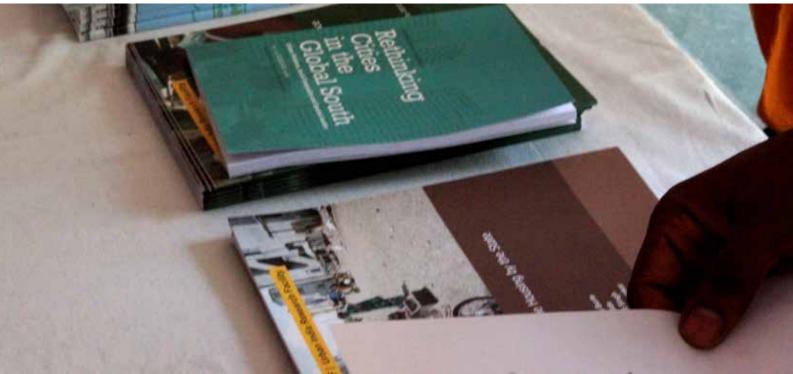
# **Conference Report** RETHINKING CITIES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: SOCIAL INEQUALITY, URBAN VIOLENCE AND SPATIAL JUSTICE

19-23 January 2016, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai



Organised by

Centre for Urban Policy and Governance (CUPG) at the School of Habitat Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai

In partnership with

Institute of Urban and Regional Planning, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (IPPUR/UFRJ) *and* University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa (UKZN)

Supported by

International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and Indian Council of Social Science Research









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The International Conference 'Rethinking Cities in the Global South: Urban Violence, Social Inequality and Spatial Justice' was held at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai between 19-23 January 2016. It was hosted by the Centre for Urban Policy and Governance (CUPG), Tata Institute for Social Sciences, Mumbai in partnership with Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano e Regional (IPPUR), Rio de Janeiro and University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban.

Given that the empirics of urbanisation is shifting to the Global South, there is an urgent need to stimulate comparative conversations, actively build knowledge and analysis, and consolidate empirical and theoretical studies about the urban. This requires a grounded perspective that privileges conversations focused on Southern narratives, experiences, and voices that challenge the existing scholarship on cities. This conference was a step in this direction.

It aimed to forefront a thinking of what is happening to our cities of today, in the everyday lives of all who co-habit and strive in it, and are affected by the way our cities are shaped by local, regional, national and global aspirations. While the global north-south has been clearly defined by a broadly socio-economic and political divide, our cities on the other hand have tended to be developed and assessed by concepts that have emerged predominantly from the Global North. Thus, at a time when the Global South is being reconstituted by the forces of globalisation and urbanisation there is simultaneously hope and despair. Hope in that cities of the global south are our future - they present opportunities for economic growth, a better quality of life, more sustainable urbanisms and offer freedoms to express, participate and collectively decide these futures. And despair in that Southern cities, with widely different histories and diverse development trajectories, are characterised by degrees of unevenness, spatial polarisation, social inequality and debilitating poverty. In this context, it is of substantial concern that violence, that often gets thought of and responded to only in terms of immediate threat to physical wellbeing, needs also to be seen through the lens of, and placed within the interlinkages of inequality, vulnerabilities and social marginalisation with exclusion of urban amenities and opportunities. It is here that lies an urgent need to rethink our cities as we set ourselves the task of creating them as safe and inclusive for the future. Deliberation on measures that can bring into their framework several such issues that often get relegated as soft issues, and the ways in which people grapple with them amidst hard issues such as infrastructure, finance and deployment of technology presents at this juncture with perhaps as much a window of opportunity as a pressing challenge.

Some of the important themes discussed at the Conference include:

- Urbanisation as an instrument and a strategy for social and spatial transformation
- Politics of Infrastructure, Planning, Policy and collision with real life water, sanitation, transport linkages, housing, displacement, development, resettlement, privatisation,
- Governance urban governance, challenges of democratic decentralisation and citizenship
- Informality
- Housing dynamics of urban housing market, challenges of displacement, redevelopment, demolitions and forced evictions
- Mega projects infrastructure and urban development, politics of urban megaprojects, outcomes and efficiency versus equity arguments around city planning through projects
- Concrete policies and proposals for change

CALL FOR PAPERS

## The **CALL FOR PAPERS** was announced in the month of May, 2015.

Papers were invited under the following themes:

- Theorising spatial justice in cities of the Global South, the different histories and legacies of spatial (in)justice in different urban contexts.
- Theorising urban violence in cities of the Global South, examining the everyday and episodic nature of urban violence, violence as repression and violence as protest, violent state versus extra-legal modes of violence.
- Theorising the role of the state, and state-society interaction in the restructuring of cities in the global south, interrogating the role of urban planning, governance and policy and the possibility of insurgent, radical and progressive planning in countering the spatial (in)justice
- Re-examining and reimagining the "south", what constitutes the Global South? In the new world order, what kind of strategic space is being sought by the Global South? What kind of political and economic alignments are being crafted across civil society groups, across social movements, across academia, across nations?
- Deciphering the variety of outcomes, (both intended and unintended) from the socio-spatial transformations in cities of the Global South at different levels -- from the street level, to the neighbourhood level and to the city and city-regional level, understanding spatial restructuring engendered through mega urban infrastructure projects and mega events and its implication on people, places and the city, with a particular focus on ethnic and religious minorities, women and the poor.
- Debating the contradictions between justice and efficiency in shaping urban futures.
- Narratives of peace production in cities of the Global South.

Once the papers were received, a double-blind review process was undertaken by both an internal and external review committee. Each abstract was reviewed and scored simultaneously by a member of the internal committee and by a member of the external committee.

The criteria for selection were the following.

- 1. Thematic balance
- 2. Regional balance
- 3. Fit with the objectives of the conference
- 4. Coherence of argument
- 5. Originality
- 6. Methodology

The internal committee felt the need for a second layer of review in order to select papers with themes that were in tune with our commitment to give diverse voices a platform. Paper presenters located in cities and universities in developing countries in the Global South were given preference. An effort was also made to include papers that foregrounded a gendered perspective of sociospatial transformations and violence that had the potential of debunking the myth that city spaces are gender neutral.

Almost 300 abstracts were received of which 75 abstracts were selected through this meticulous and carefully designed process, most of which will be presented across parallel sessions over the days of the Conference.

### ABSTRACT REVIEW COMMITTEE

#### Internal Committee (within the Centre for Urban Policy and Governance)

Amita Bhide, Professor and Chairperson, CUPG; Dean, School of Habitat Studies Lalitha Kamath, Associate Professor, CUPG, Ratoola Kundu, Assistant Professor, CUPG Himanshu Burte, Assistant Professor, CUPG Shivani Satija, Research Officer, CUPG

#### **External Committee**

Brij Maharaj, Professor, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban Pedro de Novais Lima Junior, Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano e Regional, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria, Assistant Professor, Brandeis University Lisa Björkman, Assistant Professor, University of Louisville, Kentucky Manish Jha, Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai Meena Gopal, Associate Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PROGRAMME

The Conference was attended by participants from across 29 cities and 11 countries, and featured an eclectic mix of academics, students, activists, urban practitioners, state actors, planners, engineers, architects, policy makers, and NGOs who are engaged in research, advocacy, campaigns and movements.

Through a rich programme of plenaries, invited panels, paper presentations, field visits, exhibitions, film screenings and more, the attempt was to foreground socio-spatial transformations in cities in the Global South and understand the role of the state and the market in altering spatial practices and producing injustices, inequalities, insecurities and violence.

Field Trips were planned as part of the conference itinerary in collaboration with local organisations to showcase projects, spaces, people's efforts and socio-spatial transformations in and around Mumbai. These included diverse geographies and communities – from the traditional fisherfolk in fishing villages, to the urban poor living on the peripheries of the city in resettlement colonies. Each field visit was packaged and guided by academics, resource persons, activists, or community persons deeply engaged with these localities and people in their ongoing struggles to make the city a better place. All the trips were conducted on 19th January 2016, from 7.00 am to 2.00 pm and saw about 65 enthusaistic conference participants taking part across the range offered. The field trips included:

- Making Homes in M Ward Mumbai, the City's Dumping Ground; Field Guides- Purva Dewoolkar and Leena Joshi
- Communities, Contestations and Commons: Habitats and Livelihoods along Mumbai's Western Coastline; Field Guides- Hussain Indorewala and Shweta Wagh
- Mumbai on a Bicycle; Field Guides -Jonathan Shapeiro Anjaria and Zero Emissions Thane
- **Reimagining the Port lands of Mumbai; Field Guides** Mayuresh Bhadsavle and Aravind Unni

An exhibition also formed part of the Conference, which opened on the 19th of January 2016 and remained open till the 23rd of January. The exhibition was comprised of photographic reflectiosn of grassroots contestations, struggles, resistances and multiple claims on the city. Exhibits included:

- **Resistances of waste pickers in Casablanca and Istanbul photography exhibition**; by Pascal Garret
- Mumbai Humari Hai An Exhibition on the Mumbai Development Plan; by YUVA
- Invisible Lives; by M-East Ward Transformation, TISS
- What is Missing from Plans to Develop Mumbai's Huge Port Lands; by YUVA

Raquel Rolnik delivered a public lecture titled 'Urban Warfare: the Colonisation of housing and Urban Land by Finance' on the 20 Janaury 2016. Prof. Raquel Rolnik, who has been UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing appointed by the UN Human Rights Council between May 2008-June 2014 challenged the belief that markets could regulate the allocation of urban land and





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#### HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PROGRAMME

housing as the most rational means of resource distribution. Instead, she argued, combined with experiments with "creative" financial products related to it, this has resulted in public policies that have abandoned the conceptual meaning of housing as a social good and of the city as a public artifact.

The 21st of January had an evening of songs and folk music organised by the students of Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai and Ramanuj Pathak, a Bhojpuri singer and project fellow.

A curated set of films from the School of Media and Cultural Studies, TISS were screened on the 22nd of January between 5.00 to 7.00 pm. The films were chosen exclusively to represent the stories and narrations that students from TISS have made mostly on Mumbai, but also cities over the years.

A Masterclass titled, "Methodology and the Framing of Racialised Urban Violence" was offered by Kelly Gillespie, Senior Lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg to masters and research scholars from TISS on 23 January 2016. It was conceptualised as a learning platform for students to engage with the widely discussed and debated issue of urban violence as a subject of empirical research and methodology.

