street market in Shivajinagar. They remodelled their two-storey house. For this, they hired Manish. Manish is a guy who usually works as sub-contactor for deconstruction and RCC-work (Reinforced Concrete Construction) on other sites. Happy to have caught an independent job as contractor, Manish was sleeping off a hangover in the office of his usual employer contractor. Meanwhile, he locked in his labourers, so they could neither run nor be detected by patrolling officers. The work was literally quick and dirty. A new opening in the slab was broken without much care regarding the belongings of the owner, and was provisionally covered by a plastic sheet. The construction work was carried out behind closed doors and the interior was completely covered with dust. The only major transformation made in the house was the orientation of the stairs. The internal L-shaped existing staircase in the back of the house was demolished and replaced by a straight staircase, leading directly to the alley and making the upper floor independently accessible. This change in layout allows the upper floor to be rented, generating additional income. While this is – to my knowledge – a rare example, where a family actually reduces its spatial need. In this way, they could retain the house and stay in the neighbourhood, thanks to a minor change in the home.

Where there are landlords, there are tenants. The status of the latter, however, is much more precarious. The most common way to settle in the city for the poor is with the help from – sometime distant – family members or people from the same community. Unsurprisingly, almost all of my interviewees had some familial ties within Shivajinagar through which they found their way here. For example, marriage allows for such moving in. Another way is squatting with (extended) family members, as Dinesh and his wife, Begum, did, staying for several months with her brother in Shivajinagar until they found a house for rent with the help of an agent and future neighbour. And in fact, they are now hosting further family members themselves. Even though Begum's two nephews live with them, they do not contribute to the household expenses but support their mother, who stays back in the village. Because of Dinesh's fluctuating income as a cobbler paid on a piecework basis, they nevertheless are asked for financial support in time of need. Similarly to Dinesh and Begum, their start in the city depends on family support and kinship. This reduces the cost of living in the city and increases the support for family members in the village. As people share knowledge, economic, and spatial resources, family ties and community networks literally open doors.

Despite family and community networks, middlemen can make a fortune from brokering rental spaces as in the case of Dinesh and Begum. Such networks are not always able to mitigate local conditions, such as their year-long tenancy agreement, which when renewed increases in cost every year. At the current rate of increase, they estimate that they can afford the rent for another five years and then they will have to move. They assume that they would likely shift to another area within Shivajinagar because life there is affordable. While they established a foothold in the city, their situation still seems precarious. In contrast to others, they were not able to secure a property and remain at the bottom rung of the social ladder: pressured by landlords and forced to move to a cheaper, rented home.

Speculating

As Mumbai's neighbourhoods consolidate and the demand for space keeps increasing house prices have steadily risen over the last decade. The increasing value of their house did not escape the residents of Shivajinagar. In the contrary, interviewees frequently pointed out the purchase price of their house and how much they assume it would be worth if sold today. They proudly told me about the n-fold value their house gained since it was bought. Many of them assert that they would choose to rent out the house rather than sell it. Others clearly have the ambition to monetise their gain and use the money to buy a flat in formal housing. Such is the case of Satish, a self-employed graphic designer for wedding cards, business cards, and personalised receipt books. As father of two young children, he deems the neighbourhood unfit for them as a place

to grow up, in terms of safety and community. He owns two adjoining properties, one of which is rented out and the other houses his extended family. He is constantly looking for affordable apartments in Navi Mumbai, and at the same time, checking the possible revenue he could earn from selling his houses in Shivajinagar, hoping that the value of the latter increases faster than the prices of the desired apartments. In view of spiralling plot and house prices, Satish, and several other interviewees, suggested I should invest in property in Shivajinagar, promising returns of "good money". While I thankfully refused this well-intended advice, several of my interviewees, indeed, are deliberately using their property assets to improve their living conditions in the near and distant future.

When I learned that the Chaiwala, from whom we regularly had our tea, recently bought the house adjacent to his, I became curious. How could a Chaiwala, selling tea by the cup at 6 rupees, possibly earn enough to buy a second house at 20 Lakhs (= 2 millions) rupees? Given that the plot is situated in a rather upmarket area of Shivajinagar, his income would never permit this. Could it be that the outdoor kitchen attached to his home, from where he delivers chai, could be such a goldmine? The income he later stated in the interview seemed to further nurture my disbelief. However, a rough calculation based on the quantities of raw materials, such as milk, spices, and gas for the stove and so on, revealed his earnings to be much higher than indicated. The stated income coincides with a threshold in the tax system, indicating that the excess earnings from the tea stall are undisclosed. My calculations[48] suggest, that his earnings must be about the same or even more than those of his son, who works at the local branch of a cooperative bank. Together, their income would easily be enough to convert discretionary income into immovable physical assets. In addition, his son's job facilitated access to formal housing finance. Indeed, they took a loan, and by pooling family resources, the investment in the adjacent house is financially feasible.

I was taken by surprise a second time when, during the interview, I came to know that this is not their first such move. Five years ago, the family invested in a 2BHK apartment in Kharghar, a thriving neighbourhood in Navi Mumbai located about half an hour by train from Govandi station. During the interview, they state that they bought the apartment, not with the intention to move in, but as a property investment. Since his business and his son's job are located in Shivajinagar, and his daughter and grandchildren also live here, the location is highly desirable. In the future, they might move into the 'building'[49] when they quit the chai business.

48 The results suggest that his income was about three to four times higher than indicated.

49 The word 'building' carries a notion of a civilised environment. While the immediate neighbours suggest that this is a comfortable community, the overall population in Shivajinagar is perceived to be deteriorating due to the increase in drug and alcohol use and criminality, making the area particularly unsuitable to raise children. This perspective is widely shared by the Hindu communities, which feel pressure from the "daily growing" Muslim community.

Meanwhile, the neighbour, who sold the house to the Chaiwala, made into reality, what Satish is still dreaming of and the Chaiwala is considering for a distant future. He moved to a formal 'building' in Kamothe Village, a neighbouring area of Kharghar, in Navi Mumbai. For the first four years, he rented the Shivajinagar house to two of his nephews with their respective families, one on each floor. When he sold the property, he did not want his nephews to be evicted, so he placed the condition that the future landlord will keep them as tenants. His long-term neighbour agreed. While the original tenants could stay when the ownership was transferred, the Chaiwala nevertheless slightly increased the rent. However, the house was soon entirely reconstructed with the addition of internal toilets. Consequently, the rent was increased by another thirty per cent to market level. During the construction, the tenants were temporarily housed elsewhere in the vicinity, and a year after the interview, they still stay in the same house, arguably at a higher rent. Already before, but certainly after the conversion the two-storey house in Shivajinagar is more lucrative, yielding a total rent of 7000 Rupees, than the Kharghar apartment in the formal housing colony, which only fetches 5000 Rupees a month.

As families invest in physical assets in Shivajinagar, they buy additional houses to capitalise on (excess) money and generate further income. Thereby houses are physically transformed and use altered often along with a change from owner occupation to rental spaces. In the case of our Chaiwala, the house was completely rebuilt improving living conditions by extending the ceiling height and installing internal toilets. The well-established networks of long-term residents, such as those of the Chaiwala, facilitate access to investment opportunities. The familiarity within the community allowed reacting to constraining conditions like maintaining the current tenants. In the case of the Chaiwala, the landlord lives next door and maintains a sound relationship, which was built over several years with the current tenants and the former owner, to whom they are related. Their close, personal and community ties might save the tenants from being pushed out too fast. These personal and spatial relationships probably also ensured the improvement of their house. Currently, this suits both the landlord and the tenants. However, not all tenants can build on such close personal and spatial relationships with their landlord. It is quite common for landlords to reside outside of Shivajinagar and maintain only loose personal connections to their tenants. Furthermore, rents are often increased annually, making it more difficult to permanently settle down and build community ties, as demonstrated in the case of Dinesh and Begum.

Landlords often extend their house by an additional floor, which they rent out. The physical condition of such additional floors depends on the owner's financial means and those of potential tenants, correlating with the location within Shivajinagar. Towards

the poorer parts of the settlements, these rental spaces are often built in katcha material (Figure 21). In the case of Shivajinagar this are usually corrugated metal sheets placed on wooden frames. While these rental spaces offer a low-cost housing option for newly arriving migrants and the poorer population, the living conditions are usually lower than those of the landlord.

Figure 21 Semi-Pakka construction
Rental space on the upper floor with external access, built in katcha material.

While in 'classical' speculation, real estate is bought and sold purely for financial gain, and turnover hinges on financial cycles and timely return of investment, the buying and selling of houses in Shivajinagar is usually linked to an individual household's changing fortune. While the former is often not inhabited – to which the infamous 400'000 vacant apartments of Mumbai presumably belong (Indorewala 2016) – or not (yet) built[50] when profits are raked in, houses in Shivajinagar rarely remain empty for long. As financial means are limited, homeowners cannot wait a long time for a return of investment, and houses are put on the market. Informants affirm that 'classical' speculation, where houses are bought and resold within a few months with a hefty

50 See, for example, Vivek Kaul (2015) for the astonishing dimension 'saving' in physical assets has attained all over India. And a vivid account of the mechanism of such speculative development in peri-urban areas can be found in Subramanian (2011). Also a wealth of literature has been developed around the at times spectacular speculative development at Gurgaon (eg. Gururani 2013; Narain 2009).

profit margin, do exist in Shivajinagar, it was not possible to verify them in the span of this research.

Concerned with distinguishing these two kinds of speculation, Echanove and Srivastava (2011) call on the differentiation of use and exchange value. In opposition to the speculative city, which deals with urban space as a commodity merely fixed on its exchange value, the intensive city is produced through processes based on use-value. Local economy activities, including the production of housing, form the basis of what they termed the 'intensive city'. Nevertheless, this focus on use value does not exclude speculative activities in Mumbai's intensive city:

> Dharavi is full of speculative investment by its residents, who see in their houses an important asset that can acquire value over time. Entrepreneurs are also investing in their stock, speculating on upcoming sales. The incremental development of Dharavi is contingent on a certain speculative bet on the future by all its residents and entrepreneurs. (Echanove and Srivastava 2011)

Echanove and Srivastava defend the use value of space as the overriding if not sole value that governs spatial production, including and particularly in respect to housing, in Mumbai's slums and elsewhere (Echanove and Srivastava 2013c; Echanove and Srivastava 2011). This is in as far true, as houses are put to use quickly and rarely lie idle. Conversely, I would argue that the exchange value of houses in Shivajinagar is definitely taken into consideration by residents when housing decisions are made: rent seeking and optimising financial engagement are not foreign to them. It is important to note that until a speculative profit is realised, intermediate return of investment is included into the calculation, likely rendering the speculative dimension possible in the first place.

The second hypotheses on which the intensive city is built – that such markets remain predominantly local – is to a certain extent undermined by their own more recent research on circulatory urbanism (Echanove and Srivastava 2013d; Echanove and Srivastava 2014). These studies point to the interconnectedness of spaces across sometimes long distances and definitely across what is commonly called the 'urban/ rural divide'. In line with studies on migration and multi-locational livelihood strategies (Deshingkar and Farrington 2009), they observe social change in both destinations of temporary migrants, which goes hand-in-hand with the physical transformation of their habitats. As the example given above shows, residents of Shivajinagar not only build and transform houses at the place of their urban home and rural 'origin', but also invest in 'formal' housing.

Obviously, 'speculation', such as described above, is limited to the finances households are able to mobilise, which rarely stretch beyond a few houses. I would like to put

forward the point that it is not that Shivajinagar's residents are primarily engaging in real estate speculation, but they are taking advantage of opportunities the housing market offers, within Shivajinagar and beyond, and based on their financial resources. I am also not intending to characterise speculation in slums and set it apart from other kinds of speculation that transforms the city. Rather, I would like to point out that residents purposefully leverage houses as financial vehicles to improve, secure, and bet on their financial future. Nevertheless, such real estate speculation, or the sheer possibilities thereof, orients how – among other dimensions – residents perceive and leverage housing. Regardless of whether it is within reach of individual households or not, this adds to the multiple and oscillating meanings housing and its production carries.

Speculating on redevelopment

In addition to 'speculation' based on the growing demand for space, there is another level of speculative activity that is informed by factors beyond the neighbourhood. As for any slum in Mumbai, there is the possibility that Shivajinagar could be declared to undergo rehabilitation at any time. Given its location next to major transport connections, the chances for redevelopment are highly rated by some residents. An example of a redevelopment just across the major crossroad seems to underpin this assessment. While some approve of it, others discuss strategies for this case, and yet others have already made provision for it. Regardless of the likelihood of this redevelopment, the sheer possibility influences decisions in actual housing activities.

One day, my informant told me in confidence that preparations for redevelopment have started. He further informed me what would happen: in order to benefit, people would subdivide their houses and forge fake ownership documents to be eligible for two apartments in the rehabilitation building. In a mixture of excitement about possible profits and moral righteousness, he explained that he would be able to do so as well. His family would possesses the necessary contacts within the municipality to get a second home officially registered. However, his sense of justice would not permit him to do so. Another man had less scruples, as he had been betting on redevelopment for a long time. He constructed a small temple on the common space, which surrounds the community toilets. After having the temple officially recorded as a religious building, it fell into disrepair and people started to use it as a dumping ground. In fact the respective person did so in order to claim a room for the temple in the redevelopment if it ever happened.

6.3 Between community and commodity

Unsurprisingly, housing in Shivajinagar and similar settlements serve multiple functions. Houses perform as homes, places of production, spaces for income generation, commercial locations, or even as economic vehicles. Often these 'functions' cannot be separated neatly. Typically, houses are the place where these multiple functions are carried out. These functions can occur at the same time, and often alternate or shift from one to the other over different moments in the year, month, day, or even within the same hour. Such multipurpose use is a central characteristic of houses. Seemingly blurred boundaries between functions – otherwise conceptualised as discrete and irreconcilable – are condensed and highlighted under the condition of economic and spatial scarcity in many neighbourhoods in Mumbai. However, they are not restricted to slums in cities of the global South but are a of feature many habitats around the globe (Echanove and Srivastava 2009) and in fact rather an expression of the contemporary entrepreneurial economy than a specific characteristic of urban poverty (Echanove 2012; Echanove and Srivastava 2011). What might be pronounced in settlements like Shivajinagar, in contrast to other habitats, is the extended possibility of transformation and adaptation of its built environment. In this process, houses are purpose and object of improvement.

Housing transformation is closely related to important changes in domestic life, such as the birth of children or marriage. Such changes in household composition might trigger home improvement, such as in preparation for marriage or in order to grant some privacy to teenage children. Beyond such domestic dimensions, houses are used for income generation offering space and opportunity for commercial or productive activates. Generated profit is often reinvested in the house, improving the possibility for income generation, the space for domestic use, and the diversification of income sources, such as renting out additional rooms. While such rental possibilities are often granted to those with familial or communal ties, rental spaces might also pave the way for rent seeking activities.

Strategic, and sometimes speculative, investment in housing within and beyond informal settlements does not neatly fit into the image of resident-driven development, where owner-residents inhabit self-built homes, challenging both the notion of 'slum dweller' that simply dwells and incremental development as a function of domestic change. Places like Shivajinagar are better described as highly competitive where local speculation co-exists and competes with development driven by domestic logistics. Saving in physical assets, like gold and houses – as a last resort for old age or as an intermediated investment in rental housing to move elsewhere – are one way in which houses are leveraged. Renting rooms or entire houses is another way of improving

one's financial situation. The latter might or might not lead to a tragedy of the commons or exacerbation of tenants' situation, as both situations can be found side by side in the same neighbourhood. While in the case of Shivajinagar, speculative activities rest by and large on local capital, real estate markets in formal and informal areas are linked and revenues flow in both ways.

Dwelling, production, and rent seeking are inherent parts of the ways in which houses are utilised in Shivajinagar and similar settlements. Houses are built, maintained, extended, and transformed for all these reasons. It is the malleability of the built environment, which allows for the ease of change between all kinds of functions, switching between exchange value and use value. It is the constant adaptation and transformation of individual buildings, which allows families to cope with setbacks, such as leveraging a room as rental space. It is the possibility of individual development that allows the use of the house as both a means of production and a product, enabling social upward mobility. As such, buildings are employed in many ways and leveraged for their own transformation. This allows users of various capabilities to participate in this transformation process. It is the heterogeneity of users, functions, and forms of development, along with the malleability of the built environment, which characterises incremental urbanism.

7 The shared wall – about the linearization of boundaries

Accounts of informal settlements are abundant with descriptions of blurred and shifting boundaries, where domestic activities spilling over onto streets merge apparently seamlessly with commercial activities and small-scale production in workshops. Most western visitors of informal settlements – including myself – are fascinated by such apparently confusing boundaries between private and public space, which cannot be differentiated easily or kept separate for long. It has been argued that this confusion rests on a western conceptualization of open spaces which do not fit with Indian realities (Arabindoo 2010).

While the clear-cut distinctions between private and public form the basis of urban planning as it developed in western cities (Lorrain 2013) it is a rather recent development in human history. Born out of the desire to describe (and order) the world without ambiguity, modernist planning reduced the multidimensional concept of boundaries to a territorial dimension (Wokart 1995). Consequently subdivision, and the allocation of use, as well as the clear-cut distinction between public and private spaces are primary operation of most planning efforts. As such they are at odds with non-linear forms of differentiating the territory, such as diffuse and shifting boundaries or boundaries of a certain depth. For Claude Raffestin (1980), the linear boundary is the fundament of the modernist rational conception of the world. For him linearization is the historical observed and still on-going process of transforming extended boundaries – i.e. the border as zone such as for examples forest, which protected medieval towns – into linear boundaries. According to Raffestin, this process forms the basis of the modern rationalization of ordering and governing territories, informing the fundamental planning practices of subdivision and zoning. In this process boundaries lose their depth and with it ambiguity and become rigid, which is the necessary condition for unrestricted authority over a given territory an autonomy in its development.

In their review on the concept of boundaries, as used in social science, Lamont and Molnar (2002) differentiate between social boundaries and symbolic boundaries: "Symbolic boundaries are *conceptual* distinctions made by social actors to *categorize* objects, people, practices and even time and space. They are tools […] to agree upon definitions of reality." And they continue: "Social boundaries are *objectified* forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities" (M. Lamont and Molnar 2002, 168 emphasis in original). Hence symbolic boundaries are a necessary but insufficient

condition of social boundaries. This distinction facilitates a focus on the relation between the two dimensions and particularly on the production of boundaries. Analysing the production process of boundary making, including its material dimension allows investigating how the relation to the other is shaped: Between individuals and between individuals and the community.

Building walls

The walls which separate houses are the material manifestation of such boundaries between households. In that sense they are the social boundary that reflects and produces distinct entities and fixes them in a spatial arrangement. They participate in the definition what is yours and what is mine. In respect of the topic of this research this is important, as the question of autonomy is crucial to the independent and individual development of houses. What I can do inside my house and how I can alter it. Katherine Boo's (2012) drama of "Life, Death and Hope in a Mumbai Slum" – the subtitle of her award-winning novel *Behind the beautiful forevers* –builds on the dispute over such a shared wall. It tells the story about the uncertainty and persisting differences in perspectives over what exactly happened that day when the modification of a shared wall changed the destiny of the respective neighbours and in a series of subsequent events upsetting the entire community. Neighbourhood disputes over spatial boundaries and their unpleasant consequences are certainly not confined to slum settlements. In that sense, Boo's book is a story of everyday life of many neighbours, regardless of the context they live. However, the architectural element triggering the dispute, a wall shared between two houses, respectively its modification is easily associated with self-built neighbourhoods of the poorer. While the wall in Boo's story is shaky and eventually crumbles, the shared wall is often conceptualized as at once an element of conserving finite resources like space, material and funds and epitomizing mutual support. As such, the shared wall is the architectural embodiment of the conception of a sustainable built environment encompassing environmental, social and financial dimensions.

Indeed the shared wall is a common architectural element in Shivajinagar, yet again not as common as one might think. By far not every wall is shared. The situation currently found in the neighbourhood, with a mix of shared and double walls, speaks to the individual history of each house. While abutting one-storey houses usually share a wall, this situation becomes rare as houses are growing taller and are rebuilt as the settlement is establishing over time. In most cases two storey houses possess a double wall on the ground floor, and a shared one on the first. The reason for this solution is said to be static. However, brick walls in the commonly used structural configuration are infillings and are not load bearing: the concrete columns take the entire load of the

slab and the higher floors. Further double walls usually are not interconnected, but two separate walls, thus not considerably stronger then as single wall.

Negotiating boundaries

The re-construction of Vishal's house is in many senses quite exemplary. He shared the wall with his neighbour on the left on the first floor, and the ground floor featured a double wall. To the right, there was always a double wall. After the slabs, the front and back of the old house have been taken down, the owner decides, at the suggestion of the contractor, to take down the wall he shares with his left neighbour on the first floor and his side of the double wall on the ground floor (Figure 22 and Figure 23). There were quite some doubts about the existing construction which consisted not of two – one for each neighbour – but three interconnected beams, which supported the former slabs and the shared wall. It was argued that the old wall might not be strong enough to take the load of an additional floor and due to the shifting ground it is not straight anymore. But most importantly, doubling the existing wall would result in a loss of space. When every inch becomes valuable on the small plots of 10 by 15 feet, replacing a wall is the preferred solution.

The neighbour does not complain and lives with this discomfort during the construction. A blue plastic canvas protects from dust and sight. Temporary wooden scaffolding supports his roof until the new shared wall would be erected. They plan to re-build their house in about two years, after their daughter has passed the board exams. This is also the timeframe within which they assume that their house will be sunken one foot below the street level. The two neighbours will share the cost of the new wall. After all, the wall belongs to both of them and both will profit from a sturdy new wall. The neighbour sees this as an investment in their future house. In contrast to the good relationship with the owner family, they are at odds with their other neighbour. As he recently rebuilt his house he decided not to share the walls and doubled them at the cost of space on his own plot.

As the construction goes on, a mishap occurs: the new wall was constructed 2 to 5 inches (about 5 to 13 centimetre), depending on the source, too far on the neighbours parcel. When discovered, the new ground floor wall was already erected, as well as the beam, and the first slab already cast in concrete. Due to the higher plinth and the higher ceiling height of the new building, the ground floor wall reaches about halfway into the neighbour's upper floor. This is also where the boundary violation happened. In reaction to this trespassing, the neighbour mobilises his six brothers and makes a big fuss, threatening to call the police. He requests that the wall and the beam (and with it the slab) have to be removed and the wall shifted. But what was clear, at least for the

Figure 22 Shared wall
The shared wall between two neighbours is taken down to be replaced.

Figure 23 Shared wall - replacing a hard boundary
The shared wall between two neighbours is taken down to be replaced.

contractor who would had have to shoulder the costs, was that taking down the beam is way too costly. The disagreement over future proceedings caused the construction to stop and it was put on hold for almost two weeks. This is quite a long time, if one considers the total estimated construction time of three months.

There are several stories on how the dispute was settled: Ranging from the payment of a financial compensation offered to the neighbour to a counter-dare by the contractor: "If you dare it, take down the wall." The contractor himself tells me that there was no money paid, but that they (he and the owner) promised the neighbour a nice finishing and that he would be allowed to use the wall, when he builds his house. While the exact course of the dispute remains speculative to me, its material and spatial translation is clear. The conflict had its root in a material-technical mishap so it had to find its solution in the same. The violated boundary had to be reinstalled in a way acceptable for both sides. One evening, in a direct confrontation, where maybe some payment and promises or even threats were made, the common boundary was re-adjusted. The responsibility was delegated to a rusty nail, which on that meeting was planted in the slab, marking the centreline of the future shared wall. The very next day the construction was resumed. It was said that particularly skilled masons were hired for that task. They usually build temples and are more expensive than regular day labourers. Nevertheless, the neighbour stayed home to survey the correct execution. Again, there were repeated acts of measuring and provisory laying of bricks. Despite of the nail there remained insecurity over the exact position, so Vishal was called in and the contractor was present, via mobile phone, in order to have everyone's approval. Finally, the spatial relationship was set in brick and mortar and the wall was quickly brought up to settle the dispute as fast as possible. On the way, routinely surpassing other possible objects of confrontation such as the protruding members of the neighbour's roof, which were simply trimmed and incorporated in the raising wall.

Social, symbolic and built boundaries

The shared wall is a story about a seemingly simple project – building a wall between two houses. It shows us how neighbourhood is negotiated in and through materials, and their spatial arrangement. The involved actors are not only the obvious and present owner, neighbour and contractor with his exchanged labourers but also the owner's six brothers, the invoked officials and the social stance of the contractor. We may also add the bricks, the concrete slab and a rusty nail, as well as the unclear spatial and technical situation that stands at the beginning of the dispute. It is about the mobilization and coordination of persons, objects, and labour, which had to be invested to re-create a peaceful living together. But it is also about social and spatial boundary making,

which regulate the relation between individuals and objects and associated autonomy and dependences. The making, maintaining and stabilization of symbolic boundaries, such as the shared wall along with all the necessary investments, underpin the social boundaries that structure society. They regulate the living together by establishing who is allowed to do what on any given territory, such as re-constructing ones house, and the effect this has on the immediate neighbour and the community around.

Figure 24 Shared wall - building a double wall
A the ground floor a double wall is built up. The bricks are layed on the narrow side in order to save space and money. This indicates double walls are not built for higher structural integrity, but for granting independant buildings.

The double wall is an obvious and often used way to avoid such disputes. Everyone builds individually on his own parcel, his own self-supporting and self-containing unit. A tendency to double walls can be observed as residents' social and economic situation improves and houses grow taller. Adding additional floors addresses the need for more space more efficiently then a fight over the width of a brick. Proportionally, the little space lost in doubling the wall up is more than compensated by the gain of an additional floor. It seems that the loss of space – a half brick's width per wall about 10 centimetres – is worth the gain of independence, reduced conflict potential, less necessity of coordination, and of course the (perceived) increase in static stability of the

building (Figure 24). As a result of reducing dependency on others, the responsibility for a sturdy house is taken by the owner, and eventually transferred to the contractor.

Given the malleability of the built environment – i.e. the constant, but not coordinated construction and re-construction of houses, which is linked to changing households and individual needs and ambitions, local conditions of the ground and physical condition of the house – such independence is favourable. While more expensive, the double wall might be the prices a household has to pay for independence and individual freedom. As such it contributes to abet the creation of an individualized society.

The description of the dispute over the shared wall and the tendency to gradual replacement by two independent walls is, admittedly on a small scale, what Claude Raffestin (1980) has conceptualized as the linearization of boundaries. In order to guarantee borders they need to be linearized. Only this allows autonomous exercise of power over ones property, which in our case is the construction of houses. While Raffestin developed his concept in relation to the emergence of (nation) states, it is in principle nevertheless valid for territories owned by individuals, in societies where property rights are valued high. However, the process of boundary making, maintaining and controlling is costly. In this point Raffestin's conceptualization matches well with the concept of investment in form (Thévenot 1984), which states that creation and up-keeping of social relations is given form through constant and costly negotiations. Applied to the example above, the cost of establishing a linear boundary is that of replacing one wall by two walls. There is no common boundary object anymore, but two, of which the outer surfaces (the vertical form of a horizontal linear boundary) touch[51]. By building two walls and paying for it (with labour and space), one eliminates the uncertainties linked with the question who is allowed to do what with the shared wall and the involved cost of negotiation and coordination in case of its transformation.

The involvement of costs of any kind in such a linearization and solidification of boundaries observably privileges the wealthy over the poor, who often cannot afford such doubling up, let alone add another floor. Or formulated the other way round, the poorer members of society are forced into dependency of the wealthier as they consolidate boundaries around them. Such was the case in Halima's family I interviewed in Bainganwadi, whose neighbour recently re-constructed his two-storey house. In this process the shared wall was replaced, and the family was supposed to contribute

51 As I discovered later in my fieldwork there is a truly hidden cost associated with the double wall as they are built in Shivajinagar apart from the loss of space. Ironically it is exactly the space in between the two walls, which potentially becomes costly. Even when labourers carefully try to fill it with rubble, the narrow interstitial gap serve as a home for rats.

their share. Even though they were only living in a ground floor structure built with kutcha material, the neighbour requested them to contribute to the shared wall over two stories. This was way beyond the financial means of this family of five, whose sole earner was the mother. Again, it was the local contractor Rashid who negotiated a bearable deal. They would pay only for the ground floor wall and the upper floor in case they want to extend their house. Further, it was agreed that the family can pay in small instalments and the contractor would act as guarantor, who also collects the money from the family. In a similar case, a roof covered in tiles was severely affected by the reconstruction and the replacement of a shared wall. While the newly constructed house rose three storey high, his neighbour was one of the first houses built when Shivajinagar was established (Figure 25). It was owned and inhabited by an old lady, who was not able to have repaired the roof damaged during construction. At the time of the interview she was living for two years with a dangerously damaged roof and severe leakage during the monsoons. On top, cracks opened in the walls, as the ground started to shift under the weight of the new built neighbouring house.

Figure 25 Individual development
Uneven pace of development among unequal neighbours affects buildings which cannot follow the rhythm.

These examples reflect aspects of the shortcomings of incremental development. Those who cannot keep up the pace potentially suffer from the progress of their successful neighbours. What was common property, the shared wall, is replaced by one party, who not only intend to pass on a part of the involved construction costs to the neighbour but might induce subsequent costs, such as those for repairing the roof. Such observations reflect what critics of an entrepreneurialism perspective of slums bring forward. A too narrow focus on those households which successfully reconstruct their homes, investing their time and money to improve their living condition, easily overlooks that in the very self-empowering process of construction has (negative) effects on neighbours, who might not be able to keep up. The image of the slum dweller as hard working, who makes his way out of poverty – including by leveraging the house as a resource to generate income – "celebrate[s] the few over the many" (McFarlane 2012). This process is characterized by fierce competition in which those who are not entrepreneurial and successful enough are left behind, or worse financial means bound in improvements they cannot afford of maybe their house damaged. Roy (2011) accuses the focus on the entrepreneurial and industrious slum as lopsided perspective, but powerful worlding of slums among others through popular culture and tourism. Such emphasis on production and development not only disguises those negative effects but also blames those who are not entrepreneurial enough.

The demarcation, linearization and hardening of spatial boundaries, which we can observe in the construction of houses in settlements like Shivajinagar, thus might be understood as part of an advancing process of individualization of territories and personal spaces, and liberalisation in the sense of shedding traditional dependences and community bonds. Certainly Shivajinagar is a particular case, other then 'naturally' grown slums it is built on parcels with linear boundaries[52]. Hence we might rather consider the tendency to double walls as necessary step in realising the potential of the pre-conceived linear boundaries, which is the freedom to act on one's own property.

From a planning perspective, the described boundary dispute is characterised by the absence – or maybe lack of consideration – of 'absolute' reference points to gauge the exact position of that boundary line between the two plots. The later is quite telling, as – from a planners perspective – it points to the incompleteness of the tools at hand within Shivajinagar. From that perspective, these missing crucial elements allow disputes to be resolved by referring to and establishing 'absolute' measurement. However, it does not matter if the plots and their dimension exist on a plan or in reality, or only in the

52 This is not to say that transgressing plot boundaries in layouts with irregular plot shapes does not exist. Or even that the described phenomena is predominately or exclusively a phenomena of poor neighbourhoods. In fact the stubborn and intricate reality of construction is prone to such events. From experience as architect such events are more often then commonly assumed even and despite of highly formalised and professionalised construction practices in technological 'advanced' society, such as in Switzerland.

head of residents in Shivajinagar. The knowledge about the 'exact' dimension of each house is the reference point. Whether the exact dimension were abided in the first place or not[53].

Responding to site-specific and adapting to local conditions, incremental urbanism, as found in Shivajinagar, is a mode of urban development, which is based on individual initiatives. Thus it is not surprising to find trajectories, which point towards autonomous and competitive relations among households, which among others manifest in spatial relations. While not a necessity, the double wall as a (spatial and social) disentangling measure facilitates such incremental development, as it furthers the tendencies and lays the technic-material basis of self-containing and independent processes of housing production. The exercise of sovereign power to transformation and autonomously develop houses according to ones needs and ambitions rest to a certain extent on individual property. Such a trajectory to individualization fits well with, and probably is even a condition of, a developing market-led urbanisation. The creation of spatially and materially independency of houses and other goods alongside their conceptualization as transferable objects is an essential precondition for the creation of markets.

Holding on to the shared wall as is the case in the given example might hint at the continuous existence of strong neighbourhood and kinship bonds, and probably also at restricted financial possibilities. In places like Shivajinagar both situations exist side-by-side and even within the same house. Built with one shared and one double wall, Vishal's house then becomes the paradigm for incremental development, where competitive relations between individuals and some kind of indifference to the neighbours' fate exist alongside the will and necessities as well as the tools to find consensual solutions. The same is valid for the spatial and material dimensions, which co-determine the relations between neighbours. Some of them continue to work as zone with shared responsibility and others are linearized.

53 My measurements often indicated deviations beyond the width of a brick.

8 Mediating incremental urbanisation

The motivations for building are various and as diverse as the residents of Shivajinagar. They range from the immediate need to rebuild a house due to a collapsed wall (Babu), to the investment of excess money (Chaiwala), or to enlargement the home because of a growing family. This same home could also house a business, and the family would benefit from enlarging it to increase chances on the marriage market (Vishal). In addition, growing children may need a private study room. While the residents might be generally responsible for the initiative to (re-) build, peer pressure from neighbours must not be neglected.

Not only in Shivajinagar, building a house is a complex task, and an entire service sector has emerged around the provision of housing. Most of my interviewees recall that, in the early phases of Shivajinagar, houses were built by the dwellers themselves. There were a few exceptions, where workers of the slaughterhouse were allotted single-storey buildings. While auto-construction continues to exist, particularly – but not only – in the poorer peripheries, today, most of the houses are constructed by highly-organised, small-scale enterprises. Furthermore, many homes are not just enlarged by another room but undergo complete reconstruction. The key figures engaged in building houses in neighbourhoods like Shivajinagar are the so-called contractors.[54] As central mediators in the process of constructing houses, they mediate between labourers, clients, neighbours, community, and state agents. While erecting houses and assuring they withstand physical and social pressure, contractors make urban development possible as well as furthering their own interests. By navigating technical difficulties; client demands; and legal, political, and economical constraints, they not only build, but create the social space of incrementally-developing neighbourhoods.

What we observe in Shivajinagar, and other similar settlements, is an elaborate network of dependencies on multiple actors with various specialisations involved in the production the built environment. It is a process of professionalisation and specialisation, which is continuously replacing more direct – personal or embodied – forms of engagement with the built environment. For example, mutual support is granted in financial terms rather than in sweat equity.

Such observations do not neatly fit with theories developed and largely discussed in the sixties and seventies, notably by John Turner (Turner 1967; Turner and Fichter 1972) and Abrams (Abrams 1964), and have since continued to inform not only popular

54 In my fieldwork, I did not come across, or hear of any female contractor. With the exception of one woman, who inherited the business of labour contracting and RCC-work from her husband, this is also true for sub-contractors. Hence, I might use the male gender when referring to contractors in general.

understandings of the development of slums and informal settlements around the world. In essence, these conceptualisations revolve around slowly-consolidating housing as and when the financial possibilities of the residents allow, which occurs in accordance with their preferences and needs. Along with this, housing in slums is perceived as primarily constructed by the slum dwellers themselves – i.e. auto-construction as a dweller-driven process. The consolidation process, including the act of land occupation described by Turner, at least in the early writings from Peru, is characterised by collective action and mutual help. To underpin and widen the scope, Turner's argument in favour of dweller-driven development suggests that is not of importance that occupants build their houses themselves. It is important, however, that dwellers are in control of the construction and building process (Turner and Fichter 1972). Such a conceptualisation of housing production rests on an imaginary slum dweller, who is at the same time owner, occupier, and builder. He is (or should be) in control over the house in which he dwells. This conceptualisation is owing to its historical and geographical context; for Turner, this is Peru in the 1960s.[55]

Akin to Turner's ideas of owner-driven urbanisation at the time of creation, and indeed a product of the contemporary discourse, development trajectories in settlements like Shivajinagar have considerably evolved. Today's urbanisation processes in areas, which have consolidated over almost forty years and where a fairly professionalised housing production thrives, challenge the idea of a merely dweller-driven development. With the emergence of actors, such as the contractor, the picture inevitably becomes more complex. It would be quite surprising – although not impossible – if we would be able to neatly integrate the contractor in a model of dweller-driven development, that is, the contribution of contractors is not altering (positively or negatively) the process of housing production. In other words, their functions could be allocated differently among the involved actors, such as within the dwellers themselves, without changing the process or the outcome. The existence of contractors as a distinctly-identified occupation tells us that they indeed play a specific role, which residents cannot or do not want to exercise. We cannot reduce the contractor to the sole function of an executioner of construction – a sort of a master craftsman lending a hand in the technically difficult task of building a house, who, corresponding to Turner's conceptualisation, performs in the full sense of the house owner. We need to consider whether contractors enable the construction of houses by the power of their technical knowledge. Do they impose their idea of development and good housing? Or, are they solely fostering their own profit? Do they make the social network of regulations navigable? Or all of the above?

55 See, for example, Bromley (2003) for a discussion of how the specific context influenced Turner's ideas about aided self-help housing.

8.1 Of contractors and intermediaries

If we want to understand the character of urban development in Shivajinagar, and choose to adopt a lens of housing production, then we need to understand the role of anyone – not only dwellers' needs and preferences – involved in building and the complex interplay among multiple actors. Given the central position contractors come to play in this process, a focus on their role as a point of convergence allows us to consider the diverse actors and their relations. If we further understand urbanisation as a process, then we need to look at the mediators of this process. Contractors are not simply understood as mediators in and of a larger process; the static understandings commonly associated with occupations are such that the contractor contracts, the architect draws, the builder builds, and the buyer buys. By framing the activities of contractors as mediation, their work takes on relational and performative dimensions. For example, the terminology developed in what was termed 'sociology of translation' (Callon 1986; Latour 1996) allows accounting for the complex mediation contractors engage in when they construct houses. We might, for example, interpret that contractors translate clients' needs, wishes, aspirations, and worries as well as financial assets into future space and spatial configurations. Such interpretation is complemented by intermediate and simultaneous translation of the same into hours and days of work, wages for labourers, cost of material, and, indeed, into profit, both in monetary form and prestige, which may translate into future contracts. Furthermore the state regulatory system, such as building regulations is translated into a workable and malleable framework, which has to be interpreted in a way that accounts for all involved actors. It is such an extended understanding of the complex activities of contractors that are implied in the transformation and improvement of settlements like Shivajinagar; this research contributes to a better understanding of the processes of incremental development.

In the ever-shifting reality of settlements like Shivajinagar, where informalities and formalities better are seen as constantly in-formation (Thévenot 1984; Echanove 2013), the mediator is an ubiquitous figure who plays an important, if not often necessary, role in mitigating uncertainties and risks. In many aspects, the mediation of the contractor resembles the work of intermediaries omnipresent in Indian society, of which, in various forms and under diverse names, are the objects of much research. As dalal, broker, middleman, and tout or fixer, they populate rural and urban space as well as academic literature (e.g. Reddy and Haragopal 1985; Corbridge, Srivastava and Véron 2005; Mosse and Lewis 2006; Sud 2014; Cook 2015). Therefore, brokers operate on local, national, or international levels, and they mediate between people, the state, and diverse market actors, or even between brokers of different types. Migration and access to labour markets are prominent examples where broker operate (Mosse, Gupta,

and Shah 2005 on seasonal construction labours). In respect to urbanisation, land and housing markets are formidable playgrounds for brokers of all sort (Sud 2014; Cook 2015). Not to forget political brokers, of which slum leaders (Auerbach and Thachil 2016) are just one manifestation.

Regardless of their name, intermediaries, such as contractors, mediate between two, or multiple, 'worlds' to which they have privileged access. This bridging function is seen as both enabling and as a reason for suspicion. Indeed, the double-sided characteristic of middlemen, and their brokerage activity, is a central concern of many studies: "[o]n the one hand, brokerage has the capacity to ease social interaction, enhance economic activity, and facilitate political development. On the other hand, brokerage often breeds exploitation, the pursuit of personal profit, corruption, and the accumulation of power; through these and other processes, brokerage can exacerbate existing inequalities" (Stovel and Shaw 2012, 140). While this conflicting trait is inherent in how intermediaries, including contractors, are perceived by those who engage with him, it is not the aim of this study to characterise their work either as either liberating or restraining. The scope of this research would not allow such an inquiry, as individual cases might be too specific. It is of interest, however, to examine the register in which such brokerage exists, i.e. the base for relations with contractors. Thus, I focus on the kind of relationship between the contractor and his client. This focus allows the investigation of shifting modes of trust that characterises contractors' work.

8.1.1 How to interpret the mediator

Lewis and Mosse (Mosse and Lewis 2006), in their contribution to the anthropology of development, employ the notion of 'translation' (Callon 1986; Latour 2005) to stress the performative role of mediators. They write against the common perception in development discourse of brokers as "parasites" and as "by-products of the situation, entrepreneurial agents of the 'developmentalist configuration'" (Mosse and Lewis 2006, 1:13). Instead, they focus on a performative interpretation of brokers. Such an approach shifts the perspective from an understanding of the contractor as – to paraphrase Mosse and Leweis – navigating and strategising *within* existing development patterns, to how urban transformation becomes real through the work of "mutual enrolment and interlocking of interests" created by the contractor's activities of translation.

This focus on the making of the social is exactly what the economy of convention postulates. The analysis of the creation, maintenance, and transformation of conventions is central to their study on what makes economies work. In fact, if we understand the work of intermediaries as that they make markets work, we assume an a priori existing, although constraint, market. In the conceptualisation of an economy of convention,

markets are created, maintained, and transformed among others through the work of intermediaries. In order to create an economy or a market, one needs conventions. For example, to determine a price, one has to differentiate something as an object. Hence, one needs a system of evaluation to establish what an object is and how it is embedded in broader relations, such as relations of ownership and exchange. For instance, in order to sell land, one has to delineate and turn it into (private) property – a process commonly known as entitlement. If one has established enough conventions, one can expand an economic strategy. Therefore, one has attained a position that allows one to make calculations based on the elements at disposal. Accordingly, the economy of convention is the study of everything that makes economies function as economies. The argument is not that economies are something that is made up, but that there is a process, which produces economies and markets (Callon 1999). Consequently, this question arises: what is the nature of the markets produced by contractors?

In their article, Stovel and Shaw (2012) examine the structural variations of brokerage networks and propose two dimensions – *bias* and *cohesion* – to characterise different typologies. While "bias refers to the extent to which the broker is relationally, socially, or informationally closer to one party than the other, whereas cohesion describes the level of internal solidarity or cohesion among sets of actors linked by the broker" (Stovel and Shaw 2012, 142). Therefore, 'bias' describes the broker belonging to either of the groups or holding a neutral position, and 'cohesion' refers to the degree of interrelation within either of the groups. Their conceptualisation, although rigid, is useful, in as far as it draws attention to two relevant (structural) dimensions of brokerage and its possible variations. While the question of cohesion lies beyond the scope of this research, the contractor's relational closeness to the community to which he caters is of crucial importance to assess his activities. Of course, such embeddedness of contractors within a community is a question of perception, and internal community distinctions and networks might decide if a particular contractor is considered as 'one of us'. This becomes evident when a familial relative contractor is preferred over an 'outside' contractor. I attempt to assess this bias through analysing the way in which the trust relationship between contractors and clients is built.

