Cities, Rural Migrants & the Urban Poor-III

Migration & the Urban Question in Delhii

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Migration and the Urban Question in Delhi

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Content

The Capital City:
Discursive Dissonance of Law and Policy

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This paper examines the ideational premises behind the extant policy and legal framework for governing the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi. This focus of analysis attains greater salience with respect to the NCT Delhi on account of its peculiar location in the constitutional scheme wherein it is both a Union Territory and a State leading to powers and functions being fractured across multiple agencies and competencies. Needless to add, such unique constitutional and politico-legal location of the city creates multiple lines of contradiction in which a number of competing interests, actors, institutions and processes interlink to generate 'a truth' as basis for public policy. Such an exercise of prioritising a particular balance between competing demands as 'truth' is both embedded as well as generates power to determine the goals, mechanisms and presses of public policy.

An analysis of the diverse social landscape of Delhi requires operationalisation of an analytical lens of social justice which must at once involve a discursive understanding of law and policy. Further, discursive analysis of law and policy in Delhi required a focus on three central issues: (a) the conception of a city; (b) the question of poverty/ livelihood; and, (c) the ways in which migrants are constructed in these policy spaces. The interstices of these three concepts forms a crucial discursive space of a zone of suspension that allow construction of a city that fails to address crucial questions facing its denizens. The grey areas thus constructed are at once sites of contention of the city by various interests and groups while also allowing for law and policy to subvert these contests.

The paper approaches these questions by focussing on three distinct but interrelated discursive threads that form the idea of a city that is Delhi (Section I). Section II examines the Discourse of Order that is arguably the master narrative that determines the approach of policy and law towards Delhi. Section III analyses the discursive threads of a 'Beautiful Delhi' that derives from the discourse of order but becomes the rationale for most of the policy decisions determining the contours of Delhi. This section also provides an overview of the Delhi Master Plan, which is the main instrument to discipline the space of Delhi in the mirror images of an aspirational Delhi. Section IV analyses the select empirical data to analyse the impact policy that is the product of such approaches before offering some conclusions in Section V.

The conceptual premises for this analysis derives from the interrogation of traditional approaches to public policy, which has focused on an instrumental examination of performance of

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various initiatives to secure 'progress' towards identified goals of 'development'. Such research has spawned a large literature which explores a variety of goals, objective and frames of disparate approaches of public policy.

However, these traditional approaches do not lend themselves to understanding the mechanisms through which the goals/ targets for public policy interventions are set and the role that a variety of viewpoints have in determining the frame within which public policy operates. To unravel this process, one must turn to what has come to be known as discursive turn in policy analysis, wherein the questions of

> … relevance to policy analysis … [are the] central questions of truth and power [, which are] … bound up with relations of power, agenda setting, inclusion and exclusion, selective attention, and neglect. If … policy … must make assumptions about causality and responsibility, about legitimacy and authority, and about interests, needs, values, preferences, and obligations, then the language of policy and planning analyses not only depicts but also constructs the issues at hand.[1]

This paper is therefore not an attempt to examine the operation of public policy in Delhi; instead it attempts to focus analysis on the salient features in public policy, and law to examine the ideas that determine the fundamental premises which inform all these aspects of Delhi.

I

The Idea of a Capital City

It must be recognised here that in policy and legal construction, the organic nature of the growth of cities is ignored. Cities have traditionally served a three-fold function, which is central to impart it a peculiar character which makes them different from other human habitation conglomerations. First and foremost, cities are centres of political power and thereby, military 'structures' or encampments. While the capital city may not perform the same military functions as in the past, it continues to serve as the nerve-centre of political contests and decision-making. This imparts to Delhi a peculiar discursive character, which structures and delimits the policy and legal options that may be available to the decision-making processes.

In addition, Delhi, like all major cities, has also been a centre of trade of produce and artefacts; besides being a centre for production and manufacturing. In fact, it may be argued that it is the changing technologies of production over the past 200 years that have imparted much of the character to contemporary cities with large-scale industrialisation spurring the processes of urbanisation in its multidimensionality. This process created the rationale for viewing cities as containers of wage-labour (which can only be provided by migrants from non-industrial hinterlands), as also a container for issues of social justice (both, by interrogating the conception as well as contest for its pursuit). It may be recalled here that historically, imagery of industrialising cities of the UK such as London, Manchester and Glasgow were often seen as fusing both, extreme expressions of the process of primitive accumulation, and as also the sites for contests of emancipatory politics — universal suffrage, social rights, labour organisation, socio-cultural plurality, cosmopolitanism, and socio-cultural equity. Delhi is arguably a similar site of multiple processes, which needs disaggregation and analysis at a discursive level. The latest stage of evolution of technologies of production in terms of deployment of e-technologies and the growth of 'service economy' adds another layer to this process.