The following sections provide a detailed outline of the day-wise schedule of the Conference, including information on all the papers that were presented over the course of the Conference days. The programme schedule is followed up by a brief overview of the various Plenaries and Invited Panels that were specially conceived in keeping with the theme of the Conference.

## PROGRAMME SCHEDULE and LIST OF PAPERS PRESENTED

19 JANUARY 2016

7.00 am to 2.00 pm FIELD TRIPS

8.00 am – 1.00 pm and 2.00 pm – 5:00 pm REGISTRATION

4.00 pm – 5.00 pm TEA and WELCOME ADDRESS

5.00 pm- 7.00 pm OPENING PLENARY Being Urban in the Global South: Issues and Challenges Speakers: Amita Bhide, Carlos Vainer, Ashwin Desai

4.00 pm onward (till 23 January 2016) CURATED EXHIBITION

#### 20 JANUARY 2016

9.00 am to 11.00 am PLENARY Readings from Four Cities in the Global South Curated by Gautam Bhan Chair: Kelly Gillespie

Speakers: Gautam Bhan, Kelly Gillespie, Teresa Caldeira, AbdouMaliq Simone

11.15 am to 1.00 pm PAPER PRESENTATIONS (4 Parallel Sessions)

1. City Panel: Encountering Spectacle in Rio

**Chair: Himanshu Burte** 

An Exception Tide: Shock Planning and Space Injustice Breno Camara

Mega-projects, Real Estate Development and Resistance Against Eviction: The Case of Vila Autódromo in Olympic Rio de Janeiro

Fabricio Leal de Oliveira, Giselle Tanaka, Renato Cosentino

Mega-events and the Right to Housing: The Case of the Olympic Park in Rio de Janeiro Mariana Gomes Peixoto Medeiros

#### 2. Urban Memory and Violent Erasures

Chair: Katherine Oberdeck

The Festival, the 'Mohalla' and the City: Communal Violence and Urban Politics in Late Colonial Delhi Deepasri Baul

Caught in the Middle: Indian Memories of the 1949 Racial Riots in Durban Goolam Vahed (Invited Paper)

3. Invited Panel: Intersecting Networks of the Old and New: Financialisation and Technology in the Urban Chair: Vinay Baindur

Anjali Mohan

**Rahul Varman** 

PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

#### 4. Invited Panel: Reimagining Democratic Politics in the Urban

**Chair: Manish Jha** 

Prithviraj Chavan

Prakash Ambedkar

Bharti Sharma

2:00 pm to 4:00 pm PAPER PRESENTATIONS (3 Parallel Sessions)

#### 5. Squatter Settlements and Agency in the Neoliberal City

**Chair: Jaideep Gupte** 

#### Enclaves of Violence: The Case of Squatter Settlements in Visakhapatnam Indivar Jonnalgada

Positioning Women's Lived Experience in Restructuring the Urban Marina Joseph

Slum Dwellers of Patna and urban restructuring

Sheema Fatima

Towards more socio-spatial justice in Indian cities? The challenges of communication and participation in slum resettlement and rehabilitation projects Véronique Dupont

#### 6. Invited Panel: Theory's Southward Turn-I

Curated by Kushal Deb Chair: AbdouMaliq Simone

**Kushal Deb** 

Karen Coelho

Jayaraj Sundaresan

#### 7. Making the Tactical City

Chair: Desmond D'sa

Slums in Caracas: Towards the Creation of its Social and Cultural Knowledge Through Cartography Amanda Marquez

People's Negotiations for Right to the City

Sitaram Shelar

From Maginalisation to Injustice, From Injustice to Resistance

**Benedicte Florin** 

From Coping to Resistance: Analysing Responses to Urban Violence in Lyari, Karachi Nida Kirmani

4.15 pm to 6.15 pm

IDRC PROJECT PLENARY: Changing Trajectories of Safety and Justice in Mumbai, Rio and Durban Chair: Navsharan Singh

Speakers: Amita Bhide, Pedro de Novais Lima Junior, Brij Maharaj

6.30 pm to 8.00 pm PUBLIC LECTURE by Raquel Rolnik: Urban Warfare: the Colonisation of Housing and Urban Land by Finance

#### 21 JANUARY 2016

9:00 am to 10.45 am PAPER PRESENTATIONS (4 Parallel Sessions)

#### 8. Theory's Southward Turn- II Chair: Gautam Bhan

The Conditions of Urban Violence, Social Cohesion and Violence Prevention in A City in the Global South. A case study of Khayelitsha Township, South Africa

Vanessa Barolsky

### Some Questions for Urbanists Of The "Global South"

Hussain Indorewala

Rethinking Urban Theory from the Bottom Up: 'Subaltern Urbanism', Spatial Justice, and Political Possibility in Cities in the Global South Malay Kanuga

9. Privatisation, Governance and the Reconfiguration of the State

**Chair: Ashima Sood** 

Reconsidering China's Private Neighborhoods: Democratic Governance or Decentralised Control? Efficiency or Citizenship?

**Guo Chen** 

"Smart Citizens for Smart Cities": State, Middle Classness and the Disciplining of India's Cities Ipshita Basu

#### 10. Infrastructure, (Im)Mobility and the City

**Chair: Anant Maringanti** 

## Pluralising Power in Delhi's Everyday Waterscape: Rampur Camp and Urban Water as a 'Political Assemblage'

Yaffa Truelove

Citylines - Coexistence and Conflict

Nirali Joshi

Violence, Social Inequality and Mobility in Urban Settlements: A Longitudinal Study of Low-income Housing and Households in Pereira, Colombia Katherine Gough

11. Invited Panel: The Politics of Land, Planning and Power on the Urbanising Peripheries Venue: Library Conference Hall, Main Campus Chair: Malini Krishnankutty

Ulka Mahajan

Chandrasekhar S.

Partha Mukhopadhyay

11.00 am to 1.00 pm PAPER PRESENTATIONS (4 Parallel Sessions)

12. Planning and Exclusion Chair: Sandeep Pendse

Urban Planning, Governance and Everyday Conflict and Violence in a Muslim Locality on the Peripheries of Ahmedabad Renu Desai, Shachi Sanghvi

The Poverty of Planning Malini Krishnankutty

PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

#### Plans and Counter Plans: Instruments of Resistance and Alternatives to the Neo-liberal city Shweta Wagh

**Rule by Exception? Industrial Townships in India** 

Ashima Sood

#### 13. Invited Panel: Climate Change and Urban Adaptation

Curated by T. Jayaraman Chair: R. Ramakumar

#### Equity, the Global Commons and The Paris Agreement

**Tejal Kanitkar** 

Political Economy of the Urban and Climate Adaptation T. Jayaraman

Coastal Urban Flood Management (with case studies from Mumbai) T.I. Eldho

#### Transit Oriented Developments As A Mitigation and Adaptation Strategy for Indian Cities Lubaina Rangwala

#### 14. Piloting Incremental Change

**Chair: Sandeep Virmani** 

#### Community Land Reserve A Permanent Solution for Distributed Urban Low Income Housing

Shirish Patel (Invited Paper)

#### **Kicking Boundaries**

Sabah Khan (Invited Paper)

#### Evaluation of transition services on Pro-Social Attitudes and Behaviours of Young Dropouts and **Offenders in Urban Maharashtra**

Jaideep Gupte, Jean-Pierre Tranchant

#### Public Employment Programmes, Social and Civic Cohesion, and Violence Prevention Jasmina Brankovic, David Bruce

#### 15. Foregrounding Work and Workers in the Urban

**Chair: Mouleshri Vyas** 

#### While You Are Dreaming the City is Fulfilling its Dream

Shruthi Parthasarathy, Durgesh Solanki

Urban Imaginations, Transformation and the Question of Justice Priyanka Nupur

Milind Ranade (Invited Paper)

Gautam Mody (Invited Paper)

#### 2.00 pm to 4.00 pm PAPER PRESENTATIONS (3 Parallel Sessions)

#### 16. Public Space, Street Vending and Urban Regulation

**Chair: Raju Bhise** 

Public Space and Street Vending: A Case Study of Bhadra Plaza, Ahmedabad Shachi Shah

Rethinking Spatial Justice through Conflicts: The Case of the Occupation of Public Spaces by Street Vendors in Mumbai

Lola Sales

#### Who owns the sidewalk? Analysing Spatial Reorganisation in the Pondy Bazaar Street Market, Chennai

Padmapriya Govindarajan

Understanding Urban Informality, Informals and the State Akriti Bhatia

PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

#### 17. City Panel: Spatial Justice and the Production of Contemporary Mumbai

Chair: Pedro de Novais Lima Junior

Remodeling the Urban Periphery: The Case of M (East) Ward in Mumbai Amita Bhide, Durgesh Solanki

The Place of Spatial Justice: What a Road Project does to the Trajectories of Settlement Himanshu Burte, Shruthi Parthasarathy

The Production of Precarious Lives, Livelihoods and Spaces in the Core of the City: The Case of Kamathipura

Ratoola Kundu, Shivani Satija

City Building and New Modes of Politics and Planning in the Periphery of Mumbai Lalitha Kamath, Radhika Raj

#### 18. Feminising the City

**Chair: Shilpa Phadke** 

Reclaiming Public Places – Gender Inclusive Urban Planning and Design Team OLAKH

Exploring Social Inequality, Spatial Injustice and Urban Violence: The Case of Ahmedabad Ananya Choudhury, Rachita Chauhan

From 'Right to Pee' to 'Right to Safe City' Supriya Sonar, Ansari Najmussaher (Invited Paper)

Advocacy and Action for Gender Inclusion- Experiences from Mumbai Nandita Shah, Snehal Velkar (Invited Paper)

4.15 pm to 6.15 pm PLENARY: The State In/And the City; Chair: Aruna Pendse

Speakers: Patrick Bond, Ravikant Joshi, Tikender Panwar

6.30 pm to 8.30 pm CULTURAL PROGRAMME 'Songs of the City'

22 JANUARY 2016

9:00 am to 10.45 am PAPER PRESENTATIONS (3 Parallel Sessions)

19. Reframing Southern Understandings of Sanitation and the Right to the City

**Chair: Vanessa Barolsky** 

Southern Sanitation Syndromes in Comparative Perspective: Regimes of Urban Hygiene Durban, South Africa and Chicago's South Side 1945-1960 Kathryn J. Oberdeck