Secondly, Stovel and Shaw look at the nature of brokerage outcome and the subsequent relational changes between the involved actors. Hence, they differentiate between catalyst and middleman. While the middleman "facilitates flows of goods or resources", the catalyst is "oriented toward creating new connections between previously unconnected others" (Stovel and Shaw 2012, 145). While the middleman remains in the middle as he "does not bring the transacting parties into direct contact with one another" the catalyst, in contrast, "brings otherwise unconnected parties into direct relation with one another" (Stovel and Shaw 2012, 146). Catalysts change the

structure of the network as each act of brokerage closes the gap across which the link was established. This is important to show how benefits from brokerage are made and how this influences perception of the broker by those who employ his service. While contractors have catalysing effects, in the sense that they enable and accelerate development, they rarely change the network of relation dependencies.

In respect to the contractor's association to either of the group, or what Stovel and Shaw term 'bias and cohesion', these questions arise: is the contractor part of the state or the local community? Does he act as a gatekeeper or an enabler? Or even running some kind of shadow government, as one of the administrative officers describes contractor Rashid's activities. If we locate the contractor within the community, he could either work as a resident representative vis-à-vis the state, or he could be conceptualised as independent, private enterprise, profiting from the poor. As such, the contractor business is just another profit-driven company. Predictably, the reality is more complex and such generalised allocations of roles, if possible at all, are more reductive than revealing. Rather, we have to examine the practices of contractors and how they transform the built environment and engage with their clients, labourers, and state representatives. We have to investigate how capitalist models penetrate the daily actions of contractors instead of pegging contractors as the drivers of capitalist expansion or patrons of clientelistic community. Building practices exist in most – contemporary and historic – societies, and so do markets. However, they do adhere to different principles and rest on different relations between members of that society. The relation of trust is one of the fundamental elements that characterise the relations between contractors and house owners.

8.2 The construction of trust

In real estate transactions – particularly at the pre-building stage – trust can be built by brochures and air-conditioned cars with which potential buyers are ferried to construction sites-to-be (Subramanian 2011; Cook 2015). This is the work of those who Ian Cook calls agents: "Agents work exclusively for a single developer" and "are not only selling the property, but also the developer, as people must trust that the construction will be completed" (Cook 2015, 296). In fact their primary task is to build the trust on which a deal rests. Such trust is generated through investment in objects, modes of conduct, and equipment, such as offices, cars, or brochures, which transmit professional trustworthiness. We will later address how trust is produced in the case of the contractor. In a way, the contractor is much closer to those 'agents', than the brokers. These brokers, who feature at centre of Cook's interest, are primarily housing brokers of existing and previously-rented/owned property. They earn a living from bringing together renter/buyer with landlord/seller, and are brokers in the 'classical'

term of men-in-the-middle – or middlemen, as Stovel and Shaw define them, working in a market characterised by unequal distribution of information. They engage, to use Cook's term, in *link-work* – i.e. "making, breaking and stimulating links with various parities" (Cook 2015, 293). As such links are 'owned' and 'transferred' between brokers, they become a kind of property. The primary difference between the broker as man-in-the-middle and the contractor is that the latter is also the producer of the 'objects'. Indeed, contractors do not only leverage 'links', but they sell the link *and* the house. This is not to say that contractors do not engage in brokerage. Indeed, they do in as far as they do not directly bring together their clients with the municipality or even with the labourers. Here, contractors remain middlemen. Therefore, contractors cannot be reduced to simple link-work, as in bringing together buyer and seller. Their role as the producer is of crucial importance to understand their contribution to incremental development of neighbourhoods in Mumbai.

The notion of trust is interesting, as there are different ways that trust can be built. This allows the differentiation between various relational settings and better characterisation of contractors' mediating work. For Anthony Giddens (2008), trust is what holds society together; he identifies a major shift in the way trust is built in what he terms pre-modern society and modern societies. Giddens characterises the nature of 'modernity',[56] in contrast to 'pre-modern' societies, as disembedding, that is, "the 'lifting out' of social relations from the local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-spaces" (Giddens 2008, 21). Such disembedding happens by the use of symbolic tokens, such as money and expert systems. They are both means of "bracketing time-space" – i.e. establishing social relations beyond and across a particular place and time of exchange – by "providing 'guarantees' of expectations across distanciated time-spaces" (Giddens 2008, 28). As such, disembedding mechanisms, symbolic tokens, and expert systems rest upon trust relations. With the emergence and proliferation of symbolic tokens and expert systems, the nature of trust relations has changed along with the nature of risk.

56 The term 'modernity' stands at the centre of much debate in postcolonial scholarship, as 'modernity' is an analytical concept establishing hierarchies of modern and pre-modern conditions, linking them to specific spaces and societies all the while furthering a 'developmentalist' trajectory. Gurminder Bhambra (2007), for example, argues that modernity as a sociological concept emerged, developed, and still largely remains linked to Europe as place of its invention and realisation. As such 'others', and in particular, colonialised 'others', are not considered as contributing to it. However, according to Bhambra, it is among 'others' colonialism, which made the conditions in which 'modernity' was created. Failing to acknowledge such 'connected histories', she states, underpins the Eurocentric theorisation of 'modernity' and suppresses possible colonial perspectives. In order to remain true to the source in respect to the account of Giddens conceptualisation of trust, I will use the terms 'modernity', 'modern', and 'pre-modern' as he employs them. In contrast to Giddens' claim that most of today's society lives in condition of modernity where trust prevails in abstract systems, I would argue that an intricate amalgamation of facework and faceless commitments are the rule not only for habitats in the global South, but also probably across western and non-western societies.

In order to pin down what he calls the "substance of trust relations", Giddens distinguishes between *facework commitments* and *faceless commitments*: "[t]he former refers to trust relations which are sustained by or expressed in social connections established in circumstances of copresence. The second concerns the development of faith in symbolic tokens and expert systems" (Giddens 2008, 80). The prevalence of facework, or trust in persons, is what distinguishes 'pre-modern' from 'modern' conditions. However, facework is not absent in 'modern' societies. Abstract systems are – partially and temporarily – re-embedded in the form of what Giddens calls access points, which link abstract systems to the specificity of time and space. Such access points are, for example, experts, who, by engaging in facework, allow ordinary people to put trust in abstract systems. In 'modern' society, the increase in labour division and professionalisation indicates that almost everyone is necessarily a layman in most of his or her activities. It is exactly this trust in abstract systems, which characterises 'modern' society. The differentiation of modes in building trust – facework commitments vs. faceless commitments or trust in persons vs. trust in abstract systems – allow us to characterise the relations on which contractors base their work.

By relating Giddens' idea of how trust is built to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) conceptualisation of multiple orders of worth allows us to differentiate further the contractor-client relationship, and we can be more precise on the articulation between the market and the domestic world, which are at work within the contractor.

"In pre-modern cultures […] the level of time-space distanciation is relatively low" and trust and risk are "anchored in local circumstances of place" (Giddens 2008, 100). Giddens identifies four 'contexts', in which trust is embedded: Kinship systems which stabilise social ties across time-space; local communities as a place of familiarity; religious cosmologies as modes of belief and ritual; and traditions which connect past, present, and future by repetition. Invariably, it is the pre-eminence of place, which underlies pre-modern contexts. The contexts of trust, which Giddens relates to 'pre-modern' societies might be associated with the domestic order of worth as conceptualised by Boltanksi and Thévenot, in which tradition is the major ordering principle. In a domestic polity, habitual and familiar relations structure the world: "[i]n contrast the nature of modern institutions is deeply bound up with the mechanism of trust in abstract systems [symbolic tokens and expert systems]" (Giddens 2008, 83). While expert systems are akin to mechanisms, which adhere to an industrial rational, the use of symbolic tokens, such as money, is situated in market logic. Behind Giddens' term 'abstract system' is an intricate composition of an industrial and a market order.

8.2.1 Building on trust and reputation

Construction is almost always a conflictive process. In as far as the construction of houses usually coincides – or is initiated by – important decisions and changes in the life of inhabitants, it is also a time of insecurity. When large sums are invested, long-term commitments (financial as well as to a specific locality and community) are often made, and the contractor becomes the mediator between different phases of life. He somewhat guarantees a smooth transition between a before and an after, hopefully marking a point of improvement in what usually is an intergenerational project. In many cases, families are literally homeless during the time of construction and temporarily rent a place to live. In that moment, the contractor takes the full responsibility for this passage into the future. In Shivajinagar, contractors usually take over full accountability for the construction process and all potential difficulties. For the time of construction, it is the contractor who is liable for everything. Thus, it is not rare that municipal officers on 'rounds' or curious passers-by make inquiries to the contractor rather than the owner of a house that is under construction.

Such arrangements between house owners and contractors demand a lot of trust from the client's side and make the choice of a contractor a crucial one. One entrusts the destiny of one's home, which is often a family's biggest asset, to the contractor — which puts oneself in a position of dependency. Therefore, it is quite common that different contractors are contacted and offers compared. In addition to the price, there are other aspects that are as important. The question remains: on what basis trust is granted? I want to present two usually intertwined aspects of the relationship between the house owner and contractor: trust built on socio-spatial closeness and trust built on reputation.

House owners often speak at length about the choice of the 'right' contractor and his different capacities. When in the end, a (close or distant) relative or a community member gets the job, such comparisons also serve to assure me as the interviewer, as well as oneself retrospectively, about the rightness of the choice made. It is not so surprising that close communal and kinship ties stand at the basis of the relationships between contractor and house owner. It is much easier to trust somebody with whom one shares everyday life, attends religious ceremonies together, or shares the same place of origin, than somebody one rarely knows. Family or friendship ties are the basis of the trust network on which contractor relies (Moitra et al. 2012). Such trust relationships are built over long periods of co-presence – living in the same neighbourhood and facing the same challenges, such as water shortages, and sharing the joy of life when celebrating festivals together and so on.[57] The bond with a contractor can be so close

57 I came to know an opposite version of how this kind of trust is created during my fieldwork. Unsurprisingly (and understandably), I was the subject of multiple discussions, both when present and absent, among those

that alternative contractors are not even considered. For many residents, the relation to the contractor is so proximate and ordinary that this question does not even arise. Hence, certain alleys in Shivajinagar are almost entirely built by one contractor, albeit at different times.

Being acquainted with life in the area – i.e., knowing about its restrictions and possibilities, as well as knowing about possible clients, is one key to a contractor's success. Such relationships, however, are not to be taken as a given, but they are result of work and investment. For the contractor, this means building up close relations to possible clients and investing in community networking. This is only possible through continuous presence in the neighbourhood. In fact, all contractors I came across during my fieldwork live in Shivajinagar or in one of the adjacent settlements. The exception to the rule is the case of Omkar, a successful contractor who actually shifted to a middle-class neighbourhood in Navi Mumbai. In order to sustain his business, he continued to be personally present everyday in the streets and lanes of Shivajinagar from dust till dawn. Different than others, he did not maintain a proper walk-in office for several years, but had an arrangement to use URBZ's office if needed. Omkar relies on the "strength of weak ties" as Granovetter conceptualised the increased outreach of loose acquaintance networks (Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1983). One usually meets him at the Chaiwala[58] in the lane where he used to live and still owns several houses. It is here where he meets friends, business partners, and future clients. It is Omkar's continuous presence that allows him to build and maintain the multiple networks with friends, business partners, clients, and beyond, which essentially enables him to pursue his business. But it is also this continued investment in local resources, which restricts him to expand or shift his business to the place where his family now lives.[59]

The trust network Omkar builds with his past and future clients relies strongly on what Giddens termed facework. It is based on co-presence and familiarity, where the people belonging to the local community and associated contexts of kinship, tradition, and local community. In the same vein, we might allocate the relation within a polity adhering to a domestic order of worth as conceptualised by Boltanksi and Thévenot. However, this does not mean that a domestic dimension necessarily characterises all of Omkar's activities and networks.

The second aspect, which heavily determines a house owner's choice of contractor, is reputation. By reputation, I mean the image a contractor has established for himself as a successful builder, which is directly reflected in the number and kind of houses he

with whom I interacted during my research. One day, I learned about my own reputation from one of my informants. He told me that the contractor I was working with really appreciates my high presence on site as an expression of my interest and also appreciation of his work.

58 The term Chaiwala is used as both as name a person running a tea stall and the place itself.

59 There is likely no construction of the kind Omkar engages in at his new 'home'.

has built. The more houses a contractor successfully has built, the more – future clients can assume – he is backed by political and bureaucratic ties, thus reducing the risk of interference by malevolent individuals, such as envious neighbours or blackmailers.

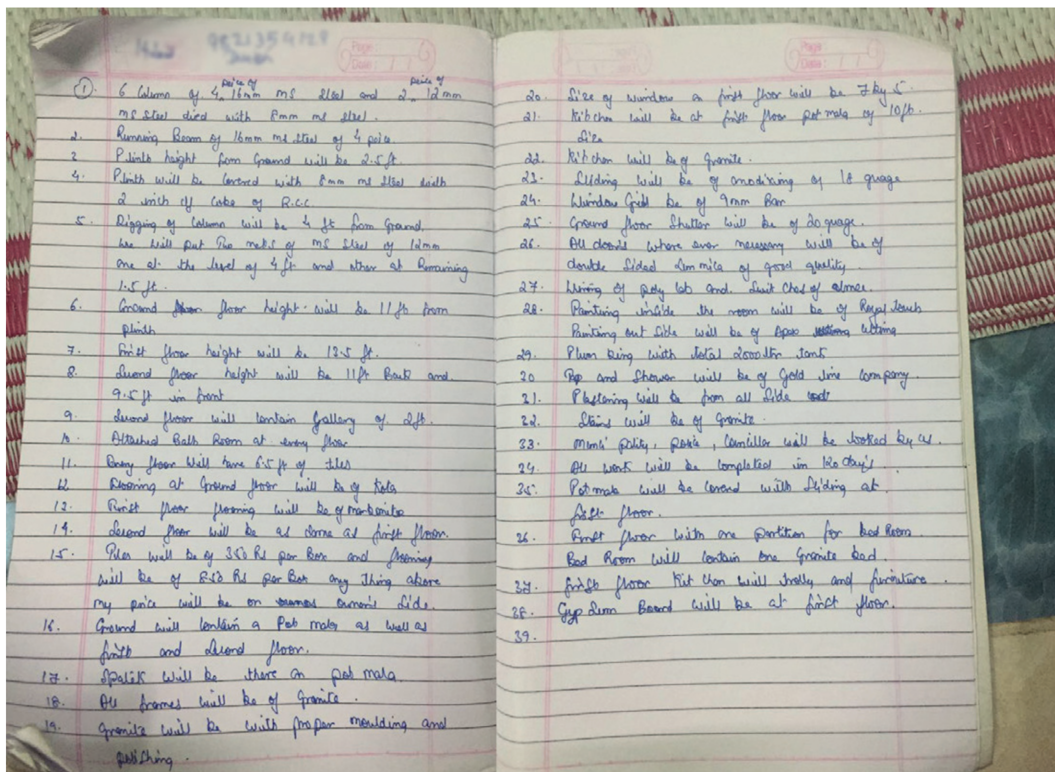
Such were also the concerns of Vishal's family. This rather well-off family possesses two houses: one facing the main street and the second right behind in the back ally. In anticipation of Vishal's marriage, and in order to increase his prospects on the marriage market, his family decided to rebuild the prominent front row house. It would house the newly wed couple and generate his family's income through the shop on the ground floor. In order to acquire experience in construction and assure the success of this important undertaking, Vishal's family decided to first reconstruct their back alley house as a sort of test. It turned out to be a wise decision. One of their neighbour's complaints prevented them from constructing a much-wanted outdoor staircase. This incident resulted not only in ceding valuable indoor space to the internal staircase but also in expensive delays. As they were unsatisfied with the performance of their original contractor, they decided to employ a different one for the important front row house. Salim has a good reputation and mainly caters to Shivajinagar's 'upper crust', which is reflected in the size and design of houses he builds. His standing largely stems from his father's engagement in local politics, which has granted him access to a top-level network and secured backing from politicians and administrators. He, himself, does not openly engage in politics. However, his interests in 'business', and contracting is just one among several commitments. Salim is said to be reliable, and has the social position to negotiate with the tedious neighbour's complaints or other intricate requirements. In addition – and as a result of his clients' ambitions – he is a regular customer in the tile shop in Navi Mumbai run by the Vishal's elder brother.

In the case of Vishal's family, reciprocal relations primarily took place at a business level. The contractor, although well-known in the area to my knowledge, shares little every day life or kinship relations with his client. Given their different religious background (Salim is Muslim, and Vishal's family are Jains), this is not surprising. Also they do not reside in close proximity, which would have allowed for, and probably resulted in, everyday exchange. He is chosen as the contractor primarily on the basis of his capacity to deliver a house that lives up to the owner's expectations: to help him succeed on the marriage market because of his impressive house, and to guarantee a smooth construction process.

While Omkar's client relationship builds on acquaintance and intimate networks such as kinship and strong client-contractor bondage, Salim's model rests on reputation and tends to resemble market models characteristic of formal economies. Salim's facework might be closer to what Giddens termed "access point to an expert system". In reality, however, the two aspects of acquaintance and reputation are rarely as neatly separated

as they have been presented. While a lack of the former can be compensated by the latter, a degree of certain backing from political and bureaucratic ties is a necessity to assure houses can be erected. The balance between the two aspects might even shift within the work of a contractor as he serves different clients. However, there is a crucial dimension, which both modes of contractor-client relationships feature. Both are based on the contractors' local embeddedness and feedback loops, which are verifiable by residents – e.g., by visiting houses the contractors have already built. The contractors' trustworthiness arises from their capacity to deliver what has been agreed upon, and from the accountability towards their clients and the community at large. Embedded in the local community, contractors share the same everyday spaces and living experience, as well as housing aspirations with their clients. In short, they are part of the community to which they cater. Such close ties ensure future assignments and demand that they meet residents' expectations.

Such embeddedness and attachment to a certain neighbourhood and community is not exclusive to contractors, but rather, cuts across most (commercial) activities in Shivajinagar. As my informant puts it, "it is really important to build up a good bonding with your clients". This is particularly telling, as he was referring to his new copy shop - a business based on a high client turn-over and walk-in customers. Often, the link to the neighbourhood is maintained even for those who found their engagement and home elsewhere. Rather evident is the engagement in the case of elected representatives, who care for 'their' neighbourhood by facilitating access to basic service provisions or work towards notification of the slum. The reliance on such personalised links to state resources can be problematic, for example, when a neighbourhood in an election loses its 'resident' corporator to an 'outsider', it may have to return to less efficient official channels (Bhide 2013). The embeddedness and the capacity to deliver houses are connected. To point to another ubiquitous intermediary, Thachil and Auerbach argue, by way of statistical analysis, that slum leaders become leaders because of their capacities to make things work (Auerbach and Thachil 25/10/2016; Auerbach and Thachil 12/10/2016). Given that the profile of slum leaders (education, occupation, and so on) corresponds to the expectations of slum residents, these capacities to make things work seem to be more important than religion, origin or caste (Jati) affiliation. This corresponds with Björkman's (2015) report about the high percentage of local politicians, whose occupation involves making taps producing water. In this perspective, it is less surprising that at least one of the contractors I engaged with bases his political ambition on his contracting activities.



1. 6 Column of 4 peice of 16mm MS Steel and 2 peice of 12mm MS Steel tied with 8mm MS Steel.
2. Running Beam of 16mm MS Steel of 4 peice.
3. Plinth height from Ground will be 2.5 ft.
4. Plinth will be Covered with 8mm MS Steel with 2 inch of Cube of R.C.C.
5. Digging of Column will be 4 ft from Ground. We will put Two mets of MS Steel of 12mm one at the level of 4 ft and other at Remaining 1.5 ft.
6. Ground ~~floor~~ floor height will be 11 ft from plinth
7. First floor height will be 13.5 ft.
8. Second floor height will be 11 ft Back and 9.5 ft in front
9. Second floor will contain Gallery of 2 ft.
10. Attached Bath Room at every floor
11. Every floor Will have 6.5 ft of tiles
12. Flooring at Ground floor will be of Kota
13. First floor flooring will be of marbonite
14. Second floor will be as same as first floor.
15. Tiles will be of 350 Rs per Box and flooring will be of 850 Rs per Box any Thing above my price will be on ~~[illegible]~~ owner's side.
16. Ground will contain a Pot mala as well as first and second floor.
17. Spalik Will be there on pot mala.
18. All frames will be of Granite.
19. Granite will be with proper moulding and polishing.
20. Size of window on first floor will be 7 by 5.
21. Kitchen will be at first floor pot mala of 10 ft. size
22. Kitchen will be of Granite.
23. Sliding will be of anodizing of 18 guage
24. Window Grill be of 9mm Bar
25. Ground floor Shutter will be of 20 guage.
26. All doors where ever necessary will be of double sided Sunmica of good quality.
27. Wiring of Poly lab and Swit Ches of almer.
28. Painting inside the room will be of Royal Touch Painting out side will be of Apex ~~[illegible]~~ Ultima
29. Plum bing with total 2000 ltr tank
30. Tap and Shower will be of Gold line Company.
31. Plastering will be from all side ~~[illegible]~~
32. Stairs will be of Granite.
33. Munci' pality, Police, Comuller will be looked by us.
34. All work will be completed in 120 day's.
35. Pot mala will be Covered with Sliding at first floor.
36. First floor with one partition for bed Room. Bed Room will contain one Granite bed.
37. First floor Kit chen will trolly and furniture.
38. Gyp sum Board will be at first floor.
39.

Figure 26 Contract between contractor and house owner
Handwritten agreement to build a two-storey house in Shivajinagar, Govandi.

8.2.2 Of Contractors and Contracts

As the name suggests, a contractor is a person with whom one enters into a contract. If one wants to build a house in a settlement like Shivajinagar, one contracts a contractor. Such an agreement between the two parties establishes and fixes their role as client/house owner and contractor/house producer, and characterises their relationship as buyer and seller of a specified product, i.e., the house. The contract between client and contractor is an element of formalisation, which emerges in the process of professionalisation of housing production in places like Shivajinagar. Such contracts might take different forms, such as oral, written by hand in a notebook (Figure 26), printed and duly signed, or exchanged over mobile phone.[60] While in most cases there are oral agreements, written contracts are not uncommon. One can assume that those elements recorded in such an agreement are those deemed most significant. However, not everything that is important is spelled-out. Rather, such contracts record what is seen as noteworthy and not to be taken for granted. Those contracts I could obtain took the form of a list of more or less precisely formulated characteristics of the house to be

60 A transcript of two example contracts can be found in the appendix.

constructed. While the content does not follow a particular order – at least none I could identify – the different points could be divided into the following topics:

Volumes and functional elements, such as the number of floors and balconies and the quantity of kitchens and bathrooms and on which floor they will be placed. Of particular importance is the ceiling height of each floor. Apart from vertical distribution, the layout of the house is not fixed[61].

Structural dimension and technical elements, such as the number of columns and beams and their strength defined by explicitly citing the dimension of reinforcement bars to be used. Further technical equipment, such as plumbing and electricity networks, is fixed.

Materials, finishing, and design elements, such as choice of materials and finishing such as tiles, marble, plaster, or paint. This may include the price range within which the client may choose the preferred design, for example, of tiles. Further design elements such as façade elements, window canopies, and frames are specified.

Duration foreseen for the construction. Indications vary between 90 and 120 (and occasionally even 150) days for a full house.

Responsibilities are mostly implicitly assumed. It is taken as a given that the contractor is responsible for erecting the house with the characteristics established in the agreement and the owner is required to pay the agreed price. Responsibility is formulated explicitly in only two cases: the owner is responsible for equipment, such as fan, lighting, geyser, and water pump and the contractor's responsibilities vis-à-vis third parties.

Price is mentioned as a total amount. However, payments are usually made in instalments.

The contract specifies the product – the house – with all its characteristics: volume and functional properties, structural and technical properties, and design features, which is to be delivered within a certain time at a given price. Further, it attributes implicitly and explicitly the responsibilities and duties of the parties necessary in order to construct the house. One can certainly assume that such written agreements are accompanied by multiple oral agreements, such as the terms of the instalment payments, as well as the layout of the house. The contract often forms the basis for further negotiations and decision-making during the construction process. However, the importance of these written agreements is raised repeatedly. One of my interviewees explained: "[a]lmost always, there is a problem with the contractor, and it is important to have a written proof". Babu, the owner whose contractor abandoned construction halfway through it,

61 In only one single case did I come across a sketch, which helped the contractor to establish the extent of the work to be done. However, it was not a plan in the sense that it fixed or proposed a layout, such as the position of the kitchen or the where stairs will be.

reasoned that if there is one thing in particular that he has learned: “[i]t is important to have written things.” The question of how binding such contracts are and how these would be enforced remains open to me.

At this point, I am primarily interested in the allocation of responsibilities between the contractor and the house owner. I understand these contracts to be a written formalisation of what is accepted as conventional practice in the construction of houses in Shivajinagar. In that sense, the contract illustrates what is common practice in the distribution of tasks. Consequently, it specifies more implicitly than explicitly what is commonly understood: it is almost exclusively the task of the contractor to construct the house – a fact with which most of my interviewees agreed. There is only one line, which makes explicit, what otherwise is assumed: “Municipality, Police, Councillor and others will be handled by us”.[62] What is formulated here is the relation between all actors potentially involved in the construction of the house, and in particular, their relation to the contractor as the central coordinating and mediating actor. While the contractor takes upon himself a huge responsibility, he also makes himself indispensable. The contractor becomes what Michel Callon (1986) calls an obligatory passage point. He is the central actor through which all links run. Whether these are technical elements, such as materials and labourers needed to assemble them in the form of a house, handling the paperwork with the municipality and negotiating building regulations, keeping in check those who seek to extort, or controlling tedious neighbours. If the house is going to be constructed with all the indicated characteristics and the construction process navigated through all possible complications, then the only actor capable to do this is the contractor. For an amount agreed upon, he guarantees to deliver the said house, resolving all involved complications on the way. It is not only the responsibility of contractors to deal with these complications, but also to shoulder the financial consequences should something go wrong.

With a contract between contractor and house owner (or in other words, between service provider and client), third parties appear only as passive elements, to be “handled”. Labourers are not even mentioned. They are only implicitly present by the way of technical description. The house owner also occupies a limited role in the construction process. In the written contracts to which I had access, there are no words indicating the house owner’s obligations, apart from paying the indicated sum, choosing the materials, tiles, and painting colours within a given budget, and contributing some equipment. Reality, however, looked different. Despite the trust they (must) put in the contractor, clients closely follow the construction process, often being more present on

62 See transcript of sample contract in appendix.

site than the contractor.[63] Apart from making the necessary payments on time, there are several duties a house owner has to perform during the construction. For example the brick walls have to be watered for several days in order to control the mortar setting hard and strengthening the walls, a task the house owner generally judiciously fulfils. In general, the provision of water for the construction process is the owner's task. Beyond that, he or she has little to do with labourers, officials, or even potential extorters. In fact, settling quarrels with neighbours is also delegated to the contractor, as will be addressed in chapter 8.3 on contractors and conflict resolution.

The written agreement makes visible the contractual nature of the relationship between house owner and contractor. The contract is central to the idea of the market as it regulates (and standardises) the relation between service provider and client. Contracts are symbolic tokens in as far as they stand-in for an object yet to be produced. In contracts, the work of experts is pinned down in verifiable terms, such as building dimensions or the strength of reinforcement bars. It seems that house owners, at least in the better-off areas of Shivajinagar, attribute great importance to written contracts as "anytime something can go wrong with the contractor". It complements the trust based in a facework prevalent in the domestic world and illustrates a move towards market logic. Contracts are, in a way, emancipatory for the client, as he or she can potentially demand fulfilment of the agreement. However, if such contracts are even enforceable and by whom is a pressing question. Most likely, such contract gives house owners leverage to substantiate their demands vis-à-vis contractors in a context where social control structures living together. This points to the context in which the contract and the contractor must be situated, which is the context of a close-knit social network largely built on the pre-eminence of co-presence and local embeddedness of all the actors.

8.3 The contractor as a conflict settler

Settling disputes arising from construction is one of the prime responsibilities of contractors. So much so, that house owners often tell their complaining neighbours to address their concerns to the contractor. As conflict settlers, contractors have an important role to assure a peaceful way of life within the community.

Halima is the head of a family living in Bainganwadi, just outside the grid area. She is the mother of four daughters, two of them are married, and she is the sole earning member of the family as her husband suffers from several illnesses. She works as a domestic servant in Shivajinagar itself and also works shifts in a steel factory producing

63 In addition to the cost of the house, owners often invest much of their own time staying on site in order to ensure that the design meets their requirements. In contrast, contractors are not always to be found on site but are usually supported by a site manager responsible for overseeing the work.

cooking utensils. The family lives in a lane descending towards an open green patch, which is a vegetal cover floating on a water body which serves as a catchment for residual water and garbage. Buildings are less consolidated and not as tall – more katcha than pucca – the closer one comes to the open field. Halima's kachcha house of one storey stands right next to a recently rebuilt two-storey pucca house built in brick. Halima's family built their house themselves over a long period of time with the financial support of her employers. In the beginning, the house was built with woven bamboo mats for the walls and roof. The family improved it step-by-step as they acquired the funds. At the time of the interview, it is a wooden frame construction planked with corrugated sheets. Even more important than the house was the marriage of her daughter. Only after the first daughter was married off was Halima's family able to save for better construction materials, replacing the bamboo mats one-by-one with corrugated tin sheets. During this process, the house was also extended in size and recently the floor was remade with tiles. The wall towards the neighbour with the new house is made of brick. For this pucca wall the neighbour asked Halima to pay a staggering 20'ooo rupees: 10'ooo rupees for each storey, even though Halima's house is only one storey in height. This was a price they obviously could not afford, and she is quite straightforward about this.

In this situation, Rashid, the contractor who patronises the immediate vicinity, intervened in the dispute and convinced the house builder to ask for an amount his neighbour could actually afford. Together, with Halima, he set an amount she could afford to pay each month. He, himself, acts as guarantor and middleman for the money transfer. That way, Halima's family paid 10'ooo rupees, which accounts for the ground floor wall that they actually use.

The neighbour's wall, of course, is a welcome improvement for Halima's home. But it is an enforced improvement, which comes at a price. As of now, Halima's family spends money, which probably would not have been invested at that time for a wall they are eligible to use, but which is ultimately not theirs. For the moment, the dispute is settled. This reinforces the family's dependences on the contractor as guarantor of peace. The temporarily stable situation reflects the current social condition marked by starkly contrasting capabilities and uneven development.

The contractor contributes to the de-escalation of conflicts between neighbours, within the community, as well as between residents and state actors. The latter is the subject of chapter 8.6 on the protective tarp, where contractors innovate in order to defuse latent crises. Of course, such mediating work and negotiating local peace is much to the contractor's benefit, consolidating his importance and power as well as profiting his business. He benefits when conflicts are carried out and resolved within the realm of his influence. Thus, fighting escalation rather than preventing conflicts

is in his interest. In fact, Rashid has political ambitions and as part of his engagement in the area he regularly holds court in front of his house, receiving petitioners and negotiating in neighbourhood conflicts. Beyond that, it is important to not let conflicts escalate too much, as one of the involved parties might reach out to official authorities. If the authorities feel obliged to intervene, they may disrupt the tacit agreement of ignorance and neglect between local municipality and residents.

8.4 Catalysing improvement

At the site outside of the chaiwala where we had already met, Omkar got to know about his future clients' intentions to redo their houses. At that time, their one-storey houses adjoining each other must have been in very poor condition, but the owners did not have enough money to improve their situation. Luckily for them, Omkar, at the time out of job, was urgently looking for work. Furthermore, his reputation recently had been depleted, and he needed to revamp it. Thus, in addition to a low price, he offered to advance some money and re-build the houses. However, instead of a single-storey, he would build two-storey houses. In exchange for his financial contribution, he would take the upper floor of each house and rent the rooms out himself. Initially, the two neighbours were soon joined by two more, as Omkar proposed to further reduce the cost by enlarging the group. Finally, another two neighbours were attached

Figure 27 Catalysing development by cooperation
A row of six houses constructed simultaneously by the same contractor.

to the project, when the construction already was well advanced (Figure 27). The last two joined with an even lower contribution, which Omkar speculated to compensate by charging higher rent on the upper floor.

To understand the arrangement made between the house owner, contractor, and the future tenants, one must know that there are two common ways of rental payment in Shivajinagar. The first type is a 'traditional' rent with monthly payments. Secondly, there is what locally is called 'heavy deposit'. In the latter, the tenant pays a lump sum and stays free of cost. When he or she moves out, the same amount must be reimbursed. One could say the tenant occupies a room on his or her interest. However, with this particular arrangement between multiple owners, contractor and future tenant comes a spatial precondition. One of the effects of cost efficiency is the identically designed houses, where only different doors marked identity (Figure 28). On the other hand, the contractor claims improved stability, as the houses are interconnected by RCC beams running across all of them. The static argument was also brought forward by the contractor against accommodating individual house owners' wishes, such as that for increased height. But more importantly and in order to build rooms that can be rented out, they have to be made independently accessible. The layout of the houses is such that stairs directly connect upper floors to the alley. All but one follows this pattern: the front most house has a stair with internal access (Figure 29). During construction, the owners insisted that their stairs be positioned internally and the potential tenant had to accesses via the service lane – a difficult squeeze and balancing act for the tenant. As to my knowledge, this is also the only family that returned the heavy deposit and now occupies both floors. This is because the joint family of ten simply was running out of place. Due to their foresight, they simply opened the door that separated the stairs from the ground floor and united the entire building internally[64]. This construction was only possible because it were the second house in the row. Further down, the service lane simply became too narrow to grant convenient access. While they found a spatial solution allowing an easy switch between different uses, it comes at the cost of ease of access for the tenant.

Building rental spaces is a common practice in neighbourhoods like Shivajinagar and is often said to cause overpopulation and ramshackle buildings. As a model to recover construction cost it is heavily promoted by contractors, partly also to fill order books and secure income. In the process, contractors may even become rental brokers as was the case of Omkar. While construction of rental spaces for income generation

64 For a western observer, at first, the resident's preference for internal stairs seems obvious: it guarantees more privacy. But there are countless examples where families living on two floors use stairs that connect the stories via outdoor spaces. In particular, when we consider how alleys are lived in as semi-private spaces, we have to question where the preference for this kind of privacy really comes from. Even more so, if we look at the way joint families actually dedicate the diverse rooms within a home to different sub-entities or 'nuclear families'.

Figure 28 Cooperation and markers of identity
The doors serve as identity markers in the row of otherwiese identically designed houses. Five doors and the back alley, which serves as the access for the tenants on the first floor.

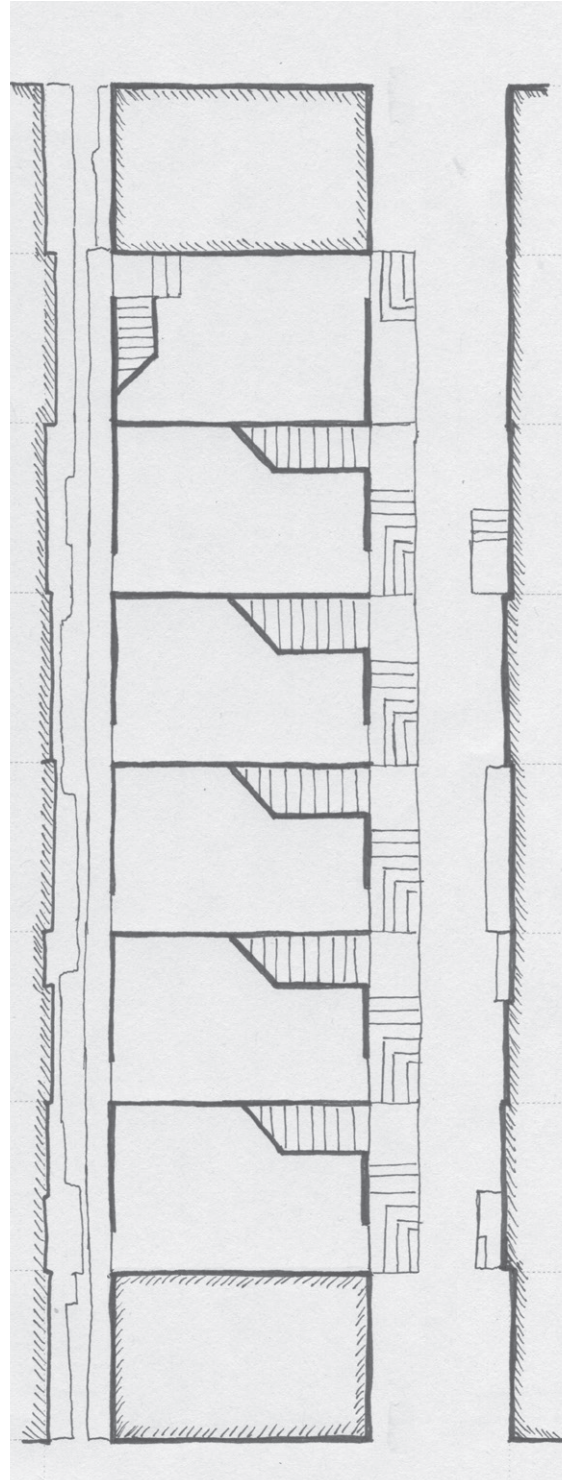


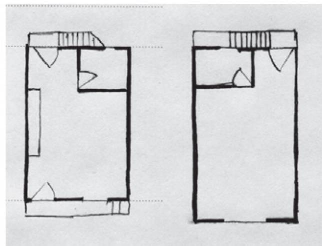
Figure 29 Cooperation and Access
Access situation for ground floor rooms and upstairs rental spaces.

or to finance construction might drive, and in certain cases, enable incremental development of settlements like Shivajinagar, residents often foresee re-appropriating them when the financial situation permits, assigning such rooms, for example, to a newlywed couple. The potential to transform rental to owner-occupied spaces and back is key to understanding incremental development. By persuading neighbours to pool resources, reduce cost by coordinating construction, and leverage income from future tenants, Omkar served as a catalyst for improving the living conditions of several families, who otherwise could not have afforded it those improvements. The heavy deposit as a financial vehicle allows for not only building houses and improving living conditions when there is little money, but also for bridging other financial crises. As other interviews showed, this arrangement of recovering construction costs by accommodating long-term tenants also functions without the intermediary work of the contractors.

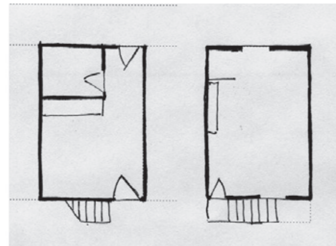
8.5 How contractor models pervade housing forms

“There is not much to think where to put the toilet when you build a house of just 10 by 15 feet”, Salim told me at one of our first meetings at one of his construction sites. He was not at all interested in my sketches with different layouts and various staircase options. Indeed, there are not that many options in the simple layout of a standard plot. In fact, there are a limited number of principle housing types when we look at the plan of Shivajinagar: street-facing plots, corner plots, inner lane plots, and end lane plots (see Figure 14). But in reality, there are not that many standard houses but rather many deviations: sometimes service lanes are used as access, neighbour agreements allow a shared staircase to access upper floors, houses occupying two plots are increasing in numbers, and so on (Figure 30). In fact, houses owned and built by contractors for rent or sale seem to be more ‘standard’ than those made on behalf of owner who lives in it. Given the contractors’ experience, which creates and underpins their expert status, it is not surprising that they possess certain preferences. Creating rental space is certainly one typology some contractors actively promote. This strategy is not primarily pursued in order to enable improvement of living conditions, as was the case of Omkar’s successful intervention, but is mostly about increasing household income. However, the tendency of certain contractors to push for rooms that can be rented out, results in a particular spatial setting that allows for the levels in a house to be subdivided. Creating potential rental spaces also hedges contractors’ jobs and income.

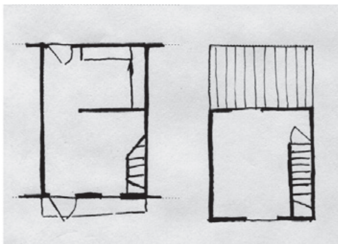
However, the model of potentially renting out parts of their house is not what all residents want, as illustrated by the following example. Mama, the retired postman, was rebuilding his house to a two-storey and a half, plus terrace. The stairs leading



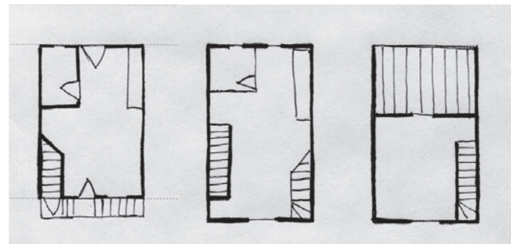
2 Storey house: Singe apartment on both floors connectd by back alley stairs



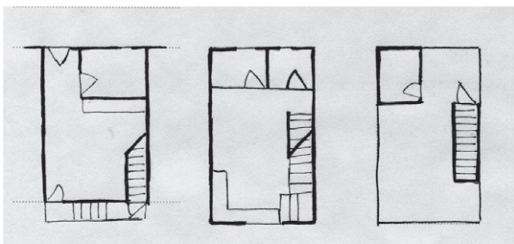
2 Storey house: Independent apartments on groundfloor & 1st floor, both rented



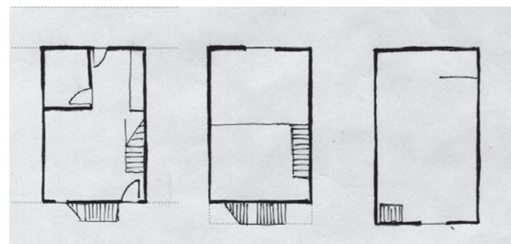
2 Storey house: Apartment with study room on 1st floor, owner-occupied



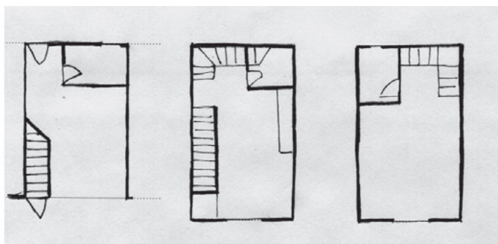
2 Storey house: Groundfloor rented, 1st floor owner-occupied apartment with study room



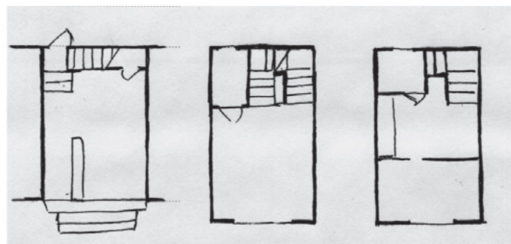
3 Storey house: Groundfloor rented, 1st floor owner-occupied apartment with roof terrace



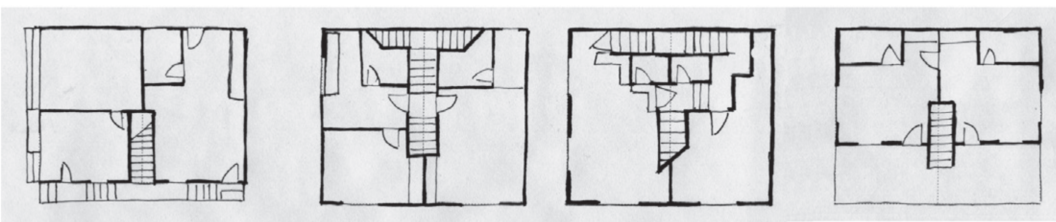
3 Storey house: Groundfloor with mezzanine owner-occupied, 1st floor rental apartment



3 Storey house: Groundfloor shop; 1st & 2nd floor rental apartment



3 Storey house: Groundfloor shop connected with upstairs apartment, owner-occupied



4 Storey house: Groundfloor two shops and rented apartement; 1st floor two rental apartments; 2nd & 3rd floor joint family in semi-independent rooms with shared roof terrace

Figure 30 Wide variety of housing types in Shivajinagar

from the second floor to the third were already shuttered, when the owner intervened. Instead of continuing the lower flight along the wall and turning at the corner, he preferred to have one above the other. His argument was twofold. First, the toilet and bath which would have come under the flight of stairs would be too limited and narrow, and secondly, the layout would not correspond to the Vastu Shastra, the ancient Indian science of architecture and construction, according to which functional areas (or rooms) of the house should be orientated in relation to compass direction. After long discussions with his contractor, Salim, the layout was changed according to the client's intention. Mama was perfectly happy with his choice and did not hesitate to pay extra for the changed plans and the additional time needed for the adjustments. His client's wish was incomprehensible to the contractor, as this layout would not allow for later subdivision. Beyond that, the new layout would also result in a conflictive situation: locating the kitchen and stairs in the same corner would be more complicated to organise. As well, the contractor does not yet know how to solve the resulting spatial and technical complications such as grey water.