In a discussion of this process of evolution of cities in the process of economic change, cities have been a part of and a site of acute political contestation and have played a central role on the evolving centralised modern state. Cities as nerve-centres of administrative control and thereby,

the disciplining power of the state structures the legal and administrative framework within which battles for social justice are fought and contested.

This crucial multidimensional role of cities, especially in the context of issues of social justice and livelihood of marginalised sections such as migrants, is often losing sight of when imagining Delhi as an urban socio-political organisation. Furthermore, the multiple contests located in a city like Delhi are also contests over meanings of modernity, which anchor much of the liberal discourse, and are rooted deep in the idea of a modern city and must provide the interrogative frame for conceptualisation of cities and an analytical frame within which policy and law needs to be examined, analysed and critiqued.

Of central importance in this analysis remains the question of governmentality of urbanisation. Contemporary cities are thus arenas of construction of state power and disciplining of populations within which the migrants must be understood as primary targets of such state initiatives of the premises of such construction of state power. Urban planning is the primary instrument of the construction of such governmentalisation of cities and is clearly the chosen instrument of much of state intervention. Prioritising the technocratic aspects of urban planning, public policy and the legal framework with respect to the city brooks no interference in its objective to reproduce the city spaces in the image of technically determined requirements for reproduction of capital. Such an approach is rooted in the perceived need to discipline the unruly pre-colonial Delhi, never mind the organic character of the older popular and imperial cities. Complex issues of social spaces being reordered and disciplined are thus thrown up in which multiple ways in which cities are imagined by is various social actors are sought to be disciplined into an organised (and homogenous) space amenable to such technocratic modelling:

> While ostensibly a scientific-rational process that is free from politics, urban planning has always been about the exercise of power … the disciplinary aspects of creating and controlling subjects and spaces shaped the process of boundary- making. Crucial for the project of effective control was the generation of information: the enumeration of populations though the decennial census was supplemented by their classification into various economic categories. These were then mapped onto separated zones partitioning work and residence, industry and commerce, education, administration and recreation. Regulatory systems such as licensing, tax collection, labour and pollution inspection, and so on attempted to keep tabs on a burgeoning economy.[2]

Such efforts to discipline all aspect of Delhi using legal and administrative regulatory structures must also content with its self-induced peculiarity: that of Delhi's special status — as the visibility as national capital (requiring addressing the question of international visibility in a particular frame) as also a State (with implications about citizen's rights and social justice). Such dual character of Delhi feeds into the state's anxieties around the management of urban spaces making them all the more acute. Delhi must therefore be constructed into the state's own image of the nation-state, embodiment of India's modernist ambitions.[3] Delhi has thus been diligently planned since 1962 when the first Master Plan for Delhi was drawn up with American expertise obtained with the assistance of the Ford Foundation. Ever since, the effort has been to mould Delhi's landscape - physical as well as social — into a statement of the ideas and ideals of contemporary state's liberal modernism within the frame of Nehruvian socialism of enlightened state control. This has created a peculiar multilayered city which is at once located in the past and struggles to deal with plethora of issues thrown up by the present.

The functional separation (and division) between the Union government and the government of NCT of Delhi is but one axis of such tensions. Delhi HDR 2006 declaims that "[a]ccounting for Delhi's uneven human development are two features of governance: complex administrative structures and the limited opportunities that people have enjoyed until very recently to

participate in shaping public decisions affecting their lives."[4] This participation in decision-making appears to be more of a policy construct than a practice, especially with respect to migrants and poor sections of Delhi.

Parts of Delhi are sanitised as slot for history with its emphasis on protection for monuments deemed archaeologically important[5] but what is chosen for protection is once again a question of crucial importance, interpreted as it is in the pursuit of global image of the national capital in which commodification of heritage for consumption in accordance with the pursuit of global capital. Similarly, agricultural lands are acquired from the fast diminishing villages to create zones appropriate for a modern capital; reinforced by concerns about the physical and social welfare of concentrated human populations.