Flush Toilet Movement in Contemporary India: 'Modernization' and the Struggle against Social Inequality

Yui Masuki

The Right to the City and City Dwellers' Experiences in Accra, Cape Town and Rio de Janeiro Marianne Morange, Francesca Pilo', Amandine Spire

#### 20. The Resistant Body

Chair: Mahuya Bandyopadhyay

Threat and Anxiety; Prosthetic Urban Space and Mechanisms of Terror in the Mumbai "Terror" Attacks Arif Hayat Nairang

Planned Cities, Real Cities: Prostitution and the Production of a Critical Urban Narrative Soraya Silveira Simões

PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

#### 21. Urban Nature and Questions of Justice

**Chair: Prasad Shetty** 

#### Denial of Spatial Justice: Building of the BB&CI Railway(1855-1870) Madhumita Bandyopadhyay

From Sheep Rearing to "Science City": Science Promotion As A Violent and Hegemonic Project Leo Saldanha, Bhargavi Rao

#### **Environmental Justice and Indian Cities** Geetanjoy Sahu (Invited Paper)

#### 11.00 am to 1.00 pm **PAPER PRESENTATIONS (4 Parallel Sessions)**

## 22. City Panel: Urban Violence as a Means and as an End: Spatial Restructuring in Durban

Chair: Ratoola Kundu

### From Informal to low income human settlements case of Mt Moriah Durban

Sultan Khan

#### Displacement as violence – the struggle for Warwick Market in Durban

Brij Maharaj

**Dunlop protest in Cato Manor Bandile Mdlalose** 

#### People, Places and Infrastructure: Is violence a means to spatial justice and results from spatial transformation in Cato Manor?

Thandokuhle Manzi

#### 23. Geographies of Segregation, Violence, and Resistance

**Chair: Katherine Gough** 

#### Violating Urbanscapes: Spatializing Violence in Urban Villages of Delhi

Kriti Kanaujia

#### Everyday Forms of Urban Violence in a North East Frontier City: The case of Aizawl in Mizoram Bhuvaneswari Raman, Puja Sehrawat, Suraj Gogoi

#### Migrants, Vigilants and Violence: The Making of New Urban Spaces in Mumbai

Ritambhara Hebbar, Mahuya Bandyopadhyay

## Geographies of space and violence in Inanda

Nirmala Gopal

#### 24. Infrastructure, Marketisation and the Challenge to Democracy

**Chair: Dunu Roy** 

#### Predatory Infrastructures: Citizens, Democracy and the "Revenge Politics" of Exclusion in Society **Vinay Baindur**

#### Emerging Policy Imperatives in Urban Infrastructure Sector: A Note on Rail-Based Mass Rapid Transit System in Bangalore

Meenakshi Sinha

#### Durban's Port-Petrochemical Complex As A Site of Economic and Environmental Violence **Patrick Bond**

Pranjal Deekshit (Invited Paper)

#### 25. Xenophobia, 'Othering' and Discourses of Violence

**Chair: Abdul Shaban** 

#### Xenophobia in South Africa: a Failed Economic Policy

**China Ngubane** 

Charting Ethnic Violence Through the Lens of Heritage: Engaging with the Indo-Chinese Population of Kolkata

Rishika Mukhopadhyaya

The Criminalisation of the Bengali-Muslims in Jaipur after the 2008 Bomb Blast: Examining State-led Violence in the Everyday Lives of the Community Kanchan Gandhi

Safety on Durban's Golden Mile through Crime Statistics Shanta Singh

2.00 pm to 4.00 pm PLENARY: Urban Futures Chair: Brij Maharaj

Speakers: Raquel Rolnik, Sandeep Virmani, Anant Maringanti

4.00 pm to 4.15 pm CLOSING ADDRESS

4.45 pm to 6.45 pm ROUNDTABLE: Building an Urban Agenda for the South

4.45 pm to 7.00 pm FILM SCREENING 'DiverCity Mumbai'- A curated set of films from the School of Media and Cultural Studies, TISS



9:30 am to 5:00 pm POST-CONFERENCE WORKSHOP: Radical Planning in the Global South

Exchange of experiences: 9:30 am – 1:00 pm (Morning) Speakers: Aravind Unni, Desmond D'sa, Dunu Roy, Champaka Rajagopal, Fabricio Leal de Oliveira Chair: Lalitha Kamath

Towards an Epistemology for Radical Planning 2:00 pm – 5:00 pm (Afternoon) Speakers: Faranak Miraftab, Edgar Ribeiro, Darshini Mahadevia Chair: Himanshu Burte PLENARIES

## 19 January 2016 | 5:00 – 7:00 P.M. OPENING PLENARY: Being Urban in the Global South: Issues and Challenges

Speakers: Amita Bhide, Ashwin Desai, Carlos Vainer

This plenary sought to reflect on how we can reimagine and resituate the Global South especially with respect to the experience and empirics of urbanisation. It reflected on critical questions such as what constitutes the global south as a strategic geopolitical concept, what the distinctive trajectories of urbanisation within the global south today are, and furthermore, is there a need for newer ways of theorising the urban challenge of the global south? Thus, in several ways, the plenary set itself the ambitious task of framing the overall concerns which shaped the formulation of the Conference.

The opening speaker Amita Bhide first presented the frame within which urbanisation in India occurs and then went on to elaborate the varied dimensions of the urban in India. She remarked that while inequality, poverty and socio-economic inequities are now dubbed as 'old development challenges', India's experience as an emerging economy and striving global leader was one marked by anxiety and urge, and a transformation of morals and aesthetics. Informality, questions on the nature of presence of the State, role of speculation and occupancy driven development were threads that ran through her discussion of the significant dimensions of urbanisation in India.

The speaker highlighted the settlement, economic, social and governance dimensions of urbanisation in India that were marked by megacity dominance; informalisation of the urban economy; transformation of urban peripheries in wake of parallel processes of agricultural transition in the countryside and shifting of industry as well as investment and opportunity to the fast expanding peripheries; persistence of differential identities and citizenships for caste, religious and gender minorities; and the governance challenges inherent to the lack of appropriate institutional mechanisms to respond to the developmental challenges of real estate driven urbanisation.

As one caught amidst contestations and contrasts, Prof Bhide identified a crucial question in the nature of urbanism that unfolded from amongst the multiple directions emerging, and whether it was one of uncertainty and turbulence that tended to have violence embedded in it. She raised an appeal seeking attention to the irrelevance of top down approaches and to the kind of knowledge that is required to respond to such an urbanism.

Carlos Vainer too acknowledged the challenge of the Conference in defwining what is Urban, what is Global and what is South. He made reference to two fundamental schools of thinkers – the Subaltern Studies Group led by Ranajit Guha and the work of scholars of the regionalist movements in Latin America, as those that tried to rethink economic, political, social and cultural realities in peripheries or put variously, the South or post-colonial societies. These movements challenged what they called the coloniality of knowledge and the coloniality of power. Emphasizing the same, Prof. Vainer shared his thoughts on the tradition of academic cooperation between the North and the South on urban studies, with southern cities being theorised by academics from the North while the southern role remained largely that of producing monographs.

New imaginaries of cities were required, said Carlos Vainer. It was not enough to look at cities, it was always necessary to look at them along with local, national and transnational perspectives. This was looking at globalisation in the South from a southern perspective, from the peripheries, within

peripheries, from the margins of the colonial empires; to constitute peripheries as a platform for enunciation of cities and to theorise than produce monographs. As a concluding appeal, Prof. Vainer raised a voice for the need to break the structure of domination; recognise the limitations of universalisation; locate and root colonial perspectives in local perspectives and recognise the multiplicity of knowledge.

At the very outset, the concluding speaker Ashwin Desai expressed that to him, 'Global South' was almost oxymoronic; he questioned whether it was possible to be Global and be South at the same time. Furthermore, there was a north in every south and a south in every north. Citing examples from South Africa, the speaker highlighted how the global came to the country in various forms. He narrated the journey from the isolation/boycott of Apartheid to integration in global capitalism under different political leaders and its consequences. The Mandela government seeking integration on WTO's terms and the manner in which BRICS countries were operating akin to imperialist countries indicated no more than a mere playing into the hands of the ruling class in those countries that saw no alternative than the global capitalist system. He exemplified how this played out in the city and how macro level operations impacted the local by citing Durban as a city buying into the idea of global competitiveness and yet maintaining a cover of nationalism and tribalism. Mega projects such as the King Shaka Airport and the Dube TradePort, (ii) the Moses Mabhida Stadium and (iii) the Dig Out Port were 'the new pyramids of Africa', left unused after having incurred huge costs to attract more investment that did not materialise. Resistance to projects, as the speaker pointed out, were not uncommon wherein African nationalism and Zulu tribalism were evoked. Through this narrative, the speaker further elaborated on the notion of symbolic capitalism as something that could be referred to as an exercise of power and at the same time revealing its lack.

Comments and questions from the audience centered around racial issues in Durban; economic developments in South Africa and interests they catered to South Africa's needs; disconcertedness about the visibility of the South in the North whether it held some kind of promise in the global norms discourse and the possibilities of globalising from the peripheries.

### 20 January 2016 9.00 AM to 11.00 AM CURATED PLENARY: Readings from Four Cities in the Global South Speakers: Gautam Bhan, Kelly Gillespie, Abdoumalig Simone

Curated by Gautam Bhan, Chair: Kelly Gillespie

The plenary was conceptualised as critically important in laying out the complexities of theorising cities in the global south and the multiple contestations that simultaneously produce and fragment cities. The papers in this panel are part of on-going work by the presenters that argue that cities of the global south are experiencing substantial changes in forms of collective life. They present inter-connected explorations of these new forms in different geographies of the global south. Each builds on a geography that the author is intimately familiar with— Delhi, Johannesburg, Sao Paulo, and Jakarta- and speaks across it, seeking patterns in which to understand rapidly changing urbanisms through reading their everyday life.

While not dwelling too much on empirics, the three speakers constituting this panel presented their work from the three cities they work/came from to try and set out new concepts that can be

#### PLENARIES

used as tools to study contemporary urban forms. Amidst growing dissatisfaction and escalating violence, and increasing number of protests, there is substantial change in forms of collective life. New forms are unexpected, inspiring as well as disturbing. A new generation of urbanites is taking shape; this generation is not migrant like previous generations. This generation is a part of the circulation and consumption which are the new cores of cultural production.