Mama valued ancient knowledge of house organisation and comfort over the possibility for easy transformation and potential financial benefits through renting out rooms. In other words, his living in accordance with traditional values and domestic considerations outdid long-term financial opportunities. One might interpret this conflict over expectations on the performance of a house as a conflict of different value systems, which both necessitate a particular spatial order. The position of the stairs and (potentially) independent access to each storey underpins an economic perception. In contrast, a celestially-orientated layout ensures well-being in accordance with transcendental dimensions.

For a second example of this order we might shortly return to Babu, the taxi driver, who lives together with his eldest son, and whose wall collapsed, forcing him to rebuild. While Babu accepted the suggestion of his contractor to build a second storey for renting, a further proposal did not convince him. His contractor was pushing to build a toilet inside the new house. This would involve rising the plinth for the septic tank and piping. Troubled by the persuasive efforts of his contractor, Babu could not understand why he might need an indoor toilet, as he easily could use the common toilets, despite them being in a bad shape. In his eyes, the toilet would just use up valuable space and considerably increase the construction costs, hence the proposal was turned down. This is, of course, a decision made by an all-male household with an eye on money and space, where education for the eldest son is valued higher than

improvement of daily comfort.[65] At least for the time being, with restricted financial resources, this solution is preferred.

While the contractor is advertising his services by promoting domestic comfort, for Babu, the added comfort of an indoor toilet is too small in light of the needed investments: loss of living space and money better spent on his son's education. For him, it is about balancing preferences and translating them into appropriate housing

Both, Mama and Babu insist on a house that corresponds to their expectations, needs, and possibilities. Both succeed in asserting themselves vis-à-vis a contractor with differing ideas. Even when, by-and-large, contractors followed their client's wish and it is the later, who has the final decision, they seem to promote a certain type of 'good' housing. In their preferred model, houses should offer a certain comfort as well as potentially generate income through renting. However, the imaginations and priorities of dwellers are not necessarily congruent with those of the contractor, even for such seemingly basic things as the position of stairs or having indoor toilets.

While in general clients get what they demand and pay for, it seems not always easy to defend preferences that do not fit neatly into the pattern perceived as appropriate by contractors. The latter have a high degree of influence on the way houses are built, which elements they contain, and how a house is perceived and conceptualised. Contractors base their argumentations on different kinds of logic: a logic of construction, such as the beam that links multiple houses in the case of Omkar, and which supposedly limits the possibilities to accommodate requests for differing ceiling height; an economic logic, which triggered the dispute over the position of the stairs in Mama's house; and an idea about the good house based on ideals and aspirations of comfort, which include indoor toilets.

Despite the constant construction that is on-going in Shivajinagar, individual residents seem to have limited knowledge about housing production and learn about the actual and the possible (McFarlane 2011a) in confrontation and through negotiation with the contractor. In such situations, residents are confronted with a powerful actor and seemingly superior (expert) knowledge. In addition, usually negotiation happens at a moment when construction is already ongoing, putting the contractor further under time pressure. Nevertheless, considering Babu's experience of learning about housing the hard way, such interaction and negotiations with contractors are a rather pleasant way of learning. In mediating housing practises and models, contractors promote their preferences and further related logics, such as those of production, an economy of rentals, and aspirations of comfort.

65 These values might change in cases where the family consists of young children, and in particular, girls. In fact, most families, and particularly women, highly value their indoor toilet.

Often such mediation processes are latent and do not break out into conflict. As in general there is so much confidence in the contractor and his work that the client entrusts him with most decisions. Many of my interviewees claim to not have had enough knowledge at the time of construction. Only after the house is built, they know what they actually wanted. This is often the moment when they start to compare, what they could not have seen before.

8.6 Mediating the near and the far

Contractors not only have to mediate between clients, neighbours, future tenants, and a wider set of professionals and labourers; spatial restrictions, shifting ground, technical requirements and (financial) possibilities; conflictive housing models and aspirations. They also have to negotiate the larger relations and practices of the municipal administration and politics. They have to mediate between the latter and all former actors. In that sense, contractors mediate between the larger social order such as the state and the local order of settlements like Shivajinagar and individuals. Following Lefebvre's (1996) conception of the city as both, the place where the near and the far coalesce and mediate the two levels, Ian Cook (2015) situates intermediaries at this interplay. In his own words: "[t]he city is the mediator of the near and far order, and the brokers play a crucial role in this mediation–they are intermediaries within the mediator" (Cook 2015, 295). The same can be said of contractors and their work.

In settlements like Shivajinagar, the state is present in multiple ways. In respect to housing, this starts with questions of tenure – i.e., the monthly rent levied for the leasehold. In our case, this rent is also linked to the permitted and registered use: commercial, production or residential. Regarding the production of housing, building codes and regulations representing the state has ordering power and control over the local spatial, material, and social relations.

In fact, an important part of a contractor's work consists of dealing with these regulations and those who are charged to enforce them, like municipal officers. In negotiating the meeting between state-imagined order and urban realities, these regulations are transformed and altered in order to conciliate them with local conditions. As Thévenot's work (1984) reminds us, building codes and regulations are just the formally laid down variation of codes or convention, which enable coordination. In that sense, the transformation of written regulations to enacted conventions does not change their nature. As a result of such mediation work, more or less established conventions emerge which govern the production of housing. Two cases will be discussed in the following: the symbolic wall and the protective tarp.

Contractors not only produce houses but the conventions that allow and enable construction. Contractors not only actively contribute to the production of the city, but also produce the condition for this construction to happen. In that sense, contractors literally construct and (re-) establish with every house a link between the state and residents. In other words, each and every house is the material manifestation of a mediated relation between the near and the far order.

Building regulations

In Mumbai, slums are categorised by the municipality into notified slums and non-notified slums. The responsible authority for notification is the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA), which took over this task from the MCGM. The difference is basically one of official recognition and subsequent basic service delivery. Until the late '90s, being notified as a slum was aspirational, as it enabled service delivery (Bhide 2013). With the notification comes not only the recognition of the right to dwell and a certain right to access of basic services, but also a series of coercive measures. Building regulations are one of them. These regulations are formulated in several MCGM circulars issued by diverse responsible state agencies. In principle, the state government assembly declares a Government Regulation (GR) and the corporation is issuing a corresponding circular for the attention of concerned officers. However, not all circulars rely upon a GR, and it is notoriously difficult to find one. There exists no comprehensive compilation and many of these regulations have never ben updated to advancing technical possibilities, such as cheap and ready availability of industrial products like steel beams,[66] and changing economical conditions and growing aspirations.

When I eventually managed to get hold of some regulations, these were copied so many times that they were hardly readable. As such, they were attached to a repair notice for a slum house in Shivajinagar. The helpful officer did not have a copy either, so he had me made a copy of the one attached to the case he was currently dealing with. The *Policy for Granting Repair Permission to the Protected Structures in Slum Colonies within the Limits of Mumbai* (MCGM 2003) clarifies certain building regulations to which houses have to adhere when they undergo repair. Further, it determines the conditions and the process to be followed in order to receive repair permission as well as the charges to be paid. According to the circular, the attributes of structures in 'slum colonies' is fairly restricted regarding the permitted dimensions and materials. For example, the height of the plinth is limited to two feet and the "structure or any part thereof shall not be allowed to be structured in R.C.C. under any circumstances" (MCGM 2003, 2) nor shall the roof be constructed in "pucca material". The most contested regulation, however, is the "[h]eight of the structure above plinth", which is limited to 14 feet (or 4.2 meters).

66 Apparently, some regulations demand wooden beams for construction and do not allow for the use of steel.

The same regulation has one sub-point: "[w]herever the existing structure has a height more than the above mentioned limit, it will be necessary to bring down the height to the above mentioned limits while considering grant of repair permission" (MCGM 2003, 3). The height restriction of 14 feet is one of the most obstructive regulations, as it is too much for a single storey and somewhat too little for two stories. Presumably - and the circular points in this direction - it was intended to allow for a mezzanine floor under a pitched roof.

Housing preferences and construction practices in Shivajinagar are in apparent contradiction with these regulations. A fact that also MCGM officers acknowledge:

> Generally, it is assumed that, when a person is staying in a house, he can build loft for convenience of his family, so the height should be 14 feet. But the reality is, people have built multy storey houses, but we don't take strict action on them because even if we demolish the illegal constructions, people build them once again […] We think from humanitarian point of view, we cannot be very strict, when we go on rounds in our areas, we understand the situation and sometimes we ignore them on humanitarian grounds. The law says that the maximum height should not be more than 14 feet but then where will the family stay? (A MCGM officer on the account of anonymity)

A high ceiling height is perceived as an important feature for a 'good' house. Newly constructed houses I documented in Shivajinagar have a clearance height[67] between 9 to 11 feet on the ground floor and usually a little less on the upper stories, clearly reflecting the aspiration of the owner. Such dimensions are desirable in multiple ways, as they allow for air circulation, thus improving thermal comfort, possibility to build a mezzanine, and certainly prestige. Higher ground floors also increase the visibility of shops, allowing for the presenting and storing of goods vertically. Or otherwise stated, high ceiling height stands for comfort, space, and social capital.[68]

The inaccessibility of the written building code and the way in which it is amended (or not) opens a wide and fertile field for negotiation between officials and contractors. In that process, the apparently inappropriate and out-dated official regulations give rise to, and are overcome by, locally adapted conventions, which inform and govern construction processes. On the nature of building codes, Masoom Moitra, collaborating with URBZ, notes:

67 Clearance height indicates the distance between floor and ceiling. In contrast, the regulations refer to external dimensions of the structures.

68 A too low ceiling height most probably was the reason because of which URBZ's pilot-house was not saleable for quite a long time. Despite the contractor's insisting, URBZ wanted to build the house compelling to building regulation and thus stuck with the 14 foot restriction. When they finally found a buyer, he would take the house only under the condition, that the ceiling would be raised. And that is what was done (URBZ 2014; URBZ 2015b).

> The dated BMC policies in place for the area […] have motivated the evolution of an oral code for construction among the contractors and BMC officials. These rules, adapted to local context, are followed as unwritten law in the construction business. For instance, the 2 ft cantilever on upper floors of each house, or the protrusion of window grills by 9 inches, no more. The plinth may only extend by 2 ft onto the road and the height of any house should not exceed 3 floors. (Moitra et al. 2012)

Contractors have built up an intimate knowledge of these building regulations, most of them without ever having seen the actual written versions, instead having them instilled through countless interaction with officials and passing them on from one contractor to another by word of mouth (Moitra et al. 2012). Emerging from, and maintained through, constant negotiation processes, these regulations are in constant flux as they adapt to changing conditions. The typical example is that of a local politician who, by stretching the rules (for example by adding an additional floor), sets the new benchmark. Sometimes even the intention of changing the regulations influences the reality of construction processes. At the time of writing, there was a discussion of relaxing the height limit for slum structures from the currently binding 14 feet to 18 feet. The rumours spread quickly and contractors were acting accordingly as if the amendment as already enacted[69].

In this sense, the conventions that govern construction are constantly changing, or in formation. Something like formal rules or informal practices simply does not exist. Rather, we must understand these conventions as a melange, brewed from written building codes, locally necessities, and changing technical possibilities all mixed with ambitions and seasoned with hefty bribes. Even though constantly under (re-) negotiation, between contractors, municipal officers and politicians of all scale, such local conventions are nevertheless highly formalised.

According to Laurent Thévenot, processes of formalisation, such as the creation of local convention of construction regulations, can be understood as *investment in form*. Whereas *form* has to be understood in the sense of code form allowing to capturing and sharing data amongst multiple actors and hence allow coordination and action. Thus, *giving form* (formalisation) means to produce or invest in such code forms (Thévenot 1984). This is actually exactly what contractors engage in when they coordinate and negotiate the conflictive process called construction. In this process, conventions are established which involve and coordinate multiple actors and orient them towards a common goal - the creation of houses.

69 Personal communication with Rahul Srivastava, 2016.

Figure 31 Symbolic Wall
The symbolic wall at 3 1/2 feet, including half a window.

The symbolic wall – Negotiating development

One striking example of such local convention is what I call the *symbolic wall*.[70] Rather a process than a physical object, its basic function is to be destroyed. As a symbolic act, the symbolic wall allows one to overcome the restrictive height limit of 14 feet, which principally prevents the construction of a second floor. In Shivajinagar, the custom emerged that when houses are about to violate this limit, a wall of 3½ feet including a half window is built (Figure 31). In principle, this symbolic wall represents the intention to build a second storey. At that moment, the contractor contacts the municipal officer responsible for the area, inviting him to fulfil his duty and sanction the violation by destroying the object of contention. This is done in a very carful way in order to not demolish any other parts of the building. Signing a notice and taking a picture proves the officer's law enforcement effort. This symbolic act allows officials to turn a blind eye, the owners to proceed with construction, and contractors to charge for additional materials and work. As men in the middle, contractors most probably take advantage of their position.

70 The existence of the symbolic wall and its destruction is briefly mentioned by URBZ (Echanove and Srivastava 2013a; Moitra et al. 2012).

Like nothing before or after, during the construction, the destruction of the symbolic wall was precisely timed and coordinated, indicating the conventional nature of the process. It was one of the few events during construction which happened at the predicted day and within the hour indicated by the contractor. I documented the process with the help of a multi-burst photography shot from a house opposite (Figure 32). Between the first and the last picture of this series spans hardly eight minutes. Before and after the event the construction lay idle for the full day.

The protective tarp

Not every local building convention is as established as the symbolic wall. On the contrary, they are ever-changing and flexibly adapting to changing conditions in the highly volatile environment of Shivajinagar, where more actors are involved than the contractors and the state. The case of the protective tarp is an example of such evolving and vanishing measures to coordinate conflicting interests. It illustrates how local officials and contractors find a way to grant and enable development by re-interpreting seemingly ordinary construction practices.

After the procedure with the symbolic wall, Vishal's house grew higher. Technically, all the construction happened from within the site - building material was carried up the stairs or hoisted up along the façade. After the primary structure – concrete pillars and slab as well as all brick walls – was finished, a bamboo scaffolding was erected (Figure 33). Primarily, it was used to apply the façade decoration as well as the outdoor plastering. Unusually, in this case, was that the scaffolding served to attach a blue tarpaulin. Till that moment, I have not seen similar measures on other construction sites in Shivajinagar. Neither did I come across further cases in the following years. A tarpaulin as protective measure seems rather ordinary for a construction site. And it certainly is in many cases. However it made me wonder why it was installed after most of the construction, for which I would judge such protective installation necessary, was already completed. Further, my observations on construction sites showed that there was rather little concern about construction dirt affecting neighbouring buildings. Plaster splashes dotting facades and windows are not a rare sight and were rather rubbed off and over painted than avoided. Typically, it is up to the neighbours to protect themselves and their buildings from the nuisance of construction. The scaffolding (and with it, the tarpaulin) was removed after the plastering, but before painting the façade. Painting usually is done using ladders and paint rollers mounted on long sticks operated out of windows. Compared to other construction, a full scaffolding is not put in place in any case. Often, it is sufficient to work from inside or use ladders when required. At times, two protruding bamboo sticks support a plank, from where

11:46:20 Ordinary street live in Shivajinagar

11:47:40 Officers and laborers arrive at the site

11:48:30 Street is getting cleared

11:49:50 Destruction begins

11:51:40 Almost done

11:51:50 Carefull towards the end

Figure 32 Symbolic wall (time laps)
Pictures selected from a burst series shot at every ten second taken with a GoPro © camera mounted in the window of the opposite building.

11:47:40 Disscusion with neighbours

11:47:50 Laborers enter the construction site

11:50:00 First bricks fall on the street

11:50:30 The mini bus squeezs through

11:52:30 Laborers leave the site

11:52:50 Everyday life returns as laborers leave

necessary outside work is carried out. How come then that scaffolding was erected in this case? What made it different than other sites?

The reason behind the scaffolding, and in particular, the blue tarpaulin are found in the context rather than in the technicalities or externalities of construction itself. Vishal's house was built at a moment when tensions pervaded the neighbourhood regarding the allowed build height. It was reported that a resident was denied the ability to extend his house by another floor (he might have been unwilling to pay the required bribe). Feeling that he and others were unequally treated, he started to accuse other house owners of breaching building regulations. Allegedly, he was going around in the neighbourhood taking pictures of multi-storey houses and denouncing them to the municipality. While Vishal's house was not the first in the neighbourhood, nor in the immediate vicinity, that was built G+2, it was still among the early ones. Standing out in the row of his lower neighbours in the street made it even more visible from the street level. At the top, this street marked the boundary of the electoral ward, which corresponds to the administrative boundary. As such, the location is under surveillance of two officers responsible for the two adjoining areas.

Figure 33 Protective tarp
Protecting the street from construction as well as the construction from street view.

In this sensitive situation, municipal officers approached Vishal's contractor asking what could be done to reduce the risk of complains and continuous trials of extortion, all of which jeopardise the fragile compromise found between the multiple parties. The contractor proposed to use a blue tarp to protect the construction site from view and hence reduce visibility and render the ubiquitous thread of photographic evidence more difficult to gather. While proposed by the contractor to reduce visibility, the tarp was publically perceived as a BMC[71] regulation for construction related protection. The blue tarpaulin should protect the street and all those using it from falling objects and dirt when houses are built higher than two floors. That such an official requirement would be contradictory to the regulations restricting building height to 14 feet seemed not give raise to confusion.

However, the protective tarp as negotiation measure was either not very successful or just superfluous as I did come across only very few other instances. The following year I did not encounter them at all. The given example of the protective tarp illustrates how the vagaries of incremental development challenge contractors to constantly innovate. It shows how conventions are constantly re-negotiated and co-produced and how they emerge and vanish. These mediation processes might manifest materially, for example, in a protective tarp. Most probably, however, they involve monetary transfers. The mediation work of contractors shapes and shifts the conventions that govern the relations between state officials, contractors, and members of the community – i.e., the near and the far order.

Mediating the condition of incremental development

Mobilising manifold actors all along its imagined and physical existence, housing often stands at the origin of conflicts across scale: household, neighbourhood, and city level. Operating at the centre of this almost always conflictive process, contractors handle contradicting demands, sometimes by the means of well-established conventions such as by the destruction of a symbolic wall, sometimes in a more improvised manner, as in the case of protective tarp. They stand in for everything connected to construction and are able in most cases to keep their clients out of the line of fire. This means they permit them to continue living in good relations with neighbours and municipality. The same is true the other way round: municipal officer rely on contractors to appease potentially conflictive situations.

Local conventions govern negotiations with municipal officers, facilitating construction practices. These practices presumably involve monetary transfers. Apparently, bribes make up around 10 per cent of the construction cost (Echanove and Srivastava 2013b).

71 Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation, in short BMC, is the former name of MCGM, which is still very much in use in everyday parlance.

Beyond that, they have to allow all involved parties to reach their ends, for contractors to build houses and for officers to fulfil their duties. The latter becomes particularly clear in the case of the symbolic wall, where the 'proof' of law enforcement is central. In the attempt to constantly innovate and keep development running, mediation practices sometimes consist of reinterpretation of elements previously existing in construction processes. In the same direction points a description of URBZ that of houses deliberately made look old in order to avoid attraction of stray officers and further extortion (Echanove and Srivastava 2013a; Echanove and Srivastava 2015b). These forms can be temporary, as in the case of the protective tarp, or they might become institutionalised, as in the form of the symbolic wall.

Bringing in accordance diverse, and sometimes conflicting interests, needs and duties, contractors contribute to the transformation and the stabilisation of a community and its place in the city. In this process, the contractor plays a key role as mediator between the municipality and residents. Mediating between the near and the far order, contractors actively (co-) produce the conditions necessary for their core objective - the construction of houses. Establishing the conventions which govern incremental urbanisation, they make development possible as they enable housing production.

8.7 Contracting and coordinating

The central figure making accelerated construction activity possible in settlements such as Shivajinagar is the so-called contractor.[72] Echanove and Srivastava estimate that about 300 contractors (Echanove and Srivastava 2013b) carry out the construction, reconstruction, extension, and adaption of houses. While physical construction actually plays a minor part – if at all – in that they do, a contractor might coordinate up to ten construction sites at the time. Such high numbers are rather the exception.[73] The contractor's business easily scales up and down depending on the demand for his service.

Several studies carried out by URBZ (e.g. Moitra 2012a; Moitra 2012b; Moitra et al. 2012) in Shivajinagar and comparable areas in Mumbai count a workforce of about twenty persons of different trades (concrete masons team, shuttering team, brick masons, carpenter, electrician, plumber, and tiler) involved on site in the core task of house construction. This does not include suppliers of semi-finished products, such as doors and window maker or metal work for the window grill, many of which make products on demand and made-to-measure objects. In a documentary, URBZ claims

72 The English word 'contractor' is the local term almost always used by residents, clients, and contractors themselves. Occasionally, depending on the context the Marathi variation 'maktedar' as well as the Hindi version 'thekedaar' might be used.

73 One contractor told me in confidence that if he lands one job a month he is already happy.

that about 90 workers were involved in the pilot house they built (URBZ 2014). The construction process calls for a high degree of coordination of labour, material, and money.

There is a large range of contractors, in respect to their career and aspirations.[74] Some followed a sort of 'classical' career and started as Omkar did, as a mason who moved up the hierarchies to eventually become a contractor. Others profit from family relations, such as Vishal, and have never been physically involved in construction. They might, for example, have entered the trade as a site manager on the construction sites led by an uncle. And yet others returned from engagements in the Gulf and built on that experience and reputation to begin a career as a contractor or a specialist in trades such as plastering or electrical. It is quite common for future contractors and more experienced contractors to collaborate on certain projects. Similarly, the range of motivations varies considerably from one contractor to the other. There are those who are technically fine and fascinated by design options and new materials, those who are interested in fast money, or those with political aspirations who perform as a local patron as is the case of Rashid. At one point, the contractors I met in Shivajinagar were all the same: they were male.[75]

Based on observations made during my fieldwork, although not exhaustive, the following gives an insight into the organisation and characteristics of the local construction industry in Shivajinagar. This allows us to paint a clearer picture of contractors' work and in what professional context they pursue their daily business. The intention is to shed light on the nature of contracting work by highlighting the high degree of professionalisation and formalisation of the local small-scale construction industry. It is characterised by a strong hierarchy and labour division, which allows for high flexibility and yet offers relatively stable work relations.

Site Manager

In almost every case, as soon as the status of contractor is achieved, his actual physical labour is dramatically reduced. Above all, contractors rely on a site manager, who is often a family member. This is the ideal position to learn the trade on the job and become a contractor. He is the trusted man on site and responsible for the everyday supervision

74 My research was not directed towards an analysis of contractors' careers or motivations behind their job choice. The presented characters reflect the encounters with individuals made during my fieldwork. However, they point to the existence of a wide diversity of contractors. Experienced contractors also complain about increasing competition and growing numbers, as there is much money to be made.

75 See, for example, Barnabas, Anbarasu, and Clifford (2009) for the gender bias, which prevents training and job growth for women in the construction industry, including restricting access to contractor roles. From a gender perspective, there is a further point worth mentioning. Given the strongly gendered division regarding household chores and use of space, it is striking that male members of society conceive of the place for their female counterparts.

of labourers and the advancement of the work. He keeps track of employees, payroll, orders, and materials. The site manager is the contractor's executioner and updates him constantly, usually by phone.

Specialists

To actually execute construction work, contractors rely on a densely knit network of specialists and sub contractors who coordinate and employ labourers. Usually, they are organised in teams corresponding to the different stages of the construction process, with as strong division of labour along the lines of crafts and strict internal hierarchies. For example, there are work gangs, who engage in deconstruction, masonry, RCC work, tile work, plumbing, electrical, and so on. There seems to be a hierarchical differentiation between the various crafts with specialists, such as those employed for POP work (usually ceiling decoration in gypsum), electricity, or plumbing, which rank higher than those engaged in 'unskilled' work, such as destruction or masonry. The skilled professionals operate more or less independently, with the support of one or a few chosen workers and are commissioned the specific task when needed. They maintain close relationships among each other and with contractors and were often introduced to me as friends by the contractor. Second in the hierarchy of prestige are the labour contractors and the diverse petty foremen of the teams. At the end stand the unskilled day labourers, although they carry out most of the work. Needless to say, this hierarchy is reflected in their income.

Labour contractors

The labour contractor often spans several sectors, particularly deconstruction and masonry as well as RCC. For example, Mohan is a labour contractor who coordinates between 20 and 35 day labourers on several construction sites from different contractors by groups of two to six workers. He provides skilled and unskilled workers for deconstruction, RCC work, or masonry as needed on a daily basis. His work includes selecting the day labours, also known as 'naka[76] worker', from the naka market and dispatching, and sometimes shifting, the workers between sites. Mohan, himself, is only getting his hands dirty in order to demonstrate how a certain work has to be done and to discipline his workers. Other than that, he is not present on a construction site. Rather, he prefers to pursue his second occupation, which is probably better described as aspiration, of becoming a movie actor. Usually, he shows only up in the evening, when the labourers are paid to fetch his share.

76 'Naka' is a Marathi word for junction and the place where day labourers gather in search for work.

Labourers

Over the course of my fieldwork spanning three years, I came across the same labourers at different sites, although with a decreasing frequency over time. While I was not explicitly searching for them, this observation points to a certain stability of work relations. There seems to be a certain continuity within the work force engaged in construction activity in Shivajinagar even with unskilled day labourers. The labourers working on construction sites in Shivajinagar usually live in the same neighbourhood, although most often in adjoining lower-income areas such as Rafiq Nagar or Bainganwadi. In the area, there are two such naka markets within walking distance, where they gather every morning between 6am and 8am for hiring. The workers usually bring their tools, and job profiles cover all imaginable occupations, such as mason, helper, painter, plumber, carpenter, and so on. Often, they are organised in established teams: two helpers accompany a head iron fitter. The labour contractor and the site manager figure between the labourers and the contractor. They daily wage labourers are paid on a daily basis, ranging from 300 INR for an unskilled helper to 500 INR for a skilled labourer such as head mason or head iron worker.

The continuity with which the same naka labourers work on sites in Shivajinagar is interesting in as far as much of the literature on construction workers focuses on migrant labourers, who seasonally engage in the urban construction sector and return to their rural home, for example, during harvest time (e.g. Mosse, Gupta, and Shah 2005; Mukherjee, Bino, and Pathan 2011). In comparison to seasonal migrating labour, naka labourers are more expensive and they are said to work slower (I was told so by a site manager and labour contractors). Nevertheless, they are the preferred workforce in Shivajinagar mainly because of two reasons: they are less likely to leave work unfinished, and they will work, as they can be tracked down if something goes wrong. Further, they are readily available and take on work for very short times. Over time, they establish fairly stable work relations to labour contractors, specialists, and contractors (Mukherjee, Bino, and Pathan 2011). On the other side, seasonal construction workers often work in groups and are hired by middlemen directly at their place of origin (Mosse, Gupta, and Shah 2005). These groups of worker also prefer bigger construction sites due to the security of work over longer periods, plus they usually get a place to stay on the construction site.

The construction workers I came across were predominantly Muslim, reflecting the composition of the resident population. With a few rare exceptions, the workers were male. This is interesting in as far as construction labour, particularly unskilled and low-paid tasks such as carrying brick, were 'traditionally' income-generating occupations for women. The quasi absence of women on construction sites stands in contrast to the increasing proportion of women engaged in the construction industry

(Shah 2002) and to official estimations that they form half the workforce in this sector (Barnabas, Anbarasu, and Clifford 2009 referring to GOI: 11th five year plan 2007-12). The formalisation and solidification of role models might be due to the specificity of the site and its religious identity. The M-E Ward survey reflects this low engagement of women in income generating occupations among this religious group (TISS 2015). Their engagement in work is the lowest among Muslim families, and female income oriented work is predominantly carried out at home.

A professionalised local construction network

The trade of construction in settlements like Shivajinagar is highly specialised and professionalised. It is characterised by clear and strict division of labour with strong hierarchies, which find its expression in reputation and salaries. The hierarchy culminates in the figure of the contractor, who coordinates and often represents the entire sector, vis-à-vis clients, officials, and third parties. At the upper end of the hierarchy, and almost at par with the contractor, there is a tightknit network of specialists, who as 'friends', work more or less independently. At the lower end, fairly stable work relations exist, which, to a certain extent, includes day labourers. This is not to say that workers cannot be, and actually are, replaced easily. It is interesting to note is that even day labourers are from within the area and are preferred over more fluctuating seasonal migrant workers. The construction industry is, by and large, locally rooted and caters to the community it is part of.

8.8 The contractor as mediator

Housing production might be rough in a context like Shivajinagar. Where the ground is shifting and construction technics in place cannot withstand dangerously real externalities when unequal neighbours translate their aspirations into buildings and irresponsible contractors take advantage, improving living conditions is neither easy nor inexpensive. Babu's misfortune tells us about the complexity and difficulty of construction, which includes and goes beyond technical knowledge, such as the amount of cement in the mortar or the best chronological order of working steps. It is also about the relation between neighbours, and between the residents and the municipality. Further, it points to the sometimes-difficult relation between house owners as lay persons and contractors as experts. In general, it is about an organisation of togetherness and how development is negotiated. Babu's case illustrates a negative example of contractors performing as specialists of the built environment and mediators of its development. In a nutshell, contractors mediate the complex and conflictive process of housing production. As intermediaries, they build relations between

multiple actors by the way of established and sometimes improvised conventions, through written contracts and oral agreement. And at the same time, as producers, they construct houses by coordinating specialists and labourers as well as techniques and materials. Housing production mobilises multiple and diverse actors all along its imagined and physical existence. In that process, contractors position themselves as an obligatory passage point (Callon 1986), by which all actors have to pass.

For house owners, construction is not a simple task and high stakes are involved, as housing transformation often coincides with important changes in the life of its inhabitants. In accepting an assignment, contractors assume considerable responsibility. In Shivajinagar, contractors are usually held accountable for everything involved in the construction process, including potential social or technical complications. In a way, they adopt the house-to-be for the time of construction. Thus, it is not rare that municipal officers on 'rounds' or curious visitors inquire about the contractor rather than the owner of a house under construction.

In order to have a contractor acting in the name of a house owner, the latter has to put a lot of trust into the former. To a great extent, this trust in contractors rests on what Giddens (2008) calls facework – i.e. trust which grows out of co-presence and is built up over longer periods of time, at the basis of which stand kinship relations and local community ties. While hedging risk is always involved in trust relationships, the described social networks play out in domestic dimensions and rest upon the pre-eminence of place.

However, additional elements, such as written contracts, complement and regulate the relation between house owner and contractor. Going beyond facework commitments, contracts are a means to 'bracket time-space' (Giddens 2008) and provide guarantees to the house owners as lay persons in the domain of housing production. The contractual dimension points towards a market logic, in which the properties (of a house) need to be agreed upon in order to define a price and enable exchange. Hence, it is not only trust that community members are less likely to be fraudulent about, but also trust into the capability of the contractor to actually construct houses. It is the capacity as expert that gains him his reputation. He has to stand in for his product – the house – which is verifiable by a short walk in the neighbourhood. Thus, reputation is strongly linked with the contractor as producer. The tedious technical and social details of housing production are readily delegated to the expert. A good reputation considerably enlarges and even surpasses community boundaries, opening the way for a larger clientele and future commissions. Vishal's story also shows that they chose a reputable, but local contractor, with Salim, and not a neighbourhood external contractor, who frequented their tile shop in Navi Mumbai. It is the embeddedness in the (extended) community, the local knowledge, and network to clients, construction specialists, politicians

and bureaucrats that enables contractors to do their job as mediators and experts of development.

As part of the contractor's expert system, the actual production process is, by and large, beyond the house owner's influence. The contractor epitomises the expert system of Shivajinagar's local construction industry. This industry is highly specialised and professionalised along strict divisions of labour and clear hierarchies. In the interplay of specialists, the contractor preforms the role of coordinator and organiser. While hard labour and poorly-paid construction does provide employment for many of Shivajinagar's residents, housing production is rooted within the community.

The contractor essentially guarantees to build and secure houses that withstand technical difficulties, as well as social challenges. While buildings – mainly owed to client's demands – tend to be structurally over-engineered, this task primarily involves the negotiation with those who could endanger the undertaking. On one side, this is the municipal corporation, and on the other side, this is the directly or indirectly affected neighbours.

Contractors mitigate negative implications of construction by negotiating between neighbours, such as in the case of Halima and her neighbour. By intervening in conflicts over space, (financial) responsibility, and compensation, they contribute to deescalate conflicts and work towards peacefully living together. In the context of unequal capabilities and sometimes highly uneven development based on individual initiatives, settling disputes from construction is a prime responsibility of the contractor. As mediators of constant transformation in the densely built environment of settlements like Shivajinagar, contractors – as conflict settlers – ensure the condition for both activities and peaceful living. Furthermore, contractors have a protective function for residents. As their tenure often is not waterproof, many residents are reluctant to deal with authorities.[77] While direct encounters with the state apparatus (MCGM officers) occasionally take place,[78] this is not the common case in Shivajinagar; contractors free their clients from the hassle of administrative work, such as building permissions and dealing with the municipality involved in the construction process. But it is not only

77 In a similar way residents seem to minimise contact with the municipality. For example, some of them prefer to pay the lease of one year upfront. This not only reduces the time invested to stand in line every month to pay as little as 100 Rupees. It also reduces the potentially conflictive interaction with the bureaucracy.

78 I came to know Ahmed on one of my strolls through Shivajinagar. I was pondering about a construction site when he stepped out of an almost-finished house. Proudly, he showed me around, and when we arrived on the roof by way of a winding staircase – a layout I have rarely seen before – I learnt about his background. Ahmed is working in the merchant navy and is back home only for few months per year. He earns enough to rebuild his house, and when home, he has a lot of idle time, which he invests in improving his home. It turns out that he is not only the householder but also the contractor. Contractor might be somewhat overstated, as this is the only house he has built and it is not the profession he wants to practice either. Thanks to his education, he was able to deal with authorities and labourers. However, like a typical contractor, he did not physically engage in construction.

between neighbours or within the community that a balance of accepted development has to be warranted, but it is also in respect to state actors.

They shape the conventions, which allow the necessary coordination among multiple and diverse actors involved in housing production, and by extension, in the production of incrementally developing neighbourhoods.

His intimate knowledge revolving around housing production allows the contractor to catalyse improvement and development even where it seems impossible. In establishing links between house owners and future tenants by way of the heavy deposit, Omkar made it possible for his clients - who otherwise would not have had the financial possibilities to do so - to improve their housing condition. While they enable incremental development, they also push for certain models of development and housing types. The production of rentable space is one preferred model. In that sense the contractor and their mediation work, are not to be underestimated in the progressive commodification of the city, as they promote housing models which are marketable.

As central mediators in the process of constructing houses, they mediate between labourers, clients, neighbours, communities, and state agents. While erecting houses and assuring they withstand physical and social pressure, contractors make urban development possible, as well as further their own interests. Navigating technical difficulties; client demands; legal, political, and economical constraints; they produce built-up and social space of incrementally developing neighbourhoods. The work of contractors involves the interpretation of clients' needs, wishes, aspirations, and worries as well as financial assets, translating these things into future space and spatial configurations. This is complemented by intermediate and simultaneous translation of the same into hours and days of work, wages for labourers, cost of material, and also into profit. Furthermore, the state regulatory system, such as building regulations, is translated into a workable and malleable framework, which has to be interpreted in way that the concerns of all the involved actors are taken into account.

Conceptualising the contractor as a broker in the sense of a figure that is unproductive and makes a profit on the back of his clients does not do justice to his complex and multilayer work. One of the fundamental differences to such an oversimplified understanding of market actors is that contractors are localised – i.e. embedded in the community to which he caters. Living in the context he creates not only makes him more accountable to his clients, but in a sense, he is his own client.

The mediation of the contractor is enabling in both: he participates in the introduction of market logic, for example by promoting rentable space, and in the same time participates in the preservation of domestic relations, for instance through the way

in which he relates to his 'clients'. In a way, contractors reconcile the domestic and market logic with a logic of (housing) construction. The contractor is an ambiguous figure in the ambiguous process of incremental urbanisation.

Planning

9 The Mumbai Development Plan in the making

During my second fieldtrip to Mumbai somewhere in February 2015 I started to notice a growing number of articles on Mumbai's development plan appearing in newspapers. While I knew that the development plan was being revised, in the beginning I did not pay much attention to the process as I was too much occupied with my daily visits to Shivajinagar and the 'reality' of everyday life in my 'field'. From the news I learnt, that the coming development plan is revolutionary at least in two ways: Firstly, it was praised as India's first development plan which was shaped by a public participative process (*The Times of India* 16/02/2015) and, secondly, it would allow for a higher and denser city by increasing the permissible FSI and hence addressing Mumbai's notorious housing shortage (*The Times of India* 17/02/2015). A few days later, however, a converse statement made headlines: "Denser, vertical growth spells misery for citizens" (*The Times of India* 20/02/2015). Further, one gets to know that the development plan "has left out the city's slums as well as street vendors from its 20-year-long vision for the city" (*Hindustan Times* 22/02/2015). Apparently, the revision of Mumbai's development plan provoked controversial reactions. Finally, when the development plan in April was 'scraped' by Maharashtra's chief minister (*The Times of India* 21/04/2015), it became evident that this full-fledged controversies offer an excellent opportunity to investigate cotemporary planning practices and discourse. Such an inquiry into planning as it is made allows shedding light on the role and legitimacy conferred (or not) to Mumbai's slums and their incremental mode of development. In doing so, the part *Planning* presents a perspective on incremental urbanism which complements the examinations of the actual practices of urban transformation examined in the part *Making*.

The dominant mode of urban transformation, which currently forcefully reshapes the city, is firmly embedded in the Development Plan of 1991 (91DP) and its many amendments. The periodic revision of the DP every 20 years, as mandated by the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning (MRTP) Act 1966 (Government of Maharashtra 1966), challenges the historically shaped tacit compromise governing Mumbai's urbanisation processes. Indeed, the way the revision of Mumbai's development plan was put on track and carried out were virtually taking apart the gearing of the current regime, and by reassembling it differently, challenged the dominant mode of urbanisation in several ways. Claiming a veritable paradigm shift, the draft development presented in 2015 plan is not shy in declaring the fundamental change it advocates. The proposed paradigm shift lies precisely where the current mode of urbanisation is rooted, which is the FSI regime. While evidently provoking

reactions from the advocates of the statues quo, the revision process at the same time opened up the door for contestation from several other sides. For example, a second strand of contest comes from the advocates of subaltern modes of urbanisation, which see the revision process as an opportunity to claim their space in the planning process and the city.

Phases of contesting an existing order and linked uncertainties are often accompanied by smaller or larger controversies over the just mode of defining the common good and the way to reach it. The controversies, which revolved around the making of Mumbai's development plan, reveal the different regimes at play in the production and transformation of the contemporary city and which inform the broader discourse on development and planning. By doing so, the controversies make visible existing regimes and the respective underlying world-views, as well as challenging their stability as justification principles are called into question. Moreover it makes evident the fragility of the compromises, which constitute the different cosmos, when different justifications principles compete over legitimization. In this perspective, the controversies make visible rivalling and habitually marginalized pathways to urbanisation, which contest the dominant model of urban development. Bringing to the forefront the interplay of powers and arguments that are otherwise disguised in the dispersed and detached everyday making of the city, such an event allows us to examine which actors have a saying in the planning process and which are muted, which issues are negotiated, which arguments are voiced and how they relate to different models of spatial production.

As the first chapter in the part *Planning,* it examines how incremental urbanism, as one form of subaltern urbanism, tries to find a voice and make their claims heard in the public debate. It shows that the discourse on incremental urbanism is by and large omitted, mainly due to an excessive focus on the FSI question and urban transformation through redevelopment, as well as the broader framing of the housing questions as housing scarcity. It shows that despite substantial literature, incremental urbanism still holds a marginal position. In order to understand how it is suppressed in, and excluded from, the debate over possible urban development, we have to look at the process and follow the actors and the arguments as they negotiate planning controversies. Doing so allows pointing out how incremental urbanisation is invisibilised, both in the debate and reality. At the same time, such analysis gives a voice to those who are routinely suppressed and overlooked, by treating them at par with dominant voices. Such an approach is necessary if we want to account symmetrically for all positions, arguments and justification principles partaking in the co-production of contemporary planning processes and at the time understand their hierarchical relations. This analysis of

planning processes complements the examination in the 'reality' of urban production presented in part on *Making*.

Beyond revealing justifications of conflicting regimes of urbanisation and the relation between them, the analysis of the controversies teaches us about the nature of contemporary planning processes. Planning is usually a conflict-loaded processes, where negotiations over differing visions of the city often lead to fragile compromise. As much as planning is contested, it is co-produced – although not always peacefully. In order to account for its sometimes unpredictable twists and turns we have to follow the controversies, the actors and their arguments. This is how we avoid falling into the trap of premature generalization. What are the main relations between modes of spatial production, specific actors and conceptions of urban development? How do dominant and subaltern regimes of urbanisation compete about and claim space in the city? How are the diverse paths to urbanisation supported and justified? For ease of orientation within the course of the events, Table 4 presents the key stakeholder in the controversies.

With respect to the course of the controversies we might further ask how can we explain seemingly contradictory situations, such as those, which arrived during the making of the Mumbai Development Plan? How did this mobilization come to be, where civil society (from the expert planners to CBOs (Community Based Organisation) as well as activists) critiquing the DP as builder-friendly, finding themselves in the same boat with exactly those builders and developers, both demanding the abolishment of the proposed plan? What happened so that municipal officers who made 'civil history' in urban planning by opening it up to participation found themselves cornered and overrun by suggestions and objections, which they explicitly invited? How come exactly those politicians who waved the draft through suddenly turn resolutely against it? How come movie actors oppose an ordinary planning act?