Such modernist vision is derived from the belief in the unlimited malleability of space (mainly, land but also nature). This has given rise to what has been lately called "bourgeois environmentalism [which] converges with the disciplining zeal of the state and its interest in creating legible spaces and docile subjects".[6] The net impact is thus a reproduction of de-contextualised images. Derived from this liberal modernism is the policy and legal consensus on the technicalisation of cities, it does not matter if the parameters of such technical assessment are skewed. Public policy in the city, ably assisted by the legal framework, pursues the mirror image of the 'perfect' Western city to embody the 'national' capital although lately, East and Southeast Asia is constructed as ideal types, which in turn is copying the West. Therefore, the emphasis remains on 'beautification' of the city by aping (often without due 'technical' diligence) processes and projects reported to be 'successful' in cities of other countries. One only needs to recall the infamous BRT corridor should proof for such a process be required. However, this is the peripheral of the many implications of such policy initiatives. Of greater significance of such 'beautification' efforts is a manifold increase in gated areas and de-culturalisation of urban spaces — what was known earlier in the common parlance as *mohalledari*, has been reported to have died an ignoramus' death in Delhi and is not lamented!

Poverty and Livelihood Questions

This issue becomes far more complex once the class dimensions are factored in. In the modernist dream of Delhi (and perhaps, most cities in India), those employed in the modern sectors — middle class, modernising, aspirational sections — are seen as adding value to the city's economy and society. Their labour is not only recognised but suitably rewarded by membership in the cityscape of gated *elite* colonies and beautified urban spaces serving of aspirational consumer goods and services. The poor and (mostly poor) migrants are seen as a drain by creating disorder, squalor and stress on the city. It appears that the technocratic city planning alluded to earlier has no conception that these 'undesirables' are the economic sinews of the city and without their brawn power, the glittering city would soon be submerged on garbage and squalor and not 'growing' through infrastructure construction. One instance of this policy myopia is the fact that the 'planned colonies' have no conception of or space for the poor who service them.

The issues of social justice thus thrown up are vast, which this paper will use as the framework to undertake a discursive analysis of law and policy. In this context, it is important to also problematise the consensus around deployment of space for various purposes in the city. The modernist planners imaginations of the deployment of space for the urban landscape for the reproduction of capital must be contested by deploying that of the community. The urban planner aspires to build flyovers, malls and road which the communities may demand alternative conception

of space. In this struggle, it is perhaps no surprise that issues of social justice are reduced to mechanisms of supply of services: schools, health centres, infrastructure, and possibly, remotely located settlements. Such construction of the city is however not merely an imposition of the state's will and disciplinary power on recalcitrant populations. It is important to recognise and unravel the hegemonic dimensions of the policies that anchor this vision of a city. In this context, it is crucial to ask: how is consent for such transformations generated and sustained, which leads us to a discursive analysis of policy.

Migrants

Locating migrants in such a frame of analysis becomes pertinent on account of the fact that while the policy and legal frame are determined by those who have an institutional or procedural location in the policy process, the implication of such decisions are invariably most stark for the migrant populations and workers. The representation and legitimacy deficit thus generated has an important role to play in both, compounding the problems of the city as also in creating a vision of a desired future for the city in which dissent and plurality of approaches has an increasingly declining space.

It must be underlined that the migrant populations are the engines of the city's economic (and service) requirements but owing to the above-mentioned representation and legitimacy deficits, are ignored as a central concern of policy and the law. Consequently, measures taken to address issues with respect to such migrant populations suffer from a degree of *adhocism* as well as policy inertia and irrelevance. The paper will locate all these issues within the discursive turn in policy analysis for analysing a variety of empirical experiences of migrants in the city of Delhi.

The modernist city has no space for such social spaces which cater to a mobile, seasonal and difficult to discipline populations as they are not easily amenable to modernist categorisation and slotting. The cherished wish of such a liberal modernist restructuring of the city is the invisible migrant who provides the labour for the many such requirements in the city — domestic work to construction work, but does not lay a claim to social justice to hold the city back from pursuing its modernising dream. There is no space for 'unruly' and 'undesirable' migrants in such a city, who are therefore banished to interstices of the city: 'urban villages' and peripheries. Troublesome questions about dealing with such population groups are barely acknowledged, let alone addressed: who are these migrants seen as a 'problem'? Do most cities not grow owing to migrants? Who is a 'native' of the city?