The speakers chose to center their discussions around two core concepts - collective life and autoconstruction. Collective life was that which allowed people to manage their everyday existence, and made life in the city itself possible. Autoconstruction is building and inhabiting the city, producing it while operating in specific temporalities. Autoconstruction generates new modes of politics, new citizens, claims, etc.

The first speaker Abdou Maliq Simone brought out aspects of working class districts and continuities of collective life in Jakarta. He described urban capital as hegemonic as it is the ultimate realisation of autoconstruction. The urban itself is excessive since it produces itself, generating excesses of sociality, and where the extension and intensification of these processes becomes the intent of urbanisation. Given the new shifts being experienced in our lives, and an increasing sense of risk, on what basis could one decide what to and what not to pay attention to? He underscored that emerging urban struggles will be about kinds of knowledge producing capacities and the way these capacities can be altered and remade.

The second speaker Kelly Gillespie introduced two characters from Johannesberg: 1) a Taxi driver from a black township and 2) Fanny, the photographer. She further extended a discussion on the debates on race and representation in South Africa, especially violence associated with race. She highlighted how Johannesburg was understood as a violent city despite there being a higher number of murders in Cape Town which is seen as a popular holiday destination.

Gautam Bhan proposed the queer body as a way of seeing change. Here queerness becomes not an identity but politics. Through its different temporalities, intensities, politics of friendship, queerness shares the logic of autoconstruction. His paper reads across three moments in Delhi: the Delhi High Court Judgment decriminalising same-sex relations in 2009 and its 2013 Supreme Court reversal; the brutal gang-rape of a young physiotherapist in December 2012 that led to wide-spread protests and changes in law; and the raid of an ethnically diverse, African immigrant dominated neighborhood in Delhi by the Law Minister of a popularly elected government on the claims of "sex work." How do we read these contrasting moments of gender, sexuality and the city of Delhi? The speaker explored the argument that each represents a queer urban subject, one who challenges normative behavior on gender and sexuality and one whose emergence must be seen as a particularly urban and contemporary phenomena.

Kelly Gillespie's response to an audience member's comment on whether her presentation lacked a critical lens on violence and history of violence was that she was trying to understand violence in relation to larger structural context. If violence was studied only at its roots, one would be relegated to the political level. It was important to move to and fro, examine the middle level to see what was actually happening.

Another audience member questioned if autoconstruction came across as inordinately dystopic and simplistically positive. It avoids the inability to pin down agents of power and victims of power. Autoconstruction diffuses and hence fails given the fact that power holders are invisible and victims are isolated without the possibility of collective life. To this, Abdou Simone responded saying that autoconstruction is a response to diffusion of power by trying to put itself in multiple trajectories that are not clear. A further differentiating aspect of autoconstruction was that it was not the prerogative of any particular class. Another question that emerged from the audience was regarding the usefulness of violence as a general category.

### 20 January 2016 | 4.15 P.M. to 6.15 P.M. IDRC PROJECT PLENARY: Changing Trajectories of Safety and Justice in Mumbai, Rio and Durban

Speakers: Amita Bhide, Pedro Novais Lima Junior, Brij Maharaj Chair: Navsharan Singh

> This plenary brought together the work of the cross-regional project partners as part of a three year collaborative research "People, Places and Infrastructure: Countering Urban Violence and Promoting Peace in Mumbai, Rio and Durban". The research is funded by the International Development Research Centre, IDRC as part of their Safe and Inclusive Cities project.

The opening speaker Amita Bhide initiated the discussion by elaborating on the trajectories of violence. Violence is not just direct, interpersonal but also structural. Violence is embedded in the changing relations of State and Market to society, and it is important to think of the outcomes of violence for marginalised communities. She then went on to give a brief introduction to the four project sites in Mumbai under the IDRC project. Amita Bhide described how the State and Market alliance shaped the history of Mumbai, and how both colonialists and indigenous were a part of it. As industry now moves fast out of the city, labour is left disenfranchised. Real estate is now the dominating force in the city and redevelopment is the magic word. By weaving in experineces from the case studies, Amita Bhide elucidated the shrinking of tolerance and inclusionary spaces, and the socio-spatial transformation of the city. Finally, having identified and categorised forms of symbolic violence, how did one go ahead, asked Amita Bhide.

Pedro Novais Lima Junior spoke of the "reproductive cycle of violence". What exactly do we mean by violence? There is state brutality and criminalisation of poverty. Brij Maharaj presented snapshots of the violent restructuring caused by the onslaught of neoliberalism through four case studies based out of Durban: Warwick Market, Durban South Displacement, Cato Manor and Mount Moriah. Here, development induced displacement is shown to be in people's interests, while dislocations continue and essential infrastructure services such as transport collapses for these very people. In the case of Durban, it was extreme structural inequality that played out as structural violence.

The idea of violence triggered several related questions and comments from the audience. Some pertinent questions that emerged were - What was the difference between violence now and violence during colonial times – qualitatively, and if violence is embedded structurally –how is it different? What is the next step after understanding violence? How would you describe a State who does not have monopoly of violence? What sort of theory would come out of state by studying violence? Moreover, what about violence of the mind – one which cannot be seen.

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## 21 January 2015 | 4.15 P.M. to 6.15 P.M. PLENARY: The State In/And the City

Speakers: Patrick Bond, Ravikant Joshi, Tikender Panwar Chair: Aruna Pendse

> This plenary sought to reflect on how we understand the nature, role and transformations of the Local State as it exists today, the possibilities for its democratisation as well as its continued relevance in today's globalising world. It will explore, both empirically and theoretically, the contours and possibilities of struggles for democratisation of the Local State and where they can lead us in our quest for more just and sustainable cities.

Having worked in Municipal Councils and as a consultant in multinational companies, Ravikant Joshi called himself a practitioner to whom the Local State was progressively getting emasculated. Experiences unrolling in India were contrary to what theory seemed to suggest, where the urban Local State as a site of struggle, impact, grievance and popular movements was actually proving to be a conglomeration of vested interests and neoliberal transformation. All actors of society have simultaneously ditched the Local State, yet they take a piece of it. A challenge persisted in the sphere of urban local governance where at one end, the point of governance had shifted back to the state, and at the other end, local councillors lacked city-wide perspectives on what needed to be done.

Ravikant Joshi presented three narratives of the Local State – The first narrative drew attention to the failure of democratic decentralisation, whereby the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act achieved only legal existence of ULBs, leaving fiscal, functional or political needs unaddressed. Schemes such as JNNURM and AMRUT, and more lately the Smart Cities, facilitated money to flow without accountability and were instruments to bypass the Local State. The second narrative was one based on the public finance theory where a cost export was happening wherein the cost of the cities is being exported to the surroundings. The Urban Local Body was articulated as a commons in this framework, albeit one that was simultaneously neglected and used by all. The third was the narrative of the ULB as a dead animal, pulled to either side by the city and the state. With current power sharing models as seen in SPVs and parastatals, ULBs are rendered toothless and spineless to voice their demands.

Ravikant Joshi concluded by asking whether it is relevant any more to engage with the Local State in this globalised world when the common man does not find any use of it because of its negligible functional element. He asked pertinently if we feel for the Local State when we are more linked to national level politics and parties. He termed people's participation in local governance as seen more recently in the smart city campaign as superficial or 'festive' rather than real engagement, where people had not really been consulted and where competition between cities cast huge doubts on the quality and depth of engagement.

Patrick Bond's presentation highlighted the challenges of managing a de-globalising democracy and whether our Local States can respond to the next global scale problem- the global crisis of capitalist accumulation and uneven development. Over accumulation has led to declining per capita GDP growth, with declining profits, stagnation and uneven development. According to Patrick Bond, there is a pressure from above for every city to compete with the world, toward which



he cited the example of three projects - the Mumbai Port makeover, the wiping out of Providenciathe oldest favela in Brazil and the Dig Out Port in South Durban. Despite huge overinvestments, environmental damage, and loss to livelihoods, the Dig Out Port in South Durban was advanced and eventually served to benefit large establishments such as Toyota, which has its largest factory in South Africa. There is a huge delinking of financial capital, the stock markets are overexposed, financial flows are shrinking rapidly and there is a gated growth. He also added that the flow of capital makes it necessary for the BRICS countries to behave as sub imperialists (David Harvey, Mauro Marini). This, he says, is the core of economic contradictions. To Patrick Bond, resistance is the defence against such. A national strategy is needed to resist the forces of finance and trade, globalisation and deglobalisation. He sees hope in a lot of community resistance movements and struggles happening in South Africa today.

As Mayor of Shimla city, Tikender Panwar shared his experiences of dealing with a financially challenged ULB, now being told to manage its own finances in the name of governance. According to Tikender Panwar, decisions on managing and allocating municipal funds must not be top down. While corruption does exist, he urged that arguments not be built around the fact of corruption alone. If investment in cities was to be demand-oriented and not competition oriented, how would Smart Cities be justified? Corporators may be drenched in corruption, but smart cities bypass electoral processes and the decision making ULBs and write the obituary of the 74th CAA. The undefined role of the ULBs, introduction of parastatals, scarce resource space coupled with persistent indifference, and issues of neoliberal governance tending towards privatisation and corporatisation were enumerated by Tikender Panwar as some of the most hard hitting challenges to the ULBs in the face of which the role of ULB is facing an immense contradiction. He made an appeal for greater accountability to the ULBs, to give them the space to falter but learn in the process. He recommended that 5% of the tax collected from the city should be directly returned to the ULB.

In the open discussion that followed, questions largely focused on how the 74th CAA could be strengthened and whether decentralisation could be a revolutionary strategy given the fact that the neoliberal strategy is to promote decentralisation because the Local State is weak in the face of global capital. Moreover, local governments can be very conservative too.

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On being asked if South Africa's decentralised model had led to greater democratisation, Patrick Bond revealed that this exists alongside drastic cuts in Centre's local funding which resulted in ULBs being forced to ram up tariffs and this in turn resulted in people reducing their consumption by 1/3rd. This despite a national order to give free basic services to all. Tikender Panwar voiced that that if capital moves in a centralised way in neoliberalism, the struggle too has to move there. If there is wealth being generated in solid waste management and privatisation of water, we as citizens must resist it. If the state is withdrawing, there is a need for collectivised, organised or individualised struggle.