MMRDA	Metropolitan Mumbai Region Development Authority Drafts and implements the MMR Regional Plan and is the sanctioning authority for the Mumbai development plan	State
SPA	Special Planning Authority Is the planning authority for a Special Planning Zone (SPZ) lying outside the DP jurisdiction (see also Table 6)	State
Planning Committee	Constituted for hearing the objections and suggestions on the draft DP; reports to the State Government for sanction	State
MCGM	Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai responsible for implementing and drafting the DP	City
EGIS	International consultants responsible for drafting the EDDP (Formerly Memoris and Group SCE India Pvt Ltd)	Private sector enterprise
MCHI	Maharashtra Chamber of Housing Industry Associations of builders and developers, active at regional level	Private sector professional association
NAREDCO	National Real Estate Development Council Associations of builders and developers, active at national level	Private sector professional association
PEATA	Practicing Engineers Architects and Town Planners Association: Associations of professionals of the construction industry	Private sector professional association
UDRI	Urban Design Research Institute independent expert think tank for urban issues, initiated the stakeholder engagement and the Dump this DP campaign	Civil society
Stakeholder Engagement	UDRI lead group of NGOs, experts and activists engaged in planning advocacy	Civil society
Dump this DP campaign	Loosely associated group of NGOs, citizens groups primarily of elitist background	Civil society
YUVA	Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action, well-established NGO, key player in the HSM campaign	Civil society
HSM	Hamara Sheher Vikas Niyojan Abhiyan A city-wide campaign representing the urban poor comprised of communities, people's movements, academic institutions, NGOs, community-based organizations, and activists	Civil society

Table 4 Key actors in Mumbai's development plan controversies

9.1 Unfolding the controversies

Setting up the development plan revision

The revision of Mumbai's development plan is mandated by the MRTP, which stipulates that a city must review its development plan every twenty years. As the 91DP was sanctioned in parts, and its last part came into force in 1994, a revised DP is required to be enacted by 2014. Hence on 20th October 2008 the corporation sanctioned the declaration of its intention to revise the DP in resolution No. 767 and published the declaration of intention on 1st July 2009. Subsequently a committee was set up to decide on the course of actions. It was recognised that the municipal development plan department was primarily concerned with the implementation of the DP and has limited capacities and expertise in actual plan making. As a consequence, external consultants would be commissioned, for which V. K. Phatak, a member of the aforementioned committee and retired Metropolitan Mumbai Region Development Authority (MMRDA) Chief Planner, who was previously involved in the making of the Metropolitan Mumbai Region (MMR) Regional Plan, drafted the Terms of Reference (TOR). Beyond the legally required Objection and Suggestion phase after the publication of the draft DP, the TOR proposed three consultative workshops with stakeholders at key moments during the drafting process. However, this supplementary assignment is not of municipalities own accord but already owed to lobbying as the formulation in the TOR reveal: "considering the persistent demand for consultation during the preparation of the plan, MCGM may consider having three consultative workshops" (MCGM 2009 section 16).

Engaging consultants

The tendering for consultants turned the DP revision into an international competition and the hitherto largely invisible process gained larger notice (Purohit 2013). Local professionals and organizations came to know about the process also and Urban Design Research Institute (UDRI)[79], one of the most prominent among them submitted a bid for consulting the MCGM. After a lengthy tendering process, the consortium of the French urban planning and design firm Memoris and the Bangalore based Group SCE India Pvt Ltd prevailed over its competitors in 2010. Their experience from drafting Bangalore's DP in combination with a high technical score and an apparently very competitive offer, played in their favour (*The Indian Express* 18/11/2010). As a prestigious project, important in the strategy of extending their engagement in

79 UDRI is a long-standing, independent expert think tank, which perceives itself as offering a forum for exchange on urban questions and working towards its improvement (udri.org).

India, the consortium would cross-subsidize this task – a common practice for the international company, which soon would backfire.

On May 12th 2011, the consultants took up work on the Mumbai DP only to back out just one month later (*The Times of India* 03/05/2011). The reasons for this move can be found in an unlikely connected event at the other side of the planet. Due to the uprising during the Arab Spring, Memoris lost of a great number of mandates in Libya and found themselves incapable to sustain the DP project at the low costs they offered. Following intense negotiations with the municipality, it was decided continuing the collaboration with a tight time budget and compensation in case of even minor delays. In the meantime however, the company went bankrupt and was taken over by Egis. Unlike the planning consultancy SCE, Egis is an international engineering company specialized on large-scale infrastructure. The change in focus and the financial straight jacket had severe effects on the consultants' human resources.

Entrusting a foreign consulting company with crafting Mumbai's development plan, which will govern the city's urban future for the next twenty years did not go down well with local experts and citizens. Concerns over their unfamiliarity with Mumbai's reality were raised, even though the consortium engaged primarily Indian planners experienced from the Bangalore case. The consultants' re-negotiations after commencing the work were perceived as "arm-twisting tactics" (*The Times of India* 03/05/2011) and the increasing delays (*The Indian Express* 31/12/2011) further nurtured criticism. These arguments were exchanged in the press over the right planning expert can be seen as the forerunners for the controversies to come.

Building up planning capacities

On the side of the MCGM initially a committee of Ex-Chief Engineers supervised the crafting of the DP and the work of the consultants. As no satisfying mode of collaboration was found, the MCGM appointed V.K. Phatak, who previously set up the TOR, as an advisor. His professional background as a planner and his experience in the administration made him a perfect fit. The involved municipality officers from the DP Department, only two out of them trained as planners, were responsible for coordinating with multiple other departments and ward-level administrations. In the course of this engagement the sense of ownership over the DP among the MCGM officers grew and several engineers engaged in further education and specialization in planning (Phatak 2016a). The growing public interest and the perceived importance of the project sparked interest in planning across the administrativ hierarchy. Municipal Commissioner Sitaram Kunte, who led the majority of the drafting process, reportedly was very engaged in the process taking as much ownership as his officers and the

consultants[80]. So much so that in his 2013-14 budget speech, shortly before the draft was to be published, he announced the creation of an independent planning cell within the MCGM to continue the efforts achieved so far (*The Indian Express* 16/01/2014). However, neither the enthusiasm of the officers nor the proposed structural changes would survive the coming wave of criticism. The persistent and popular critique on MCGMs incapability in planning became self-fulfilling as it stifled all efforts of strengthening internal competences and capacity building.

Forming and alternative planning team

Recognizing the importance of the revision process early, UDRI was one of the first actors from the civil society to engage with the DP. From their perspective, as planning experts, Mumbai suffers from "multiple issues that have been plaguing the city through the single tool of the Development Plan", hence the revision offers the opportunity to address them all at once and "create a holistic solution" (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 47). UDRI's position, as expressed in the Mumbai Reader '13 where they compiled and documented much of their engagement, towards governmental planning agencies is characterised by distrust and frustration. They see planning as constantly "derailed by vested interest, poor management or shortage of funds" and the only way to overcome this is by "public pressure" (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 46). Thereby the MCGM is not to be blamed solely as they are busy with "fire-fighting day-to-day exigencies". Given the corporation's incapacity and undermined planning tools, it is perceived necessary that citizen contribute to the planning process. UDRI advocated for moving from an "expert planning process to a public participatory process", which it intends to initiate and spearhead.

Building on their long-term commitment to Mumbai's diverse urban issues and a well-established network among planning specialists and local elites, UDRI greatly extended their engagement in 2008, and under the banner of MumbaiDP24seven[81] started involving concerned citizens and local experts. The outreach activity was primarily directed towards raising awareness and disseminating planning knowledge. In one of the early workshops thematic groups[82] were formed (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 53), and in 2011 emerged what was called stakeholder engagement pursuing advocacy planning in the name of the disadvantaged. The stakeholders consisted

80 Interview with an anonymous senior planner.

81 The program had several outlets, such as flayers and a Facebook group. But the central element was the homepage: www.mumbaidp24seven.in

82 The eleven thematic groups covered issues from health, education, water supply, sanitation, housing, livelihood, environment, open spaces, environment, energy, to transportation. A twelfth group on digital inclusion was formed later. While this issue seemed to have a rather short live in the controversies it propped up very recently (*The Hindu* 22/01/2017). More information can be found under http://sabkeliyebroadband.com and http://www.loginmumbai.org While many of the themes covered by the groups would become important later in the controversies, not all issues were foreseen: open spaces being one of them.

primarily of local experts – NGOs, universities, foundations and activists – with "decades of experience and [who] have dealt closely with very real problems faced by the citizens of Mumbai" (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 70), thus lending legitimacy to their engagement with the DP.

On the one hand this engagement involved close observation of the DP department, in particular though the employing of the Right to Information (RTI) act. The Mumbai Reader '13 lists 28 RTIs filed between July 2010 and July 2012 (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 134–35), and claims to have retrieved crucial, hitherto not accessible information on which the municipality based their planning activities and the outcome of their efforts. On the other hand, they "initiated several exercises" demonstrating how they envisage planning. Their effort resulted in a set "non-negotiable". While certain detailed proposals were made, their shared fundamental demand was to base the DP planning process on a thorough knowledge of grounded reality in each of the respective field the stakeholder represented. To underpin this claim, a massive survey was carried out in spring 2011 about the 'level of satisfaction and perceived needs' of Mumbaikars regarding ten different planning issues (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 54). Among the interviewees, 20% raised housing as the most pressing issues, followed by education and health both at 15%. Furthermore water, environment, livelihood, transportation and public space all were mentioned between 7% and 10% by the interviewees. While this survey lend a certain legitimacy to the stakeholder engagement, it also showed that 22% of those surveyed did know what a DP is.

From the outset, the intention was to inform and support the MCGM and establish a participative planning process. While the municipal corporation was reluctant (O. Gupta, Interview, 2015; Mumbai reader '13 p.125), the constant endeavour and numerous submitted letters led to several meetings between the DP department and the consultants on one side and the groups from the stakeholder engagement, represented and spearheaded by UDRI on the other side. Particularly telling of the conflicting views on planning between the stakeholders and the municipality is the meetings where the 'Stakeholder Principles for the revision of the DP' were presented. The minutes published in the Mumbai Reader '13 (p. 78-81) reveal that planners in general agreed with the principles and claims made. However, foremost they were interested in their "operationalization" so that they are "practical to be implemented". In parallel to the engagement with the municipality's administrative wing, they published a guide book[83] (Praja and UDRI 2014) informing elected representatives about the importance of the DP planning process.

83 It can be accessed on the homepage of PRAJA: www.praja.org

Mapping urban realities

Unsurprisingly the first step of the DP planning exercise, the elaboration of the ELU plan, which would build the basis for the DP proposal, was inevitably delayed. The ELU was submitted to the state government only after three years, instead of the six months as postulated by the MRTP act. However, it took almost another year and a slowly escalating controversy before it was made public. UDRI accessed the ELU through an RTI and shared it with the stakeholders for a thorough analysis. They started to compile "numerous shortcomings omissions and discrepancies" and "discovered 1'200 mistakes" (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 89). Realizing the sheer dimension of the undertaking, they reoriented their strategy. In an email to the stakeholders reprinted in the Mumbai Reader '13, they explain their engagement heretofore as "capturing the voice of civil society and urban planning experts" but that "it is now time to expand the group of stakeholders […] to make the planning process truly *Inclusive and Equitable*" (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 119 emphasis in original). Hence as such they invited the general public to participate in the scrutinizing of the ELU, which they made accessible through their homepage (*Hindustan Times* 31/10/2012). UDRI itself would act as collector and coordinator of reports and communicator to the MCGM. They still saw themselves as "an alley supporting the MCGM" in the DP planning process (Mehrotra and Joshi 2013, 114).

At first the MCGM denied the errors, blaming software issues (*The Times of India* 23/10/2012). But they soon came under increasing public pressure, as the media picked up the issue (*Hindustan Times* 23/11/2012). Eventually the ELU was officially published on December 12th 2012 and the public was invited to submit "errors and remarks" over a period of one month (MCGM 2012). Fanned by media coverage, a veritable hunt for errors set in and the controversies reached a public dimension mobilizing individuals, CBOs, neighbourhood committees, religious groups, NGOs to planning experts of all colours committed to point out every error. Somehow cornered, the MCGM acknowledged mistakes in the ELU, labelling them "human errors" (*Hindustan Times* 24/01/2013) and was obliged to extend the period for reporting errors and remarks several times until end of March 2013.

Apart from wrong land use mappings, civil society groups claimed fundamental shortcomings in the making of the ELU. Following the lines of property rather than those of use, many groups, particularly already marginalized populations such as slum dwellers, urban villages, hawkers and so on, found themselves excluded from the city's future, as envisaged by the municipality, by way of simply not mapping their habitats in the ELU (*Hindustan Times* 15/09/2012).

Broadening the engagement

In parallel with the UDRI stakeholder engagement, several civil society organisations, above all the housing rights NGO YUVA[84], set out to engage in a more mass-based engagement and started to mobilize slum communities through a process they called demystifying the DP. The intention was to overcome the restrictive technical perspective of the DP and reconceptualise it as a political instrument (Unni 2014), fostered through a series of workshops and awareness programs such as street plays. This was also the moment when a verification on the ground of the 91DP was initiated, to assess its relevance and degree of implementation. When the ELU was released, a similar exercise was carried out alongside basic planning training and assistance such as in reading maps for NGOs and CBOs. Through such awareness raising efforts the engagement with the DP reached the strata of society, which by and large previously have encountered planning instruments in the form of conflictive situations.

However, civil society groups were not restricting themselves to reacting to official plans but engaged proactively in crafting an own vision for the city. In the wake of the ELU scrutiny, a large range of organisations joined forces and formed the people-centred organisation Hamara Sheher Vikas Niyojan Abhiyan (HSM)[85], "a city-wide campaign comprised of communities, people's movements, academic institutions, NGOs, community-based organizations, and activists" (hamarasheharmumbai.org). In a common effort they crafted the People's Vision Document (PVD) for Mumbai's development plan. In October 22nd 2013 it was made public at a demonstration on Azad Maidan in front of the Municipal headquarters, where over hundred groups representing the urban poor gathered demanding inclusion in the DP (*The Hindu* 23/10/2013). The PVD was conceived as a "rudimentary step to counter the imaginary visions floated by the state, for a world class city" and to "challenge and break the exclusionary planning and non-participatory mechanisms that decide the future of the city" by presenting a people's "vision of the kind of city they wish to live in" (HSM 2013, ii). With the public presentation[86] of the PVD, the controversies had definitely left the domain of round table talks and penetrated the full spectrum of society. At this moment we might say planning in Mumbai became an issue of public concern. This engagement with planning and urban development was carried further fostering several local level initiatives. For example, key NGOs and educational institutions

84 The NGO Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) is a well-established organization in Mumbai and beyond engaging in community oriented work aimed at "empowering the oppressed and marginalised in urban areas and […] in rural areas" (yuvaurbanindia.org).

85 The organisation changed its name over the course of the events from Hamara Sheher, Hamara Vikas, Hamara Niyojan Abhiyan (Our City, Our Development, Our Planning Campaign) to Hamara Shehar Mumbai Abhiyaan (Our City Development Plan Campaign, Mumbai). As campaign members use the acronym HSM to identify themselves in everyday parlance as in writing, I will do the same.

86 The HSM strategy of a public meeting has to be seen in the context of the approaching parliamentary elections in spring and the State Legislative Assembly in fall 2014. Both saw the win of the BJP.

supported local communities in elaborated counter-planning proposals or helped in understanding planning technicalities.

Framing planning objectives

In November 2013 the MCGM published the 280 pages strong *Preparatory Studies Report Volume I (MCGM 2013)*. As a first step towards the formulation of the DP, it consists of an assessment of the existing situation as well as projections of future development, which would serve to formulate "objectives for development plan" and "principles for the formulation of proposals" (MCGM 2013, 18). This diagnostic document would serve as the basis for the consultative workshops, which would be held a month after its publication.

As the preparatory study proclaimed, the state's vision of the existing urban reality and the envisioned development, it prompted explicit response from key civil society groups. On the one hand UDRI denounced the preparatory studies as a "simple demographic exercise", which trades in "human development" against the "riches for the real estate lobby" in their quest to "enable the transformation of Mumbai into a Global City" (UDRI 2014, 414–19). Particularly by denying any correlation between FSI on one side, and density and quality of life on the other side, the DP department absolves itself from the responsibility of providing adequate amenities. Besides, once again the 'real' dimension, in terms of population and needs, of the slum problematic was disregarded. On the other hand HSM wants their *Response to the MCGM's Preparatory Studies Report for the Development Plan 2014-34* (HSM 2014) to be understood as a contribution in an "on-going consultation process" and maintains a collaborative position. Nevertheless they raise fundamental critique when they adopt a standpoint that even when termed "physical planning", development planning remains a social policy:

> Restricting the discussion on the Development Plan (DP) to land use and Development Control Regulations (DCRs) is a refusal to undertake planning in a holistic way and an attempt to restrict the discussion to modalities where the policies have already been determined. (HSM 2014, n.p.)

HSM attempted to reframe planning not as a technical exercise, but as a political undertaking. While in principle sharing UDRI's argument against relaxation of FSI restrictions, they pointed beyond it arguing and that the abstract debate on density obstructs the view on issues of higher impotence, such as "access and affordability". Meanwhile, both accused the municipality and the consultants of having failed to account for the complex "reality on the ground" (HSM 2014, n.p.), because they have

"carried out the planning exercise in a bubble" (UDRI 2014) – a shortcoming, which only could be overcome by a more participatory planning process.

Consulting the public

While the TOR for the consultants mandated three 'probable' consultative workshops (MCGM 2009), the public pressure apparently was large enough that the MCGM considerably expanded the scope of the exercise. The workshops meant for experts on invitation-only basis were transformed into a series of thematic consultative workshops, which then were supplemented with ward-level workshops (*The Times of India* 02/01/2014). Notwithstanding a taste of the tokenism from the very beginning, these workshops, for the first time in Mumbai's planning history, created a 'public' arena of face-to-face interaction between planners and ordinary citizens. These newly created spaces of participation were celebrated as making "civic history" (Kamath and Joseph 2014) as the workshops were – supported by key organisations – turned into a spaces of claim making by combining expert presentations with the sharing of localized concerns and demands brought forward by residents. Varying considerably according to the theme discussed, and across the city's geography and the respective wards, the participation reflected the diversity of Mumbai's population (Kamath and Joseph 2015).

However, the effect of the consultative workshops on the actual drafting of the DP remained questionable (*The Times of India* 11/08/2014). Retrospectively, Aravind Unni, an activist of HSM, feels they have overestimated the potential of workshops: "This was a very forthcoming step taken by the civic body to have consultations with citizens. Unfortunately, we were expecting a lot more from the authorities" (*The Times of India* 18/02/2015a). At the same time, the MCGM officials did not find the outcome comprehensive and includable in the DP (Phatak 2016a). Nevertheless certain claims were made, such as slum dwellers do not want free housing (*Slum Housing Consultation* 2014), which challenged the assumptions of planning officers. Interestingly to note is that, due to the public nature of the workshops heretofore mostly invisible actors came out into the light. Namely these are the associations of the builders and developers, the Maharashtra Chamber of Housing Industry (MCHI), National Real Estate Development Council (NAREDCO) as well as technical professional, that is the Practicing Engineers Architects and Town Planners Association (PEATA).

Manoeuvring towards the development plan

While the workshops and elections made additional extensions necessary, adding to the delays and cost (*The Times of India* 22/08/2014), the finalization of the Draft

Development Plan[87] (EDDP) must have been hectic.[88] According to the MRTP, the only moment when the development plan in the form of a draft has to undergo public scrutiny is a 60-day phase of subjections and objections, after which the inputs would be considered and the revised DP would go to the next stage. Before publication, the EDDP was presented to the administration and the political wing of the MCGM, as well as to the Chief Minister and the representatives of various political parties (HSM 2015a). As the executive summary leaked to the press and various civil society groups, the excitement and expectation about the upcoming development plan reached new heights, particularly around the increased FSI and the proliferation of high-rises and increased densities (*The Times of India* 17/02/2015; *The Indian Express* 17/02/2015). Given the history, with its unprecedented public involvement, the publication and the subjection and objection phase was looked forward not only by the general public. On February 14th, only 11 days before publication, the responsible Municipal Commissioner Sitaram Kunte was quoted: "We expect maximum suggestions from Mumbaikars on it" (*The Times of India* 14/02/2015), an expectation that would be more then fulfilled.

Publishing the development plan

After the publication of the EDDP on 25th February 2015, the media coverage multiplied, trying to make sense of the 600 page strong document. The diverse civil society groups were on their guard and almost immediately started to point out difficulties (e.g. HSM 2015a), and soon every day new flaws and faults were unveiled, and the reported number of suggestion and objection letters started climbing into the thousands (e.g. *The Times of India* 18/04/2015b). As the controversies intensified, politicians jumped on the running train hoping to make for public opinions and votes (*The Times of India* 04/03/2015) and started to blame each other for the "mess" (*The Times of India* 04/03/2015). Whilst they have not raised concerns at the time the plan was presented to them before its publication, they were eager to scapegoat MCGM officials and consultants, having given in to vested interests (ZEE 24 TAAS 2015).

The opposition to the proposed draft DP grew into a veritable outcry which was spearheaded by UDRI, who started a campaign to "dump this DP", carried forward through social media and widespread media presence. Their homepage (DumpthisDP.org 2015) lists about thirty supporting organisations, mainly well established NGOs, local citizens groups originating predominantly from affluent neighbourhoods and several architectural offices, most of which focus on issues like governance, environmental and heritage concerns. They adopted the position that the EDDP was

87 The Draft Development Plan of 2015 was retrospectively named Earlier Draft Development Plan (EDDP) in order distinguish it from the Revised Draft Development Plan (RDDP). I will use these terms to ensure clarity.

88 Anonymous sources from the planning team claim that the publication date was suddenly pulled forward, leaving little time for final review.

conceptually so seriously flawed making necessary a full restart. Again they accused the EDDP to being "planned as if for the upper and middle class and the issues of the urban poor are totally unaddressed" and above all builder-friendly. In contrast, the participatory elements of the workshop were lip-service as "suggestions on Affordable Housing, Water and Sanitation, Health, Livelihoods, Environment and Transport have been ignored" and planning standards are further diluted (DumpthisDP.org 2015). In their endeavour to oppose the EDDP, sample letters for objection and online petition were initiated.

Similar differences as in the responses to the Preparatory Studies were visible between UDRI and HSM in their reaction to the EDDP. The latter preferred a corrective approach advocating for modifications within the DP rather than dumping it. Consequently their mode of expressing opposition was clearly distinguished from UDRI. On the one hand, HSM came up with a collective suggestion and objection letter (HSM 2015b). On the other hand, a large-scale mobilization of residents and community organisations culminated in a mass submission of suggestions and objections, with visible long queues outside the MCGM office and a large public rally on Azad Maidan (*DNA* 19/04/2015). Compared to UDRI, for HSM the most contentious issue is the absence of clear social goals, thus limiting the DP merely to a framework for real estate development. This is reflected in the dilution of norms of social infrastructure and services and the absence of plans for slums. Besides raising critique, they make some practical propositions to improve the EDDP, such as reserving all lands currently occupied by slums for "public housing" or developing guidelines for up-gradation and improvement of the same (HSM 2015b). Besides, they acknowledged the steps of the EDDP towards decentralized participatory plan making and implementation, but it did not go far enough in their eyes.

While these two civil society groups were by far not the only ones voicing their concerns[89], an opposition formed from an unexpected side. Those who supposedly would profit, i.e. the builders and developers turned against the EDDP, claiming the proposed change in FSI regulations and reduction of incentives would render their services unviable (*The Times of India* 18/04/2015a). The consequences of the impractical technicalities, which do not take into account the complexities of construction processes would affect future tenants the most. This position stands in contrast to earlier comments on the draft proposal, which welcomed the increase of FSI as the "only way to solve the perennial housing shortage", as it promises benefits for those redeveloping old buildings (*Live Mint* 03/03/2015). The "strange bedfellows against Mumbai's draft

89 For example there were groups formed around environmental questions particularly in respect to Mumbai's "green lounge" Aarey (*The Times of India* 18/02/2015b). In fact there was a wide variety of different groups, such as religious communities (e.g. *The Times of India* 08/04/2015) and even Bollywood stars (*The Indian Express* 29/03/2015; Arora 2015), who opposed the EDDP.

plan" went not unnoticed and the press pointed out the somehow contradicting critics from citizen and activists who "are crying foul about the unusually high floor space index" and the developers who "are sore about the zoning of floor space index" (*The Times of India* 20/04/2015).

Scrapping the development plan

In view of the widespread opposition and increasing public pressure Maharashtra's Chief Minister, Devendra Fadnavis announced an inquiry panel and that he will "scrap Development plan and start afresh if need be" (*The Times of India* 07/04/2015). Following the panel's recommendation, Fadnavis ordered the "scrapping of the controversial plan" on 21st April 2015 (*The Times of India* 21/04/2015), just three days before the end of the suggestion and objection phase, technically rendering them irrelevant. While the procedure foreseen by the MRTP act involves conducting personal hearings to redress the suggestions and objections, the 'scrapping' overrode the official provisions and instead Fadnavis ordered to revise the EDDP within four months. Subsequently, the MRTP was amended, back dated to April 23rd 2015, to accommodate the details of the review process[90]. Searching for accountability in the wake of these rather tumultuous events (*Hindustan Times* 22/04/2015), Ajoy Mehta was appointed as the new Municipal Commissioner replacing Sitaram Kunte (*The Indian Express* 28/04/2015), who oversaw most of the EDDP production and equally the consultants were excluded form the further process (*The Times of India* 06/05/2015).

Review process

At first there was confusion over the nature of the state's intervention: was the EDDP cancel or was it merely undergoing revision (*The Times of India* 29/04/2015). Adding to the confusion, multiple extensions to the initially four months were granted, until 31st May 2016. As the revision process became lengthy, the uncertainty about the extent of expected changes grew. Builders and developers argued that the created disarray in the real estate market would halt development and further aggravate the housing shortage (*Economic Times* 18/08/2015). In principle the legal situation was clear: As long as the revision process was going on, the stricter of the two, 91DP and EDDP, would prevail for examples for building approvals. Considering the financially viability, a representative of an international real estate consultant entrusted me, they had recommended their clients to push projects through under the previous development plan.

90 This fact was widely critiqued, among others by V.K. Phatak in an email circulating among members of civil society groups in which he dismantles the legal legitimization, its approach and effects of the Revised Draft Development Plan (RDDP) after it was published (Phatak 2016b).

A review committee headed by the veteran Indian Administrative Service officer Ramanath Jha, was set up to look into the "scrapped" DP. Their mandate was to "examine all the errors on the basis of the existing site conditions and its merits by considering the planning and legal issues and accordingly, make necessary changes corrections and republish the Draft Development plan for the purpose of inviting suggestions/objections" (MCGM 2016b). Reversing their earlier argument of a lack of planning expertise and human resources necessitating the hiring of consultants, the MCGM claimed to carry through the review process with his own staff[91] involving ward level officers to harness local knowledge (*The Times of India* 28/05/2015). Nevertheless, the team was reinforced with external planners.

While the suggestions and objections were technically void due to the timing of the "scrapping", the review committee nevertheless looked into the approximately 65'000 complaints and the numerous press reports. Additionally, the committee started inviting different groups, based on thematic expertise, to several closed-door meetings. Whilst in the beginning these meetings were oriented towards understanding the civil society's major concerns, over time the municipality's expectation vis-à-vis the civil society and expert groups shifted and they were looking for elaborated and concrete proposals. For example, they ought to carry out specific mappings, identify sites for amenities or prepare guidelines for implementation. Through this process of co-option, the controversies returned from the streets and public engagement, to round table discussions around fragmented and de-politicized technical negotiations. Similar to the meetings with civil society groups, the review committee accommodated private sector representatives, such as the professional association of the construction industry, namely PEATA, MCHI and NAREDCO, who expressed their opposition to the EDDP. Out of them, PEATA emerged as the key influential group consulting the review committee, especially regarding the Development Control Regulations (DCR) (Sukhatme 2016b).

During the review process the media coverage was firmly controlled by the MCGM, who regularly informed the media and made sure their own position was reflected. This stands in strong contrast to earlier phases, where the municipality's presence in the media was rather weak. Aiming to de-escalate the controversy, the MCGM, as part of their public outreach strategy, published various revised chapters individually, one at a time. This procedure was promoted to allow more time for public scrutiny. However, the most important chapters of the Revised Draft Development Plan (RDDP) were published last. In essence this left an equal amount of time, i.e. 60 days, for suggestion

91 In fact one of the consequences of the controversies is that the planning capacities of MCGM, which were built up during the phase of drafting the EDDP were completely abolished. The ignorance towards urban planning expertise reflected in the political decisions and carried forward by the MCGM was heavily critiqued as regressive move (Phatak 2016b).

and objection as in the previous round. The phased release resulted in substantially lower media coverage, both before and after the final publication.

Publishing the revised development plan

When the RDDP was released on 27/05/2016 a first analysis revealed radical changes compared with the EDDP, and HSM representatives argued the former DP was actually scraped, not reviewed[92]. Indeed the RDDP was perceived as a deceptive package, since on the one hand the RDDP report addressed certain social concerns raised by civil society groups, but which on the other hand only minimally integrated into the DCRs. This differentiation is particularly grave as the DCRs are the legally relevant part and the report is not. While the contested ELU, without ever being re-published after the public inputs, and the preparatory studies continued to be the DP's basis, the RDDP by and large returned to the conceptualisations and regulations of the 91DP. This meant not only that progressive elements proposed in the EDDP, such as Local Area Plans including elements of participation, were abolished, but also that the concept of incentive based redevelopment was back with unprecedented force. Additionally, norms and standards were tweaked in order to seemingly improve planning achievements, such as disclosing an increase of open spaces (Indorewala and Wagh 2016a). The lack of the latter was one of the most controversial issues. Similarly the environmental controversies around Mumbai's green lung Aarey flared up as well (*The Times of India* 01/06/2016). While slums were again missed out from the planning exercise (*Hindustan Times* 31/05/2016), the proposal to open up No Development Zones (NDZ) and saltpan lands for the newly introduced, but loosely defined, category of Affordable Housing was criticised from both housing and environmental activists (*Hindustan Times* 02/06/2016). Although a dedicated department for the provision of social housing – Maharashtra Housing and Development Authority (MHADA) – exists, the proposal for affordable housing stipulates the MCGM as the provider of the one million affordable housing units. This undertaking was critiqued as completely fallacious, as it was reliant upon land, which does not fall under MCGM jurisdiction. Furthermore, the proposal neglected fundamental economic principles, as it claiming to take out the cost of land from the calculation (Phatak 2016b). Interestingly, the critique of HSM and those from the former MCGM advisor for the EDDP, V.K. Phatak, resonated in their rejection of the RDDP.

In contrast associations of developers and practitioners like PEATA, MCHI and NAREDCO, were hugely in favour of the RDDP approach adopted, regarding both the mode of cooperation as well as the outcome. In a workshop promulgating the working and consequences of the proposed DCRs to the wider practitioners

92 Personal communication

community, representatives of PEATA thanked the review committee for their excellent collaboration (Sukhatme 2016b).

While critique on the RDDP was raised from diverse sides, the civil society groups did not find back to large scale collectivized actions. In contrast, the fragmentation initiated by the MCGM during the review process continued. For example after the publication of the RDDP yet another coalition of individuals and NGOs with a constituency in the affluent western suburbs and a focus on environment and transport issues Apna Mumbai Abhiyan (AMA) was formed (*Governance Now* 29/07/2016). Nevertheless several mass mobilization were carried out, by AMA (*The Times of India* 05/06/2016) and HSM (*Hindustan Times* 15/07/2016). Overall the dimension of open public protest was much lower, or at least less covered in the media, compared to the EDDP suggestion and objection phase. The Municipality was actively working towards containing the critique and 'artificially' played down the number of suggestions and objections by clubbing together those from the same organization (*The Times of India* 26/07/2016). The real dimension of the public participation in the suggestion and objection became only visible after a RTI filed by UDRI revealed the total number of 84'000 instead the 13'000 claimed by the MCGM (*The Times of India* 07/10/2016).

Epilogue

In January 2017 the planning committee, after a lengthy political tug of war over nominating its member, has completed the hearings. Out of the almost 13'000 acknowledged suggestions and objections 7'800 were addressed in hearings with 3400 citizens and several governmental agencies (*Hindustan Times* 06/01/2017). Out of this, the report included 2245 changes and recommendations. While the committee finalised the report, it was held back until after the election in March 2017. As the political and financial stakes are high, the development plan of India's richest municipal cooperation is caught up, once again, in election strategies (Koppikar 2017). The outcome of the election shifted the political power balance. While the Shiv Sena still holds the majority, the BJP saw massive wins nearly closing in at par with his former ally and rival. While the hot topic of the DP was by and large left aside during the election campaign, it was tabled soon thereafter as the report was presented to the newly constituted board. However, these elections saw the replacement of the many long-serving politicians by freshmen. Including two of the planning committee members lost their seats. The inexperience of these newly elected BMC corporators give raise to the demand to extend (again) the review period by another two month before it has to be submitted for final approval by the state government.

The report of the planning committee includes two recommendations worth pointing out. The first is on the level of the narrative of the DP, where it is all about choice of words and the promise they hold. The second is about the continuous efforts to enshrine alternative modes of (slum) development in the regulations that govern the city.

The steadfast aspiration to transform Mumbai into a World Class City finds an unlikely place of propagation. As the planning committee buys into this narrative, they identifie the DCRs as lacking to express this appropriately. "The regulations need to not only regulate but also promote development, thereby creating the required social infrastructure at par with amenities provided in any other developed city of the world" (MCGM 2017, 55). Consequently the report "suggested that the name of Development Control Regulations (DCR) be changed to Development Control and Promotion Regulations (DCPR) in order to market the civic body's various policies on land acquisition and development" (*Hindustan Times* 07/03/2017). While the vocabulary certainly reflects the ambitions and objectives of planners and pleases politicians, it brings unashamedly to the fore what the development plan ultimately is about.

The demands of civil society to make the cafeteria approach workable did not go unnoticed by the planning committee as the report notes. "NGO groups pointed out that though the RDDP report did suggest a need of a 'cafeteria' approach where a banquet of options are available for slum up-gradation and redevelopment, DCR 33(10) is the only option available" (MCGM 2017, 54). The "Planning Committee finds it imperative to look at alternative options for slum redevelopment" (ibid.) and recommends turning to UDRI's formulation of such an alternative approach and even attaches them in the appendix. In the planning committee report it looks like UDRI gets all the 'cafeteria' credits. However, they do not offer as detailed DCR formulations as HSM made for slum upgrading and claim that special DCRs must yet be formulated. The proposal itself in essence is focused on the process. Emphasising the importance of experts (a Ward-level Slum Upgradation Committee comprised of governmental representatives, local planning NGOs/institution and a ward level architect and urban planner), it details responsibility and competences and how the different steps of the planning process would accompany urban development.

UDRI proposal is interesting in as far as it intends to use incentive FSI to encourage incremental development encourage slum dwellers to upgrade their houses. For example, it suggests granting incentive FSI for the installation of toilets or permit additional FSI when slum dweller redevelop their houses within a given timeframe. In this approach slum dwellers are treated similarly to formal landowners, who have to give up land for services and infrastructure implementation and would be compensated

with TDR. Using the same tools to control and promote urban development, incentive FSI and TDR, could be interpreted as treating slums at equal level as the rest of the city. On the level of advocating for incremental urbanism this proposal can also be seen as a strategic move.

Notwithstanding all these innovative suggestions, it is again not in the DCR where these alternative modes are inscribed but in the appendix of the legally non-binding report. Even worse, incremental urbanisation is with this proposal actually relegated away from the DP. "If this approach is accepted, a separate set of Development Control and Promotion Regulations for enabling Slum Upgradation, could then be formulated for implementation by the SRA Special Planning Authority" (MCGM 2017, 54). With this formulation, the planning committee actually again denies incremental development a place within the framework of the DP and passes the hot iron on to the SRA. Yet, it is UDRI itself who makes this proposition. As that SRA remains the planning authority for slums and it is thus responsible for formulating the corresponding DCRs for alternative development approaches.

With this proposal the planning committee report offered the MCGM, its elected representative as well as the MMRDA including the Chief Minister, who in the end sanctions the DP, an easy way out of the dilemma. At once the importance and need for alternative modes of urban development – i.e. incremental urbanism – can be acknowledged and at the same time the responsibility relegated away. This might also point to the fact that the DP is not the only arena where to fight for incremental urbanism.

At the time of writing, the DP is still awaiting governmental approval. Meanwhile, the political wing of the MCGM is negotiating its standpoint before passing on the task to the state government.

9.2 Reassembling the controversies

Accounting for the historical course of events that constitute the controversies is important when we want to understand how contemporary planning in Mumbai is done. It allows us to understand how and on what terms the different actors were engaged in the controversies at different points in time and which concerns they raised. As argued elsewhere (Baitsch et al. 2016), the historicity of the controversies — i.e. its unfolding in time and the way criticism and indignation were nurtured — is essential in order to understand its dimension and the changing intensity of the diverse moments. Indeed, for a deeper understanding of the dynamics inherent to planning processes one has to know the multiple sequential events in the making of the DP, where the first troubles and conflicts of interpretation arose and which set

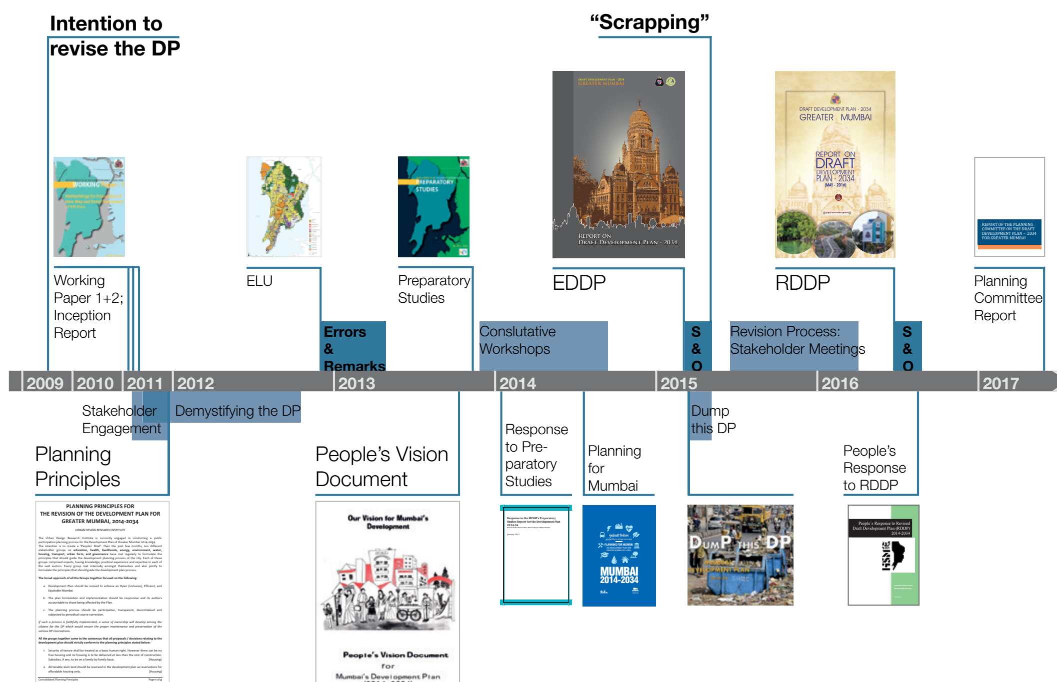


Figure 34 Timeline of the development plan controversies
Key moments and documents relevant for this study. Publications and events initiated by the State are represented above the timeline and civil society engagements and publications below.

the path for the public controversy. Figure 34 gives an overview of the course of the controversies and the key moments and documents produced.

In the beginning only a handful of involved actors within the municipal corporation engaged with the DP. At this moment some early decisions were made, such as the choice to hire consultants and hold consultative workshops. These first steps enlarged the circle of actors and initiated active mobilisation efforts from the side of local experts, notably the UDRI-led stakeholder engagement. At first, intended to support the municipality in drafting the plan, their position shifted to the opposition, which they made public via media coverage. In this process towards enlarged public participation in the controversies, HSM emerged with its distinct position and constituency, as well as differing mode of engagement. Finally, the developers', builders' and planners' associations openly entered the controversies, causing the barrel to overflow. Given the numerous incidents building up on each other, the 'scrapping' of the DP has to be seen as a moment in a long series of events leading to this climax of the controversies and which was followed by an equally long series of subsequent events. Similarly on the side of the corporation the planning team was exchanged completely and along with this the approach towards the DP changed, so was the mode of engagement.

The account of the controversies presented above is necessarily a reduction of an even more complex engagement with urban planning and development. Consequently, certain actors and debates are purposely left aside in order to sharpen the focus. The intention lies on shedding light on those actors and their (changing) positions, who were most actively engaged around issues of housing and who offer 'solutions' to slums. All outspoken actors in the controversies claim to act in the name of the poor as they fight for a better urban future. Despite this seemingly common basis the actors differ considerably, in particular in the way they intend to address Mumbai's housing question by employing different means and through different logics. The later will be the object of analysis in the following chapter.

The analysis of the DP in the making and the focus on planning as a co-produced process allows the voices of actors to be highlighted, which often are unheard in studies of enacted master plans. Hence this approach sheds light on how incremental urbanisation is negotiated in Mumbai over the course of events surrounding the crafting of its new DP, if and how incremental development as a possible mode of urban transformation finds a place in official planning frameworks.

The controversies illustrate that planning instruments such as the DP are fragile constructions, which change and adapt under the pressure of (public) critique. In this process opportunities and orders are created, while inequalities and oppressions are either eased or produced anew. Over the dynamic unfolding of the controversy, arguments – such as incremental development are a valid form of urbanisation or that incentivised redevelopment projects reduce housing scarcity – are constituted and embedded in conflicting cosmos. In that sense, this approach puts the focus on the controversies surrounding a particular knowledge rather than facts and statistics; more precisely it focuses on the process of its production and stabilisation. How this knowledge is constructed is the topic of the following chapter.

10 The controversies as a confrontation of conflicting cosmos

The preceding chapter unfolded the controversies as a series of interconnected events, where diverse actors attempt to frame urban development according to their respective visions of Mumbai's future. This chapter takes a closer look at the arguments the different actors and groups of actors brought forward during the controversies. This is done through an analysis of key documents (Table 5) produced during the controversies that were intended to support the respective arguments. By evoking a series of legitimisation principles, they each create a specific cosmos as they establish a particular compromise between two or several orders of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot

		Author
64DP	Mumbai's first Development Plan sanctioned in 1964	BMC (MCGM)
91DP	Mumbai's second Development Plan sanctioned in parts between 1991 and 1994	BMC (MCGM)
Working Papers 1 + 2, Inception Report	Define working methodology and land use classifications	MCGM / EGIS
ELU	Existing Land Use plan established in preparation for the EDDP	MCGM / EGIS
Preparatory studies	"Objectives for development plan" and "principles for the formulation of proposals" (MCGM 2013, 18).	MCGM / EGIS
EDDP	Earlier Draft Development Plan	MCGM / EGIS
RDDP	Revised Draft Development Plan	MCGM
MMR RP	Metropolitan Mumbai Region Regional Plan	MMRDA
Vision Mumbai	A vision of transforming Mumbai into a World Class City mandated by Bombay First	McKinsey & Company
PVD	People's Vision Document: A people's "vision of the kind of city they wish to live in" (HSM 2013, ii)	HSM
Planning Principles		Stakeholder Engagement

Table 5 Key Documents

2006). In urban planning four worlds are of major interest: the industrial, civic, market, and to a lesser extent the domestic world. However, as compromises, these cosmos are fragile and require constant investment for maintenance and adaption in order to withstand internal and external critique. Such investment is even greater for the creation of a 'new' compromise, such as the EDDP. This chapter attempts to map the different cosmos, revealing their relation to the four foundational worlds and their internal relations.

Standing in a conflictive relation to each other, the cosmos constitute the basis from where critique is raised. The analysis of the different cosmos and their mutual critiques allows us to point out the internal coherence of each cosmos and brings the elements (objects, actors and concepts) to the fore, highlighting which are important and which are less so. By establishing such a value system, each of them creates a corresponding ordering principle, which informs not only the conceptualisation of planning but is also translated into its tools of transformation.

The chapter analyses four positions present in the controversies, which all correspond to one cosmos. I start with the "planning cosmos" inherent to the EDDP and which initiated the controversies by challenging the existing order. The cosmos in question is the one of the advocates of the status quo, who defend a "project cosmos". Thirdly there is the "use-oriented cosmos" that informs the activities of HSM and that raises fundamental opposition against the former two. The analysis concludes with the "cosmos of user-advocacy" guides the activities of UDRI and the stakeholder engagement.

Alongside the ordering principles of each cosmos the analysis looks into the way in which the production of housing is envisaged and conceptualised in each cosmos. As one of the most contested subjects of the controversies, the planning tool FSI stands at the centre of interest.