II

The Discourse of Order (and Control): Structure, Law (and Technology) of Governing Delhi

The foremost issue in the analysis of Delhi and questions of social justice therein are anchored in the administrative and legal structure that seeks to transform the physical in accordance with the discursive premises of the nature and character of the national capital. Apart from creating mechanisms of deploying power to structure truth, the administrative and legal processes thus created have twin impact of fracturing functions and authority as well as becoming the locus of contestation (as witnessed in the ongoing impasse between the office of the Lieutenant Governor of Delhi and the present Chief Minister). A brief overview of the peculiar administrative and legal location of Delhi is therefore in order. In 1947, Delhi was a Chief Commissioner's province and was created into a Part C State with the promulgation of the Constitution, with a Legislative Assembly. In

1956, Delhi was created a Union Territory with a Chief Administrator as its head. So, an elected component to decision-making in Delhi has been a part of the constitutive logic of governing the city. While this is unexceptionable in terms of democratic theory, it may not have the same implication for the issue of social justice, as will be discussed later in the paper.

The process of 'democratisation' of the administration of the city evolved in parallel with a process of depoliticisation and centralisation. While the city witnessed the enactment of the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act, 1957 (Act 66 of 1957) [7] to "consolidate and amend the law relating to the Municipal Government of Delhi" on the one hand, there was a simultaneous enactment of the Delhi Development Act, 1957 (Act 61 of 1957) to create a Delhi Development Authority (DDA)

> to promote and secure the development of Delhi according to plan and for that purpose the Authority shall have the power to acquire, hold, manage and dispose of land and other property, to carry out building, engineering, mining and other operations, to execute works in connection with supply of water and electricity, disposal of sewage and other services and amenities and generally to do anything necessary or expedient for purposes of such development and for purposes incidental thereto...[8]

Development is defined by this Act as "... the carrying out of building, engineering, mining or other operations in, on, over or under land or the making of any material change in any building or land and includes redevelopment".[9] Thus, while creating the possibilities of local participation in the decision-making through the MCD Act, the Parliament simultaneously removed a very substantial section from its purview under the DDA Act by creating technocratic body to handle all land-related issues. This carving out of significant areas for technocratic handling continued by separating matters such as electricity supply; and, water supply and drainage from the competence of MCD in 1971 and 1976, respectively, and vesting them in autonomous technical agencies, the DESU and DJB. The NDMC looking after 43 square kilometres of Lutyens' Delhi and the Cantonment Board remained separate from the MCD. Union Territories (Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions) Act, 1969 separated the judiciary from the Executive, thereby marking another step towards a more accountable government in the city.
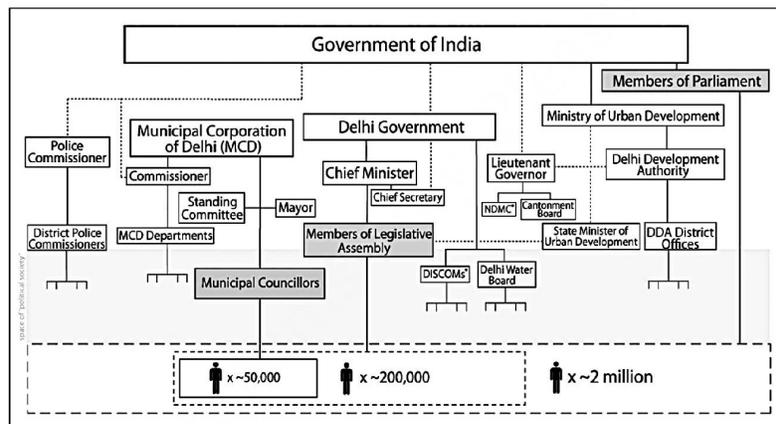
Solid lines indicate direct bureaucratic hierarchy; lower boxes are subordinate to those higher on the figure. Dashed lines indicate that a given administrative position is directly appointed by a superordinate body (usually the Government of India [GoI]).

Source: D. Asher Ghertner, 'Gentrifying the State, Gentrifying Participation: Elite Governance Programs in Delhi' in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2011, p. 510.

Substantial changes were introduced in the structure of governing Delhi by the Constitution (69th Amendment) Act, 1991, which inserted Articles 239 AA, 239 AB into the Constitution and created the National Capital Territory of Delhi. Under this Act, Delhi continued to be a Union Territory but with a special status and was granted what has been colloquially called, a 'partial' statehood. Provision was made for Delhi to continue having a Legislative Assembly with a Council of Ministers, headed by the Chief Minister, as a step towards more representative government. In tune with the larger federal setup of the country, the Council of Ministers is required to aid and advise the now re-designated Lieutenant Governor (LG) in the discharge of his duties. This in itself is unexceptionable as it would seem to in tune with the wider design of the federal system in the country.