## 22 JANUARY 2016 2.00 P.M. to 4.00 P.M. CLOSING PLENARY: Urban futures

Speakers: Raquel Rolnik, Sandeep Virmani, Anant Maringanti Chair: Brij Maharaj

## The Plenary sought to reflect on current modes of future making, and speculate on how we could move towards a genuinely democratic way of being and becoming urban that is actively steered by the marginalised.

The first speaker, Sandeep Virmani, shared his experience of professional practice spanning a few decades in Kutchh, Gujarat. It was in the villages of Kutchh that they learned of the truth of empowerment, and helped him come up with four principles/lessons for experiments with decentralisation. The local people taught them 1) how to use their hands 2) the art of discussion/ dialogue that allowed people to express their insecurities 3) taking decisions that always had the environment in mind as a component of sustainability which found not necessarily overt ways of expressing (as in cities); and 4) the ability of collectively doing something for common good and of doing it in the space of the commons. The city, in turn, revealed itself as a very different animal when they moved on to work in it. He then shared the theoretical construct behind giving fellowships to young individuals who wanted to use these principles to work on decentralisation. Here, a fellow creates an experience and that experience is used by the NGO to create a masterplan for the city in conjunction with the councilors and work towards developing technologies which can be managed by slums, residents themselves. They also partner with Municipalities to create appropriate incentive systems. Some of the recent projects undertaken by the fellows include setting up zero waste centres, biodiversity committees for conservation, formalisation of street vendors and social protection and livelihood enhancement for migrants.

As a closing note Sandeep Virmani identified the larger issue in the need to create spaces for engaging with Municipalities where you aren't a contractor really but you do take contracts and take responsibility.

According to the second speaker, Raquel Rolnik, the time was right for reimagining new models for organising our lives and territories. Years of economic boom and neoliberal expansion had failed their promise, as seen in state intervention in Brazil and the rise of Islamism in Turkey. Free market had not bought free circulation, but instead walls between countries, walls between classes, walls between genders and sexual preferences, sometimes digital walls which control and screen our movements. The marginalisation of democratic processes presented a crisis but as much an opportunity that can make way for learning a lot of lessons from the multiple forms of living and organising our lives and territories. Now was need to think whether and under what conditions bottom up can actually become the mainstream urban policy. What can be the new logic that aims for universalisation of housing and recapture of the commons? She also drew attention to the new forms of political representation, the new forms of expression where words will be less important and visuals will be more important. Which is why, she said, cultural forms of expression are important, and which is why states are so keen to crush them.

Through his discussion, the third speaker, Anant Maringanti sought to question our condition of the present. Five years after the Arab Spring, there was need to think whether it was a spring or a disaster. Anant Maringanti further spoke of the suicide on 18 January 2016 of 29-year old Rohith Vemula, a Dalit scholar from Hyderabad University who had been protesting against their expulsion from the university's housing facility and revoking of their PhD fellowship, as something that fundamentally disturbed him as he set about contemplating a possible discussion on our urban futures.

The recent happenings, said Anant Maringanti, tell us/remind us of three things: 1) Capitalism imagines a future without people; 2) of the Cannabilistic nature of Capital; and 3) Universities are centres of exclusion. They are not prepared to deal with the marginalised, the under privileged.

To Anant Maringanti, the need of our time was to think about a new model of organisation, the new politics that centre stages the ideas of faith, dignity and freedom. Here too, it was crucial to think of how we organise, and not to predict the model.

#### CITY PANELS

## 20 JANUARY 2016 2.00 P.M. to 4.00 P.M. CITY PANEL: Encountering Spectacle in Rio

Speakers: Breno Camara, Fabricio leal Oliviera, Mariana Gomes Chair: Himanshu Burte

Breno Camara presented the case of Favela Mare that is a low lying area of Rio de Janeiro where life in present time is characterised by risk, danger, fear and suppression. What started with illegal practices of marijuana trading and small calibre weaponry trafficking has now succeeded to cocaine and heavy guns – outcome of a malicious capitalist agenda. As the city builds towards the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games, the favela has now turned into an urban war zone, where Army barracks have been put up among the settlements since 2008 in a pacification process. To the two rival gangs Red command and Third Commons (which is understood to have linkages with a corrupt police), there is now added a third command 'Friends of Friends' which has even stronger links with the police. The clashes with police and between rival trafficking gangs often take form of gruesome, visual demonstration of violence on the streets. Children are sometimes victims, caught between crossfire or killed by knives, and old people suffer trauma brought on by an increasingly threatening police militia. Through his presentation, Breno Camara sought to ask if an objective solution could work on a subjective judgement?

Fabricio leal Oliviera presented Vila Autodromo, state owned lands that housed slums for over 40 years, and where an earlier project for low income housing by the State gave away rapidly to a series of new urban development schemes with the announcement of the 2016 Olympic games in Rio de Janeiro. The FIFA World Cup had stirred the wheels in these similar directions earlier. The community put up a resistance through mass public demonstrations, getting visibility in the 'Big' Media (BBC/CNN), putting up of photos depicting Vila Autodromo before and after the city hall interventions and through their 'Plano Popular' which was a plan of local development that they came up with seeking the help of experts. Despite the cost analysis of this plan coming to be much lesser than many resettlement housing projects made by the government, removals did continue from around mid 2014. Many gave way but a group of about 40 out of the 500 continue to live there and fight for the cause of better compensation. The struggle has weakened and for those who remain, it is a continuing dilemma of how much is there to lose and how much they can still retain.

Mariana Gomes presented the case of the Olympic Park in Rio de Janeiro which was influenced by the resistance of Vila Audodromo and the community experiences there. When in 2009, the 2016 Olympics were announced to be held in Brazil, the State was quick to announce the eviction of 35000 families, of which resettlement was provided to 22,059 families in between the years 2009-15. 2486 families still lie threatened. A look into official documents involved in the construction of the Olympic Park, Rio right from the bidding process, giving of the contract, the process of construction to the auditor's court reveal a hurried PPP process and an eviction process that was accelerated due to the involvement of large construction companies (who also happen to be donors of the Mayor) under the PPP model through which the Olympic park is being developed. Mariana Gomes went on to describe the social movement My House My Right, and the various strategies/means that formed part of the community campaign such as the Plano-Popular, Music Festival, House of Nana, plays etc. Even in present time, the government continues to offer better

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compensation, not just houses but all amenities like parks, schools etc. This shows how badly they want the people to leave Vila Autodromo.

#### 21 JANUARY 2016 2.00 P.M. to 4.00 P.M.

**CITY PANEL: Spatial Justice and the Production of Contemporary Mumbai** 

Speakers: Amita Bhide and Durgesh Solanki, Himanshu Burte and Shruthi Parthasarthy, Ratoola Kundu and Shivani Sathija, Lalitha Kamath and Radhika Raj

**Chair: Pedro Novais Lima Junior** 

Through her presentation, Amita Bhide provided an analysis of the proletariat's right to the city which is met with various forms of violence ranging from State, everyday life, structural and instrument of poor. In the larger context of Mumbai, spatial justice has been historically impacted by three forces i.e. Closure of Industry, State-Market Axis, which produced a bend toward real estate as a force of development and communalisation of governance itself. This has resulted in wide scale changes in the last 20 years. The case study in focus- M-ward, occupies a de-facto periphery on the eastern waterfront of Mumbai, which has been the location of several undesirable activities for the city -dumping ground, abattoir and polluting industries like oil, nuclear, chemical etc. This ward is also the site of various Institutional populations such as the Beggar's home, reception home for orphan children, mentally challenged children etc. From the 1970's, the ward has been the resettlement location for slum communities evicted from central and western parts of the city in what was deemed as a planned endeavour, but which in reality revealed itself as a mere physical dislocation of communities, leaving them to struggle their lives around scant amenities and disregard by the State. People dislocated from infrastructure projects in other parts of the city have been left stranded for as many as 15 years in transit camps originally meant to house them temporarily. The population composition of this ward has a large number of muslims, migrant form various parts of the country, most of the residents are Dalits, and now has the lowest HDI in Mumbai based on the 2009 Human Development Report. An air of uncertainty prevails as newer Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R & R) schemes are announced, forceful evictions are regular feature. The presence of as many as 121 Slum Rehabilitation Schemes has further fragmented communities, which are often ambling to favour one developer over another. The Financial Justice which is visible through the reduced role of State and increased role of Market is that poor people are being shifted out from areas which have a high real estate value to those with low real estate value and through Transfer of Development Rights from the latter, the former are being developed and ensuring high returns for the Market.

Himanshu Burte presented the case of Jogeshwari Vikroli Link Road (JVLR), a road project connecting the eastern and western suburbs of Mumbai. In the larger plan, JVLR is not seen simply as a link within the city but also an important part of regional and national connectivity in respect to the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR). The erasure of an informal settlement (comprised largely by Dalit families) to make way for the road project and the subsequent resettlement has had tremendous impact on the socio-cultural life of this community. The additional cost of maintenance in the R&R buildings prompts people to move out of them, creation of housing federations becomes difficult, and social connections are refigured and erased. There were four rounds of demolitions in the informal community which increased their vulnerability. While the people experienced a loss of their territory, real estate prices around the JVLR have grown seven times since. The argument that

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this paper made was that informal place is made as infrastructure of subsistence, the road is seen as a vector of formalisation and the resultant is precariousness of Place. The framework used to analyse this case is that of Place which sees the wholeness of settlement within and with the city as being important as it depicts the webs of socio-spatial relations. How do we look at justice of space? At legality and illegality?

Shivani Sathija made a presentation on Kamathipura, a red light district in the centre of the Island city of Mumbai. It has a long history and strong connections to the city, with the surrounding areas earlier having a concentration of the city's textile mills and residential areas of the mill workers. However, in the changing visions of the city and its development, one observes multiple contestations which emerge towards claim making process by various actors. The changing State Market axis has been integral in creating these contestations. Between the 1950s to 1980s, the State controlled various spaces through Rent Control Act. There was incremental building and division of existing houses. With the changing composition and gentrification of the area, there is an escalation in the land value in and around Kamathipura, as also a rise in the moral aesthetics discourse around socio-spatial development. Kamathipura now presents the contradictory development where on one side there is dilapidation and on the other there is shiny development of new high rises. Within Kamathipura itself, one observes an increase in small and medium manufacturing units. There is an increase in the tensions among the sex workers with their site of livelihood remaining within Kamathipura but their residential areas now located towards the periphery of the city. The case reveals an ever shifting terrain of power which in turn restructures the space and the staking of claim.