10.1 Establishing a fragile compromise – The EDDP

Together with the DCR and the actual map(s), the Development Plan Report is a compulsory piece of the development plan as mandated by the MRTP act. In the case of the EDDP the report is an almost five hundred page-long document and explains at once the planning process and the data on which it is based. It also expresses the concepts that stand behind the planning tools and regulations, which are formulated in the DCRs. It is a comprehensive overview of the arguments and rationales that inform the EDDP and sheds light on its perspective on the city and planning. While the report is not a legally binding document it serves as justification of how planning is perceived, sets the goals of planning and explains the intentions of how they are

achieved. With respect to the controversies this distinction of the three parts of the DP is important. While in the EDDP the report is in line with the DCRs and together with the maps represents a coherent and complementing piece of work, this is not the case for the RDDP, which gave rise to a number of critiques.

The EDDP report starts with a letter by the major, a letter to the citizens of Mumbai by the responsible municipal commissioner Sitaram Kunte, and a prologue by Vidyadhar Phatak, the municipal advisor. Principally, the report is structured in three parts, briefly recapitulated below to illustrate the construction of the argument. All parts engage with planning as an undertaking and discipline, its aims and limits, and hence situate the current exercise in a tradition of planning. At the same time the focus lies on the case of Mumbai and the particular content of existing and proposed planning tools.

Part one, entitled *Context and Challenges,* contextualises the DP planning exercise in legal, territorial and historical terms and puts it in relation to the larger territorial and administrative context of the region. This is complemented by an assessment of Mumbai's geography, population, social and physical infrastructural features and an analysis of the existing land use and built-up space where the focus lies on FSI and density. This part ends with an analysis of the efficiency and drawbacks of existing planning tools. The second part, *Visualizing the Future*, lays out projections for the time during which the DP is supposed to be in force, and clarifies on which basis the DP was elaborated. This includes demographic, economic and employment projections based on past trends, on which the vision and objectives for the DP are elaborated. The third part, *Proposals*, translates the previously evaluated challenges and postulated prospective development into operational planning concepts to frame future development. After outlining the planning procedures, the focus lies on the proposed changes in zoning and the introduced concept of transit-oriented development. Finally, the conceptualisation of FSI as a tool for managing physical development and the new FSI paradigm is presented.

In general, the report follows a 'classical' line of argument: from an outline of the existing situation, consequences and projections for the future are derived in order to legitimise the proposed planning interventions. The arguments illustrate the importance given to the historical context in the sense of learning from the past. The specificity of the present situation then is meticulously surveyed in order to assess the challenges and potentials for future development. The proposals then are presented as logical consequences, if one does not want to repeat the mistakes from the past and aims at maximally utilising Mumbai's development potential. The ordering principles, which underpin this argument, are subject of the following. Thereby I map the different worlds that pervade the report and how they are translated into planning tools.

10.1.1 A civic legitimisation of the EDDP?

On the basis of the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966 (MRTP), the state commissions local planning authorities to draft a DP. The MRTP defines the purview of the DP under section 22 as defining provisions for controlling and regulating the use and development of land, thus turning the DP itself into a legal instrument applicable for a specified territory. In fact, the MRTP is primarily concerned with the procedure of developing a DP and less with its content. Hence, it creates and appoints the responsible authorities and reporting structures and defines the different phases of DP development and means of communication. One can argue that such an act is fundamentally rooted in a civic logic, where it is of foremost importance to prescribe the relations of the (state) actors within it and their respective responsibilities. The legal mandate also defines the limits of the DP, territorially as well as regarding its content. This is the reason the EDDP carefully defines the territory of its influence and sets apart territories allocated to other planning authorities, such as those for SPA (Table 6), avoiding any conflicts of responsibility. As a legal mandate the EDDP finds its legitimisation to a certain extent in a civic logic. From the perspective of the law the EDDP is embedded in a civic world where democratic legitimised representatives (i.e. the state of Maharashtra) appoint (territorial) authorities (i.e. MCGM) to elaborate regulations for collective cohabitation (i.e. the DP) while following a procedure defined by law (i.e. the MRTP Act).

The legal argument is often voiced in the controversies when defending and explaining the mandate of the DP and the production procedure it follows. Such recourse to the law discharges the EDDP from adhering to the principle of equality held high in a civic world, and which supposedly is engrained in the legislative texts. All the same, the EDDP is challenged on that field when, for example, the inhabitants of special planning zones are declared as voters but not as beneficiaries of the plan (dumpthisDP.org). However, the EDDP avails itself of catering to the entire population. Hence the EDDP claims that it is including the whole population, even those living on terrains excluded from the DP, as it is based on the census to elaborate, for instance, its demographic predictions or the calculations of needed built-up space and amenities. The census, as a primary tool to establish the relationship between the state and the individual, is extensively used in the elaboration of an understanding of the existing situation as well as in creating the predictions. Evoking the entire population, for whose service the plan stands, refers to the civic superior principle of the collective and aims at reinstating its democratic legitimacy.

Under the header of inclusionary development, the EDDP ultimately promises and aims at creating housing for all by the proposed revision of the development control regulations. In so doing it is addressing one of the most pressing issues of Mumbai, i.e.

Special Planning Zone	Special Planning Authorities	Area (sqkm)	Per cent of Total Area
Backbay Reclamation Scheme	MMRDA	2.4	
Bandra Kurla Complex	MMRDA	6.0	
Oshiwara District Centre	MMRDA	1.1	
Wadala Truck Terminus	MMRDA	1.2	
Dharavi Notified Area	SRA	2.4	
Mumbai (CS) International Airport	MMRDA	8.5	
Recreation and Tourism Development Zone	MMRDA	20.0	
Marol Industrial Area and SEEPZ	MIDC	1.4	
TOTAL Area under Special Planning Authority		43.2	9.4
TOTAL DP PLANNING AREA		415.1	90.6
TOTAL MCGM AREA		458.3	100.00

Table 6 Special Planning Zones
SPZs and their respective special planning authorities, and percentage of territory in respect to the total MCGM Area. Adapted from EDDP (MCGM 2015b)

its housing shortage. A goal to which both preceding DPs dedicated themselves and that both equally failed to attain. The future housing demand has been computed on the basis of population and employment predictions in order to assess the required overall Built Up Area (BUA), which would allow for housing all future inhabitants of Mumbai (EDDP p. 313 onwards). Adapting the FSI to the required space demand would ‘facilitate inclusionary housing’ by ‘ensuring adequacy of development rights to cater to housing supply and increase affordability’ (EDDP p. 248). Setting such a goal for the entire population and orienting the DP towards reaching it is a political endeavor and as such forms the basis of a civic world. However, the way to reach the goal, as we will see, is firmly rooted in the logic of the market.

Evoking the law and procedures defined by it as the legal framework lends the EDDP juristic legitimisation but does not necessarily root it in a civic world, which highly values procedures and representation. Rather, incorporating elements pertaining to a civic world points to its composite nature and the compromise it strikes between several worlds. However, equality as the guiding principle of a civic world is not put forward as a supporting principle of the EDDP. The demographic argument of taking into account Mumbai’s entire population as the basis for its proposal and thus adopting

an inclusionary approach is what comes closest to the principle of equality. But the EDDP envisions primarily an 'inclusionary' market and less so the aim of working towards equality among Mumbai's inhabitants. Nevertheless, the EDDP's scope to plan for the whole city and its inhabitants seems to offer potential links with a civic world, which shares the same dimension of concern.

10.1.2 EDDP's roots in an industrial world

Planning in its most general term is an essential part of the industrial world. In the broadest sense planning is the coordination of all necessary beings to make them work together. While such coordination possesses both spatial and temporal dimensions, planning in general is oriented towards the future. It is driven by the urge to constantly improve and (re-)structure the present in the best manner to achieve a better future. In this understanding planning in general and as a discipline is completely in accord with the industrial world. Sulakshana Mahajan, a senior planner from Mumbai Transformation Support Unit (MTSU), summarised it simply: "Planning is looking at the future, taking stock of the present and looking at past mistakes." (Mahajan 2016). Thus, it is not surprising that we essentially find this industrial conception of planning reflected in the EDDP report. Already its structure indicates a highly analytical and rational approach to the challenges of planning. An assessment of existing and past development is followed by a prognosis of the future in order to present proposals on how to handle current and (predicted) future challenges.

To better understand the position of the EDDP, it is revealing in what light it judges its predecessors. Reviewing the two past development plans (64DP and 91DP), the report analyses these planning efforts in respect to achieving their self-set goals. The main goals were threefold: the decongestion of the Island City by restraining the population growth, the promotion of affordable housing, and the provision of land for public purpose. To achieve these goals, corresponding planning tools were developed, notably a low FSI, which ought to contain growth and density. Incentive FSI and Transferable Development Right (TDR) were introduced mostly through amendments to stimulate private parties to contribute to the provision of land or built space for public purpose. The same tools were put in place in order to rehabilitate slums and renew old housing stock. With respect to public housing, land was marked with respective reservations.

The EDDP's verdict on the performance of its forerunners is scathing. Regarding the provision of land for public purpose they "have not made sufficient headway" and efforts relating to affordable housing "did not yield perceptible results" (MCGM 2015b, ix). The report implies that this is due to a double misconception of planning. On the one hand their hypotheses about future development, especially population growth,

have proven inaccurate. Both plans stipulated population growth in contradiction to what the “trend suggested” at the time (MCGM 2015b, ix). Worse even, not only did predictions prove to be without basis but also hard facts on the ground were ignored. For example, the 91DP was “designed for [a] population of 9.8 million while the population itself crossed the 12 million” mark (MCGM 2015b, ix). On the other hand, and as these ‘failures’ of past planning efforts prove, the capability of planning to actively shape reality and direct development was largely overrated. The employed planning tools, particularly FSI, as both growth restriction and incentive tool, turned out to be not fit for purpose.

The EDDP’s assessment of past planning experience is largely a critique issued from within an industrial world and reveals its embeddedness in the same. The critique refers to the primary principles of efficiency, which structures this world. Planning is considered under the rubric of achieving its goals, which in the case of 64DP and 91DP shows at best poor “perceptible results”. The judgments based on the performance or rather underperformance of planning tools clearly can be located in an industrial world, where their efficient deployment is the central dimension of evaluation. Efficiency rests on a correct assessment of reality. Ignoring emerging changes – misjudging the dynamics of population growth – and thereby failing to adapt to an unfolding future is hence judged as a major lapse of both former DPs. This orientation towards a dynamic future and adapting to changing conditions is central in an industrial world, where it is crucial to make ‘sufficient headway’ to keep up with progress.

The former DPs obviously did not take stock of the present carefully enough and they misjudged what they possibly could achieve – restraining population growth. Hence, they did not stand the test of time, which comes in the form of implementation because they did not master the tools of planning. This failure manifests itself on the one hand in the lack of affordable housing with the consequence of proliferation of slums and on the other hand in the lack of provision of land for public purpose and the subsequent shortage of public amenities and infrastructure as well as the incapability to protect open spaces.

From this historical analysis, the EDDP shows the importance of establishing a ‘realistic understanding of the existing situation’ in order not to repeat the same mistakes. Such a solid fundament would allow the mastering of the complexities involved in the making and implementation of the EDDP. For this, “the plan preparation exercise conducted primary and secondary surveys that would provide precise data at a fine level of disaggregation” (MCGM 2015b, ix). Consequently, this assessment is given substantial weight – almost the same as the proposal, which it has to legitimise. Slightly more than two hundred of the close to five hundred pages, or around 45%, of the entire report are dedicated to it. To manage the effort of measuring, quantifying,

and mapping Greater Mumbai, the territory was subdivided and "the twenty-four administrative wards […] were further disaggregated into 150 Planning Sectors" (ibid, x). The assessment of "land use distribution, population and employment distribution, existing FSI consumption patterns, access to social and physical infrastructure" (ibid, x) was then made on all levels. To support this endeavour contemporary planning tools and equipment such as GIS and satellite images are introduced, making it possible to operate at parcel level. As a basis for the evaluation, the maps were digitalised and a GIS database established, which "serves as a platform for the integration of all spatial and non-spatial data for Greater Mumbai" (ibid, x). Such centralisation of all relevant data at high territorial resolution in a computable model would allow "technology enabled decision making" on the basis of "parametric urban analysis," for example through the computation of "growth scenarios" (ibid, x).

The analysis of a complex situation by 'disaggregation', spatially and sector-wise, is typical for a rational approach under an industrial logic, which aims at mastering complexity at every level. Such a meticulous analysis – ordering, numbering, measuring and mapping – is done in order to understand the functioning of the city, its elements and the interaction between them. Only an analysis of 'precise data' with a 'substantial degree of detail', which is 'integrated' in an overarching system[93] will result in a 'realistic understanding' of the city's functioning. Accurate projections and operational proposals can be developed, which address the city's challenges and make use of its potentials. All of these steps necessitate a large series of decision-making and efforts in order to tame the unpredictable nature of beings and make them accountable within an industrial world. We know that the activity of counting and measuring involves previous investments in creating categories and definitions to render beings countable (Thévenot 1984). This process of category making, or categorisation, necessarily includes and excludes certain beings. In the case of the industrial logic relevant are only beings and means, which contribute to the efficient functioning of the city.

Such obsession with accuracy and the strong belief in technical mastery culminates in the perception of the computability of future development. Computation allows for prediction when one assumes a cause-effect relation between different elements. In an industrial world such relations have a temporal and a spatial dimension. The temporal dimension, and particularly the orientation towards the future, is evident in 'scenarios' and 'projections' of prospective development. The importance of the spatial dimension becomes clear in the report's attention given to territorial 'distribution' and 'access'. Prediction becomes more accurate as the more 'detailed' the data is on which the calculation is based, the better the relations between the elements are understood.

93 GIS stands for Geographic Information System.

Furthermore, both data and relations must be expressible numerically in order to run calculations limiting and at the same time defining possible relevant elements and relations.

With the advancement in information technology, computerisation allowed the objective handling of massive data[94]. Such innovation is perceived to advance planning as a discipline. While gaining in accuracy – reaching the level of individual parcels – the discipline still remains capable of managing large-scale processes. This step combines large-scale planning with meticulous control over the smallest entity of planning. Therefore, it brings together what belongs together. From this perspective, the bits and pieces, including their territorial and temporal distribution, form the parts of the 'system' called the city, which is completely represented in the GIS system. The city, then, is at once the object of planning intervention as well as its outcome.

Besides the prediction of the future and 'enabling decision-making', accurate data is also important for the evaluation of planning and monitoring the performance of implementation. Such tools of assessment and optimisation were put forward as a proposal at the very end of the EDDP report. This represents an innovative measure in the context of planning efforts in Mumbai. The two former DPs did not contain monitoring provisions and legal acts such as the MRTP do not foresee such tasks, neither is the rate of implementation visible in financial reports or budgets (MCGM 2015b, 467). Hence, in the past, the implementation level was never measured and different numbers circulated. However, in the Indian context, planning in Mumbai usually is seen as having a comparatively high implementation rate.[95] The inefficient planning of the past becomes evident when planners talk about a low implementation rate. In order to fulfil its own expectations on what good planning means, the EDDP proposes a 'Monitoring and Evaluation system for the DP not mandated by law'. Interestingly, the legal framework is not pertinent when requirements arising from an industrial logic make it necessary to extend the EDDP's own mandate. This points to the importance of the creation of a coherent world. Through the proposed monitoring and evaluation of a possibly changing context, land use and built up fabric, DP output such as the acquisition of land for public purpose and DP implementation would both inform an intermediate revision of the plan. By way of such a built-in assessment, planning is brought to the test of efficiency and permits keeping up with the pace of progress.

94 Delegating the calculation of individual cases to the machine necessities to implement generalising principles or integrating more and more complex relations into the calculation.

95 The percentage varies considerable ranging from 12% (Joshi and Gupta 2014, 144). Quoting the MCGM, the EDDP claims an implementation rate greatly varying by sector from 25% (social) to 40% (transport) (MCGM 2015b). In a report YUVA claims that the anyway low implementation was carried out unequally across the city to the disadvantage of the urban poor (Unni and Khare 2013).

As orientation towards the future is typical in an industrial world, so is the fear of becoming outdated. Addressing this fear requires constant investments in the updating of methods and processes. Both of these characteristic patterns are present within the proposal. The fear of becoming outdated is countered by the installation of monitoring and evaluation processes to adapt to changing situations. In addition, the introduction of Local Area Plans (LAPs) as a planning tool with a turnover of five years is proposed to complement the long-term approach of the DP. This would guarantee a much faster adaption to changing situations and to local needs.

The proposals for LAPs make evident an additional dimension of the self-conception of the EDDP, which highlights the relation between the planners and citizens or the experts and laymen. The planners perceive themselves as specialists, who master the complexity of the task. They have the overview and the insights into relevant relations and interdependencies of planning. Thus it is their task to work out the overarching framework that is the DP and the laymen would decide on the subsidiary level of the LAP. Similarly, the consultative approach followed in the process of drafting the EDDP reflects this view. In a series of consultative workshops different groups were invited to consult the planners. While first these workshops were open only for NGO and other experts, they were later opened to the general public. The envisioned character was that of an information session, where the plan was conveyed to the people. The diverse participants could raise their concerns and make remarks and inputs. However, the discretionary power remained with the planners. Whether — and how — inputs from the NGOs and the public were incorporated was left to the planners. It was up to them to translate public requests into objects of planning or leave them out.

While the long-term and overarching plan is the domain of planning experts, who at best consult the public, the short-term local area plans are more open for participation. The lesser knowledge of the public corresponds to a planning level of lesser importance, both with respect to time and territory. The lower level of local area plans allows for a wider spectrum of actors and more public participation is foreseen. This understanding, where every person is assigned a role at a level at which he or she is capable to contribute, is owed to the industrial world's urge to use the human potential most efficiently. That is, the most efficient way of organising the task of planning and assuring that a masterful plan is worked out. The logic of such a hierarchical assignment is made explicit when the EDDP describes the consultative approach. The limited understanding of the public on how planning works and in particular what a DP is dealing with is reflected in demands that lay beyond the scope of the DP:

> [The] consultative process followed for DP 2034, revealed that, in the absence of such sectoral plans in the public domain, the expectations are that DP should

> also deal with all such sectoral plans. However, that is impractical. It is therefore envisaged that these sectoral plans are also placed in public domain. (MCGM 2015b, xi)

In the perception of the public the DP came to mean planning at large, standing for progress as well as for its failures. This stands in contrast to the planners' perspective, who understand the DP as limited – i.e. it is just one element in the machinery of administrating the city. The grade of knowledge should correspond to the contribution in the planning process. Such a position is in accordance with the industrial demand of efficient utilisation of means, which is in the case of drafting a DP the deployment of human potential (expert and laymen) at the right level to assure the best performance. This position is also defended in the controversies, when planners stipulate that a minimum of planning knowledge ought to be required for the suggestion and objection phase.

10.1.3 From prescriptive planning to enabling framework

The critique on past planning efforts about the failure of their prognosis mostly comes from within the industrial world. Predictions about future development can still be done, although with a careful assessment of the existing baseline and constant monitoring and periodic evaluation. Thus, the EDDP calculates 'scenarios' (although it presents only one) and focuses on the projection of fundamental developments such as demographic trends, thereby building on national and international comparisons of cities. In contrast to this internal criticism about the insufficiency of past planning stands the external criticism about the very conception of planning as deterministic, which is seen as standing at the basis of past failures. As the experience of Mumbai illustrated, one cannot (anymore) conceive planning as capable of actively shaping and directing development. This critique is directed at the historically political project of the welfare state, which was rooted in a compromise between the industrial and civic worlds, promising the creation of a better future thanks to thorough planning. This disillusion led to a loss of confidence in planning. As the future appears more and more uncertain it forces planners to adapt their strategies, leaving behind the comfortable certainty of a foreseeable and designable future. Deprived of their tools, which proved useless, planners turn towards formulating guidelines. At its basis it is this changed conception of planning, for which the EDDP argues:

> Given uncertainties in the global market and various technological innovations that are likely to occur but not known at present, it is not possible for planners to be prescriptive and deterministic about development 20 years ahead of time. The DP therefore makes a paradigm shift and conceives it as a broad framework

> within which it should be possible to respond to unfolding context. (MCGM 2015b, xi)

This call for a 'need for a paradigm shift' in the conception of planning has far-reaching consequences for the DP's objectives. Instead of a planner-determined future, the DP formulates a vision that serves as guideline for the transformation of the city. In order to formulate its vision, the EDDP refers to the 11th and 12th Five Year Plan by the Central Government's Planning Commission (p. 241). They state that as Indian cities are at the centre of national economic growth, which emphasises the need to make them more 'liveable, inclusive bankable and competitive'. Further it refers to diverse 'visions' that were developed since the turn of the century by various authors. At the beginning of this series stands the 'Vision Mumbai' by Bombay First and McKinsey & Company (McKinsey 2003), promoting the transformation of Mumbai into a World-Class City. This vision heavily influenced all subsequent reports referred to by the EDDP. The Vision plan was adopted by governmental agencies, such as the MCGM and MMRDA and the state government (Banerjee-Guha 2009). The DP inscribes itself in this tradition and states its objective: "[t]o enable the transformation of Greater Mumbai into a Global City that is Inclusive, Sustainable, Liveable, and Efficient" (MCGM 2015b, 243). Complementing the visions to which it refers, the EDDP attempts to operationalise them by 'enabl[ing] the transformation' from vision to reality. The 'paradigm shift' in the way the future is envisaged necessitates the re-conceptualisation of the DP as a 'broad framework', turning away from 'prescriptive and deterministic' planning and embracing an 'enabling' approach. Hence, the EDDP establishes 'enabling regulatory conditions', which would allow for the emergence of 'Greater Mumbai as a Competitive, Inclusive and Sustainable City' (MCGM 2015b, xi).

The shift from a 'prescriptive' to (un)predictable future corresponds to a shift in hierarchy of the involved world. The composition of the cosmos is rearranged. The collective-oriented civic world shaped by an expert-driven industrial world gave way to a world where industrial efficiency reigns in a competitive market world. Or in the words of the EDDP: the political project of a planner-determined future has been replaced by a broad framework reactive to the 'uncertainties in the global market'. Before turning to the role of the market in the EDDP, I will point to some of the consequences of this shift in the industrial principles.

As the EDDP acknowledges, that withdrawal from active engagement in shaping the city's development and transformation is not sufficiently compensated by establishing a regulatory framework. Thus, it repeatedly defines the limits of the 'broad framework'. The tasks the EDDP cannot or does not want to carry out necessitates a series of complementing measures on different levels and involvement and responsibilities of

various municipal authorities. Some of these tasks fall outside the mandate of the DP but are nevertheless essential for the functioning of the city:

> […] it is essential that the DP has to be accompanied by Sectoral plans for effective service delivery. The sectors would include water supply and sanitation, waste management, roads and transport, primary education and healthcare. Effective service delivery will require attention to both spatial and non-spatial infrastructure needs. Although the DP makes provisions for the spatial needs of infrastructure sectors for the next 20 years, a sectoral plan every 5 – 10 year periods would be required so as to address concerns regarding investments and institutional capacity building for better service delivery. (MCGM 2015b, xi)

The EDDP makes clear that the relation with urban services situated in sectors outside the scope of the DP is limited to 'spatial provision'. Disassociation and delegation of tasks is a classical move in strategic planning, which turns to city 'management by project'. Other responsibilities, which were previously – or could be regarded as – within the purview of a DP, such as place-based regulations, special streetscapes or architectural features, are delegated to second-tier planning levels:

> As a corollary of the DP as a broad framework detailed Local Area Plans are proposed to be prepared as the second tier of plans. The plans may require some changes in the DP, its regulatory framework as also specific investment programs. (MCGM 2015b, xi)

With the proposed introduction of LAPs, the EDDP justifies leaving out the aspirations and responsibilities of a comprehensive master plan. Dealing with local particularities is assigned to lower levels of planning where local requirements would be tackled. The EDDP, as a framework, then takes on a directive and guiding character, which is primarily reduced to spatial distribution. While only occupied with overarching general objectives the EDDP 'is largely a spatial plan and, therefore, has a narrower sphere of operation' (p. 242). Such a view on the objectives and capabilities of a DP as a planning tool grants it a rather limited role and clearly reduces the importance it plays in the making of the city.

> [It] can only provide a spatial framework within which various public service investments can be planned and evolved, and within which the real estate market can function competitively and efficiently. (MCGM 2015b, 242)

As this statement makes clear, the primary role in shaping the city is assigned to the market. It is the same market logic, stretching across public and private sectors, which will inform the framework.

10.1.4 The EDDP as framework for a just market

The reading presented up to this point suggests that above all an industrial logic was put forward which historical plans failed to comply with. In addition, the undertakings of the EDDP stand in line with this logic as it updates the tools and means of planning to today's requirements and possibilities. The computational force available would allow one to control and order the city in its most efficient way. In that sense the EDDP then presents itself as a reviewed version of the two preceding plans. However, the EDDP expresses a second level of critique of historical planning efforts, which originates in another world, the market. This critique is highly intertwined with and in fact supported by the industrial critic. In that sense the reason for the failing of preceding planning efforts – as evident for example in low implementation rate or the housing crisis – is not only to be found in wrong assumptions about future development or the misjudged capacities of planning, but primarily in a wrong understanding of the functioning of the city and in particular the functioning of the real estate market. The enormous effort of rationally ordering all relevant elements to make them work together did not yet consider how these elements relate to each other. The mode of functioning is determined by the way the different elements relate to each other. While there are spatial and temporal dimensions, the primary relation – as put forward by the EDDP – is one of competition in a market place. The functioning of the city is equated to the working of the market where competition ensures the way to development.

Consequently the major critique issued on past planning efforts and the explanation of their 'failure' is that legal and planning frameworks created a distorted market. From the perspective of a market world, Mumbai's housing crisis is a result of a heavily distorted market due to planning interventions that erected 'supply side restrictions' (MCGM 2015b, 304). The primary intervention, the EDDP argues, was to use planning tools in order to control population distribution and density through the restriction of built-up space. To do so FSI was the primary tool envisaged for containing population growth[96]. FSI and development rights were kept low, expecting that the population growth would follow the physical patterns prescribed by the planners. The results of this misconception were disastrous. The intentionally low FSI permitted little scope for overall construction and led to scarcity of development rights. In turn this translated into increased real estate prices. Further, on a legal level it requires many exceptions, and on an individual level encourages breaching the prescribed FSI, which in turn resulted in a high administrative expenditure. While on the supplier side the restrictive FSI regime is 'time-consuming and costly', the demand side struggles with 'increased

96 The EDDP points to other causes for the housing crisis, which equally contributed to the market distortions: The Land Ceiling Act and the Rent control Act (EDDP p. 214). Both of which have abolished, but both are not in the purview of the DP. Meanwhile FSI is regulated within the framework of the DP and thus can be handled.

real estate prices'. The EDDP summarises the consequences this of misconception as follows:

> Scarcity of development rights due to suppressed FSI led to market distortions and a complex transaction process that is time consuming and also costly. Thus, it is imperative to seek a new paradigm for the FSI regime in DP 2034. (MCGM 2015b, xxvii)

In a world guided by market principles, a distorted market certainly cannot create a common good which is just to everybody. As 'market distortions' are 'time-consuming and costly' they somehow obviously contradict the values held high in a market world. Thus there is an imperative need to do away with and avoid market interventions which cause them. Accordingly the EDDP proposes a 'new paradigm', where FSI 'defines an adequate outer envelope within which the market can operate competitively without distortions' (MCGM 2015b, 319). The intention is that FSI as a planning tool would not anymore act as a market intervention by arbitrarily setting limits and hence creating scarcity. Rather FSI is used as a calculative means to estimate and grant sufficient BUA over the entire territory of Mumbai. The restricted FSI and scarcity in BUA would be abolished and replaced by an 'outer envelope' large enough for the market to flourish:

> The new paradigm provides a framework for providing opportunity for securing adequate floor space for anticipated growth, which is more demand driven, flexible & inclusive. In the new paradigm, FSI will not be just entitlement but a maximum that can be attained subject to other regulatory conditions. This the new paradigm defines as outer envelope within which the market can operate without the need or incentives to breach FSI. (MCGM 2015b, xxvii)

In order to develop such an 'outer envelope' the predicted demand is calculated on the basis of existing per capita consumption and estimates future decreasing household size and increasing per capita demand for built up areas resulting from rising income and aspirations (MCGM 2015b, xxix). The calculated demand then is allocated across Greater Mumbai according to locational logic. The possible achievable BUA will be large and 'flexible' enough to 'efficiently' tackle the housing shortage and grant 'inclusive' development. This conception of producing the city is rooted in an understanding of the characteristics of actors as players in a market. The EDDP divides the actors along the demand and supply lines as actors in a market, which relate to real estate prices in a competitive market. Liberalising FSI would do away with market distortions, allowing it to work towards a just city through matching demand and supply.

10.1.5 Analysis of the planning tool

Until now we have analysed the rationale that justifies the proposals brought forward in the EDDP report, revealing the specific compromise it strikes between different worlds. One might argue that the report is not legally binding and the rationale is thus rather irrelevant when it comes to the actual regulations. In the controversies this argument is indeed brought forward. However, we will find a similar amalgamation of the market and industrial worlds in the proposed FSI regulation itself. In the following we will analyse how the promises made in the report are translated into planning tools and how it exactly aims at achieving the set objectives. As the FSI regulation somewhat constitutes the core of the paradigm shift proposed in the EDDP, it is important to understand its precise functioning, which further allows situating the arguments brought up for and against the proposed new FSI regime.

There are three interlinked levels of re-conceptualisations: repositioning FSI within the hierarchy of planning tools, simplification of FSI calculation, and financially and territorially localising FSI. In the words of the EDDP, "FSI has been both liberalised and contextualised to place" (MCGM 2015b, 323). These three levels constitute the principal shift in conception of FSI, which is about the role it plays with respect to the possible development potential of a given plot. The EDDP puts forward an understanding of FSI as an 'outer envelope' rather than an entitlement for development.:

> [T]he permissible FSI on a plot is not an entitlement but the maximum development right that the property can avail subject to other conditions. These include norms for heritage preservation, norms for restricted building height from the aviation department. (MCGM 2015b, 319)

FSI as an outer envelope and the hierarch*y* of planning tools

While still defining the upper limit, FSI loses its primary position among the DCRs regarding the development potential of land. Rather, other potentially more restrictive regulations have to be considered when one wants to assess the potential built up area, which can be realised on a parcel. In addition to those mentioned in the quotation, building regulations that restrict and define the dimensions of buildings are, for example, the road width, or set back regulations[97]. Repositioning FSI within the hierarchy of planning tools and giving primacy to other regulations, the EDDP upholds the values engrained in those. These can be manifold, for example embedded in an industrial logic, when it is about the carrying capability of transport infrastructure,

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In principle this is not new but the existing FSI regime allowed for multiple exceptions to circumvent building bylaws, the EDDP proposed an end to these discretionary decisions as well.

which is linked to road width defining the maximum permissible height of a building. Or, it might be generally linked to a civic world when it refers to the fact that it adheres to national building regulations.

Simplify FSI calculations

Along with this liberalisation – FSI as a city-wide potential for built up areas and maximal but not granted development right on a given parcel – the calculation of FSI in the proposed DCRs is radically simplified compared to those of 1991. Basically the regulatory changes relate to what exactly is included and excluded in the computation of FSI. The definition in the DCRs reads as follows: "FSI means the ratio of the total covered area of all floor to the total area or the gross plot" (MCGM 2015a, 49). In order to set its definition apart from previous ways of calculation, the EDDP considers FSI as "Bulk FSI" which is based on the "total built-up area of a building including areas exempt from computation of FSI in DCR 1991" (MCGM 2015b, xxvii). The emphasis here lies on the word 'total'. In other words, the full built-up area would be calculated into the FSI and there will only be 'a bare minimum' of areas of exceptions,[98] such as those that were allowed in great numbers and utilised under previous regulations.

> The adoption of Bulk FSI is a move towards prevention of mis-use and manipulation of the use of FSI, by cutting down the list of areas exempted from computation of FSI, to a bare minimum for all types of developments. (MCGM 2015b, 318)

The proposed simplification with minimal exceptions reduces the possibility of 'creative' interpretation or 'mis-use'. The dimension of such exceptions can be estimated by comparing the two different calculation methods. 70% of the proposed FSI is approximately equal to the present FSI (MCGM 2015b, 308). This nominal difference is taken into account when FSI is assigned. Above all the proposed simplification will bring the calculation in accordance with the definition in the legislation, i.e. the MRTP act. This re-establishment of the correlation with the law by simplification of calculation redraws the legal boundaries, which are in this case literally spatial boundaries. The benefits of reducing complexity in both, law and space, is a reduction of "the need or incentives to breach FSI" (MCGM 2015b, xxvii).

The simplifications are also presented as a way to increase the 'ease of doing business', as "the process of granting building permits will also be simplified, reducing transaction time and cost" (MCGM 2015b, 308). The move is justified as being in

98 The DCRs nevertheless list some areas, which are exempt from computation of FSI, such as terraces, parking areas, service floors and so on. Further there is a list of features which 'features that do not constitute covered areaas' and do not count for FSI. These are mostly service facility, like water tanks, garbage shafts, dustbins, chimneys and so on.

accordance with market logic, where simplification of business is seen as an advantage. Enabling smoother and thus cheaper transactions between market actors, in this case the municipality and builder, is presented as an achievement.[99]

Localise incentive FSI

Over and above of restructuring the hierarchy of building regulation and their simplification, the EDDP considerably reduces the use of incentive FSI to achieve policy objectives. The concept of incentives FSI and TDRs are restricted to rehabilitation of slums and redevelopment of cessed buildings. Partly these incentives are regulated in policies outside the DP. Hence the DP has to accommodate TDRs generated outside of its framework, if it does not want to render such policies obsolete.

> Under the proposed regime except for the incentives for inclusive development all other incentives would become irrelevant and redundant and therefore are proposed to be deleted (MCGM 2015b, 308).

In the name of inclusionary development, rehabilitation of slums and redevelopment of cessed buildings would benefit from incentive FSI and be the remaining source of generation of TDR. Not enough that incentive FSI been almost abolished, the mechanism of its implementation were also fundamentally revised. Experience of the past based on uniform incentives proved iniquitous and in many cases without effect:

> Where prices are low the redevelopment is unviable and has not attracted investment. On the other hand where prices are favourable developers have garnered handsome profits. It is therefore necessary that the reformed policy, instead of relating the incentive floor space merely to the physical parameters, takes into account relative costs of construction and real estate prices. (MCGM 2015b, 309)

The way in which incentive FSI was used proved to work only where market conditions were favourable and were without effect where they were not. While in the first case some developers made (undue) profit, in the later case inhabitants were simply left without option for (re)development. In order to address these shortcomings, the EDDP proposes to balance the use of TDR by factoring in the location, where it is generated and where it is utilised. In the report this takes the form of an intricate formula (MCGM 2015b, 310), which accounts for the locally differing real estate values by applying the ratio of these values at the place of production and consumption. At the same time and following the same logic locally differing construction costs are weighed in. An

99 One has to know that receiving building permissions in Mumbai has been qualified as a particular cumbersome and lengthy process. The patronising context of the post-independent Indian bureaucracy is commonly referred to as “License Raj”.

example will clarify how this is working: Creating one unit of incentive FSI in a low-price area would allow the building of less than one FSI unit in a high-price area in a ratio reflecting the ratio of the differing prices. The transfer of development rights is unlinked from locally differing land prizes and construction costs. Or in the words of the EDDP, "the movement of TDR, ensures that all areas in the City are equally incentivised for redevelopment" (MCGM 2015b, 323). Hence it is expected to prevent uneven development and land speculation by creating a transparent market where price inequalities are eradicated. Such an adjusted TDR market would generate equal opportunities for (re)development for all places and populations. However, the authors of the EDDP are well aware of market vagaries, which form the uncertain basis of their planning model and for achieving planning objectives:

> However, TDR is a market dependent technique of land [sic] obtaining land for public purpose. Since real estate market in Mumbai is essentially cyclical the generation and use of TDR needs to be closely monitored. (MCGM 2015b, 323)

Return to variable FSI

The EDDP proposes the return to variable FSI following a spatial logic and overcoming the haphazard development pattern caused by a theoretically homogenous but completely eluded 'flat FSI'. In order to re-establish a certain predictability the EDDP proposes a 'Spatial Development Strategy', where the "allocation of Floor Space Index follows the logic of transit oriented development" (MCGM 2015b, 323). Although Transport Oriented Development (TOD) is by no means something new to Mumbai, it was not endorsed as a planning principle in previous DPs. Drawing on such historically identifiable development patterns, the EDDP proposes to further strengthen institutionally the interconnectedness between transport networks and development, particularly as currently new transport infrastructure is being built and planned, which needs to be taken into account to make use of future development most efficiently:

> Presently, several local and regional transport (road and rail) projects, […] are likely to enhance the development potential of several areas in the city. Such new nodes and connectivity will have major impact on the city development pattern. The DP 2034 proposes a spatial strategy that builds on these trends and helps create an efficient and sustainable spatial structure for Mumbai. (MCGM 2015b, 273)

The transport networks analysis, which is essentially defining areas under influence of transport nodes with respect to their current and predicted importance, results in maps depicting areas of 'Transit Oriented Zones'. These then "provide a framework

for formulating land use and FSI proposals" (MCGM 2015b, 273). In order to most 'efficiently' use their 'development potential' the FSI distribution is shaped accordingly. In practice this means that where high connectivity exists, i.e. in the vicinity of transportation nodes, higher FSI is permitted. In such areas FSI reaches up to 8 and is reduced to 0.15 in more remote areas.

The proposed FSI regime, which is based on TOD, is a return to variable FSI with a locational logic (MCGM 2015, 318). The differentiated spatially distribution of FSI builds on an industrial logic, where questions of optimised spatial distribution and efficient use of spatial potentials are important. Also, the will to incorporate an existing development pattern in order to make urban development predictable again, points towards an industrial world:

> The DP envisages a city structure, which responds to and optimizes the potential of existing and upcoming growth nodes and transport networks, while acknowledging the city's natural areas. The spatial structure proposed for Greater Mumbai is built around the principles of polycentric growth, transit-oriented development, anticipatory programming for future needs, and preservation of its natural areas. (MCGM 2015b, 274)

That such 'potential' can be understood from a market logic point of view is evident. The potentially high real estate value that a well-connected area offers should be realisable by allowing a high FSI.

FSI between market and industrial logic

The FSI regulations as proposed by the EDDP strikes a balance between an industrial and market logic. For the former, making optimal use of the city's spatial potential is key. Hence, it aims at maximising the spatial reach of incentive FSI by levelling the (re) development potential through weighing in differences in real estate and construction markets. Further, the EDDP, following the principles of TOD, organises the built-up spaces through variable FSI in accordance with the transport infrastructure. All of these efforts however are directed towards creating an environment for a competitive and transparent market. This (real estate) market thus is contained in and built upon a neatly organised and efficient framework granting its smooth functioning and hence a just mode of city production.

10.1.6 The planning cosmos of the EDDP

The EDDP proposes a compromise of multiple orders of worth and tries to establish a new coherent cosmos. In this cosmos, the civic, industry and market worlds, their guiding principles and respective beings are arranged differently than in the previous

DPs. The EDDP's prime concern is in amalgamating market and industrial logic. In respect to the civic world certain efforts are undertaken, but which remain at lower levels of relevance.

Written largely in a market-oriented language, the EDDP has an ambition of a city-wide approach. Problems such as housing scarcity have to be tackled sector-wide. It is also in this overarching view that the EDDP 'includes' slum dwellers. Although the numbers are contested, the demographic considerations which form the basis of its calculations includes all Mumbai citizens. The proposed overall – that is, city-wide – permissible FSI allows for enough BUA to house them all. By enlarging the market to this extent the prices would come down considerably, allowing a greater share of the population to move into formal houses. The proposed FSI regime exemplarily reflects this focus on the city as the scope of engagement for the DP. This is also one of the major differences to the FSI regime of 91DP. As FSI became a tool to tackle the housing question in a holistic view it shifted scale from a tool, which defined the potential of a project, to that of the city. Above which it was re-territorialised in order to make urban development predictable again and to bring it in tune with infrastructure planning. Here TOD provides the conceptual basis, relating infrastructure and private development; it promises the creation of an efficient city.

Despite turning down functionalist planning of the 1960s, the EDDP's conception of planning largely remains rooted in an industrial logic, where experts arrange objects in time and space for the most efficient development and functioning of the city. However, efficiency as the guiding principle of an industrial world has been interpreted as an efficiency of the market. Hence it condemns earlier 'prescriptive and deterministic' planning efforts, as they fundamentally stand in conflict with the unpredictability of development in a city driven by market logics. While the industrial logic and its failure are critiqued from a market perspective, the EDDP nevertheless proposes a strong industrial foundation and linked to it certain limits for the market to play. This foundation (and with it the limits to the market) is reflected in the 'locational logic' and breaking down of complexity, both territorially and by sector, and constant assessment monitoring the implementation on the basis of fine-grained data. This market, as it is envisaged by the EDDP, has to meet criteria of competitiveness. Only this characteristic guarantees that a market works towards a common good and renders it legitimate as a guiding principle. To ensure this competitiveness the EDDP emphasises the need to create transparency, for example in the way FSI is allocated, which would allow a certain control by the public.

A compromise with the civic world is offered by proposing increased participation on the lower planning level of LAP. The industrial hierarchy of experts and laymen nevertheless would be safeguarded. This relation is also reflected in the consultative

approach, where consultations with other governmental and non-governmental organisations were held and 'attention to their suggestions' paid (MCGM 2015b, x). These suggestions are "translated" by experts and, if found suitable, incorporated into the plan.

The building of a new cosmos, such as the EDDP proposes, necessitates investment on many levels, from conception of planning and assigning roles to the diverse actors, to creating a market of a certain kind and so on. In short, establishing a coherent and accepted narrative, which legitimises the proposed order. Such investment in diverse institutional entities and their interplay is not only high but also fragile as the controversies showed. Once accomplished, a successfully established cosmos would close the black box.

10.2 Defending the status quo or the project oriented cosmos

Given its reformist character it is not surprising that the proposals of the EDDP met with the fierce resistance from advocates of the status quo. Most of them are professionals involved in the construction and real estate industry and many of them deal with building regulations on a daily basis. There are even specialised professionals – liaising architects – who specialise in services related to building regulations. They are organised in several specific professional associations, such as the PEATA, NAREDCO, and MCHI. In particular, PEATA maintains close ties with the municipality and was decisive in shaping the 91DP and its many successive amendments (Nainan 2012; Nainan 2014). Given their long practical experience in construction in Mumbai and also involvement in the formulation and improvement of 91DP DCRs *(PEATA 2015, cover letter)*, PEATA understands itself as the 'real' experts and 'natural' consultants to the MCGM (Sukhatme 2016a). Their extensive and detailed knowledge grounded in practice qualifies their judgements and perspectives over those of external (and foreign) experts and consultants involved in drafting of the EDDP. In the review process PEATA participated extensively in the exchange with the review committee, offering advice and support to the municipal commissioner (Sukhatme 2016a). A fact that was openly demonstrated at a PEATA organised workshop after the publication of the RDDP (Sukhatme 2016b).

The advocates of the status quo opposed the EDDP and found an outlet in the RDDP, which in principle continued the 91DP. The arguments presented in the RDDP are less concise and coherently developed than in the EDDP. Also, the RDDP rules are less accessible than those formulated in the EDDP. Apparently there was less need for explaining and justifying, as it was perceived as continuing existing regulations (Sukhatme 2016b). In order to establish a clearer picture on this position, one has to

refer to several events: critiques raised on the EDDP in the framework of a PEATA workshop titled 'Unlock the DP', the suggestions and objections to the EDDP, the workshop held after the RDDP publication, as well as the interviews with some advocates of the status quo.