However, many features of the pre-1991 structure of government continued, which can only be seen as an extension of reserved powers of the colonial times. While the Legislative Assembly of Delhi was granted powers to legislate on subjects enumerated in the State List and Concurrent List of Schedule VII of the Constitution (and similar executive powers being vested in the Council of Ministers, given the doctrine of co-extensity of legislative powers and executive powers at all levels), in case of a disagreement between the Council of Ministers and the LG, the latter has the powers to reserve the matter for President and act according to the decision of the President (i.e., the Union Government). Until the time the President's decision is pending, the LG is empowered to take action as and when he deems necessary. Thus, the representative government constructed in Delhi is of a tutelage kind with the Union government, through the LG, having a large role in governing Delhi. As opposed to other States, in the NCT, real powers lie with the LG who acts in consultation with the President. Financial as well as legislative discretion ultimately reside with the LG, with the Chief Minister and his Council of Ministers having only an advisory role.

In addition to the above, the Union government, through the office of the LG, has authority over various bodies that are central in governing Delhi. Chief amongst them are the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) which frames the Delhi Master Plans (with three representative of the Delhi legislature); Delhi Water Supply and Sewage Disposal Undertaking; Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Ltd., Delhi Police and the Special Task Force.

> The Police Act, 1978 which was specifically enacted for the National Capital Territory of Delhi, provides for a Police Commissioner who works directly under the Lt. Governor. The Chief Minister of the NCT and the Council of Ministers thus do not have any powers with respect to public order and functioning of the police in Delhi. Several other important functional powers concerning transferred subjects too, continue to vest in the Union Government or the Lt. Governor… The municipal functions in the city are being looked after by three agencies namely, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), the New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC) and the Delhi Cantonment Board all under control of the Union Government. … The Delhi Development Authority, … is also fully under the control of the Union Ministry of Urban Development. Though, the DDA Board has three representatives from the Legislative Assembly of the NCT, the overriding power vests in the Lt. Governor. The NDMC again is a nominated body which has two members of the Delhi Legislature on its board, but again the real powers rest with the Chairman of the Council who is an officer appointed by the Union Government...[10]

Such dominance of the Union government is reinforced by the curtailment of financial powers that are vested in the Delhi government. "Whereas other states have their public accounts in RBI, Delhi government does not have any such account. Unlike other states, Delhi government is also not allowed to borrow from the market. Nor can it dip into the safer [sic] provident fund."[11] Even in devolved subjects, such as local government, many aspects of functioning of the MCD is controlled by the Union government.

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The government of Delhi headed by the Chief Minister on the other hand, has authority over the MCD (which in turn is a directly elected, headed by the mayor); Delhi Vidyut Board; Delhi Transport Corporation, Delhi Milk Scheme, Delhi Water Supply and Sewerage Disposal Undertaking and Delhi Fire Service.

In addition to the above, the institutional pluralism of Delhi which is the hallmark of fragmentation and centralisation of functions and authority in the city, is further complicated by the existence of two more bodies: the New Delhi Municipal Corporation and the Delhi Cantonment Board. Both these bodies are largely appointed, constituted and controlled by the Union government. Given that 97 per cent of the population resides in areas that fall under the jurisdiction of MCD (NDMC accounts of 2 per cent and Cantonment Board for 1 per cent of the population), the functioning of MCD is crucial for all questions social justice in Delhi. However, the legal framework of governing Delhi thus skewed in favour of the Union government with the LG as the point person to exercise much of the discretionary power vested with the former.

Table 1: Civic Agencies Providing Basic Services in Delhi[12]

Service	Urban Planning & Development	Roads	Water & Sanitation	Land (Residential & Industrial)
Agency/ Body Responsible	DDA MCD NDMC CPWD	CPWD PWD MCD NDMC Cantonment Board, DDA PPP SPVs	Delhi Jal Board MCD DDA NDMC	DDA CPWD L&DO DSIDC, Govt. of Delhi MCD NDMC Cantonment Board

The situation is further complicated by the fact that various departments and municipal services are fragmented across a number of bodies, as in delineated in Table 1.

Such fragmentation of services only assists in further centralisation of powers and functions in the office of the LG, given the central role that he is structurally assigned, as discussed above.