The final paper by Lalitha Kamath and Radhika Raj presented some narratives from within Vasai Virar in the northern periphery of the MMR that has seen transformation from a set of villages to a Municipal Corporation over the recent decades. The case of Nallasopara within this Municipal Corporation brings out two parallel stories of how power has been built by this political regime using planning. The first is the rise of the political and economic power of a local family in the region en route gold smuggling, violence, murders and land grab, and finally by contesting and winning elections through a political party of their own. This lead to their hegemony in the entire area through legitimate use of elected power and highlights the interdependency and deep connection between the local and the state government as well as the nexus between the political and economic powers. Gradually there was a decline in the saltpans, cutting of trees to make way for building and urban development. The region saw two broad contestations one totally against urbanisation from the adivasis, residents of villages from the coastal areas and the other pro urban growth which was backed by politicians, builders, State government and the commuting working population. The preparation of the development plan (DP) for this region took 17 years and a lot of objections were raised resulting in remarking the plantation zones, elimination of tourism zones.

The second narrative was of Santosh Bhuvan, an informal, expanding settlement with no clear boundaries, where residences and industries have sprung into being within a span of 5 years. Here an auto rickshaw driver turned local corporator enjoys substantial clout, having in the past patronised north indian migrants evicted from Mumbai city, and helped them avail lands, homes, and gradually various other services. He has since inspired and supported numerous young, local builders who continue to proliferate built structures and services in the vicinity.

#### 22 JANUARY 2016 9.00 A.M. to 11.00 A.M.

# CITY PANEL: Urban Violence as a Means and as an End: Spatial Restructuring in Durban

Speakers: Sultan Khan, Brij Maharaj, Bandile Mdlalose and Thandokuhle Manzi Chair: Ratoola Kundu

The first presentation by Sultan Khan (presented by Shanta Singh) spoke of two cases of resettlement housing around Mt Moriah near Durban, Brij Maharaj spoke of the drive to replace a traditional market with a mall and the consequent displacement of traders, both formal and informal. Both the cases were also demonstrations of the breaching of the private sector into notionally 'public' projects such as resettlement housing and market redevelopment. The cases discussed here are also instances of development-induced displacement – which the first two speakers felt reflected the continuity between the Apartheid and Democratic era that enrich the already wealthy. Bandile Mdlalose, herself the leader of a rights and resistance movement, described the story and trajectories of what is called Dunlop or tire burning protest for the city managers to take the housing needs of residents of a low-income area called Cato Crest. The argument is that neglect is a kind of invisible or structural violence to which they respond with violence, apart from the violent resistance to violent repression.

The last speaker, Thando Manzi, described the effects of violence and argued violence is of many kinds and political violence has negative effects on spatial justice and silences counter hegemonic voices. Following from Mdlalose's description of the political disintegration of their resistance, Thando Manzi shared the perspectives of those peripheral to both the State and the often politically divided and xenophobic protest movements where opportunities seem to flow only to the 'affiliated'. A respondent in his study said they relied only on efforts to find economic security. The speakers stressed on reinvestigating the meanings of terms such as 'participation' and 'violence' and how, in practice, their forms are many.

Mdlalose made the emotional statement that nobody likes to be on the streets burning tires like stupid people to call attention to the demand for serious engagement. The importance of 'organic knowledge' among people to make their own plans was stressed. The other side of human greed within poor communities, as in rich communities, and the need to defeat the 'ghost' of the structural issues making people fight among themselves was pointed to.

In the end, it was acknowledged that violence was mainly a means to achieving partial transformation as lots of the development-induced displacements could not be violently opposed within the proximate geography since the thought behind them is transnational, if not global.

INVITED PANELS

## 20 JANUARY 2016 | 11.15 A.M. to 1.00 P.M. INVITED PANEL: Intersecting Networks of the Old and New: Financialisation and Technology in the Urban

Speakers: Anjali Mohan, Rahul Varman Chair: Vinay Baindur

Through her presentation, the first speaker, Anjali Mohan presented the concept of Negotiated Governance. She underscored that the market-led model of governance had failed the development challenge, and there was need to question where markets belonged and did not. At the same time, there is now a drive for a new set of collaborations (between State and non-State actors and agencies) in which the State has to be central. The central role of the State is essential since it is the State that has always been the ultimate guarantor of social cohesion. Yet the State now needs to take on a different role in delivering on the difficult challenges.

Anjali Mohan proposed a new form of governance which evolved from, and solved the problems inherent in the market led model of governance and the state led model of governance. This is known as "Negotiated Governance or the Networked form of Governance", a kind of entrepreneurial model that is distinguished from state-led governance because of collaboration between state and non-state actors. The concept behind the networked form of governance is that no single actor – private or state - has the capacity to tackle all the problems unilaterally.

She elaborated the key aspects which further distinguished this model from market and state led governance models as:

- It is based on knowledge sharing
- It is ideal to tackle developmental challenges
- It calls for horizontal sharing of ideas
- It is based on rapid proliferation of ICTs which facilitates rapid sharing of knowledge

The principle behind the model, which was found to be successful (even if somewhat partial) in Bangalore, is that the state needs to move from a bureaucratic, command and control role to a more negotiation, coordination, knowledge sharing role. This is made possible today because of the spread of information and communication technology.

Rahul Varman's presentation threw light upon the gargantuan challenges before urban planning posed by private corporations that arise because of their immensely confusing, vague, blurry, yet extremely powerful nature and vast size. Through his presentation, he explained how the definition of corporations has actually varied with time and circumstances so as to ensure that corporations become entities with maximum rights and minimum responsibilities. Therefore, whereas they are considered 'an artificial person' when it comes to having responsibilities, they have been considered as 'persons', when it comes to having rights such as right to freedom of speech, right to own property, right to own other businesses etc. It is for this reason that one of the primary demands of the Occupy movement a few years ago was to abolish corporate personhood.

To Rahul Varman, corporations were one subject that had not received adequate theoretical focus. Theory established a difference between state and market, where corporations are classified as markets. However, corporations are highly beaurocratic and rule bound. Furthermore, contrary to free markets, they do not operate in true competition but in levels of co-operation cum completion. Due to the freedom of corporations to own other corporations, the idea of free markets being good for society because of greater competition may not necessarily be true, since the owners of most corporations are the same.

The global fleeting nature of corporations poses another big challenge before states when they try to impose responsibilities upon corporations. Most of them are located in tax havens, making the source of FDI difficult to locate, tax and hold responsible for anything - as the case of Uber demonstrates to us. Rahul Varman questioned that if the criticism for socialism went as "Those who control it do not own it and thus do not bear the direct economic or legal consequences of their control", could it be said about corporate capitalism of the kind being witnessed today as one where "People who do not take any risk get all the returns"?

During the open discussion, an audience member commented on how such aspects of corporations were seen playing out in the South Africa. It was because FIFA is one of the largest corporations that anti-xenophobia protests weren't allowed during the Durban world cup. Rahul Varman responded by saying that we need to bring corporations back into our theorising. Finally, corporations cannot govern us through tax havens and algorithms, they have to govern on the ground and that is where protests need to come from. To whether there can be a negotiated space where civil society can actually play a role, Anjali Mohan's response was that while the Bangalore case prompted her to think that the State realises that the networks have strengths which are required but it does not have, yet reforms do hinge a lot on individuals in charge. In response to another audience question as to how the SPVs were placed in this model of negotiated governance, Anjali Mohan clarified that SPVs were not an example of negotiated governance since they follow the public-private partnership model. An SPV is more a profit oriented setup, and does not have the accountability mechanisms that a State has. Corporate Social Responsibility was propped by an audience member to question whether the State is abdicating its responsibility. To which Rahul Varman responded in the affirmative, emphasising that there is a need to understand corporations and CSR and its relation with the State and development policy. Also, that contrary to arguments, the State has not been hollowed out. It is still very, very powerful. It is just that the State's priorities have changed.

## 20 JANUARY 2016 | 11.15 A.M. to 1.00 P.M. INVITED PANEL: Reimagining Democratic Politics in the Urban

Speakers: Prithviraj Chavan, Prakash Ambedkar, Bharti Sharma Chair: Manish Jha

The crux of Prithviraj Chavan's talk was the divide between political representation and academic expertise. He emphasised that politicians were not academically trained to handle complex issues. The Indian civil services had been originally conceptualised for governing a primarily rural landscape. The urban situations of today's time are completely different from rural areas, and both civil servants and politicians are found completely at sea here. As someone who had seen the JNNURM unroll before him, to Mr. Chavan, the JNNURM had achieved a great deal especially in the arena of governance reforms. Yet it was difficult to see how smart cities were going to work, given the non-holistic approach of the present government. Empowering ULBS remained a

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challenge, especially financially, when taxes such as LBT were revoked and GST suffered from lack of clarity. Moreover, the concept of SPVs with privately appointed CEOs heading them was also against democratic norms.

Prakash Ambedkar opened his talk with a comment on how Mumbai presented a view on planning where it was not intelligent elected people, but simply large amounts of money that were required to develop cities. Mr Ambedkar made a call for new concepts and ideas for the urban. He sought attention to the need to look at interlinkages between issues of urban policy focus such as housing with social issues such as child labour. He also underscored the need to separate urban development including urban transport from general administration, and accord it separate think tanks. Making reference to the strong interconnection and interdependence between India's rural and urban, Mr Ambedkar made a case for cities to be located within rural reach in order to remove intermediaries and make villages economically viable. Moreover, gram panchayats too must be abolished and converted to a different management structure.

Bharti Sharma continued the discussion on urban governance by questioning what the 74th Amendment had achieved after 25 years of enactment. She stated the large ward sizes in the MCGM as one of the reasons why participatory democracy was failing. Elaborating on the gender marginalities in local governance, Bharti Sharma said that women wings are given the least importance in political parties. She stated practices such as nightly meetings which made women's participation difficult and hurdles such as the two children norm which proved unfair to NT, ST, SC and minority communities. The coming up of the multi-member ward system right after achieving 50% reservation for women also undermined the latter. New rules in states such as Haryana and Rajasthan like formal education harm candidates from vulnerable sections. Despite there being no evidence to show that people with higher education have better governing capacity, Maharasthra too is contemplating such legislations.

She pointed out to the continuing disconnect where autonomous women's organisations demanding reservation are neither part of political parties and are neither grooming elected female representatives. This is alongside the fact that elected women representatives are not imparted adequate training despite the presence of necessary infrastructure to do so.