In the interview with the outspoken former president of PEATA, Shirish Sukhatme (2016a) fiercely opposed the idea of the "paradigm shift" proposed by the EDDP. Revolutionary changes in the regulations will disrupt a complex and carefully balanced system endangering a high-priced economy with scary results: "if you disturb that whole thing then it will be chaotic". By pointing out that "[s]udden change will make the entire development stop" Sukhatme explains the danger the EDDP poses for the good of the city in his view. Thus he suggests continuing with a proven system and proposes to the commissioner to "keep the similar system and slowly, instead of trying revolution, try and do evolution and slowly, slowly you try and achieve your targets" (Sukhatme 2016a). Referring to 'chaos', the threat the EDDP poses becomes evident. Consequently the advocates of the status quo argue for the need to improve the existing regulations and avoid a revolution but aim at evolutionary improvements in the system – "No revolutionary change in regulation, but close loopholes" (Sukhatme 2016a). Otherwise the construction economy will be stifled and create an even worse situation.

A primary critique is the increased FSI proposed in the EDDP. The popular argument against increasing FSI is shared across society and endlessly repeated in media (e.g. *The Times of India* 17/02/2015; *The Times of India* 20/02/2015): Increase in FSI would increase population and choke Mumbai's open spaces, increase density and further burden social and physical infrastructure. As the increase in FSI in the EDDP is directly related to TOD, the argument of overstraining infrastructure is swiftly applied. TOD as proposed in the EDDP raises FSI in the vicinity of transport nodes up to 5 and in certain cases even to 8. This increase in FSI is made despite these areas being already densely populated and the use of the railway is already over its limit. Further, the implementation of the planned metro will take multiple years. Until then, the increased FSI will add to the congestion in these areas without any improvement in transport. In any case the FSI hike will overburden infrastructure for both traffic and public transport. The predicted negative consequences are ascribed to TOD being an imported planning model, which will not work in Mumbai due to its particularities of development (Sukhatme 2016a), which are uncontrolled immigration and extreme high commuting levels.

In their view, the city of Mumbai possessed a very effective tool to improve amenities. As a central element of the 91DP, the incentive FSI/TDR were actually contributing much to the high implementation rate of Mumbai's DP (Hiranandani 2016). If such

incentives were abolished, as the EDDP proposed, amenities would simply not be delivered. With respect to the combination of increased FSI and abolished incentive FSI an interviewed real estate consultant rhetorically asks, "What about the infrastructure, which will actually support this densification?" In her view, handing over land and amenities free of cost for the state in exchange for incentive FSI or TDR was a good deal for both sides. "So they [developers] all went for TDR usually. And this is the reason because of which these road being surrendered for DP or road development, infrastructure development basically, the social infrastructure. It happened!" Such a position rests on the assumption of the state's incapability to deliver public services. In fact, the different capabilities and success of private and public sector become apparent in Sukhatmes 'victory' speech at the PEATA meeting on the occasion of the publication of the RDDP:

> Bombay is known by what? Bombay is known by malls, Bombay is known by the skyscrapers, Bombay is known by the private hospitals. This is all done by the private sector. At public sector, Bombay is known by the roads, Bombay is know by the drainage, Bombay is known by the water logging, Bombay is known by the solemn less monuments. See the difference in private sector and public sector. There is a whole lot of scope. (Sukhatme 2016b)

Given these apparent achievements, the 91DP is considered a very successful planning instrument. However, it is acknowledged that there is room for improvement. Potential for example can be seen in the mode of project implementation, particularly when participative processes are involved. The reference to the democratic processes, such as in the case of suggestion and objection, while upheld as a civic achievement, is usually accompanied by reservations about slowing down implementation processes or even prevent development (Sukhatme 2016a; Hiranandani 2016). The particularity of the Indian people and their passion for endless debates and never ending critique should have a limit. For example once a (SRS) project is decided future objections should have no value in order to foster executability (Hiranandani 2016). The accusation is that politicians banking on voters and individuals seeking to maximise individual profits undermine all effort for reasonable fast implementation (Sukhatme 2016a). As a consequence, the question is when, rather than how development happens. Such procedural questions, of participative elements, hamper the overall development process (Sukhatme 2016a; Hiranandani 2016). The question if everybody is qualified to judge and participate in decision-making is not far and a minimal knowledge of planning should be required to participate for example in the suggestion and objection phase.

Somehow obviously PEATA is not ready to let go the idea of understanding the FSI as an entitlement, as the EDDP declared. Thus one of their central claims submitted on

the occasion of the suggestion and objection phase of the EDDP is to at least preserve the base FSI as entitlement:

> As an essential right, the land owner should be entitled to consume the base FSI of the plot and the DCR should be framed accordingly. Hence, any deficiency to consume base FSI should be condoned and the necessary provision should be made while finalizing the DCR 2034. (PEATA 2015, cover letter)

A consequence of this 'essential right' is that compensation should be granted in case the FSI on a given plot cannot be accomplished (PEATA 2015, part 5). FSI is perceived as an entitlement and its consumption an essential right of the landowner. The advocates of the status quo firmly believe in the saving power of the market. In order to make the market work they insist on FSI as entitlement, which needs to be granted in order that a landowner can "consume" its land and leverage it in the real estate market. This property right cannot possibly be curtailed by other regulations. In a further step that goes beyond individual parcels, incentive FSI and TDR are the tools that make development "happen" on a city level. Incentive FSI and its marketable avatar TDR are seen as problem-solving tools. These tools allow the benefits of development by market mechanisms to reach all levels of the society, as they address the pressing issues of the city, be it provision of infrastructure and amenities, addressing housing scarcity, and slum and cessed building redevelopment. The situation constitutes a win-win-win situation: The state gets infrastructure, amenities and housing free of cost, the developer makes profit on the free market and the people of Mumbai get the benefit of amenities and housing for the economically weaker sections.

For the exponents of this group the problem of Mumbai (housing, slums infrastructure provision) is a problem of implementation. It is not a problem of the development plan or the DCRs as such, but of wrongly set incentives and of loopholes, as well as implementation, which is further slowed down by democratic procedures and interfering politicians.

Further they clearly distinguish between the public perception of FSI and the actual FSI use in a given project. It is understood that the public was scared of the FSI of 8 proposed in the EDDP around TOD. Being used to low numbers the figure came as a surprise and triggered criticism. On the other side it was agreed that the FSI used in a given project is largely above the one stated in the DP.

With the argument of 'ease of doing business',[100] the second-tier planning as proposed by the EDDP and linked local area plans are countered. As supplementary local regulations, these would complicate the production of affordable housing (MCGM 2016a, 11). Further, the foreseen participatory element in the local area plans would

100 The urge for 'ease of doing business' is an initiative by the state Maharashtra and not an invention by PEATA.

unnecessarily prolong project implementation. They prefer uniform regulations for the entire city, which rather correspond to a certain category of projects than to territorial entities.

It becomes evident that the approach of the advocates of the status quo is rooted primarily in an amalgamation of a market and an industrial world, in that hierarchical order. Although built on the same combination of orders of worth as the EDDP, this compromise gives an entirely different weighting. While the industrial principle of efficiency is situated at the level of practical implementation of projects, it is a market logic, which coordinates development on the scale of the projects and the city. The cosmos to which the advocates of the status quo adhere is completely committed to and oriented around the "project".

10.3 A use-centred cosmos

In order to establish the use-centred cosmos, which underpins the critique issued from HSM (one of the key groups opposing the EDDP) one has to consider multiple sources. Made public at different times, these texts react to current events and conditions and often are framed as critique. One difference between the HSM position and the EDDP, which comprised an entire planning perspective, there is not one single comprehensive text. Nevertheless, the *People's Vision Document for Mumbai's Development Plan (2014-2034)* (HSM 2013) can be interpreted as a kind of foundational text. Hence it will build the starting point for this analysis and establish a use-centred cosmos. It will be complemented by looking at collective statements made later during the controversies and a series of articles by some of the more outspoken proponents of HSM. Several interviews conducted under the rubric of the flash research further support the construction of this cosmos.

After the frenzy around the ELU, several organisations gathered under the name of 'Hamara Sheher, Hamara Vikas, Hamara Niyojan Abhiyan' – a city-wide campaign aimed at advancing a "collective vision and renew a collective ethos for our shared city" (hamarasheharmumbai.org) to come up with the PVD, to which almost 90 different organisations contributed. At that moment when it was conceived, there were no other plans or reports released than those on the ELU and Working Papers 1 and 2, which define working methodology and land use classifications for the ELU respectively, as well as early inception reports. The preparatory studies, which would reveal the analysis of the existing situation as well as the state's 'visualisation of the future', were published a month after the PVD. In that sense the PVD is not a reaction to the EDDP but an independent reflection on the future of Mumbai and the planning process underway at that time. However, the general lines of the state's position were

anticipated based on the existing urban regime and which later would be matched by those presented in the EDDP. Decisively positioned as an alternative, the PVD was conceived as a "rudimentary step to counter the imaginary visions floated by the state, for a world class city" (HSM 2013).[101] In fact, the critique of the World Class City builds an important strand for many members of the campaign. Hence the PVD takes a position against the municipality's aspiration of joining the ranks of global leading cities, and in this process selectively achieve international standards.

The PVD is structured in four parts plus an introduction and 'enlists the demands of the people for their city' covering 14 relevant aspects. In the first part entitled *Proposal* the topics housing, education, health, transport, waste management, and environment and open spaces are addressed. The second part entitled *Towards a*, highlights the needs of four particularly vulnerable groups. Consequently the chapters complete the title *Towards a* with the demand of a welcoming city for respective groups: *Child –, Youth –, Woman –, and Differently Abled – Friendly City*. The third part entitled *Inclusion* demands the same for three groups in the respective chapters: Hawkers, Koliwadas, and the Homeless. The fourth and last part deals with Participation and consists of the single chapter People's *Participation* in Development Plan. Each of these topics, regardless in which part, is introduced with a general view, raising major issues, and followed by recommendations for the DP. These recommendations arise from very general demands, such as the correction of the ELU mapping with respect to open spaces or the demand for an integrated, multimodal and pedestrian friendly transport planning to fairly precisely formulated requirements, such as the needed numbers of schools by ward or the space needed for dry waste sorting sheds (four decentralised locations at 500sqm each per ward). In order to demonstrate that their demands are not made up out of thin air, examples from good planning practice are quoted. For example, the case of Hyderabad is referred to as a model of successful public participation in planning.

10.3.1 A civic position for a participative planning process

Given the moment of publication the critique of PVD is not directed towards a (not yet) formulated vision purported by the state, but towards the on-going DP planning process as it is experienced by civil society. Thus the PVD aims to "challenge and break the exclusionary planning and non-participatory mechanisms that decide the future of the city" (HSM 2013, ii). Instead of participatory, the on-going DP planning was perceived as a "top down, secretive process", which if continued will worsen the current abysmal urban condition:

101 While not openly citing it, they obviously refer to the Vision Mumbai (McKinsey 2003) and its subsequent incarnation in diverse official planning initiatives.

> The city of Mumbai – presently – is an epitome of inequality and poverty that plagues our urban centres. […] Exclusion of the urban poor – who form the majority in Mumbai – is set into the biased and non participatory top down process of formal development planning. This leads to undermining the rights of majority of its residents, thereby worsening the already abysmal conditions of the poor denizens in Mumbai. (HSM 2013, ii)

At the basis of the current condition lays the disrespect of residents' rights. This implies that currently either no right is respected or the rights of the few are given precedent over the rights of the many. Despite the fact that democracy as an ordering principle is seldom mentioned, it is very well implied in the way the majority, and its exclusion respectively, is evoked. The democratic argument forms one of the cornerstones for their critique. Hence the current DP planning process is judged as excluding and undemocratic and as such highly objectionable in a civic world, which is based on the principle of equity and the primacy of the collective. From this civic perspective the secretive drafting of the DP must raise mistrust. As such, transparency gives rise to suspect of obscuring vested interests. Aiming to rectify this deficit the PVD speaks in the name of the urban poor, which the contributing organisation represents. By the virtue of representing the majority of all 'Mumbaikars' they demand inclusion in the development planning process in order to create a just city through a participatory process.

In any collective and participative process the question of representation, not at least because of practical reasons, plays a crucial role. Representation is a pillar of the civic world. Consequently it is a major concern for the members of this campaign, which "tried to spread the word to as many as people and organisations as possible" (HSM 2013, iii). While highlighting the "importance of diversity" they are a united in their struggle "on the ground" and virtually on the first page of the PVD where all contributing organisations are listed. They gain their legitimisation out of a participative and "collaborative process" in drafting the PVD over the course of "several meetings and discussions" (HSM 2013, iii). However, it is acknowledged that experts and activists are the "authors of this report". To further legitimise their claim to represent the 'people' they evoke the idea of getting together for the common struggle:

> In the ELU stage, we all came together and fought for the correct mapping of our informal communities, our gaothans, our koliwadas, our villages, our playgrounds and other aspects that are crucial to our rightful existence in the city. (HSM 2013, ii–iii)

The repetition of the possessive pronoun "our" underpinns the claim on the city and affirms a close relationship between the inhabitants and the built environment. A claim

and a right, which they see endangered by the DP process and notably by the ELU survey. Their very existence is at stake in the fight for recognition through correct mapping. It is made clear that the DP is not the only place where they push their issue forward. For the authors the "DP revision process in Mumbai is one such major space for us to assert *our right over our city"* (HSM 2013, ii, emphasis in the original). Such a constant struggle for civil rights is a classic feature of a civic world, which demands constant reassessments against disintegrative forces. One of these destructive forces obviously is identified in the exclusive in nature of the on-going DP planning process. In contrast to the 'top down' process stands the good way to achieve the common good as exercised in the collective action of drafting the PVD through getting together and discussions where everybody contributes.

Quoting David Harvey, the introduction of the PVD ends by referring to the right to the city. In the quote Harvey defines the right to the city as:

> A right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanisation. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights. (Harvey 2008 cited in; HSM 2013)

This exactly underlines the elements – the collective, the human right and the struggle – of the civic world presented above.

10.3.2 The domestic vision

In opposition to the World Class City, HSM proposes the 'liveable city'. Hence the PVD presents "a vision of the kind of city [people] wish to live in", which "ensur[es] basic needs of infrastructure and space to make the city more inclusive, healthy and liveable for ALL" (HSM 2013, i). While the demand for participation cannot be overheard, the actual vision presented in the PVD is bit more blurred and it is often formulated through the negative example of the World Class City. While Mumbai is not yet a global city, it is not a liveable city either, as illustrated in the dystopic first quote. In contrast, Mumbai should become an inclusive city, one that is built on equality and respect for everybody's rights, and where a participatory transformation process promises to overcome poverty. As the right to the city argument brings up, the people (represented by HSM) want to have a say in the transformation of the city and a right to transform it themselves. It should be a city for "all", and the mode of urbanisation should correspond to the mode of life, with its inhabitants and development following their priorities rather then those of real-estate finance. The centre of the vision thus is the 'liveable city', wherein 'liveable' points to the people that inhabit the city as

opposed to the global city, which is only valuable in comparison to other cities, through a competitive relation. Behind the conflicting visions presented in the PVD stand the almost irreconcilable values of the competition oriented (global) market and the domestic value of life in its diverse manifestations in (local) traditions:

> There has to be a thorough rethink of our stance on the importance of diversity within the city spaces in order to rediscover the principles of true urbanism, rebuild our cities so that they are ecologically sustainable and regain communities that are healthy and socially sustainable. For this the people need to have a vision of the kind of city they wish to live in; one in which resources are cornered by the privileged few thereby leading to exclusion and conflict or one with dynamic diversity where each individual's worth is understood and acknowledged thereby encouraging interdependence and integration. (HSM 2013, i)

The vision of the liveable city represents a just city based on the well-being of the people inhabiting it. Therefore, each individual is embedded in healthy and sustainable community sharing of the resources of a sound (sustainable) nature. People and communities are the touchstone by which to evaluate just improvement and urban development. As evident in the previous quote, habitats such as Koliwadas, Gaothans and slum communities are constitutional parts of the city and its communal life. They are places of traditional ways of life and use of space, which often are characterised by spatially and temporally "mixed use" (HSM 2013, i). As such, they are linked to the notions of the common and livelihood based upon local economies.

These arguments build on traditions as the guiding principle in a domestic world, where communal life is highly valued. The reference to domestic dimensions foregrounds "healthy" and "socially sustainable" communities. The playground mentioned in the second quote is probably the most obvious reference to the importance of the family. The domestic dimension is the most obviously evoked in the sections regarding the Koliwadas, but can equally be found in other sections:

> Historically, fishing villages are areas that have a distinct cultural and urban identity. They have been places that have evolved around the occupation of fishing and all its related activities, and have developed their own unique socio-cultural practices and physical character. Certain guidelines and provisions for the protection and development of urban fishing villages in Mumbai need to be articulated in the development plan and development control regulations in order to protect the fishing community's traditional rights to housing, land, livelihood and the village commons. (HSM 2013, 64)

Koliwadas, as well as Gaothans and slums, function as spatial manifestations of identity and tradition, stemming from their specific history and culture. Communities

and the places they inhabit are the nodes around which development ought to happen. Change, improvement and development are valued in respect to the already existing settlements. They are places of belonging, and as such, need protection as well as carful development. The demand for cultural and physical protection cherishes history and tradition. Such orientation towards the past and development along traditional lines is a central characteristic of the domestic world. Putting the people as members of communities at the centre of development grounds the PVD in the domestic world.

10.3.3 Market elements

The buzzword 'sustainability' must not be missing in such a report. From the usual trilogy – ecologically, economically and socially – that underpin this highly diluted concept, the notion of economy is replaced by health in the PVD. Thus one wonders about the importance given to economy. Unsurprisingly, in the vision formulated by the urban poor the economic dimension is omnipresent in the form of absence of wealth and as qualifier in the way the group is set apart from the 'other'. Thus the PVD operates with a term like socio-economic classes, a classic of the civic world, where group membership is essential. Otherwise the economy is described for example as "local economy", where the PVD talks about "promoting a sustainable local economy by strengthening or supporting existing livelihoods" in urban villages (HSM 2013, 66). In addition, we can read about the economic stimulus an affordable housing scheme would provide by employing of "generation of the urban poor".

However, occasionally one reads an argument that derives from a market world. Mumbai's evident discrepancies stem from being India's primary economic hub while displaying a reckless negligence vis-à-vis issues such as environment or health care, which are not only intolerable but also undermine its present and future position. Meanwhile this cleavage between (global) aspirations and (local) reality serves as the argumentative ground for both: proponents of a market-led development and representatives of a use-centred cosmos, whereby the mode to overcome such deficits is radically different. While market-oriented advocates intend to answer the problem by liberalisation and market mechanisms, the PVD demands state intervention from which the overall economy would subsequently benefit. In a similar manner, the economy, in its generalised sense, is used as an argument to highlight the positive economic effect of investment in public services such as education or waste management. These statements in the PVD point to a conception of an economy in which all people (and the environment) take part for mutual benefit, and where the state stands in for a balance between the different demands. In relation to the concept of participation, economic development – among other kinds of development – is claimed as a right for all:

> The principle of participation is widely recognized as a right in itself. The right to take part in the conduct of public affairs means that every person and all people are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy civil, economic, social and political development. (HSM 2013, 74)

While one would expect a clear stance against the current FSI regime serving as a perfect enemy, FSI is a surprisingly absent issue. While often branded as a paragon of neo-liberal monstrosity, the PVD adopts an ambivalent position (which is probably partly due to the diversity of contributors) vis-à-vis the use of FSI. On the one hand, incentives should be abolished where it has proven that they were misused. This is, for example, the case in healthcare, where FSI incentives were granted through 'accommodation reservation' but the associated obligation of granting access for the economically-weaker sections was not followed. Similarly, where present FSI regulations conflict with the vision brought forward, like in the case of fostering walkability, FSI incentives for parking should be scrapped in order to "de-promote car usage" (HSM 2013, 22). On the other hand, FSI incentives for Balbhavan (Marathi for Children's house) are called for.

10.3.4 Tackling FSI

Given the importance of FSI in both the transformation of the built fabric and in the controversies, it is worth examining the fierce opposition adopted by HSM in order to make clear what is at stake in the use-centred cosmos in the confrontation with the central tool of transformation of both: the planning cosmos of the EDDP and the project cosmos of the RDDP. Analysing the accusations brought forward by HSM allows assessing the position and underpinning the elements of the use-centred cosmos presented on the basis of the PVD. However as the PVD was conceived before the publication of the EDDP, it could not respond to the proposed 'paradigm shift' in the FSI regime. Thus one has to look into later statements by HSM such as the *Response to the MCGM's Preparatory Studies Report for the Development Plan 2014- 2034* (HSM 2014), *Notes On The Draft Development Plan Summary* (HSM 2015a) or *People's Response to Revised Draft Development Plan (RDDP) 2014-2034 (HSM 2016a).* Furthermore, there are some critical articles authored by campaign members (Indorewala and Wagh 2016a; Indorewala and Wagh 2013) and academic literature published during and in part before the controversies (e.g. Patel 2014), which is referred to by HSM. In such literature, one reads about the curse of FSI's individualising effect, which cut across social and built fabric and positions different groups against each other. Here, connections between modes of production, urban form and effects on urban life are explicitly established.

In addressing the shortcomings of the DP planning process, these works reveal what is important to the authors. According to them, the DP planning process is not in tune with ground realities, as their analysis does not account for the complexity of the city and diversity of its inhabitants. The consequences of such faulty understanding of the reality are not only a limited scope but also misjudgement of the consequences of planning interventions. The proponents of a use-centred cosmos oppose both the proposals of the EDDP and the continuation of the status quo as cast in the RDDP. Their main argument asserts that both approaches do not appropriately deal with the social consequences of the envisaged modes of urban transformation and their translation into planning tools. Their conception of development is limited to physical and economical growth, building on the assumption that the "market is the best determinant and guide to the needs and priorities of the city" (HSM 2015a). Opposing market driven urbanisation is not something new, and hence proponents of a use-centred approach refer to a series of arguments developed in literature elsewhere but also by themselves. As a figurehead of market-driven development in Mumbai, the planning tool of FSI stands at the centre of the criticism:

> Despite their differences, both the earlier draft and revised draft Development Plan fail to evaluate the social consequences of increasing FSI, mainly due to the highly iniquitous consumption of floor space in the city. Both plans look at offering a higher FSI in high-density areas – the first through high FSI zones along transit corridors and inner city areas, and the second by using FSI as a fiscal mechanism. (Indorewala and Wagh 2016a).

At the root of this criticism stands the difference in the understanding of interrelations of FSI and density and its related effects on society. HMS argues that increasing FSI, conversely to the arguments put forward in the EDDP, is related to density. Hence, a more situational understanding is necessary. Increasing FSI has inverse effects depending on the economic level of the residents living on the respective land. While in the case of a rich neighbourhood, increasing FSI is likely to increase the floor space consumption per capita, whereas in a poor neighbourhood, the same will increase the number of people living in the same area. Here, HMS follows the argument advocated by Shirish Patel (e.g. Patel 2014). In a city like Mumbai where the majority of the population belongs to the second case, an increase in FSI will lead to higher densities and overcrowding, consequently reducing amenities per capita and placing additional strain on the infrastructure. Increasing FSI primarily benefits developers and real estate investors, as it increases the volume they might build and put on the market. However, their profits are made on the back of the disadvantaged (the poor and slum dwellers) who will suffer from the negative effects of high FSI – i.e. higher densities, overcrowding and reduced access to social and physical infrastructure. This

creates sub-standard living conditions for the urban poor, "likely sharpen[ing] income segregation in the city, and perpetuat[ing] socio-spatial inequalities" (Indorewala and Wagh 2016b).

The rise in FSI proposed by the EDDP came with the promise to reduce housing scarcity by significantly augmenting development rights and subsequently expanding the built up area. As a consequence – the argument goes – housing prices would decrease, making them affordable for larger groups of the population. However, proponents of a use-centered approach do not believe that this market effect is sufficient to produce affordable homes. Even when housing prices fall substantially, the majority of the slum-living population will not be able to afford these houses with their current income. The mode of production by profit-oriented developers, who produce homes as a commodity, will prevent the poorer population from buying such homes. As proof of this argument, Mumbai's legendary number of empty flats are staged: "homes are unaffordable despite there being surplus built up space" (HSM 2015a). In what he calls 'the number game', Indorewala dismantles the absurdity of the calculations which stand behind the urge to counter the housing scarcity by looking solely at the quantities (Indorewala 2016). If one would only examine the number and factor in the existing vacant housing, Mumbai would not have a housing shortage. Indorewala concludes that the problem is not one of quantity, but rather one of types of houses, which are being built under the current regime. In reframing Mumbai's much purported housing scarcity as "housing poverty" (*The Hindu* 09/06/2016), Indorewala withdraws the underlying legitimisation, which sustains the argument of continuous urgency of real-estate production – i.e. scarcity as the driver of the market.

Given these obviously ostensible legitimisations for increasing FSI and constant push to stimulate construction activity, the reason must lie elsewhere. As Indorewala explains, the "true purpose of the building spree [is the] creation of private property markets (often with state coercion) in urban land and housing" (Indorewala 2016). Indorewala, along with other proponents of the HMS campaign, follow Harvey's argumentation of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2009). In Mumbai this process is epitomised in the FSI/TDR enabled concept of 'redevelopment', which in different variations is responsible for large parts of urban transformation, from redevelopment of slums and cessed buildings to Rehousing and Resettlement (R&R) colonies for so-called Project Affected People (PAP). Both EDDP and RDDP (as well as the 91DP) aim at urban renewal and FSI is the main tool for it. For HSM urban renewal stands for destruction of the existing infrastructure and replacement by a city as commodity. It is incentive FSI and TDR which make redevelopment projects possible and allow for the restructuring of the urban landscape in a new capital fix (Harvey 2001). Renewal is based on the market value of land utilised to its full 'potential', which leads to the

poor being pushed out to less valuable land or to "insane densities" (Indorewala and Wagh 2016b), "produc[ing] un-liveable homes for the poor" (*The Hindu* 09/06/2016). In that process, the current FSI regime turns the use value of land into exchange value (Indorewala in FGD1).

It is not only housing that is produced through the sole lens of redevelopment. The provision of amenities has been linked to redevelopment as well in both EDDP and RDDP. As a consequence, amenities are only produced in the case of redevelopment: "The creation of amenities is no longer a matter of right to be provided by public action, but contingent upon redevelopment led by private enterprise" (HSM 2015a).

With respect to both housing and amenity provision, the RDDP continues a longer trend of diluting regulations and subverting standards and norms. In fact, the concept of redevelopment opened the door for carrying out projects without adhering to ordinary standards. Redevelopment projects are subjected to differing standards (building regulations as well as amenity provisions), which are less restrictive. The RDDP takes up and incorporates building regulations of the 91DP, which were gradually diluted through numerous amendments. The RDDP is furthering this trend leading to two-tier planning, one for the 'regular' city and one for redevelopment projects aimed towards the low income population (Indorewala and Wagh 2016b). Such number-crunching and lowering of standards will inevitably worsen the situation for future inhabitants of these projects. As the regulations are cast in stone, so are the socio-economic disparities.

Questioning the FSI debate

The many drawbacks the FSI regime poses for the poor majority of Mumbai's citizens are overshadowed by the fact that the debate about FSI diverts attention from the real issues at stake. Actually the FSI debate is the wrong debate when we want to talk about housing and development (Indorewala cited in *The Hindu* 09/06/2016), as it leads to the idea that redevelopment is the sole way to address the housing question and amenity provision. Other options such as the upgrading of existing neighbourhoods are precluded. Similarly, the kind of actors foreseen in the FSI model is limited to 'formal' builders and developers. However, houses could also be built by people themselves and small local contractors, not only by developers. Yet this is not seen as a viable option of city development and in fact excluded by the 'one size fits all' approach of redevelopment. As the all-dominating planning tool, FSI links urban transformation to redevelopment and associates urban imaginaries and development with a high-rise city model by both channelling and limiting the expectations and ambitions of ordinary citizens and developers alike. High FSI and the vision it fosters leads to a

high-rise model of a city and makes a low-rise solution impossible and along the way, transforms use value of land and houses into exchange value.

The approach of current and proposed FSI regimes is not only limited in its physical and economic scope and operates on uneven terms regarding different strata of society but is also reductive in the urban imaginary it fosters. Such imaginary of high-rise apartment living – at both ends of the socio-economic spectrum – stands in conflict to the way the urban poor make their livelihood, which is intricately related to the urban form of the built environment they live in:

> In order to preserve livelihoods, it was suggested that rehabilitation units for slum dwellers must be in walk ups with the ground storey designed for commercial units, and small industrial workshops. (The Hindu 09/06/2016)

Apparently, there is a certain built form which is not suitable for livelihood of the urban poor. The argument of form is brought up against urban production, which is primarily profit oriented. The urban form created by transformation processes, such as slum redevelopment under SRA, destroy the physical and social fundaments of these communities.

FSI/TDR and the mechanics of redevelopment they enable are perceived as a threat on several levels, as it disrupts communities, renders 'traditional' livelihoods impossible and destroys the built environment on which these depend. As the prime mode of urban transformation fostered by the EDDP and the RDDP redevelopment, it is destructive to all that is valued highly in the use-centred cosmos, which is built on a compromise between a civic and a domestic world.

10.3.5 Conclusion use-oriented cosmos

Against the individualising market world and standardisation of the industrial world, the use-centred cosmos defends an inclusive civil world and a domestic world building on a multitude of local traditional values. In their critique they argue that the former worlds disaggregate what cannot be disaggregated. They point out the failure of accounting for the 'reality on the ground' and demand an alternative way of planning, which takes into account beings relevant in the civic and domestic worlds. In offering alternative interpretations and attempts to shift the debate – particularly around FSI and density – to concepts of affordability and access they try to reframe the controversies around the making of the DP. In doing so, they shift the objective of DP from a merely spatio-technical issue of use allocation to a political undertaking dedicated to increasing equality:

> Physical planning is an instrument of social policy. Restricting the discussion on the Development Plan (DP) to land use and Development Control Regulations (DCRs) is a refusal to undertake planning in a holistic way and an attempt to restrict the discussion to modalities where the policies have already been determined. (HSM 2016a, n.p.)

The aim is to "re-politicise" the DP. They want the DP to be understood what it in their view actually is: a political tool. It is in this light one has to see the civil society's massive engagement with communities to "demystify" the DP (Unni and Shelar 2016). This work of reframing is essential to make visible the potentially violent effects of ordering according to a given principle or cosmos on respective other cosmos. Beyond that such acts of translation are a condition of formulating and raising critique. In doing so they reveal the limited scope of the abstract debate in addressing issues of higher importance. In the use-cosmos these are certainly question of addressing inequality. Thus for them it is important to point out that it is actually inequality (territorial, urban form, socio-economic) which enables the market in the cosmos of the advocates of the status quo to thrive and even worse, perpetuate inequalities. It is this argument which legitimises their constant struggle.

10.4 The local experts' cosmos of user advocacy

Preceding the formation and engagement of HSM, a civil society group formed in the early days of the DP controversies through a process initiated and at least in the beginning propelled by UDRI labelled stakeholder engagement. While defending similar fundamental principles as the proponents of the use-centred cosmos, they adopted a slightly different position. Notwithstanding the two groups were active at different times during the controversies, there is a significant continuity of persons and institutions engaged in both movements, which certainly contributes to the similarity in fundamental demands. Particularly, as in the use-centred cosmos, it was experts who edited and formulated central texts on which this study uses as a basis for the analysis. Nevertheless, there is a clear shift in the argumentation and in the framing of issues at stake in planning and in particular how to tackle them. These differences come to light most clearly in respect to their perspective on the mode of planning and the role that experts play in this process. The key proponent in the stakeholder engagement is UDRI, which played a central role as mobiliser and mediator early in the DP controversies and in the articulation and dissemination of values, which construct and sustain this cosmos of user advocacy. As promoter of an alternative mode of planning, they raised critique at the way the municipality was carrying out planning as a secretive, sealed-off process: they have 'carried out the planning exercise in a bubble' (UDRI 2014). In contrast they propagated an open planning process where local experts support

the state in its planning efforts. As in the use-centred cosmos the central demand is that of participation. However, the form of participation is conceptualised differently. Given the proximity of argument, I attempt to work out the points specific to the user-advocacy cosmos.

The analysis of the cosmos of user advocacy is based on the Mumbai Reader 13 and 15 (UDRI 2013; UDRI 2014), where much of the stakeholder engagement is documented. Further, their online presence on social media and their institutional as well as several dedicated homepages ('Udri.org' 2016; 'mumbaidp24seven.in' 2016; 'Plan Your Mumbai' 2016), through which original documents such as the letter to the municipality: *Planning Principles For The Revision Of The Development Plan For Greater Mumbai, 2014-2034* (UDRI 2011) are available. Conveniently for the analysis their engagement was well covered in the media, particularly after the ELU publication as well as during the EDDP suggestion and objection phase. An interview with the director of the public forum, Omkar Gupta (2015) of UDRI, and one with its founder and former CEO Rahul Mehrotra (2016) further supported the analysis.

One of the starting points of their argument is that there are too many issues at stake when planning a city. No single expert or institution can claim an overview nor master all aspects, which is particularly true for such a large and complex city like Mumbai (Gupta 2015). Given the (perceived) specificity of Mumbai, the advice of local experts of as many fields as possible is regarded as indispensable in order to ensure 'good' planning. Only by adopting such a multi-disciplinary approach planning is capable of taking into account the diversity of Mumbai and can then tackle its diverse and intricate problems. The ambition of this approach is to achieve a truly holistic planning. Planning in that moment becomes the central issue, which centralises and mobilises a wide range of concerns and at the same time aspires to address (if not solve) them in space. The DP is seen as the cause for "multiple issues that have been plaguing the city through the single tool of the Development Plan" (Mumbai Reader 2013 p. 47). Thus the revision offers the opportunity to address them all at once and "create a holistic solution". Thus a considerable mobilisation effort was undertaken to integrate a wide range of stakeholders from across diverse sectors,[102] many of whom previously had little to do with planning. The territorial scope adopted in this cosmos is that of the city. Besides opening up the circle of participation, it is UDRI's achievement to mobilise other NGOs for to work on the city level: "no other NGOs were even ambitious about the [city] scale" (Mehrotra 2016). In the whole process of the stakeholder engagement UDRI sees itself as catalyst, working on par with the other organisations.

102 The diverse stakeholders would coordinate among themselves through the organisation of eleven thematic groups, which covered issues from health, education, water supply, sanitation, housing, livelihood, environment, open spaces, environment, energy, to transportation.

10.4.1 Legitimising the experts

In order to lend credibility to the claim of acting in the name of people, two fundamental decisions need justification: What does one stand for and who defends the cause of the people? The stakeholders had to demonstrate that the topics they are bringing forth in the controversies are of relevance and not just made up out of thin air. Linked to the topics are why it is them and not somebody else who is defending the concerns.

The choice of topics considered relevant for planning Mumbai's DP was arrived at through a survey. This survey was carried out at an early stage of the stakeholder engagement involving architecture students and covered around two thousands households in eleven wards across Mumbai (UDRI 2013, 54). It was claimed to be the largest survey of people's expectation of planning. A UDRI representative formulated the intention behind the survey: "The focus is to prepare a people's brief based on their perceptions of daily life in the city" (*The Times of India* 27/04/2011). This survey allows at once legitimising the undertaking of the stakeholder engagement and reducing its complexity to a series of relevant topics. "Ten of these sectors have been singled out which are considered to be most important and basic for survival and existence for a normal citizen" ('mumbaidp24seven.in' 2016). Among the people interviewed 20% pointed out housing as the most pressing issues, followed by education and health as the most important to 15% and Water, Environment, Livelihood, Transportation and Public Space all ranked between 7% and 10%.

The experts are legitimised based on their "knowledge, practical experience and expertise" (UDRI 2011) and "selected based on [their] immense field expertise" (Mumbai24seven.in). Such grounded knowledge allows for holistic planning that goes wider and deeper than the development of a framework as proposed in the EDDP. "We believe that only through direct contact with the field could knowledge intrinsic to the planning process be developed" (Mumbai24seven.in). This connection with reality is what Mehrotra (2016) in the interview denoted as "professional sensibility". In contrast to ordinary citizens, experts possess an advanced degree of abstraction needed in planning, derived from their "immense field experience". This allows them to compare across places and time, employing their knowledge of best practice. Their 'rational' approach allows for abstraction and the resulting distance safeguards them from vested interest and hence guaranteeing just planning. In comparison to completely open participation processes, the assignment of experts allows for the speeding up of the process of planning, which in turn profits the ordinary citizens as the results of good planning become effective faster. In contrast to the use-centred cosmos, where equality is foregrounded through a participative planning process, the cosmos of user advocacy is characterised by expert knowledge and more limited participation. It is certainly leaning towards an industrial logic embracing efficiency, rationalisation

and (spatial) order. Nevertheless, accounting for diversity and complexity of ground realities as an important value is not abolished, but on the contrary, it is exactly the restrictive approach of the EDDP and RDDP, which is criticised by proponents of a cosmos of user-advocacy. The analyses which underpin the EDDP for example are criticised as a "simple demographic exercise" and demonstrate fundamental shortcomings regarding "human development", in particular regarding questions of livelihood in a deindustrialised context with increasing employment in the informal sector (UDRI 2014). In their demand for a 'truly holistic' planning process, which does justice to 'human development' and is inclusive also for disadvantaged groups such as hawkers and slum dwellers, they join hands with representatives of a use-centred cosmos.

Definitely there seems to be impatience with the government and a feeling of urgency for change. This is expressed in their stance vis-à-vis governmental planning agencies, which is characterised by distrust and frustration. They see planning constantly "derailed by vested interest, poor management or shortage of funds" (UDRI 2013, 46). The results of these shortcomings are perceived as shocking: What "we are seeing in the city, is the urban form of greed and it is the urban form of what I call 'impatient capital'" (Mehrotra, Interview, 2016). Thereby the MCGM is not to be blamed solely as they are busy with "fire-fighting day-to-day exigencies" (UDRI 2013, 46). Given the corporation's incapacity, it is seen as necessary that citizens contribute to the planning process. However, as the democratic process is not strong enough to counter this development the only way to overcome this situation is seen through 'public pressure' and mobilisation. It is this critique of the role of the state and the present condition of the city owed to 'failed' planning, which legitimises the activities of those pertaining to a people's-advocacy cosmos. "We view ourselves as a watchdog on urban planning issues, promoting democratic values of civic participation to create a more just, liveable and equitable metropolis." (Mumbai24seven.in).

Despite the harsh criticism the participants of the stakeholder engagement do not intend to overthrow the existing planning regime but rather reform it. This might happen by supporting and ultimately enabling the state to regain the capacity to do its work. This intention is reflected in the way in which the group engaged with the state for example through numerous letters and meetings with high level officers of MCGM's administrative branch and roundtable discussion with the DP planning department (UDRI 2013). The expert established a credibility negotiation with their counterparts in the bureaucracy. Planning is understood as a negotiation process among experts, which naturally includes experts representing the state.

While the undertaking of the stakeholder engagement happens in the name of the common man, it is seen as a necessity of the time. For Mehrotra (Mehrotra 2016) civil

society holds not only a mediating position with access to and knowledge of resources and power but also a "pulse of grass root". In the interview Mehrotra justifies the need for advocacy in an Indian context and points to its transitory dimension legitimating the involvement and position of experts. They act as feedback for the state and bridge between people and power. The long-term goal is to create enough awareness and knowledge to ultimately empower people to participate in the planning process. In the meantime, however, they act as the indispensable advocates of the poor.

10.5 The different cosmos outlined

In the previous chapter the different cosmos have been established on the basis of arguments made in key documents that their representatives put forward during the controversies to justify their position, underpinning their arguments and raising critique. They have been related to the different orders of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006) and conceptualised as particular compromises between two or more ordering principles. As compromises, the cosmos are more or less fragile and might come under pressure, as their principles of justification are challenged during the controversies over the making of Mumbai's development plan. The fragility of these cosmos also points to the investment needed in creating, stabilising and maintaining them to changing conditions and the raised critiques. In that sense they are constantly adapting and expanding as they incorporate new elements into their logic.

However, the different cosmos are not just abstract conceptualisations about the nature of planning and references for legitimisation, which are invoked in the controversies. They represent conflicting imaginations about how the city is to be developed and as such inform planning processes and content. In doing so they open or close possible pathways of development and have emancipating and oppressing effects. All of them include and exclude certain groups of actors from the planning process and at the same time they inform planning tools, assigning different roles to city dwellers, the private sector and governmental institutions. In doing so, certain activities, actors, corresponding urban forms and modes of urban transformation and development get privileged and others obstructed. As each cosmos creates a specific dispositive comprising a particular planning conception and linked tools of planning and roles of actors, they give rise to contrasting production of space and political ordering of the city.

For closer analytical purposes, the chosen cosmos can be categorised differently. A rather 'traditional' categorisation would be to differentiate between those cosmos trying to strike a balance between planning and the market and those balancing planning and social needs. Another categorisation could be established by looking at

the role of experts, or again by their attitude towards the current state of planning. In the latter case we would probably differentiate between reformist, preservationist and revolutionist approaches.

Following Boltanski and Thévenot's idea of a horizontal plurality of orders of worth, I represent the different cosmos in a table without hierarchical order. The table allows at once the comparing and highlighting differences and similarities. Reading vertically, each column represents a (more or less) coherent cosmos comprising a conceptualisation of planning, its ordering instruments and the roles it assigns to the diverse actors. Reading horizontally, the table reveals the differing positions of each cosmos in regard to particular inquiries. For reasons of readability and to permit space for interpretation, the table is divided into three inquiries: conception of planning, planning tools, and roles of actors.

The cosmos are represented by their guiding principles established in the respective previous chapters: the EDDP is rooted in principles of *planning*, the advocates adhere to a *project*-oriented logic, HSM demands a primacy of *use*, and the stakeholder engagement can be conceptualised following a logic of *user advocacy*.

10.5.1 Conception of planning

Table 7 presents the four cosmos and their differing conceptions of planning. Each of them rests on and includes different expectations on the goals and limits of planning and hence the role of the DP. This entails who has the legitimacy to plan and on which capacity this legitimacy is based, and consequently what means are employed. These cosmos are ultimately rooted in different understandings of their spatial and temporal dimension.

Planning

For the proponents of the EDDP, planning is about working towards an efficient order. This aspired efficiency is of a dual, mutually complementing nature consisting of a competitive market and efficient use of infrastructure (notably transport). In that sense the DP is an operationalisation of the vision formulated in Vision Mumbai (McKinsey 2003). Planning is essentially an expert domain, where planners, due to their cross-sectorial knowledge, gain an overview which allows them to accomplish their task. They operate with overarching frameworks and concepts in their quest to bring order to the city. While their spatial scope is that of the city as a territorial entity, they are strongly future-oriented pursuing a long-term vision.