A forthcoming question in the discussion round was whether there was a difference between political imagination and bureaucratic imagination of the city? All the speakers seemed to agree that administrators and politicians have different views of the city, where politicians viewed the urban poor as vote banks and bureaucrats looked at slum development work in the project mode. Bureaucrats have access to world capital more than ever, which is why they want to get in the discourse of the global city. However, while the bureaucrat often gets co-opted with the 'wrong' in the city, he sometimes fights back as well.

Another discussion was centered around how to envision the idea of decentralisation, especially when it made privatisation easier, and how to emphasise the distributive side of governance. As to whether the benefits of reservation were being usurped by upper class women, Bharti Sharma opined that the scenario of upper caste dominance is changing. More vulnerable sections are taking up political spaces. There was also need for people as well as NGOs to overcome their deep distrust of politics.

## 21 JANUARY 2016 9.00 A.M. to 11.00 A.M. INVITED PANEL: The Politics of Land, Planning and Power on the Urbanising Peripheries

Speakers: Partha Mukhopadhyay, Chandrashekhar S Chair: Malini Krishnankutty

The panel discussion on peripheral urbanisation rolled out in the format of an open discussion between the speakers and the audience, raking up several different aspects of urbanisation occurring at city peripheries and its near hinterlands. The key points of discussion revolved around the need to look at not just transformations in livelihoods, but also income generation and income sustenance in face of inflation. The role of community and caste and structures social contracts / social relationships that one is subjected to by default, also seeks attention. How does one define rural/urban, and did it matter? Furthermore, how is all of this determined by politics of classification as urban or rural? Partha Mukhopadhyay threw light on the fact that in India, the existence of two institutions that classify places as rural or urban- the Registrar General of India at the central level and the state government which decides upon municipalisation, as well as a Census that classifies, opens up a wide gap for politics to play out in declaring what is urban and what is not. On the other hand, places that are fairly urbanised also seem to continue operating under gram panchayats which now provide services such as underground drainage, water supply etc. Moreover, Partha Mukhopadhyay pointed to the blinkered thinking of seeing people as coming to cities from villages, while in reality it is fluid system. He also pointed out that what land acquisition literature does not look at is the phenomenon of land being aggregated using land pooling system where people get back part of their developed land. In doing this, village people turn speculators.

The Chair, Malini Krishnankutty shared experiences from Panvel, the newly emerging peri-urban of Mumbai. The area is under immense pressure to change, wherein CIDCO has demarcated just the airport influenced zone, but it has triggered land use change in the entire area. As the cases of Vasai Virar and Mira Bhayander additionally revealed, these were locations for the operation of organic nexus between politicians, developers, bureaucrats and the underworld, as well as a fair amount of inter-mobility within these roles with developers sometimes becoming politicians and

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politicians becoming developers. The journey from explicit use of muscle power to legitimization in the case of Vasai Virar came enroute a strong control over people's access to housing and daily vital resources. In another light, with the exception of legitimacy, these power ensembles have been more efficient in doing certain things locally such as bringing in business to these areas.

Chandrashekhar S underscored the need to refocus on job creation, pointing out that a majority of farmers in rural India were small holders (less than a hectare), where incomes were lesser than expenditure. According to him, rural people who commuted to the urban areas earned higher incomes, and this could perhaps be seen as moving toward more equality. He pointed out that among all statistics in India, employment statistics were the worst. Creating jobs was the prime requirement, and in the case, rural and urban didn't matter.

Attention was also drawn to that it was not just about getting people out of agriculture, but also looking at the range of casualties that urbanisation brought on (such as the tribals who are usually the first of such and for whom the loss of forestlands proves most devastating as compared to non-tribals who are more open to change in occupation). Partha Mukhopadhyay concluded by saying that plotted development was a phenomonenon occurring around cities regardless of whether they had a population of 20000 or 70000. It is to be seen what a person leaving agriculture gets into, what is the stake to a secure future that he/she buys into, whether that is realised, and the kind of inter-generational aspects that this reveals.

#### 21 JANUARY 2016 | 11.15 A.M. to 1.00 P.M.

#### **INVITED PANEL: Climate Change and Urban Adaptation**

Speakers: Tejal Kanitkar, T.I Eldho, Lubaina Rangwala, T. Jayaraman Chair: R Ramakumar

The opening speaker Tejal Kanitkar outlined the physical problem of climate change. The need to limit temperature rise to under 2 degrees and the limited levels of carbon available for future

consumption made much greater demands for adaptation. At the same time, the political problem of global warming is connected to climate justice, where emissions are proxy for development. Carbon budget needs to be divided in an equitable manner, and sustainable development in this context means high level of industrial development with very low levels of emissions. We need to spend more money on mitigation measures. Presently, physical limit on emission is not determined by energy costs, carbon price or feasible low carbon pathways. They are not economically determined. She concluded by saying that it was time we focus on cities as sites of consumption rather than sites of production.

In response to a question that arose from the audience regarding the narrative of climate justice in India especially through its social movements, Tejal Kanitkar responded saying that the question of international equity within India is more important rather than domestic equity. As to how much the Paris Agreement was binding especially in the light of the concept of historical responsibility and debt, the response was that the Paris Agreement was a legally binding process without any legally binding content.

DR TI Eldho briefed upon the causes of floods and factors that exacerbated them including rampant urbanisation, as well as the high vulnerability of urban coastal areas of India to coastal flooding. He then elaborated upon the Indian Flood Assessment Modelling Tool (IFAM) developed by Indian Institute of Technology - Bombay. His presentation touched upon its features such as hydro-meteorology, immediate water management after forecast, urban flood modelling and impacts, adaptation and vulnerability analysis. In response to an audience question on the ability to calibrate the modelling exercise especially with respect to the built up area, Prof. Eldho claimed that nearly 96% to 97% of a match was achieved with respect to the actual physical environment at the micro level. However, better prediction for urban areas demanded high levels of accuracy and it was here that modelling exercises were challenged owing to data limitations.

Lubaina Rangwala shared the potential of Transit Oriented Development as per mobility demand as an indirect climate change mitigation strategy that can be measured in terms of reduced emissions and can be a long term strategy that improves accessibility of the people too. By sharing a case study of the suburban station area of Ghatkopar in central Mumbai, she demonstrated the need for land use to be integrated with transport circuits.

T Jayaraman articulated that Global commons and the urban are not identical in origin and nature, which presents the conjunction of two collective action problems. According to him, there is a fundamental incompatibility of the anarchic nature of capitalist production with resolution of global warming and urban planning. Uncontrolled land markets, haphazard land use and zoning, lack of data in these aspects and scant literature on urban climate change were some of the key challenges identified by the speaker for climate change adaptation in the urban context. Prof. Jayaraman proposed a model similar to Elinor Ostrom's polycentric Governance as more appropriate for adoption in the context of the urban and a solution to the commons problem. In response to the question whether there was need to link privatisation with global warming, Prof. Jayaraman underscored the need to link security in all its forms be it food, climate or war. Even the WTO and the Paris Agreement needed to be linked.

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## 21 JANUARY 2016 2.00 P.M. to 4.00 P.M. INVITED PANEL: Theory's Southward Turn- I

Speakers: Kushal Deb, Karen Coelho , Jayaraj Sundaresan Chair: Abdoumaliq Simone

The first speaker Kushal Deb briefly outlined the trajectory of urban theorising in India, starting with the phase (building up to the 1990s) where understanding of Indian social institutions was as predominantly rural phenomena that got transformed in urban settings and of neglect of the dialectical relationship between urban space and social processes. Till the 1990s lasted a period during which Global South cities remained unimportant to the Global North, while the work of Marxist scholars David Harvey and Manuel Castells gradually started influencing the work of Indian academia and cities started being theorised as sites of modernity and capitalist production, of contestations on housing, infrastructure, religious identity etc. leading to a gradual challenging of northern hegemony on theorising and understanding the cities. While these authors did do extensive work and stressed the importance of understanding the distinctions in the cities of the global south and used the method of comparative urbanism to bring out the same, their approaches are very similar and did something similar to the dependency and developmental theories, critiquing the modernization paradigm. Postcolonial theories link to the colonial linkages and the enmeshing of the world. They have taken up research on the informal sector, the slums and squatter settlements, arbitrary landuse system and governance mechanisms which point towards the complexity, struggle and agency, inter-relations of actors involved in the same. They are rejecting the meta narratives of the Global North and coming up with new conceptualisations from ethnography and fieldwork which hopefully come up with an alternative theory.

The speaker described the world of academia as also one of power struggle and domination, revealing itself in the contestations and debates around issues concerning modernity, multiple modernity, developmentalism and the status of theorisation in Global south. Of these, the speaker highlighted his particular unease with the work of Ananya Roy, seen as one of the foremost proponents of postcolonial theory in India. Describing her initial work on informality as having helped greatly in comprehending the whole gamut of issues in urban India, the speaker implicated Ananya Roy in the transition phase of subverting the political agency of the subaltern issue. To Deb, Roy's changing position becomes clear in her mention that leaning on postcolonial theory, she was now going to change the meaning of subaltern from the study of spaces of poverty and forms of popular agency to an interrogation of the epistemological categories. She then goes on to challenge three important themes in subaltern urbanisms- economies of entrepreneurialism and political agency and issues of representation. Moreover, Deb argued, her work with Ong depicts an interconnected, inter-referencing Asia, with domination of power houses within Asia. As per Deb, in her latest book with Ong, Roy clearly states her opposition to the whole political economy and postcolonial framework. She offers a different view of the postcolonial approach by taking it away from subaltern agency, and concentrates instead on the worlding of knowledge.

For the speaker, the 2 concepts of periphery and zones of exception are problematic for post colonial politics. The way Roy used the concept of worlding is highly problematic in terms of the varied kind of conceptual tools that are brought together such that it loses its radical potential.

Through her presentation, Karen Coelho proposed reflection on the current theorisations on

the urban. She highlighted 3 sited ethnography of communities along the Buckingham Canal in Chennai and probed how they were urban and how does urbanisation come about. On one hand, the waterway itself is dead, however on the other there is a vibrant water's edge city along its bank. Within these settlements reside a number of invisible citizens. This area depicts the case of behind the scene urbanism, poverty, lack of governance and mobility. It provides a different history of the waterway ranging from industrial, residential resettlement, hinterland development, sometimes frontage. There exist multiple modes of production, differing governance styles and different relationships between the residents and the waterway. What can these neighbourhoods tell us about the canal and subsequently about urban, of becoming? The paper was aimed as a response to the worlding paradigm through an emphasis on entrenchment. It built on the existing theory on informal occupancy and the prolonged non-confrontational mode of urban poor, and also brought out the shifting stakes when projects challenge the existing settlements. According to the speaker, the urban is characterised by wide forms, differentiated space and is not just geographically limited. It is important to problematise the location. Intra urban and inner city nodes are sources of insight which when combined, provide an understanding of the larger whole.

The speaker concluded by stating that it is important to understand the characteristics of different urbanisms within the larger city with an emphasis on entrenchment. Systematic field of power ensure creation of center and peripheries which is continuously shifting and relocating.

The main theme of Jayaraj Sundresan's presentation was to understand planning and violation and the politics of participation in land-use planning for Bangalore. His proposition was that the more we ask for southern exceptionalism, the more we go north. He stressed the need to recover conceptual categories. He went on to illustrate how the planning exercise in Bangalore had no participation, but still saw some groups (such as land owners) being able to accommodate their interests within the plan. The final landuse plan accommodated a variety of private interests. Various different groups across the city engaged with the planning process without any legislative mechanism promoting or defining participation, leading to various amendments. The office of the private French consultancy firm hired with the aim of keeping the exercise away from pressures and corruption eventually became a negotiation destination for an active coalition of various actors and private interests. There were examples of citizen activism and activism from resident welfare associations as well. So would be this be defined as participation?

Jayaraj's concluding propositions were:

• Planning theory articulated and understood planning as a domain of the State and not as participation and based on inter-relations. There is a need to reconceptualise State as a continuous form of negotiation.

• One needs to understand and stress on Planning as a social collaboration and emphasise it, rather than simply concentrating on planning and critiquing it.

When asked if the final output after inculcating so many conflicting stakeholders' interests could be called a plan, Jayaraj responded saying that for him, the plan is unimportant, what is important is its implementation and the resultant urban change. Planning is a practice not just an instrument. RADICAL PLANNING WORKSHOP

## 23 January 2016 9:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. POST-CONFERENCE WORKSHOP: Radical Planning in the Global South

This workshop aimed at providing a forum for exchange and mutual learning across practitioners of radical planning to share their highly contextualised experiences. It also aims to go beyond the sharing of experiences to a discussion of critical questions linked to radical planning. Is radical planning a paradigm, a methodology of practice, a philosophy, a praxis? What are its variants? What are its epistemological, methodological moorings? How do they differ from conventional planning or market led planning? What is radical in radical planning? What are the possibilities in planning for moving towards more just cities?

#### 9:30 A.M. - 1:00 P.M. (Morning) : Exchange of experiences

Speakers: Aravind Unni, Desmond D'sa, Dunu Roy, Champaka Rajagopal, Fabricio Leal Oliveira Chair: Lalitha Kamath

2:00 P.M. - 5:00 P.M. (Afternoon): Towards an Epistemology for Radical Planning

Speakers: Faranak Miraftab, Darshini Mahadevia Chair: Himanshu Burte

Aravind Unni brought forth important aspects of the participative planning process in the drafting of Mumbai's Development Plan of 2014-34 through the campaign Hamara Shahar Vikas Niyojan Yojna (Our city Mumbai). He provided insights on the basic premise behind it, how it evolved, the strategies deployed and the alliances established. Re-activating existing channels, using technology such as google maps to prompt people to identify their homes and services and a concerted effort at news making were some of the methods involved. Linking issues and people such as hawkers, rag pickers, open spaces etc. to scale the relevance and impact of the campaign succeeded in pressurising the MCGM to open up the DP making process. Going beyond finger pointing and coming up with an alternative vision, Mumbai vision – 2015, was a first for the city. However, the city level and ward level consultations that took place as a result of these efforts proved to have limited success as the first DP released by the MCGM in February 2015 failed to include several suggestions. This was then met with a protest launched primarily through the process of mailing a 700 page report. As many as 5000 people sending suggestions and objection letters in a single day had a significant impact on the MCGM and a revision of the DP was initiated. The foremost achievement of the entire endeavour was that for the first time, a 'back and forth' exchange between the communities and the local authority had occured. Arvind Unni concluded by identifying some further, significant successes- 1) Reservations. 2) Affordable housing, especially as homeless shelters were recognised and an assurance given. 3) M-East ward recommendations considered.

The presentation that followed was that by Desmond D'sa, where the story of the struggle of the Clairwood Racecourse took centre stage. In 1966, with the Appropriation Act, people were forced to move from other areas of South Africa to dirty and filthy areas which were polluted by industries. It was only in 2008 that the government undertook steps to evict residences in the area, not because of environmental hazards, but more because it had turned into prime land. People resisted but were eventually removed at the cost of their livelihoods and local industry such as textile, shoe making etc. The 2012 Link Road project was one where they mobilised resistance by

demanding that official documents be translated into local language, drafting plans and informing people including those living in transit camps and shanties, and raising a strong voice against environmental and biodiversity damage. Of the 18 infrastructure projects, these efforts successfully managed to stall two. But the tremendous political pressures on the movement leaders continues. The social and environmental impacts are explicit. The number of farmers are reducing and crops are dying. Traditional factories are closing down and while people are trying to take up livelhoods such as fishing, they are being moved away from the beachfront. Desmond D'sa made a loud call for the need to unite and build struggle. The idea that everything should be big is wrong, small and collective is what is important.

Through his presentation, Dunu Roy elaborated on their work at the Hazards Centre, clarifying that it had set itself up to help people respond to anything that they consider dangerous. This has included slum evictions. The kind of studies they undertake seek to challenge the very basis of investment and regard toward labouring communities. Maps with waste pickers highlighting how waste was created, sorted and disposed clearly brought to light how the waste pickers who made waste valuable were the ones most marginalised in reaping the profits of their task. The story repeated in various instances, such as those of cycle rickshaw pullers, labourers etc. Results of a study on brick kiln workers revealed that the 2300 kcal/day which is assigned as the minimum nutrition is much less than their actual requirement as per the labour they undertake. Dunu Roy underscored that while best practices towards controlled carbon emissions were contributed by those who earn less that Rs 8000/month, there was scarce attention toward improving their wages or to get others into these best practices. DHe concluded by saying that accepting violence is part of the structure of capitalist regime, but there could be a phase of rejecting development, challenging appropriation and restoring dignity.

Champaka Rajagopal brought out the State's attribute as a firm, with a mandate to create jobs. Over the past 10-20 years, the encouragement of the PPP model in the face of industrial deficits is producing a hybrid relation between the state and the private players. There is a principal – agent relation. The PPPs have emerged in India out of a dilemma of whether to buy or make or hand over, and with huge risk sharing. While the firms are treated as a governance structure (with instances such as the involvement of companies like Ernst and Young in the NITI Ayog, and the deployment of Special purpose vehicles), and one is now witnessing a gradual shift to corporate governance, it remains a matter of concern of who bears the cost in case of failures.

Detailing on Insurgent Planning in Brazil, Fabricio leal Oliviera's presentation provided finer details of the Plano popular which was a people's development plan conceptualised by the local communities of Vila Autodromo. Comprising of slums on public lands, Vila Autodromo got incorporated into the massive development plan for the Olympic Games 2016 that are to be held in Rio, and has subsequently witnessed a drive to evict the local communities through a process that co-opts violent state action. In response, social housing movements emerged and community gatherings were conducted. The resident associations struck alliances with a university and came up with Plano Popular- a plan that encompassed housing, sanitation and infrastructure and public services programmes, and included private spaces, open spaces etc. It also took into account the social circumstances. Yet, demolitions were initiated in March 2014, and since then only 40 families have managed to remain of the 500 that comprised the community.

RADICAL PLANNING WORKSHOP

demolished, there is emotional distress, pipelines have been cut and life has become difficult. The climate is one of uncertainty.

The discussions that followed these presentations surfaced significant questions with reference to the experiences shared by the presenters. All the presenters were requested to articulate their thoughts on what were the internal contradictions with regards to the different roles of the state. Where are they merging? Does radical planning bring people into this realm? They were also asked to give a critique of the radical planning process, what was the extent of people's participation and what kind of breakthroughs were needed. How do social movements look at these different roles of the State, especially if the State is acting like firms now? How do PPP's in turn view such social movements, considering that they generally come with tolerance for losses, failures etc.? What are the challenges of coming together now that problems are transnational. On the flipside, has international media visibility actually made any difference to local movements and actions of the Local State?

As she took the podium, Faranak Miraftab chose to structure her talk into three parts. In the first, she outlined planning as a colonial project of governance, as a mediator between State and society. She then chose to distinguish between some key conceptual categories. She brought out the ontological difference between radical planning and insurgent planning in that one was about representative democracy and the other was about direct participative democracy. She further raised a question as to whether all forms of insurgent practices were to be celebrated and supported.

The three principles or dimensions of Insurgent Planning as transformative, as described by Faranak Miraftab, are that they are transgressive in terms of time, place and forms of action; they are counter-hegemonic; and they are imaginative of a different, more just world. Faranak also added that invented and invited space are not stable spaces or binaries, and we need to constantly reinvent new spaces of activism.

In the concluding part of her presentation, Faranak invoked the future as an object of dispute and open ended collages because of its openness and its multiplicity/plurality. It has the power to create disruptions which involve a sense of direction, playfulness, and pleasure at the same time. To Faranak, the future is also a political territory, a site of fierce contestation over the content it can take, and alerts to the possibility of it taking violent forms. In conclusion, she said that the struggle between past, present and future is ongoing. Historicising the past is important to understanding our current present. The future requires a visual archaeology of the present and to avoid sanitising the past. The question is how do you think through imagination we could revoke that future as the alternative?

The next speaker, Darshini Mahadevia brought into light the real world challenges to planning – how to make available land that is often engulfed in a nexus of state, mafia, local government and developer, how to build climate change resilient cities, how to think about migrants?. Insurgency has a xenophobic dimension. Since in India, everybody seems to be a minority so claims get converted into xenophobic threats. The planner can and should never be simply a technocrat, but needs to strive to create a middle ground - understanding negotiations and dealing with multiple complex decisions and access to rights. Prof. Mahadevia made a call for alliance and sharing of