	Planning	**Project**	**Use**	**User Advocates**
What is planning?	Working towards the most efficient spatial order	The sum of a multitude of successfully executed projects	A political project of drafting a common future	Holistic multi-sectorial undertaking to bring change
What is the DP?	“Operationalisation of Vision Mumbai” (MCGM 2015b)	Development Control Regulations (DCRs)	“Planning [is] one small component of a larger program to achieve social and human development” (HSM 2015a)	“The chance for citizen engagement in planning” (Gupta 2015)
Who plans?	Planning experts	Developers and Builders	People / Users (supported by experts)	Experts, multi-disciplinary (as people advocates)
Capacity of ‘planners’	Expert knowledge Cross sectorial overview	Practical knowledge of construction (implementation) “Somebody has to build it”	Knowledge of reality (experience), people’s needs and priorities Capacity to coordinate and find agreement	Expert knowledge (based on field expertise) Comprehensive and multi sectorial
Means of planning	Overarching frameworks / Concepts (also known as plans)	(Independent) Projects / Law and regulations (legal consistency)	Continuous negotiations in a participative process	Negotiation among stakeholders / Plans (best practices)
Spatial dimension (Scale)	City (territorial / clear boundaries)	Project (clear boundaries)	Neighbourhood, communities (vague boundaries)	City (vague boundaries)
Temporal dimension	Long-term “Planning is looking at the future, taking stock of the present and looking at past mistakes” (Mahajan 2016)	Short-term (project relevant)	Continuous	Long-term (periodically revised)

Table 7 Conceptualisation of planning, its actors, and spatial and temporal dimension

Project

In the project-oriented cosmos planning in the sense of an externally managed activity is regarded sceptically, if it exists at all. Rather, the good city is arrived at through the sum of multiple successfully executed projects. Consequently the actors of such a process are the builders and developers, as they possess the required practical knowledge which is needed for project implementation. As the project stands at the centre driving development, this necessitates stable legal conditions and favourable laws. Hence the means of planning are those laws. In the case of the DP this are the DCRs. The spatial and temporal dimensions are those of the project – clearly demarcated and of a comparatively short-term nature.

Use

In a cosmos where use is the dominant dimension, planning is a part of a larger political project to achieve social and human development. Here the actors of planning are at the same time its beneficiaries. It is the experience and knowledge of urban reality which legitimises the user as the true experts of planning. Planning takes the form of a negotiation process among (all) users through a participative process. While the spatial dimension usually is confined to rather small but vaguely defined entities such as the neighbourhood or communities, the temporal aspect of planning is of a continuous dimension.

User Advocates

In the cosmos of user advocates planning is about bringing change to the city. Here the actors of planning are local experts of all fields, which advocate in the name of the larger (usually poor) populations. Contextual and grounded knowledge legitimises their claim to leadership in the planning process, which is conceptualised as a negotiation process among stakeholders. Such local and rooted knowledge and the participative process guarantees comprehensive and profound planning. This is in opposition to the proposed overarching framework in the EDDP, which is perceived as one-sided and shallow. The spatial scope of planning in this perspective is that of the city or even the region, as relevant issues might not pertain to administrative boundaries. Time-wise, the experts adopt a long-term perspective, in line with their future-oriented project of change.

10.5.2 Tools of planning

	Planning	**Project**	**Use**	**User Advocates**
Biggest fears / what is opposed	Market anomalies Distorted markets due to scarcity, causing side-effects: corruption and inefficient bureaucracy	Chaos and congestions (infrastructure overload) Standstill: If private sector is hampered nothing will be developed	Inequality Unbound markets / vested interests	Opacity of planning processes and standstill Inactive bureaucracy
Obligatory passage point	Land markets / FSI / Incentives Transparency	FSI and Incentives (as the state is not providing anything)	Participation	Participation (democratic process)
Market	Planning with the market International / Global market based on transparency and competitiveness	Planning with the market Selective market based on selective access to information	Market is creating inequality Local markets (within communities, neighbourhood, and family enterprises)	Market is there, but is just one of the elements that are relevant for the city.
FSI	FSI as tool to manage physical development	FSI as entitlement (right to develop one's property) FSI restrictions have to be compensated	FSI is a tool for developers' profit Perceived as threat	FSI is a tool for the developers profit
	Contextualised (TOD) Liberalised (reduce development rights scarcity)	Discretionary FSI development according to market potentials		
Participation	Consultation	Negotiation Everybody is a negotiator in his own right	Empowerment and a Right / Conflict and Co-Production	Negotiation process among equals, informed stakeholders and experts

Table 8 Planning objectives and tools of transformation

Planning Market anomalies are the biggest fears with which planning has to deal in the cosmos informing the EDDP. Distorted markets as a result of land scarcity cause side effects such as corruption and inefficient bureaucracy. In order to address this issue, one has to work with the market instead of against it. The solution is the creation of a market, which is based on transparency and competitiveness by establishing international standards. Consequently the obligatory passage point for planning is to tidy up land markets, which means to work with incentives and ensure transparency. In the case of Mumbai this is synonymous with sorting the FSI "conundrum" (Bertaud 2011). In that vein, FSI as entitlement is abandoned and reconceptualised as a tool to manage physical development. The restricted FSI causing scarcity of development rights needs to be liberalised – i.e. the total citywide permissible buildable floor space is increased to such an extent that it satisfies current and future demand. In combination with TOD, this is how FSI can be brought in accord with infrastructure provision, hence working towards higher efficiency.

Project Proponents of a project-oriented cosmos fear most a standstill of development. Since the state is incapable of delivering, this is most likely to happen when the private sector is hampered. Planning thus has to consider and work with market mechanisms. In contrast to the EDDP, the market in this cosmos is based on selective access to information, as it is one of intensified competition where a good businessman is one that snatches every opportunity, including making use of exclusive information. The inevitable tools thus are incentives and FSI. The latter is understood as an entitlement – i.e. the right to develop one's own property and reap the profit of doing so. Consequently, restrictions in this right have to be compensated. Further the discretionary nature of existing (91DP) FSI regulation complies with developers' ambitions to maximise profits, as it allows development according to market potentials.

Use

In a user-oriented cosmos the biggest fear is inequality. Equality in contrast is perceived to be under permanent threat emanating from vested interests such as when they arise in the context of unbound markets. Thus (free) markets as individualising and anonymising contexts are usually watched with suspicion, and regarded as a prime creator of inequality. From this perspective, incentive FSI and particularly TDR as planning tools unlinked from all – except financial – context are regarded as threats. However local markets such as those existing within communities and neighbourhoods are held high. The obligatory passage point for successful planning thus is not the market but participation. Participation as a tool for planning is conceived as both empowering and a right. At the same time, it is the source of and solution to conflicts as it stands at the basis of co-production. The latter is the essence of planning in a user-oriented cosmos.

User Advocates

In a cosmos of users' advocacy, the great worry, similar to the project-oriented cosmos, is a standstill of development. In the other respects it resembles a user-centred cosmos. For example participation as a democratic process is the obligatory passage point for good planning, as it holds vested interests in check. While the market is a crucial element in all other cosmos, either positive or negative, it is of less relevance to the cosmos of users' advocates, where the market plays a role among other issues. The market is not so much seen as a threat, which has to be overcome, but just as one element, and not the most important one, to be considered in urban planning. Hence FSI as a tool to regulate land markets, which in its current form primarily profits developers, has to be complemented with an array of planning tools.

10.5.3 Role of the actors

Each cosmos carries an image of the different actors and the role they play in the planning process as well as in the functioning of the city. While the role of the state is crucial to planning activities, so are the people. Ultimately it is their characteristics, or dignity on which the cosmos rests.

	Planning	**Project**	**Use**	**User Advocates**
Role of the state	Supervisor / Regulator	Facilitator	Guarantor of redistribution	Accountable for the effects of the plan
Role of the People	Right owners (land owner) / Consumers (of floor space)	Right owners (land owner) / Consumers (of floor space)	Inhabitants / Dwellers as member of a collective (a neighbourhood or community)	Citizens as: Common man / Experts
	Has less 'trust' in the individual (current) market actors -> regulation Good governance Competitiveness	Market players as problem solvers		Good planning creates a "sense of ownership" among citizens (UDRI 2011)
Dignity	Well informed citizens (transparency)	Preference of the people guarantees good development through choices made in the market	(Human) Rights	Well informed citizens (transparency)

Table 9 Role of the actors

Planning The proponents of a planning-oriented cosmos conceptualise the state as regulator, which ensures the correct working of the market – i.e. curbing market externalities and guaranteeing a competitive market environment. The people appear as market players in two avatars, either right owners, such as landlords, or consumers of floor space. Essential for the functioning of the city and planning are the well-informed citizens, who oversee the working of the state (through a democratic process) and keep a check on market actors thanks to the transparency of the market.

Project In the project-oriented cosmos the role of the state is that of a facilitator. Similarly as in the planning-oriented cosmos, people appear in the two incarnations of buyer and seller. However, market players are understood to be the problem solvers, not the ones to be kept in check. The swift reaction of the market to changing preferences, as expressed in choice-making, guarantees development.

Use

In a cosmos where planning is oriented at the primacy of use, the state is conceptualised as the guarantor of equity. Given current conditions of inequity the state is responsible for the redistribution of resources. The people appear as inhabitants or dwellers and are considered relevant regardless of their currently existing legal status. Taking part and contributing to the production of the city legitimises all inhabitants to be included in the common undertaking of working towards a better future. As holder of (human) rights everyone is eligible to participate in the planning process and partake of its benefits.

User Advocates

While being supported by experts, the state remains the primary planning authority. Given this position, it must acknowledge this responsibility and be held accountable. The people are conceptualised as citizens – i.e. defined in relation to the state and its legal system. While they might not be involved in the planning process as such, they might – if done correctly – adopt a "sense of ownership" of the plans. Further as common man they might give in and defend vested interests. That is why experts (as citizens of a special position) are indispensable intermediaries guaranteeing a just planning procedure and equitable outcome.

10.5.4 Summaries of the different cosmos

The planning cosmos

The authors of the EDDP rearranged the planning tools in the way that they potentially deliver what they value most important for the 'good' development of the city. That is on the one hand planning security for infrastructure provision and on the other hand liberalising a constrained housing market so it can cater to the pressing demand. As such, they understand the city as a market place that caters to everybody's needs and capabilities. In turning a supply market into a demand market, the balance is restored for the better of society. For that there are two necessary steps: firstly an overarching citywide and transparent framework, which balances territorially differing economic potentials and secondly a long-term vision directing development and making possible coordination of infrastructure investment with private development. To achieve this, the bird's eye view across sectors of planning experts, who have no personal stakes in the game, is needed. In this expert world there is no space for politics nor vested interests and also no participation of (lay) people. Although mandated by law and politics, the techno-social and rational system of relations and dependencies constitutes a seemingly apolitical cosmos. The political dimension resides in the attempt to turn

a distorted market into a fair one, which is achieved through securing its competitive characteristic. Part of this task is addressed through planning tools such as the proposed FSI regime. FSI in the guise of the EDDP is an abstract ratio, which is used to adjust the system called the real estate market. The FSI regime was restructured in an attempt to rectify a disturbed system, which lacked legitimisation.

The project cosmos

The advocates of the status quo understand the production of the city through the successful realisation of independent projects. The actors are developers and builders, who navigate a complex network of physical necessities of the construction process, regulatory frameworks, as well as perpetual negotiations with current and future tenants and house buyers, while constantly balancing the financial and physical feasibility of a concrete project. The time horizon as well as the spatial dimension for them is that of the project. Their main concern thus is about implementation, which is constantly interfered with by populist politics and individual interest threatening to delay or even terminate the project. FSI is perceived as a problem-solving tool that makes use of market mechanisms. With incentive FSI (be it generated through slum rehabilitation or amenity and infrastructure provision) they have a tool to reach beyond independent projects and contribute to the 'good' of the society by putting their services at the public's disposition.

For them the state is on the one hand facilitator of their activities. Thereby it is accepted that market externalities are kept in check by closing loopholes in the regulations. On the other hand the state is also seen as a market actor and thus expected to act as such. This means that it has to use its proper resources, such as land and development rights in the most efficient way, but also react flexibly to the diverse opportunities the market offers. From that perspective regulations not only limit market actors but also the possibilities of the state. Hence the constant amendments to the DCRs play a crucial role in greasing the development machinery.

For them the FSI is a general-purpose tool, which allows relating land, finance, state, clients and users by a single number. As such it makes projects calculable and embeds them in a market logic. It is the single most important number, which makes a project successful or not.

The use-centred cosmos

The proponents of a use-centred approach understand planning as a political project, which contributes to social and human development. Its spatial, technical and temporal aspects thus always carry a social dimension. The people are the 'natural' experts as

it is they who will be affected by planning. They know urban reality from experience and know best the actual and local needs and priorities. These demands might differ according to local history and tradition as well as to local natural and social resources. The primary spatial scope is that of the community, whereas it can potentially stretch to the city or even the nation state. Striving towards a more just future takes place in a constant negotiation process among the concerned people – hence the emphasis on processes as its participative dimensions. The temporal dimension of this approach is less oriented towards a final goal but rather takes the form of a perpetual on-going struggle against dividing forces of self-interest. Behind the actions of planning experts, politicians or interest groups, they suspect the disintegrating force of vested interests, which work against the common good. From this perspective individualising market forces only further self-interest and have to be strictly controlled. In contrast, planning has to be oriented towards redistributing resources or at least open up development possibilities accessible to all people.

For them the FSI discourse is not the right discourse because it diverts from the important questions, which are those of inclusion in processes of both planning and development. Further it also subsumes those issues under an alienating logic – i.e. that of the market, which instead of reducing inequality increases it. Moreover their concerns are misused and legitimate self-interest.

The user-advocacy cosmos

For those adhering to a user-advocacy cosmos, planning is a complex and multi-disciplinary undertaking directed towards improving the city for the betterment of its users. As Mumbai's population is poor in the majority, they represent the 'voiceless' user in the user-advocacy cosmos. Hence development is measured by the change it brings to the improvement of their situation and is primarily located in service provision of both social and physical infrastructure.

A consequence of their holistic approach is that questions of the market or housing are always just one among multiple and interconnected sectors, which need to be taken into account and carefully balanced. Hence, FSI in its current incarnation must be counter-balanced by other regulatory devices. Planning as proposed by the EDDP and later by the RDDP is rejected as being one-sided and directed only towards profiting just one group of stakeholders – i.e. builders and developers. With the city as the focus, the spatial dimension of planning unites all disciplines and goes beyond the sheer demand for service provision.

While participation is important, in the absence of well-informed citizens planning remains an expert domain, where transparency assures a just planning process

rendering it immune to vested interests. The combination of abstract and local knowledge guarantees the effective use of expert knowledge and roots planning locally. Planning is essentially a negotiation process among experts who represent the different stakeholders of the city. A series of devices, such as surveys, guarantee the appropriateness of experts' actions. However, their performance is challenged when there is no progress – i.e. no improvement for the poor. To counter potential standstill the user-advocacy cosmos is future-oriented.

10.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the different cosmos have been established on the basis of arguments made in key documents, which their representatives have put forward during the controversies to justify their position, underpinning their arguments and raising critique. They have been related to the different orders of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006) and conceptualised as particular compromises between two or more ordering principles. As compromises, the cosmos are more or less fragile and came under pressure, as their justification principles were challenged during the controversies. The fragility of these cosmos also points to the investment needed in creating, stabilising and maintaining them to changing conditions and criticism. In that sense they are constantly adapting and expanding as they incorporate new elements into their logic.

The outline of the four cosmos allowed us to draw comparisons between the different conceptualisations of planning, which point beyond the actual controversies over the (re) making of Mumbai's development plan. As such the analysis frames the controversies not as one between different interest groups or between the state, civil society and the private sector, but as one among conflicting conceptualisations of planning and related objectives. Each of the cosmos frames urban problems differently and constitutes a particular order of beings (objects, actors, concepts, processes and so on). Hence it is also a question of what the different cosmos contain, with which elements they are equipped and what activity their obligatory passage point require. As they map out what kind of urban transformation and subsequently which urban form is legitimate and which is not, cosmos are more than mere conceptions of planning. They offer at once legitimisation principles, guidelines and elements enabling actions. For example, the project cosmos provides with incentive FSI a tool, which allows contributing to a better city by relating individual projects to the participation in the production of common good.

The cosmos as an analytical tool allows linking 'ideological' orientation with practical consequences. Besides contributing to a better understanding of the underlying principles of critique and accusations raised during the controversies, the comparisons

of cosmos allows us also to comprehend the difficulty of reaching a compromise between them or even point to the basis of their irreconcilability. Juxtaposing the techno-rationality of the DP and the political struggle of the slum, Bhide argues that it is precisely because they follow fundamentally opposite trajectories that they are able to continue to exist alongside each other (Bhide 2011). It is for the same reason, their fundamentally different epistemology, which makes it so difficult to consider one within the other. As long as a planner cosmos controls the crafting of the development plan, claims for user participation are hardly heard. Similarly, a project cosmos conceptualises city dwellers as consumers and not producers of housing.

In a way we might consider that the different cosmos are talking across each other, as their conception of how to create a good urban order is fundamentally at odds. However, as the controversies show, the different cosmos are constantly adapting to critique and are incorporating new elements by reframing them and making them work within their logic. However certain elements essential in one cosmos, such as planning tools are hardly translated in a meaningful way from one cosmos to the other. For example, FSI as driver of development is reframed in a user cosmos in a difficult manner and inversely, participation finds only a place in the form of consultation in a planning cosmos. The next chapter looks at incremental urbanism as one such issue which is negotiated between different cosmos.

11 The role of incremental development in the DP controversies

In the controversies over the urban future of Mumbai, incremental development as a mode of urbanisation in its own right is one of the central demands of civil society. This is evident already in early letters to the MCGM written during the stakeholder engagement, which demand an "enabling environment that promotes self help and low-cost housing" and "in-situ redevelopment on an incremental basis" (Ranade et al. 2011, n.p.), as well as in the planning principles which "encourage the inclusion of sites-and-services in layouts of mixed-income housing" (UDRI 2011, 2) and later in the PVD that demands the "recognition of slum dwellers effort […] to develop their own way of housing pattern" (HSM 2013, 4). However, as an issue in the controversies, it was not prominently placed, but instead came trailing in the wake of the omnipresent dispute over slum recognition. From the official side, incremental urban development as a potential alternative to redevelopment received limited attention. Both versions of the DP, EDDP and RDDP conceptualise urban transformation primarily – if not exclusively – as redevelopment of an already fully constructed city. Within this city certain areas are seen in urgent need of a makeover in order to adapt to the challenges and aspirations of India's leading financial city in a globalised world. However, there were certain limited spaces of consideration for incremental urbanism granted and some more wrought during the controversies. In fact, the demand made some progress, albeit little, over the capricious course of events in the making of Mumbai's DP.[103] In Mumbai, as in many other parts of the world, incremental development as a particular mode of development is mostly associated with the growth of low living standard settlements of the urban poor, with or without state support. In the DP controversies, the development of slums was one of the most contested issues. However, on the one hand, the debate revolved primarily around the recognition of slums as an urban reality, consequently being mapped in the ELU and included in the development foreseen by the diverse DP versions to their advantage. On the other hand, the debate was also about the harmful outcomes of rehabilitation and the linked DCRs.

11.1 Acknowledging incremental urbanism

The following is a recap of the controversies, describing the diverse positions and exchange of arguments with a focus on incremental development. The aim is to document and investigate the current debate on incremental development in Mumbai.

103 At the time of writing the DP is not yet sanctioned and its faith uncharted.

11.1.1 Preparatory Studies

From the official side, the issue of slums is predominantly framed as a result of the lack of affordable housing. Consequently, increasing the supply of affordable houses is seen as a core task of past and current planning efforts: “Affordable housing was, (and continues to be) a challenge” (MCGM 2013, 19). Formal housing in Mumbai, however, remains beyond the affordability of half of the population (ibid, 22). In drafting the DP, the question was never how to develop the city, but about the supply of affordable houses through formal processes. At an early stage during the DP production, the Preparatory Studies acknowledge the historical contribution of informal settlements (and their mode of development) to the provision of affordable housing in Mumbai. Under the pretext of promoting inclusionary housing they promised to support existing efforts of incremental development by the “[f]ormulation of policies which improve viability of the current in-situ slum rehabilitation scheme” (MCGM 2013, 27). However, urban renewal and redevelopment was at the time the intention of the DP planning exercise. Outlining the principles for development, the Preparatory Studies indicated the way ahead envisioned for the development of slums – and in fact all urban areas conceived as in need of radical refurbishment:

> Facilitate Urban Renewal & Redevelopment: Formulation of regulations that permit a process of holistic urban renewal, especially of areas that would benefit from comprehensive redevelopment such as large slums, areas with dilapidated older buildings in the Island City, defunct industrial lands, etc., so as to provide affordable, new built-up spaces for residential, commercial and public uses. (MCGM 2013, 26)

Urban renewal and redevelopment as a one-fits-all approach to urban development seemingly fits various urban fabrics regardless of their history, use, legal context or geographic context. While reasons might be different in each case, they are subordinate to the ultimate goal to “provide affordable new built-up spaces”. With respect to slums the intentions behind the chosen approach is to “bring informal housing and markets under the fold of City transformation through a comprehensive redevelopment approach” (MCGM 2013, 25). In other words, redevelopment of slums is thought of as a tool to turn informal settlements into formal housing.

11.1.2 EDDP

Not surprisingly the EDDP does not return to the possibility of incremental development, prudently formulated in the Preparatory Studies. Not considering incremental development as a viable option in turn means that the formal housing market must deliver affordable housing. The EDDP intended to address this challenge

with a paradigm shift in the FSI regime (MCGM 2015b). The intention was to create abundant development rights in the entire city by "liberalising" FSI. Computing the total present and future demand of floor space and allocating respective amounts of FSI across the city would reduce the housing costs considerably and make housing affordable for a larger population group. Other than this the development of slums is largely outside its purview. Even more so, not to engage in that direction was a deliberate choice by the planning team so as not to endanger the entire undertaking by getting dragged into a highly contested and politicised debate (Phatak, interview, 2016). Instead, the EDDP evaded the topic by arguing that it fell outside of its legal mandate. While principally the slum population is factored into the demographic consideration underlying the EDDP's projections and development proposals, slum land and its (non)development fall under the domain of the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA). Consequently, the EDDP makes the provision to accommodate the incentive FSI generated through SRS. A planner involved in the drafting explains why slums were excluded from the EDDP: "Slums do not feature in development plans, simply because you do not want to plan them". In contrast, the EDDP proposed a complementing tool to produce affordable housing, which it labelled Inclusionary Housing. The proposal "seek[s] to create a continuous supply of affordable housing, which would come through the process of redevelopment as mandatory inclusionary housing contribution" (MCGM 2015b, 248). From the EDDP's authors' point of view it makes perfect sense to employ redevelopment as the sole promoted mode of urban development to create affordable housing. While in principle acknowledged as a step in the right direction, the approach was critiqued as completely insufficient in its scope (Indorewala and Wagh 2015).

11.1.3 Criticism of EDDP

In the suggestions and objections letter (2015b), HSM strongly opposes the approach adopted towards slums and incremental development by the MCGM in formulating the EDDP. It reiterates the series of demands made so far during the controversies at various instances and takes up ideas expressed for example during the UDRI's stakeholder engagement (e.g. Ranade et al. 2011; UDRI 2011) and also at consultative workshops (*Slum Housing Consultation* 2014). As this letter contains the hitherto most comprehensively formulated case for incremental urbanism made in the controversies, the following largely draws from it. One of their core concerns is how affordable housing can be achieved:

> For ensuring affordable habitats in the city, we demand that all lands that are currently occupied by slums in the city be declared as areas reserved for 'public housing'. These must be acquired by the MCGM from the land owners.

> Up-gradation and improvement guidelines must be formulated for self-built settlements in the city. (HSM 2015b, n.p.)

In principle, their worry is the same as that of the Municipality: to create affordable housing. However, instead of being a resource for redevelopment they demand that we accept slums as what they are, affordable housing in the first place. The 'only' thing needed is a re-interpretation of slums as "public housing". Although houses in such areas might be substandard, they are affordable. To address the latter issue these areas need state support and guidelines for improvement, thereby "self-development on slum land […] must be encouraged". Incremental development as a mode of housing production must be acknowledged as a valid option of urban development. As such it should be considered a contribution to addressing the challenge of affordable housing in the city:

> Self-built housing must be considered a legitimate housing option, and adopted as one of the modes for the production of affordable housing stock in the city. (HSM 2015b, n.p.)

To underline their claims, they point out the negative impact of the current mode of dealing with slums. HSM opposes the continuation of the redevelopment approach as being harmful to the creation of a liveable city:

> We strongly object to the approach of this Plan of awarding development rights to developers as an incentive to produce housing units. We demand a fundamental shift in the way our habitat is conceived in this city, as a place that offers the possibilities for livelihood, growth and improvement, health and education, and creative well-being; and we demand the Plan to be based on this conception. Since the present redevelopment approach has been counterproductive in the creation of such a habitat. (HSM 2015b n.p.)

Interesting with respect to incremental development, is that the demand for "growth and improvement" is made alongside livelihood, health and education, and creative well-being. In doing so, the different aspects are all given equal importance in the creation of a good habitat. Concretising their demands, HSM requests putting an end to granting incentive FSI to developers for rehabilitation, as it creates "un-liveable homes for the poor". Instead, a "slum improvement and upgradation program must be set up for all slums" and service provision taken up by the MCGM. Consequently, corresponding DCRs must be formulated that adhere to "environmental and amenity norms to ensure an affordable and humane living environment" (HSM 2015b, n.p.). They envision an urban form resulting from such a formalisation process as mixed-

use neighbourhoods consisting of walk-ups,[104] which comprise owner-occupied and rental apartments, and "commercial units, small industrial workshops and social infrastructure" on the ground floor. Also, a maximal density of 500-550 dwelling units per hectare should not be surpassed.

Their attempt can be summarised as re-framing slums as a viable housing option. Indeed, these demands are underpinned by a call for formal planning regulations and norms. While demanding for such a set of rules, these are not formulated in detail in the suggestions and objections. A notable exception is fixing the upper density limit. This could be understood as a safeguard to grant acceptable living conditions. Further, there is no mention of FSI as a tool to regulate such slum improvement or upgrading; in contrast a high limit of 15 meters is proclaimed. They claim an overall FSI of 1.5 to be "sufficient to provide 7.5 sqm per capita for all slum dwellers in the city for life and work" (HSM 2015b, n.p.). Their Suggestion and Objection letter reads as a direct answer to the SRS schemes, which they fiercely oppose on the basis of its underlying mechanism. First and foremost the incentive and developer-driven model of rehabilitation does not comply with their imagination of just urban transformation processes. Further, the principle of cross subsidy is called into question and the promise of free houses on an ownership basis in the case of rehabilitation should be abandoned in favour of rental houses. However it is not that they preclude rehabilitation completely, but both the mode of rehabilitation and the form of the so provide homes should be different. In fact HMS returns to the idea of site and services and proposes that the mode of providing public housing could be through "'shell and service' units, to be incrementally completed by dwellers" (HSM 2015b, n.p.).

In an unpublished article[105] written after the scrapping of the EDDP, Indorewala and Wagh suggest making use of the revision period to "re-imagining" the DP's "role as an instrument to affect positive social change" (Indorewala and Wagh 2015). In their eyes housing would offer the opportunity for such re-imagination. As a starting point of their reasoning they reiterate what Wakely and Riley (2011) call the "number argument":

> The most competent housers [sic] in Mumbai are not real estate developers, but people themselves. The most efficient agency for providing housing has been the agency of the inhabitants of self-built settlements. Almost half of the city lives in homes that neither the state nor private enterprise could provide, that are incremental and mixed use, offering dwellers homes and often livelihoods. (Indorewala and Wagh 2015)

104 Walk-ups are buildings in which all apartments are accessed by foot only and not by elevator. This limits the height of a building usually to four to five stories, based on the comfort of use.
105 I am grateful to Hussain Indorewala for sharing this article.

With respect to housing they recommend changing the scope of the DP away from a city produced by developer and instead acknowledge the people's capacity in housing provision. Along these lines such change implies a shift from rehabilitation to incremental development. Adopting such a policy change could be the "single most important measure the development plan can undertake for the creation of an inclusive city" (Indorewala and Wagh 2015).

11.1.4 RDDP

During the review process the above mentioned and similar demands were carried forward in the stakeholder meetings, which the review committee held with the different groups. HSM collaborated closely with the review committee, specifying inputs and substantiated their demands with reference to national norms and standards such as the *National Building Code of India* or recommendations from the *National Urban Livelihoods Mission* and Court rulings (HSM 2016a). Compelled to respond to those inputs and the widespread criticism of the EDDP's approach towards slums and the condemnation of a single solution approach to development, the RDDP adopted what was ill-fatedly called the "cafeteria approach". The RDDP even gives credit to the authors of the suggestions, albeit without naming them, and acknowledges their expertise garnered from engagement in the field. In the report the RDDP takes up and even recaps the arguments for diversified modes of development and promises to make possible multiple modes of development for informal settlements:

> The provision of free housing through cross-subsidization is dependent on the market and participation of the private sector. It would therefore be a fair proposition that wherever slum dwellers are amenable to other methods of housing provision, such methods ought to be encouraged. This would lead us to a "cafeteria approach" where a basket of optional methods could be allowed to operate. (MCGM 2016a, 156)

The "cafeteria approach" is part of the RDDP proposal for affordable housing and fits well in the overall attempt put forward in the report. It states the need to pursue all options available to address this "gigantic" challenge, making use of national and state programs and proposing new initiatives by the MCGM. To achieve its goal the RDDP intends to mobilise various state and parastatal agencies, such as the Port Trust, MMRDA or SRA as well as private actors, all of which will contribute to reducing the shortage of affordable housing. In general, the intention is to operate in a context-specific manner, through various programs, leaving the decision of which mode of development fits best to the respective dwellers:

> The RDDP proposes that these [alternative modes of developments] are reasonable suggestions and if they have the strength of fructification, they should be carefully examined for application. (MCGM 2016a, 157)

11.1.5 Critique of RDDP

The limited commitment of the RDDP is somehow obvious due to the conjunctive formulation it adopted, which debunks the promise of free choice regarding the mode of development made as verbose whitewash. Furthermore, this statement is upheld only in the RDDP report which is not legally binding, whereas in the DCRs only the conception of redevelopment prevails. Not surprisingly civil society was quick to point out that the RDDP's "cafeteria" was serving only one dish (Indorewala and Wagh 2016a). Yet it is not only the RDDP's tokenism but also its actual menacing nature that worried the proponents of HSM. At a HSM meeting discussing the RDDP's approach to housing, Amita Bhide (2016) pointed out that the DCRs are not only preoccupied with redevelopment and no space is given to the promises made in the section on the "cafeteria approach". In fact, the DCRs proposed by the RDDP actually incorporate the redevelopment process carried out under SRA and cast them into definitions and regulations. Thereby taking up elements, which were since suspended, such as provisions for enforcement, and endorsing them in the DCRs giving redevelopment "teeth for implementation". Integrating such provisions in the DCRs "is like SRA in the course of normal" (Bhide 2016).

Consequently, the major demand in the Suggestions and Objections to the RDDP submitted by HSM is that the proposed "cafeteria approach" is actually made possible through the provision of respective DCRs (HSM 2016a). To reinforce their request, HSM compiled a list of non-negotiable demands, in which the protection of slums and making possible alternative modes of development feature prominently. Alongside redevelopment the latter could include upgrading and self-development. In any case, it should be based on the needs and capacities of the inhabitants. To substantiate their demands, they point out the effect of redevelopment as proposed by the RDDP. The increased FSI (from 3 to 4) for slum redevelopment would further aggravate the condition in redevelopment structures and create nothing but "vertical slums" (HSM 2016a, 20). Consequently, HSM favours incremental development over FSI directed redevelopment:

> Areas of social interest such as 'slums' and urban villages must be prescribed incremental improvement oriented transformation guidelines, as opposed simply to FSI incentives for redevelopment. (HSM 2016a, 13)

In a later step HSM provide a set of DCRs to the planning committee, which inspects the suggestions and objections (HSM 2016b). These proposed regulations would complement – if not replace – those directed towards redevelopment, and actually enable incremental development of slums in compliance with DP regulations (HSM 2016b). Again they start with the demand of zoning slums differently, this time called "Special Zones of Social Interest" and request to "recogniz[e] self-built settlements as perhaps the most important contributor to the city's 'affordable housing' supply" (HSM 2016b, n.p.). Besides detailing the "inputs" of local government, which includes basic service provision, social infrastructure, micro-level planning, as well as technical and financial assistance, HSM outlines development control rules for reconstruction and consolidation. The latter "depends entirely on the willingness of dwellers to undertake this process for themselves" (HSM 2016b, n.p.). The proposed regulations cast what I termed incremental development into a lawful procedure formalising the built fabric step-by-step, building-by-building. The proposed regulations do not only concern the reconstruction (including plot amalgamation) of individual buildings, but also pertain to the development of social and physical infrastructure and improvement of the urban layout. All transformation, such as relocation to create land for common purpose, should happen with the "consent of affected households". The intention is that over time a user-driven consolidation and improvement process will transform the slum into a livable low-raise, mixed-use neighborhood with reasonable densities and adequate service.

A critique from a different perspective was raised by Phatak, Municipal Advisor in drafting the EDDP, who viciously comments on the inconsistencies in the RDDP's planning approach. He points to the DP's limited scope, that it must navigate among multiple competing urban planning policies outside its sphere of influence, which heavily determine Mumbai's urban transformation processes. Referring to the free housing component in SRS scheme, Phatak rhetorically asks: "In case of slums RDDP argues for a cafeteria approach without explaining when free meals are available why should people go to buy snacks?" (Phatak 2016b). For him the cafeteria approach is utterly unrealistic in the present situation, where in a market of competing housing policies one offer is gratis.

11.2 The challenging inclusion of incremental urbanism

On the basis of the above outline of the different arguments for and against the inclusion of slums in the development plan as well as the suggestions of how this could be achieved, this subchapter proposes an analysis of the different positions and their respective approach towards Mumbai's slums. For that, the cosmos derived from the controversies and elaborated in chapter 10 can be utilised as analytical tools

	Planning	Project	Use	User Advocates
Slums are…	A market failure	A resource for redevelopment projects	User generated settlements	People generated settlements
Caused by…	Planning induced scarcity of development rights (restrictive FSI)	Incapability of the government to handle immigration	Exclusive planning practices	Exclusive planning practices
Approach	Eliminate market distortion	Increase incentives for redevelopment	Legalisation, formalization	Formalization through planning
Envisioned outcome	Formal (affordable) housing	Formal (affordable) housing	Upgraded neighbourhoods	Upgraded neighbourhoods
Mode of development	Redevelopment	Redevelopment	Incremental development	Incremental development
Dwellers	Consumers of affordable housing	Deal counterparty: TDR in exchange for (free) apartments	Producer of the built environment	Collaborators in an expert led upgrading process
Contractors	Non existent	Non existent	Small scale entrepreneur (capitalist)	Amateur architect

Table 10 Approach towards slums by cosmos

to better understand particular contested issues, such as the place of incremental urbanism within Mumbai's urban development, and the positions adopted by the different proponents in this regard. It further allows us to elaborate a more complete picture of each position and how they relate to each other. When considering the fundamentally different conceptions of how the different cosmos create the good city, their irreconcilability is quite evident. This is even more noticeable if we take a closer look at the role they confer to incremental urbanism within the city's development. The arguments exchanged in the controversies regarding how to handle (notified and non-notified) slums allows outlining the different approaches adopted towards them. Table 10 presents how the different cosmos conceptualise Mumbai's slums – i.e. what they are, how they are created, and the way in which they ought to be approached and transformed.

Planning The EDDP frames slums as a market failure. They are the result of an artificially created scarcity of development rights produced through restrictive FSI regulations. Consequently, it attempts to rectify these market distortions by "liberalising" the FSI regime to bring down housing costs. The EDDP confines its engagement to the formal housing sector, effectively excluding slums from its vision about an urban future.

Project In the RDDP's perspective, slums are a government failure. In order to allow the private sector to step in and provide affordable housing, redevelopment projects must be incentivised. Thereby slums are perceived as resource and dwellers become counterparty in the redevelopment deal where transferable development rights (TDR) are exchanged for free apartments.

Use & User Advocates For representatives of both, USE and USER Advocacy cosmos, slums are the result of exclusive planning practices. In contrast slums need to be understood as homes and affordable housing in the first place built by the dwellers themselves. Consequently they demand to acknowledged slum upgradation as viable form of urban development and campaign for accommodating incremental development within the DP's planning framework. In as far as they are not conflated with all other dwellers, the two perspectives differ in the way the see contractors. In the use cosmos they are sceptically looked at as small-scale entrepreneurs. The use advocacy cosmos might treat them as collaborators or amateur architects in an expert led upgrading process.

Particular telling is the role that slum dwellers ought to play in each respective mode of urban development. Different then in other dimensions, where occasional concordance between cosmos manifests, there is disagreement about their specific status and funciton in urban development. In a planning cosmos slum dwellers are simply consumers of housing. Only the degree of housing affordability might differentiate them from other residents in the city. In contrast, in the project cosmos dwellers are the counterparty in a contract of housing production. The current deal inscribed in the redevelopment process foresees free apartments for dwellers, in exchange for participation and willingness to vacate the land on which they live; TDR (and profit) for the developer; and an orderly city for the state. In the logic of exchange what could be better then a free ride? The dwellers, sort of, become part in the project and hold a more active role. Whether there is a choice or not to accept the deal is yet another question, which is, however, not raised from within the project cosmos but as a critique originating from an external cosmos. Nevertheless, their agency is greater than in the planning cosmos

albeit minimal. The greatest autonomy and self-determination, certainly, is conferred to slum dwellers in the use cosmos. In this perspective they are the producers of the built environment and those who are in charge to improve their neighbourhood incrementally. Conversely, in the user advocacy cosmos such upgradation process is guided by experts. Hence the slum dwellers become collaborators in a process over which they have not full control. The legitimisation for this expert guidance can be found in the emphasis the user advocacy cosmos puts on the long-term and citywide perspective, which is perceived as absolutely essential in urban development and planning.

While dwellers, somewhat obviously, exist in every cosmos, they are perceived as more or less homogenous and differ, if at all, along a single axis, for example, according to their purchasing power or capability to negotiate a deal. Little surprising, complex characters like contractors do not figure in any of the cosmos. In none of the arguments brought forward by the different proponents they are explicitly mentioned in any way. A short examination shows that they are somehow at odds with all the different conceptualisation of how the city is made. In both, the planning cosmos and project cosmos the occupation of slum dwellers simply is not relevant. Their knowledge of, capacity in and experience of housing production in a slum context is of no relevance for redevelopment. Hence, contractors as specific figures can completely be ignored. More interesting in this regard are the use and the user advocacy cosmos. Against the expectations the user cosmos, which most openly campaigns for incremental urbanism and dweller autonomy in self-built settlements, offers little space regarding the figure that actually produces the built environment as returning to a citation given above exemplarily illustrates.

> The most competent housers [sic] in Mumbai are not real estate developers, but people themselves. The most efficient agency for providing housing has been the agency of the inhabitants of self-built settlements. Almost half of the city lives in homes that neither the state nor private enterprise could provide, that are incremental and mixed use, offering dwellers homes and often livelihoods. (Indorewala and Wagh 2015)

It is the undifferentiated dwellers or "inhabitants of self-built settlements", who construct the homes they live in. Contractors as the professional builders in Mumbai's "incremental and mixed use" neighbourhoods are subsumed under the universal term "people". To a certain extent this simplification is certainly owed to strengthen their argument in the controversies. However, likewise it is just not judged necessary to differentiate by occupation. Otherwise, contractors as specific actors might endanger the unity of the people, which the use cosmos values so high. In such a case, one can hypothesise, contractors quickly risk being framed as small-scale entrepreneurs

and rent-seeking capitalists profiting on the back of fellow dwellers by constructing nothing more than petty commodity housing. In contrast, as part of the community, they partake in the local economy, which is perceived as healthy and beneficial for the neighbourhood. In essence, there is no need to single them out.

Interestingly, in the user advocacy cosmos, contractors could potentially attain a specific position, that of an amateur specialist or a low-level expert. As bearer of local knowledge and experience they are predestined for collaboration with the experts who would lead a neighbourhood upgradation process, as it is for example suggested in the UDRI proposal included in the planning committee report (MCGM 2017). As the value of people in the user advocacy cosmos is measured by its expertise contractors would stand out among their fellow dwellers.

Examining the role slum dwellers ought to play according to the different cosmos confirms that the different conceptualisations of urban development are fundamentally at odds with one another. While in all cosmos dwellers are present and perform specific functions, contractors with particularly valued figures potentially only make sense when urban transformation is the responsibility of the people. The absence of figures like contractors even in those cosmos which praise self-determined urban transformation, points to the difficulty of incorporating the ambiguous nature of incremental urbanism into these necessarily generalised conception of realty.

As they compete over the legitimate framing of Mumbai's urban future, the cosmos are not only conflicting in the way they frame Mumbai's slums but also make gross generalisation about the ambiguous character of incremental urbanism and the various people inhabiting and transforming these settlements. Mapping incremental housing production as it is examined in the part *Making* and in particular the ambiguous role contractors play within such mode of urbanisation against the different positions defended during the DP controversies makes evident the difficulty of representing todays complex and heterogeneous city.

11.3 Conclusion

The DP controversies became a platform for expression and claim-making, where issues were negotiated, which go beyond the scope of the DP. Some of the most contested issues might not be addressable by this planning instrument alone and some of them not at all. Incremental housing production certainly belongs to the former. The potential basis of incremental development as a recognised (and formalised) mode of urban transformation could very well be incorporated in the DP, for example through provisions of appropriate DCRs as UDRI demanded and HSM proposed them at different moments. Then again, the institutional context of planning in Mumbai is

highly complex with intricate and conflicting responsibilities and competences between multiple national, state and parastatal agencies, all of them competing over influence, land and respective revenues. This is not to speak of (party) political dimensions and stakes involved in service provision and redevelopment, regarding both financial and electoral consequences. Given the complex and fragmented context in which planning currently takes place, it is clear that the DP would not be the sole party to win over if incremental development is to become a viable option of urban transformation. Thus, it is not surprising that these demands are very much entangled with other discussions. In the cacophony of the DP controversies, incremental development is weighed down by the slum question, which itself conflates multiple issues. Foremost the recognition of slums during the various steps of planning and their inclusion in development as envisioned by the DP is the immediate demand. From there, claims for physical and social service provision are deduced. The way in which further development is imagined is given subsequent thought. Here the opposition against redevelopment usually takes more space than the formulation of alternative modes of development. This is also what makes the proposition of UDRI (Ranade et al. 2011; UDRI 2011; in MCGM 2017) and HSM (HSM 2015b; 2016a; 2016b; Indorewala and Wagh 2015) so valuable.

Incremental development as a mode of development stands in fundamental opposition to how urban transformation is currently conceptualised in Mumbai. Urban renewal in the form of redevelopment – whether slums, cessed buildings or formal housing – is the sole state-recognised mode of urban production. Consequently, it is usually the struggle against redevelopment, which occupies the front seat in the controversies. Both modes of urban transformation, redevelopment as well as incremental development, are framed as contributions to the creation of affordable housing. As a mode of development associated with the growth of slums, incremental development heavily associated with fostering encroachment, (over) densification, overcrowding and unsafe living conditions. For those who promote redevelopment, incremental development is associated with a historical mode of production, not adequate to the aspiration of a 'modern' Mumbai. In contrast, redevelopment in its current form is furthering the image of a 'slum free' city.

In the controversies, activists and civil society groups of various colours carried forward the demands for incremental development as an option for urban development. While it was mostly experts who formulated the (written) demands, communities expressed similar demands in the consultation workshops (*Slum Housing Consultation* 2014). Over the course of the controversies, the fundamental demands of civil society were constantly reiterated and voiced at every possible occasion. Beyond that, the formulation of alternatives grew in detail and demands were complemented with

suggestions of how to accommodate incremental development within the formal regulatory framework of the DP and in particular its legally binding section, the DCRs.

While we might not interpret the controversies as the revival of a dialogue on incremental development as a viable alternative option of urban transformation, it provided an outlet for these demands and indicated where and how such alternative city building processes could institutionally be anchored. The controversies also demonstrated that the seemingly technical regulatory framework is not outside the influence of a political debate. The twists and turns of the controversies and the changes in the formulation of the DP illustrate the co-produced nature of planning. In this process, multiple and diverse actors voiced their concerns and participated, admittedly on unequal terms, in the production of the city.

Written after the public consultation workshops, an open letter to India's Prime Minister by Arvind Unni, one of the central figures involved in the HSM campaign, points out the encouraging development the discussion has taken: "[F]or the first time in the city's planning history had open discussions on how to re-imagine the city" (Unni in *DNA* 16/05/2014). At that time he was not the only one who highlighted the promising turn for participation (Kamath and Joseph 2014) and the increased involvement of large groups of society was "quite baffling" even for long-time social activists,[106] although as of now the demands of civil society have been met only in parts (HSM 2016a). From a western perspective, the (provisional) result might appear disappointing, however for those involved in the struggle important steps have been made towards positioning planning as a public problem, which is able to mobilise a large spectrum of society and also create new spaces for participation. There are hopes that the efforts around the making of the DP are not done in vain, as solidarity and connections across the city and between groups once established will not be forgotten.

While the RDDP paid lip service to the civil society, the formulation of the 'cafeteria approach' gave the opportunity to demand the implementation of modes of development into the DCRs. Hence, the planning committee subsequently underlined the importance of making alternative approaches of urban development possible. However, the demand was relegated away from the scope of the development plan and shuffled off onto the SRA. The debate over alternative visions of the city and various modes of development nevertheless forced the state to enter into the discussion and formulate a response, albeit a half-hearted one. These concessions made in the RDDP report that was not legally binding are then also currently the only place committed to incremental urbanism.

106 Personal communication with Amita Bhide.

The most worrisome outcome of the DP controversies, as of today, is that the RDDP continues and intensifies the trajectories and pathways to development laid out in the 91DP. As the later is held responsible by civil society groups (UDRI 2013; HSM 2016a) for the current condition of the city, there is a real fear that RDDP will accentuate and intensify the massive socio-economic inequalities and fix them in space. As planning tools, the use of incentives FSI is further strengthened to facilitate redevelopment, and this will continue to be the predominant form of 'formal' urban development. Heavily incentivised by selective application of planning regulations, i.e. relaxation for redevelopment projects, redevelopment as a mode of urban transformation will continue to be a threat for every incrementally growing settlement specified as a slum in Mumbai. As Echanove and Srivastava (2013) argue in the case of Dharavi, the insecurity induced by the threat of redevelopment, if anything, hampers development of such settlements.

Moreover, there are no signs that incremental development would become an officially recognised option of urban transformation in Mumbai anytime soon, as national initiatives in that direction have been foreclosed. The Government of Maharashtra declared that the national program Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY), which explicitly foresees an option for slum upgrading, is not applicable to cities where SRA is working (HSM 2016a).

12 Conclusion

Essentially, this research project is an attempt to better understand what constitutes incremental urbanism and which role it plays in the making of the contemporary city. For that, I engaged in an empirically driven investigation into the processes of incremental urban development at two levels. On the one hand, it comprised an inquiry into the construction of individual houses and the multiple actors involved in this process in one of Mumbai's slum settlements. On the other hand, it examined the contemporary planning controversies revolving around the revision of Mumbai's development plan, in order to better understand the conflicting conceptions of urban planning and development, and the role and legitimacy which is conferred to modes of incremental urbanism within the City's urban future. Reading the two moments in the production of Mumbai's slums together sheds light on the challenges to incorporate incremental urbanism into planning processes. It was argued that these challenges lie not solely with the conflicting rationalities – or cosmos – of how to create a just city, which clash in the controversies, but also with the ambiguity of incremental urbanism itself. Both of which contribute to complex processes of invisibilisation, or subalternisation, of incremental urbanism.

This research project contributes to literature on urbanisation in the global South through a double lens: that of housing production and that of contemporary urban planning discourse. Thereby it addresses several knowledge gaps regarding today's complex urban reality.

Focusing on the practises of the urban dwellers, and in particular the contractor as a hitherto under-examined figure, this research sheds light on the complex realities of contemporary city making. Thereby it reveals that self-help housing in contexts, such as Mumbai's slums, is by and large a professionalised mode of urban production. Such findings stand in contrast to conventional believes about housing practices of the urban poor. In that light this research both, extends and shifts the perspective of studies in this field. Much of the concerns of scholars, international agencies, NGOs, and activists as well as governmental institutions are directed towards the poorest members of society. In contrast, those who rose above utter poverty, also through processes of incremental urbanisation, attract much less attention. A similar bias exists regarding concepts and policies, such as (assisted) self-help housing, which emerged from studies in the contexts of poverty and which were precisely intended as contribution to overcome such conditions. Housing practices of those I call the 'not so poor', and whose houses and neighbourhoods consolidated beyond a certain point, tend to fall out of focus. By investigating in such contexts, this research assesses the limits of these concepts.

In respect to the analysis of contemporary planning processes this study contributes to a better understanding of how planning is actually made. This stands in contrast to analyses of planning policies, such as development plans, which are often made retrospectively – that is when they are enacted and implemented (or not). Instead of analysing advantages, deficiencies and limits of such plans, this research investigates planning as it is made through an examination of the controversies which were triggered by the revision of Mumbai's development plan. Such a perspective allows accounting for the uncertainty, potentials but also dangers, which surround events where a city's present and future is (re-) negotiated and (re-) cast in urban policies and regulations. Accounting in detail for the course of the controversies – the multiple moments of contestation and conflict, the various actors involved, their concerns and arguments as well as the different attempts to frame and reframe urban issues – permits an investigation into the co-produced reality of contemporary urban planning. Such a perspective advances our understanding of planning as the contested and messy process it actually is. Further, the controversies offer the possibility to examine the conceptions of urban planning and development underlying the various standpoints and allow shedding light on their conflicting approaches towards Mumbai's slums. Treating all the conflicting positions as equally valid allows making heard the voice of those who are routinely overheard.

In conjunction, the two complementary levels of analysis shed light on the multiple challenges of including incremental urbanism in Mumbai's planning framework and how incremental urbanism is invisibilised on multiple levels. The research exposes, once again, the distance between the intricate reality of incremental urbanism and the debate about it and thereby highlights the problematic relation between the two moments of urban production. Part of the reason for this discrepancy lay with the different framings of incremental urbanism brought forward during the DP controversies. Neither of which reflects fully the reality of urban production in incrementally developing neighbourhoods, as it was presented in the part on *Making* in this research. In as far as the controversies over Mumbai's urban future is the place of negotiations over which mode of urban development and form is fostered and which is negated, we learn much about the (poor) legitimacy conferred to incremental process in making the city – i.e. its subalternisation.

This research adheres to a theoretical framework informed by French pragmatist sociology and roots itself in an economy of convention (EC), whereby conventions have to be understood as socio-cultural logics of acting, which allow actors to coordinate in situation of uncertainty. Conventions establish a normative framework and permit persons to evaluate actions, actors, objects and their constellations. However conventions are not pre-existing but are collectively and culturally produced and

demand constant efforts for stabilisation, or in Thevenot's (1984) words investment in form. EC postulates the plurality of co-existing conventions as a horizontal multiplicity of different value systems and their simultaneous validity. When a group of people agrees on the appropriateness of a certain convention in a given situation, as for example in the framework of DP planning how to deal with incrementally developing settlements, other conventions are still present as alternatives. Society is thus not constituted by a single order but by the interweaving of a multitude of orders, which simultaneously co-exist in the same social space. The symmetrically existence of multiple ordering principles makes evident that social interactions are highly formatted phenomena and that such formatting is constantly challenged by alternative formatting.

The pragmatic approach entails three major consequences, which became relevant for this research conceptually, analytically and methodically.

First, a focus on the formatting processes, which is creating, maintaining and unmaking of conventions. An EC perspective puts the emphasis on processes of creation and stabilisation of conventions. In that sense incremental urbanism is understood as a process where such conventions are formed. Such an approach allows focusing on the procedural and relational dynamics of incremental urbanism as a social phenomenon in the making. While the part *Making* examined the practical working of conventions in the production of housing, the part *Planning* examined the negotiation of the appropriate conventions for urban development. Linking macro and micro level, conventions have a mediating function between the concrete situation and generalisation. In that sense, the concept of conventions is well suited to examine what role incremental urbanism in contemporary cities plays at different scales. In that sense, this research investigated into two on-going formation processes, both of which are characterized by constant negotiations over the just way to organise and order a common living together. In these conflict-loaded and contested processes alternative forms of coordinating and ordering the city are superseded.

Second, radical symmetrisation as an analytical tool to tackle objects and concepts considered distinct within the same analytical framework. Symmetrisation allows reconsidering disjunctive conceptualisations, such as the urban and the rural, or the city, the village, and the forest (Echanove and Srivastava 2015) or else the formal and the informal (Alsayyad and Roy 2006; Roy 2011) and permits analysing symmetrically urbanisation processes that are usually considered distinct within the same framework. Accordingly, incremental urbanism is understood as a valid form of urbanism, which exists alongside and in competition with other modes of urbanisation. Similarly the different perspectives on incremental development on display in the DP controversies were considered symmetrically.

And third, EC is a call to return to careful description of the intricate realities of contemporary cities in order to deepen our understanding of the social, political, and technical complexity of contemporary urbanisation. In the face of an increasingly heterogeneous urban world, it seems indispensable to devote attention to the complex reality of incrementally developing neighbourhoods and the intricacy of the debate about their place in the city. Going back to description allows overcoming preconceived conceptions, which tend to mute complex dynamics, and permits subsequently to critically review urban theory.

A pragmatic perspective on the city ties in well with the efforts associated with the political project of Southern urbanism to extend urban knowledge through empirical evidence and experience of southern cities (Parnell 2014). The efforts of post-colonial studies to refocus the locus of theory production in order to better reflect Southern urban realities (Watson 2009) can be understood as attempts to symmetrise urban studies as is particularly evident in Robinson's (2006) call for approaching all cities as ordinary cities. As argued elsewhere, an approach inspired by French pragmatic sociology offers a conceptual framework curbing the risk of a runaway multiplication of case studies as it allows "accounting for the heterogeneity of our contemporary world without losing sight of the limits of this heterogeneity" (Pattaroni and Baitsch 2015, 125).

Derived from the orders of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), the cosmos, as employed in the analysis of the DP controversies, can be understood as a conceptual tool for such an investigation into this heterogeneity. They allowed to better understand the DP controversies by revealing the conflicting underlying conceptions of planning and urbanisation as well as their respective perspectives on Mumbai's slum and how to deal with them. Revealing opposing and at times irreconcilable worldviews, the four cosmos provide insight into the tensions and conflicts pervading the development and regulation of contemporary cities in the South and North. Chosen regarding their relevance in respect to housing production, the four cosmos reflect the heterogeneity of conflicting rationalities (Watson 2003) challenging both, planning theories and praxis. Beyond this research project, the cosmos as analytical tool has the potential to account for local specificities and hence can help to systematically and symmetrically account for the many voices which are routinely overheard and ignored but nevertheless contribute to the making of our cities.

In as far as planning is making trade-offs (Bhan 2017), it is about the legitimate violence of ordering the city and hence a deeply political undertaking. While we cannot and must not forgo planning, the cosmos as analytical lens helps us to recognise what reductions and omissions are made, inequalities created and values established in the normative process called planning.

This research analysed the underlying conceptions of planning and development, which inform the conflicting positions defended in the controversies revolving around Mumbai's DP. This contributes to an understanding of why the different positions are difficult to reconcile and points to the challenges and conflicts associated with the inclusion of incremental development in Mumbai's planning regime. However, it does not investigate how the proponents of the project cosmos established their perspective as the legitimate principle of development. While the presented historical account of the events hints at this process, further investigation in this direction would be promising.

The case studies

One of the starting points of this research was the assumption that incremental urbanism is a specific mode of urbanisation, which exists in parallel to and in competition with other modes of urbanisation. While definitely not the exclusive places of incremental urbanism, slums are the paragon of this mode of urban development. Here the processes of incremental development are particularly visible. Hence, Mumbai and its slum settlements served as case study. The case studies were chosen for their specificity as well as relevance beyond their singularity.

Embracing the concepts of self-help housing and incremental development, the municipal resettlement colony Shivajinagar, Govandi was established in the 1970ies in Mumbai's erstwhile periphery. Through a chain of historical shifts in urban policy and neglect by the municipality, the neighbourhood was turned into a slum (Björkman 2014). After 40 years of incremental development, Shivajinagar allows studying the processes of 'self-help' housing at the moment where the promises of consolidation – while never terminated – actually became reality. Here, the socio-economic situation of residents allows them to afford contracting a contractor to build their homes and permits to make certain choices, for example, about the contractor, house layout and materials and so on. Together with a high construction activity this makes the neighbourhood a rewarding case study. While Shivajinagar is not a singular case in Mumbai in respect to its history as a 'planned' slum, it is certainly not unique regarding the way in which consolidation proceeds. Given that incremental development is the process through which the majority of Mumbai's population is housed, it is rather puzzling that official efforts in urban development constantly side-line incremental urbanism. This mismatch became particularly obvious in the controversies over Mumbai's new development plan.

The public indignation about planning and the subsequent outcry, which characterized the process of Mumbai's development plan revision, is not an unparalleled event in

India. However, examples of open contestation are few. While planning policy revisions have a long history of contestation, the contemporary controversies in Mumbai are in their intensity and dimension notably distinct from historical and contemporary Indian examples. This public debate not only brought to the forefront players who preferred to engage behind closed doors but also mobilised previously unheard actors publicly demanding a saying in shaping of Mumbai's urban future. The controversies revolving around the making of Mumbai's development plan is representative of the fault lines pervading contemporary planning across India and beyond. Questions about adequate and affordable housing stand at the origin of much public opposition against the municipal visions of urban development. In their aspiration to transform Mumbai into a World Class City, slums are absent and subsequently preclude large parts of the city's urban fabric and population from the envisioned development. Unsurprisingly, the demand to acknowledge incremental urbanism as a valid form of urban development fuelled much opposition and contributed to the large-scale public mobilisation. The controversies reflect a moment when planning became a public problem and marks a shift in the way planning is (re-) thought, carried out and contested. In this sense, the controversies offer a unique opportunity to study the negotiation over the role slums, and more generally incremental urbanism, play in the making of Mumbai's urban future.

The following presents the main findings of the two case studies followed by a reflection of how the two parts speak to each other before moving on to the concluding reflections on incremental urbanism.

12.1 Incremental urbanism in the making

Dwelling, production, and rent seeking are inherent parts of the ways in which houses are utilised in Shivajinagar and similar settlements. Houses are built, maintained, extended, and transformed for all of these reasons. The malleability of the built environment makes possible the ease of change between all kinds of functions, switching between exchange value and use value. Such constant adaptation and transformation of individual buildings allows families to cope with setbacks, such as through leveraging a room as rental space. It is the possibility of individual development that allows the use of the house as both a means of production and a product, enabling upward social mobility. As such, buildings are employed in many ways and leveraged for their own transformation. This permits users of various capabilities to participate in this transformation process. It is this heterogeneity of users, functions, and forms of development, along with the malleability of the built environment, which characterises incremental urbanism.

However, the process of housing production and transformation itself is not without difficulties and conflicts. In places such as Shivajinagar, which have consolidated over a longer period, a small-scale construction industry emerged, headed and epitomised by the contractor, replacing to large extents the model of the owner-builder. Mediating between labourers, clients, neighbours, communities, and state agents, contractors enable improvement of living conditions in contexts of severe constraints and catalyse development even in cases where it seems impossible. Housing production is characterised on one hand by professionalization and segmentation of trade and on the other hand by financial transaction and contractual relations. The relationship between contractor and house owner, however, is not only one of service provider and client but often one of neighbours and members of the same community. It is the embeddedness in the local community and the intimate knowledge of the neighbourhood, which allows a contractor to perform his work and which earns him the trust residents as lay-persons put in him as expert. Although residents feel the need and try hard to exercise control over the production process and its outcome, they are often overpowered by the complex decision-making processes of construction, which happens under conditions of time and economic pressure. In such moments housing models, such as rentable upper floors, fostered by contractors gain in importance. This is not to say that contractors do not act in the best of intentions for their clients, but rather that in housing production, there are multiple overlapping logics and constraints that need to be balanced. Consequentially, the mediation work of contractors participates in both, the introduction of market logic and in the preservation of domestic relations.

As neighbourhoods consolidate and houses grow in height through incremental processes, the wall, which separates houses, often becomes a place of neighbourhood disputes over spatial and social boundaries. Reducing conflict potential and increasing independence of development, shared walls are increasingly replaced by double walls. During the construction of houses in densely built settlements such as Shivajinagar, the demarcation, linearization and hardening of spatial boundaries can be understood as part of an advancing process of individualisation of territories and personal spaces. While this process of individualisation creates and sustains the condition for the transformability of the built environment, boundary making, maintaining and controlling is a costly process. Hence, it privileges the wealthy over the poor, who cannot keep up with the pace and potentially suffer under the progress of their successful neighbours.

Incremental urbanism describes a process of city making characterised by constant but not coordinated construction and re-construction of individual houses. Such transformations are usually linked to important changes in the life of residents, who adapt their houses according to individual needs and ambitions back and forth

between dwelling, production, and renting. In this process, contractors as mediators play a crucial role as enablers of social and physical change under condition of strong constraints. Brokering technical, social and economic knowledge to improve living conditions, they perform necessary and essential functions in incremental development. Contractors are involved in, advance and handle the conflictive process of constant negotiation I call incremental urbanism.

In as far as incremental urbanism is a process of independent improvement and (material, spatial, and legal) consolidation of houses, it is directly linked to the malleability of the built environment. This project-based mode of urban transformation necessitates and furthers spatial and social independence between often unequal neighbours and induces processes of individualisation. While consolidation is the outcome of constant efforts to improve living condition, constant transformation allows residents to adjust to changing socio-economic conditions through investment in and transforming of their built environment. As an individualizing process of adaptation, incremental urbanism is not oriented towards a goal formulated as a common good. As an open-ended process it is rather located in a domain of surviving and coping than within an inevitably future oriented planning domain.

Incremental urbanisation as a contractor mediated process of consolidation and improvement is a way to deal with harsh conditions of poverty. It is certainly responsive and resilient but it is not necessarily alleviating for all residents. Allowing the composition of contrasting trends and elements, incremental urbanism is responsive to more plastic and fluid changes in the city at large.

It is the ambiguity of actors, functions and processes existing within incremental urbanism, which gives rise to different and at times conflicting conceptualisations of such settlements and the role they ought to play in the making of the city. It is the ambiguous nature, its open-ended orientation and adaptability of incremental urbanism in combination with the malleability of the built environment, which is fundamentally at odds with the goal-oriented trajectories of rationalising and ordering inherent to urban planning. This conflict became once again evident in the DP controversies, which occupied Mumbai during almost a decade.

12.2 Negotiating incremental development

The revision of Mumbai’s development plan gave raise to remarkable controversies around urban planning and development and became a platform for expression and claim making on the city’s urban future. In these controversies conflicting visions about the good city and how to reach it are negotiated. Among others, the role slums are to play in the city’s development were heavily contested.

This research project analysed four positions, which were defended in the controversies and examined their conception of urban planning and development and the underlying worldview. The analysis is based on the argumentations the diverse actors brought forward to underpin their position. Evoking a series of legitimisation principles, each of them creates a specific 'cosmos', which can be understood as a particular compromise of different orders of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). The four cosmos are: the *planning cosmos*, which informed the planners in drafting the EDDP, and which initiated the controversies as it challenged the existing order and mode of urban transformation. In opposition, the advocates of the status quo defend a *project cosmos* as the legitimate mode of development. Thirdly there is the *use-oriented cosmos* that directs the activities of HSM and that raises fundamental opposition against the former two. Finally, there is the *cosmos of user-advocacy,* which guides the activities of UDRI and the stakeholder engagement. The different cosmos and their respective approach to the good city can be summarised as follows:

Planning	The good city is the one with the most efficient spatial order. This is achieved thanks to the long-term and citywide perspective of planning experts, who set up overarching frameworks granting and regulating (e.g. through incentives) a transparent and competitive – hence just – land market.
Project	The good city is arrived at through the sum of multiple successfully implemented projects. Development is understood as the result of the work of builders and developers, for which they require favourable market conditions and incentives (e.g. FSI/TDR) enabling them to put their service at the public's disposition.
Use	The good city is inclusive and equitable opening possibility for development to everyone. Planning is the political project for social and human development. As such it is a process of constant negotiation among directly concerned people, who base their decision on their lived experience of the city.
User Advocates	The good city is achieved through a holistic approach balancing the multiple complex urban exigencies – and not only land markets – through a negotiation process between stakeholders. In the name of the (poor) population, experts grant efficient and transparent planning to assure improvement for the user of the city.

Considering the four cosmos as equally valid positions allowed drawing comparisons between the different conceptualisations of planning, tools of transformation and relevant actors in the making of the city. As such the analysis frames the controversies not as one between different interest groups or between the state, civil society and the

private sector, but as one among conflicting conceptualisations of planning and related objectives. Each of the cosmos frames urban problems differently and constitutes a particular order of beings (i.e. objects, actors, concepts, processes). As they map out what kind of urban transformation and subsequently which urban form is legitimate and which is not, the cosmos are more than mere conceptions of planning. They offer at once legitimisation principles, guidelines and elements enabling actions. As analytical tools, cosmos link 'ideological' orientation with practical consequences. The comparison of cosmos sheds light on the difficulty of reaching compromises or even point to the basis of irreconcilability.

This difficulty is particularly evident regarding the way in which slums in Mumbai are perceived and transformed. While incremental urbanism as a mode of development in its own right is one of the central demands of civil society, it stands in fundamental opposition to how urban transformation is currently conceptualised in Mumbai. From the official side, incremental urban development as a potential alternative to redevelopment received limited attention. Both versions of the DP, EDDP and RDDP, conceptualise urban transformation primarily – if not exclusively – as redevelopment of an already fully constructed city.

12.3 Moments of invisibilisation

In reading the two levels of investigation together, the discrepancy between them becomes evident. The discourse over and the reality of incremental urbanism are two completely different moments of urban production, which sort of 'talk across' each other. While the former operates with abstractions and generalisations (of the latter), the latter evolves in and is part of a complex context, where people pursue multiple and, at times, contradictory projects and where different urban trajectories exist next to each other.

The apparent discrepancy between *Planning* and *Making* is little surprising and disillusioning at the same time. Disillusioning, because as architect and planner one is educated in the belief that planning brings the best for human future. And this is exactly what the diverse proponents in the controversies think of their respective standpoint as well. All of them are firmly convinced that their model of urban development brings about the 'good' city and that the other cosmos do not do justice to urban reality, neglecting and violating important aspects of urban life.

This research allows shedding some light on this diagnosis by pointing to the moments of invisibilisation linked to the discrepancy. A first moment of invisibilisation can be identified within the controversies, or in the irreconcilability of the different cosmos, respectively. In as far as each cosmos possesses a rigorous and coherent conception

of urban planning and development they each supress alternative modes of urban transformation. That is: actors, spatiality, materialities and processes other than those foreseen in the respective model are either ignored, made to fit, or neglected. The way in which the city and urban change is categorised, ordered and valued under Mumbai's contemporary planning regime privileges redevelopment over all alternative modes of urban transformation, including incremental development, suppressing and subordinating them. This holds true whether we look at the short and hypothetical episode of the EDDP and its planning cosmos or at the RDDP and the project cosmos standing behind it – both offer no room to accommodate incremental urbanism.

A second moment of invisibilisation has to do with the ambiguous nature of incremental urbanism, which clashes with the cosmos' pursuit for coherence. Incremental urbanism is ambiguous in multiple ways: Different urban forms, functions, uses, modes of development, modes of investment and so on, all exist alongside each other. Such a heterogeneous reality has a double effect. Firstly, because of being ambiguous, incremental urbanism lends itself easily to appropriation by various, and possible contradictory, conceptualisations through selective reduction of its complexity. Hence, it is employed in different and at times conflicting narratives of urbanisation. This is exactly what happens in the planning controversies, where opposing cosmos frame incremental urbanism differently. Secondly, the concurrent but inverse effect of such ease of appropriation is constant elusion. We might state that incremental urbanism escapes generalisation. The ambiguous and heterogeneous reality of incremental urban production refuses simple conceptualisation. Thus, it is difficult to accommodate within a cosmos, which is by definition concerned with creating and safeguarding the coherence of actors, objects and processes. It is this elusiveness of urban reality, which Simone (2011a; 2011b; 2014; 2016) has in mind, when he describes how urban life constantly evades rigid conceptual grasp. To paraphrase Simone: what might look like a homogenous fairly ordered settlement, is always also something else. In that sense, incremental urbanism then pertains to what Roy famously termed subaltern urbanism, which "marks the limits of archival and ethnographic recognition" and which "cannot be represented in the archives of knowledge" (Roy 2011, 224). By being beyond recognition and representation, incremental urbanism is bound to remain partially invisible in planning debates as well as in urban theory.

Contractors might stand exemplarily for this double moment of invisibilisation. They and their various modes of engagement are illustrative of the ambiguity of incremental urbanism. The figure of the contractor, for instance, is not accounted for neither in development plans, whether EDDP nor RDDP, nor in the counter-narrative of self-help housing advocates. The intricate reality of incrementally developing settlements is not represented fully in any of the examined cosmos. The exception is the use cosmos, which

comes closest to what I observed in respect to housing production in the framework of this research. But even their conceptualisation of slums and incremental mode of development is necessarily a generalisation, which obscures certain dimensions present in settlements such as Shivajinagar.

Given the inevitable invisibilisation and reduction linked with the conceptualisation of incremental urbanism it must be asked: What would be the advantage if incremental urbanism actually was included in the DP and who would benefit from this? Certainly, only time and further research might give an answer. Nevertheless, it could be hypothesised that contractors are quite content with the status quo, as it secures their position and income. In fact, it is exactly the gap between urban reality and planning, which makes their mediating service indispensable. Their practice, it could be argued, is bridging the discrepancies between these 'irreconcilable' worlds.

12.4 Incremental urbanism in perspective

Often, when researchers learn that houses in incrementally developing settlements are actually fairly well built, they turn their attention to other areas of seemingly 'higher' importance, such as infrastructure provision, political dimensions of recognition and legality, community action or poverty reduction. These questions are certainly of fundamental importance. Some academics even warn that focusing on the physical environment might lead to an aestheticisation of poverty (Roy 2004). However, processes of housing production and house form should not be written off too quickly as reflections of economic relations and socio-political dynamics "as if the way they have been designed – the detailed materiality, spatiality, density, amenity and spatial structure – are of interest only to the degree that they affirm the idea of poverty and disadvantage as a prelude to transformation" (Dovey 2014, 52). Conversely, we must adopt an understanding of poverty that includes considerations of housing conditions and other non-income aspects of deprivations (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004). Beyond that, the way in which these houses are actually built must be looked at as manifestation of people's agency. Though, not as "creative manipulation of dire circumstances", but as active contribution of the people themselves in bringing urban change (Simone 2011b). It is such an 'internal' perspective we need to adopt, if we want to engage meaningfully with these urban realities.

The demographic dimension and dynamic of incrementally developing settlements is such that we have no other option than to acknowledge that they are here to stay. As a specific way in which many contemporary cities, in parts and some to large extent, develop, incremental urbanism is a reality with which we have to engage intellectually as well as practically. Thereby we have to keep in mind that incremental

urbanism is neither inherently good nor bad. On one hand, it allows residents to cope with setbacks, for example by leveraging the house to improve living conditions or to generate additional income through renting out additional rooms. Such survival tactics enable them to stay in the neighbourhood and continue to draw on established social and economic networks, which are so crucial for their livelihoods. On the other hand, it also allows residents to incrementally improve their living conditions and become upwardly mobile, for example, by maximising the use of space, multiplying uses and functions by overlapping them spatially and temporally. This characteristic, possessing a certain resilience and at the same time offering potentials for improvement, may eventually lead to an overall improvement. In that sense incremental urbanism is both a mode of coping and empowering. However, in this process of incremental accumulation and consolidation some residents are left behind as the success of some might directly affect others. While these oppositional trajectories exist alongside each other at the same time, there is certainly a great potential in this mode of urbanisation to improve living in today's cities.

Thereby it helps to understand houses as mobilizing entities producing physical and social space. It is true that a single new built house in a settlement such as Shivajinagar might do little in mitigating the many disadvantages arising from living in such neighbourhoods. It will hardly improve access to (formal) job opportunities or grant access to water and sanitation. Nevertheless, improving living condition opens up to a series of potential positive change. At the very least, there is a positive correlation between health and improved housing condition (TISS 2015). Reducing health risks is an important step in reducing the many deprivations the urban poor face.

Incremental development is definitely not the solution to every situation and it is certainly not the only solution possible or thinkable to deal with urban challenges in cities of the global South and elsewhere. Alternatives, including resettlement, redevelopment and social housing, might not be preferable options but they are sometimes inevitable. However, given the lack of political will and therefore limited financial means to invest massively into housing and urban development, there is often no other option for people than to house themselves. Attempts to obstruct, suppress and criminalise incremental urbanism are counterproductive and further aggravate the situation for residents and the city at large. Therefore acknowledging incremental urbanism as a viable mode of urban development is the need of the day. In order to improve life in our cities, incremental urbanism must be permitted to thrive in parallel to other modes of urbanisation. What certainly is needed, is accommodating such mode of development within planning policies in order to open up, and not foreclose, a future for large parts of today's urban population. This would provide residents and the state with more room to manoeuvre to improve such settlements.

Admittedly, accommodating incremental development within planning policies is not without difficulties. Regularisation refers to the process through which an existing situation is rendered conform to the rule of law. In respect to housing and human settlements regularisation usually comprises the formulation of building codes, land titling, grant security of tenure, and so on. Such a process casts incremental urbanism into a state recognised framework, which legitimises its mode of urban transformation. However, regularisation processes repeatedly have disruptive effects inducing significant drawbacks for the 'beneficiaries', which often result in excluding the poorest community members, for instance, by being bought out by the better off (Burgess 1982). To mitigate such tendencies, Roy (2005) argues that policies must be adapted incrementally. Behind the drawbacks and the proposal to counter them stands the simple insight that regularisation does not occur in an erstwhile neutral context. As this research demonstrates, incrementally developing settlements are not developing naturally but are formatted by local conventions. Moreover such local conventions are anything but clear-cut and rather ambiguous. In this light, regularisation must be understood as a transfer from one mode of ordering to another. Given the investment in form (Thévenot 1984) associated with such processes, such transfers are costly and linked to losses and gains. We have to accept that regularisation is a trade-off between reduced flexibility and gain in security. Hence, it is important how transfers happen. Therefore it would make sense to start with existing conventions and incrementally adapt them. As the true experts of incremental urbanism, contractors could adopt a prominent role in this process, effectively turning the usual flows of knowledge on their head. Following SPARC's (Patel and Kunte 2013) suggestion, working with contractors is a promising entry point to improve living condition of the urban poor. In this sense my research can be understood as a basis informing future housing policies and the work of NGOs engaged in this sector.

The scholarly dimension

Engaging with incremental urbanism impels re-thinking the urban and demands an increased attention to the concrete cases and contexts from where theory and practice emerge and in which they intervene. In this regard, this research inscribes itself in the efforts of thinking the urban from the South (Watson 2009). This includes acknowledging that contexts considerably differ between diverse parts of the world, but also within them, and in particular that assumptions of planners and theories formed in the West may not hold elsewhere. In order to make theory more helpful for practice, it must be informed by the places in which it intends to become relevant. This is not to condemn existing theories and demanding a granular localised perspective, but a call to real engagement with the complexities and particularities of different

places. This is neither a search for 'the' theory, but to critically engage with theory and incrementally improve assumptions about the urban. Thereby, it must be accepted that to a certain extent urban complexities remain beyond the scope of theoretisation.

Evidently, these considerations particularly demand rethinking the conceptions of architecture and planning. For architects and planners, including myself, educated in (and for) a western context this urgently demands a shift away from outcome-oriented design towards processes-oriented thinking. This includes perceiving form not as an end in itself, but as form in the making. This allows to adopt a performative perspective on housing production and considering a building not by what it is but by what it does (Yaneva 2009), or in Turner's words understand "housing as a verb" (Turner and Fichter 1972). In that regard, the engagement with incremental urbanism is helpful as it impels to consider housing processually and relationally.

As the place where conventions, including those regulating the built environment, emerge, are negotiated and contested, incrementally developing settlements call into question the self-conception of architects and planners as those who bring about urban order. In contexts, such as Shivajinagar, where fundamental assumption of planning lose ground, contractors emerge as experts and mediators of urban transformation. However, when examining how contractors bring urban change, their practices ultimately appear strangely familiar – to borrow from Roy (2009) – to the eye of 'western' observer. The ways in which they employ local knowledge and networks to construct houses, is not that different from the ways architects pursue their jobs, for instance, in Switzerland. Such 'uncanny' familiarity brings to the forefront (once again) the normative nature of architecture and planning concepts and demonstrates that observations made in settlements such as Shivajinagar might well hold lessons beyond their territorial limits.

Limits and outlook

This research is by and large based on empirical fieldwork in one particular settlement in a city, which in many ways is exceptional. Hence generalisation must be made carefully. Explorative visits to other neighbourhoods as well as exchange with colleagues suggest that similar dynamics as in Shivajinagar are at work in slums within Mumbai and in different cities across India and beyond. However, depending on material availability and related crafts, local construction cultures change from settlements to settlement, even within the same city (World Bank 2011; see also Mitchell 2010 for Delhi).

By the means of a thick description, the presented research provides insight into the daily practices of local actors in a slum in Mumbai and how they transform and improve their houses and, by extension the neighbourhood. However, the focus on contractor

mediated development implies a perspective on entrepreneurial practices and hence tends to omit those who are less fortunate. Those who, due to various reasons, have fewer opportunities to participate in the process of incremental urbanisation and hence do benefit little from its promises of social mobility are simply at the periphery of this study. In the same line, the sampling of residents and houses in the well-off area within Shivajinagar might overemphasise success stories.

This research considered incremental urbanism as a valid mode of urban development, which exists alongside multiple others and with which it stands in competition. To be truly symmetrical, investigations into further modes of urban development, using the same analytical tools would permit to better contextualise incremental development. In this respect, it would be promising to analyse housing production in 'formal' settlements, which develop incrementally. Such analysis would greatly contribute to the understanding of the limits of incremental development and the respective particularities in different settings. One 'formal' project, which is based on the idea of incremental development, is actually located close to Shivajinagar: The famous Artist Village designed by Charles Correa in the early 1980s in Belapur, Navi Mumbai today a neighbourhood for the well-to-do is still developing incrementally.

The contractor as the true expert of the built environment in Mumbai's slums stands at the centre of this research. Nevertheless, multiple questions could only be addressed partly and remain open. For example, the relations, which contractors maintain with municipal officials and local politicians or elected representatives, would be worth to elaborate further. How do those links play out in the process of housing production? Also, the economic flows involved in the construction process require further investigation. Additionally, the contractor's personal and occupational biographies and learning processes would merit research from an ethnographic perspective. By way of action research URBZ (Echanove, Srivastava, and Pereira 2013) is engaged in the above mentioned areas.

Regarding the planning controversies, the proposed symmetrical approach to the various positions and the cosmos as analytical tool could be made fruitful in present and future engagement with Mumbai's urban future. For example, thinking through the cosmos could inform arguments for the case of incremental development and point to ways in which it could find a place in the current planning regime.

12.5 Closing words

When I am walking through an incrementally developing neighbourhood today, the experience is often still bewildering and remains fascinating. Yet, I do not any longer see primarily houses that touch each other above my head and prevent sunlight from reaching the ground, but the continuous negotiation process among actors, near and far, that inform the current situation and the multiple trade-offs made when constructing houses and carving out space to live in. As the built environment reflects successful, failed and yet open experimentations to make ends meet, grasp opportunities, and fulfil needs and aspiration, it is above all a manifestation of the contribution of people themselves in making the city. These complex processes and intricate realities, which constantly escape simple conceptualizations are all too easily written off and negated in the process of envisioning an urban future through planning. In a sense, this research is a contribution to improve our conceptualisation of processes that shape our contemporary cities, while at the same time recognising the limits of what can be understood. Moreover, it is a call for an enlarged engagement with urban complexity to extending our knowledge of the urban by learning from elsewhere to understand how the city could be made also.

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Glossary

Acronyms

64DP	Development Plan of 1964
91DP	Development Plan of 1991
ANT	Actor Network Theory
AMA	Apna Mumbai Abhiyan
BHK (e.g. 2BHK)	Bedroom Hall Kitchen (the prefix indicates numbers of bedrooms)
BMC	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (now MCGM)
BUA	Built Up Area
CBO	Community Based Organisation
DCR	Development Control Regulations
DP	Development Plan
DP 2034	Development Plan 2014-2034
EDDP	Earlier Draft Development Plan
ELU	Existing Land Use survey
FSI	Floor Space Index
Goni	Gunny bag, jute bag
GR	Government Regulations
HSM	Hamara Shehar Mumbai Abhiyaan formerly Hamara Sheher, Hamara Vikas, Hamara Niyojan Abhiyan
LAP	Local Area Plans
MCGM	Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (formerly known and commonly referred to as BMC)
MCHI	Maharashtra Chamber of Housing Industry
MHADA	Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority
MMR	Metropolitan Mumbai Region
MMRDA	Metropolitan Mumbai Region Development Authority
MRTP	Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning act 1966
MTSU	Mumbai Transformation Support Unit
NAREDCO	National Real Estate Development Council

PAP	Project Affected People
PEATA	Practicing Engineers Architects and Town Planners Association
POP	Plaster of Paris, gypsum plaster used for decoration
PVD	People's Vision Document
R&R	Resettlement and Rehabilitation housing
RCC	Reinforced Concrete Construction
RDDP	Revised Draft Development Plan
RTI	Right to Information
SPA	Special Planning Authority
SPZ	Special Planning Zone
SRA	Slum Rehabilitation Authority
SRS	Slum Rehabilitation Scheme
TDR	Transferable Development Right
TISS	Tata Institute of Social Science
TOD	Transport Oriented Development
TOR	Terms of Reference
UDRI	Urban Design Research Institute

Translations

Adivasi Padas	Tribal hamlets
Chatai	Hindi literally 'mat', refers to woven Bamboo mats
Corporator	Local elected politician, representative of an electoral ward. Corporators represent the political wing of the BMC / MCGM
Crore	Unit in Indian numbering: 1 Crore = 10'000'000
Dadagiri	Bullying, also used to describe the activities of gangs
Dalal	Broker
Gaothan	Describes the land belonging to a village, which is used for settling. In the context of Mumbai, Gaothan describes an urban village.
Kachcha	Literally 'raw'
Koliwada	Fisher village
Lakh	Unit in Indian numbering: 1 Lakh = 100'000
Pucca	Literally 'cooked'
Patra	Corrugated iron sheets

Annex

Contract

Apparent spelling mistakes and punctuation were corrected. Translation and explanation is given in brackets, where needed.

Contract I

1. 6 column of 12inches by 9inches with 16mm ms steel 4 piece and 12mm 2 piece
2. Column will be tied up with 8mm ms steel.
3. Running beam of 16mm ms steel total 4 pieces.
4. Ground Floor height 11 ft. from plinth.
5. Plinth height will be 2.5 ft. from ground.
6. One partition for kitchen at ground floor.
7. First floor height 10 ft.
8. Second floor height 10 ft.
9. Total work of RCC slab. Slab will contain 8mm, 10mm, 12mm, 16mm.
10. Front side tiles on ground floor.
11. Flooring of marionette at ground, first floor, second floor. Of marbonite [tiles brand]...
12. Wiring of poly cab, switches of almec or gm.
13. Painting of apex [brand], inside royaltouch.
14. Plumbing of 1000 ltr tank tap and shower of goldline company for 2nd and 1st floor. and different for ground. 750ltr tank separate.
15. Municipality, police, councillor and others will be handled by us.
16. Sliding of 18 gauges with anodising.
17. Grill of 9 mm bar with proper design.
18. Door with double sunmica [brand].
19. Toilet bathroom with full tiles.

20. Kitchen with full tiles. Tiles price 350 per box. for all.
21. Third Floor 75% room 25% terrace.
22. 5 ft. tiles for all floors. Cajja [window canopy] and kavelo [outdoor tiling] with necessary design. Tiles till photo frame [window frame].
23. All frames of granite with photo frames wherever necessary.
24. Stairs of marble.
25. Plinth will be covered with ms steel with RCC coba [waterproofing] of 2 inches.
26. Plastering from all side as well as colour.
27. POP [Plaster of Paris] with proper design... at all floors
28. All work will be complete within 120 days.
29. Every floor will contain window and doors.
30. 2 Kitchen of granite.
31. Flooring price of 650r per box.
32. Lights and fans, geyser and water motor [pump] will be on owner side.
33. Plumbing will be done with paras [brand] or prince [brand] pipe.

Contract II

1. 6 column of 12inches by 9 inches with 12mm ms. steel 6 piece
2. Column will be tied up with 8mm ms steel.
3. Running beam of 16mm ms steel total 4 piece
4. Ground floor height 12ft from plinth.
5. Plinth height will be 2.5ftfrom ground.
6. Plinth will be with ms net as well as 2 Inch coba.
7. First floor height 11.5 back front back
8. 10 ft. in front.
9. Total work of RCC slab .. slab will contain 8mm,10mm,12mm,16mm.
10. Front side tiles on ground floor.
11. Flooring of 2 ft. by 2 ft. marbonite [brand].

12. Municipality, police, councillor and others will be handled by us.
13. Sliding of 18 gauges with anodising.
14. Grill of 9 mm bar with proper design.
15. Door with double sunmica [brand].
16. Toilet bathroom with full tiles.
17. Kitchen with full tiles. Tiles price 250 to 350 per box. for all ..
18. First floor flooring spatek [brand].
19. 4 ft. tiles for all floor. Cajja [window canopy] and Kavelo [outdoor tiling] with necessary design.
20. All frames of granite ground floor.
21. Stairs of marble.
22. Plinth will be covered with ms steel with rec coba [waterproofing] of 2 inches.
23. Plastering from all sides.
24. All work will be completed within 90days.
25. 1 Kitchen of granite.
26. Wiring of polycab and switches of almec [brad] with necessary points.
27. Colour inside will be plastic paint and outside will be apex.
28. POP [Plaster of Paris] at ground floor ... with proper design.
29. Plumbing with 1200 ltr. of tank with tap and shower.
30. Second floor height 10.5 back and front 9 ft.
31. Tiles 4 ft. and flooring of marbonite [brand].
32. Attached toilet bath room ... with full tiles
33. 25% terrace and 75% room on second floor
34. Total amount 9 lacs [900’000 Rupees].

Curriculum Vitae

Tobias Baitsch

2016 - 17	Research Grant from the Swiss National Science Foundation and visiting researcher, UCL London
2012 – 17	Laboratory of Urban Sociology (LaSUR), Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Lausanne (EPFL), Switzerland: Doctoral assistant
2012	Architect, project leader at Eliet & Lehemann architectes, Paris, France
2011 – 12	Independent architect, Zurich and Paris
2008 – 11	Project architect at von Ballmoos Krucker Architekten, Zurich
2007 – 08	Project architect at Baumann Roserens Architekten, Zurich
2007	MSc ETH in Architecture, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich
2005 – 06	Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology University (CEPT University): Exchange semester, Prof. A. D. Raje, Ahmedabad, India
2005	Main Organizer of EASA005.ch (European Architecture Students Assembly): Trans, Transit, Transition: Urban analyses, Bergün, Switzerland
2001 – 07	ETH, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich, Studies in Architecture
2000 – 01	Leibniz Kolleg, Tübingen, Germany: Studium Generale
1980	Born in Zurich