III

The Discourse of Beautiful Delhi: Exclusion, Inclusion and Projection

While issues of democratic representation, accountability and even that of service provision is an order of mess in Delhi that is unlikely to be cleared up easily, the discursive consensus in both, the media and urban planning circles appears to be focused on issues of beautifying the city to project a particular image. This discourse of beautification carries within itself at least three distinct but interrelated thematics:
(a) Beautifying the city to remove what is seen as blisters on its fair face: slums (many or mostly populated by migrants); (b) Commodification of heritage for the consumption of middle-class

population of the city and elsewhere; and (c) 'catching up' with the world as a 'global city'. The individual threads of argument which construct these ideas are discussed below.

Beautification, Slum 'Clearance' and Planning

City beautification has been a dominant theme in the development of Delhi in the past few decades. Apart from infrastructure construction, perhaps the most significant process in such beautification has been that of removal of slums. For instance, demolition of slums in the Yamuna Pushta region were intended for the beautification of the city [13] and construction of Akshardham Temple and Commonwealth Games Village were preceded by the demolition of jhuggis in Nangla Machi and the relocation of inhabitants to Savda Ghevra. Removal of these slums from the landscape was supposed to facilitate the developments which provided Delhi an international look. The issue of legality and illegality is embedded in this process where the grand structures which are allowed as symbolizing modern beautiful city of Delhi are deemed legal while the jhuggis, seen as encroachment are deemed illegal.[14]

This beautification ideal has become the dominant theme underlying the process of development of Delhi. Ridge Bachao Andolan (against the building of Vasant Kunj Malls in violation of land use policy in Master Plan of Delhi) was contested by the DDA by arguing that the visuals suggested that it was planned and legitimate and that 'the involvement of professional builders, its high-quality construction, and its strategic function in boosting Delhi's architectural profile' is quite a different matter.[15] Simultaneously, neighbouring slums, which conformed to the MPD land use, was seen as illegitimate by the DDA for being a nuisance to the middle class residents of the area.[16] The 'planned look' became crucial in determining the legality and illegality of any kind of development: 'if a development project looks "world-class," then it is most often declared planned; if a settlement looks polluting, it is sanctioned as unplanned and illegal'.[17]

Such prioritisation of beauty as the main parameter to govern the city led to diversion of public funds from the areas of health, education, public housing and food subsidies, to investment in building of high profile infrastructure that dispelled the look of poverty and gave Delhi an international look. It is important to note that the parameters of beautification in Delhi has little relationship to the aspirations and expectations of poorer sections and slum population in the effort of Delhi becoming 'world class'.

The juridical process around urbanisation and city growth undergirds this discourse of 'beautification'. The Supreme Court in its 2000 judgement,[18] construes slums as an obstacle to Delhi becoming a showcase and a world class city:

> In Delhi which is the capital of the country and which should be its show piece no effective initiative of any kind has been taken by the numerous governmental agencies operating here in cleaning up the city. … The law, inter alia, makes it obligatory on them to … prevent filth and garbage from lying strewn at different public places causing hazard to public health.

Establishment or creating of slums, it seems, appears to be good business and is well organised. The number of slums has multiplied in the last few years by geometrical proportion. Large areas of public land, in this way, are usurped for private use free of cost [not without] … passive or active connivance of the land owning agencies and/or the municipal authorities … Instead of Slum Clearance there is Slum Creation in Delhi. … This [health hazard due to suitable deficiencies in solid waste disposal] can best be controlled at least, in the first instance, by preventing the growth of slums… there is a limit to which the population of a city can be increased …

Similar articulation of the 'aesthetic logic' of disciplining the urban spaces in Delhi was articulated in

the 2001 judgement of the Delhi High Court, which observed that:

> Delhi being the capital city of the country, is a show window to the world of our culture, heritage, traditions and way of life. A city like Delhi must act as a catalyst for building modern India. It cannot be allowed to degenerate and decay. Defecation and urination cannot be allowed to take place in open at places which are not meant for these purposes.[19]

This inherent premise of a discursive normative of an 'ideal' urban landscape thus created rests on a cusp of beautification and technicalisation of urban spaces, whose normative justification is provided by the ideals of environmentalism. In this discursive device, the citizen is imagined as an urban bourgeois citizen, which simultaneously invisibilises the poor urban population, especially migrants. The result is the process of urban governance that Baviskar calls bourgeoisie environmentalism[20] and is visible in removal of *jhuggis* and polluting industries from the city. Relocation of industrial units was perceived as one of the many facets of such bourgeoisie environmentalism, defined by the upper/ middle class concerns of aesthetics, hygiene and leisure, which shape the notions of desired environment.[21] Furthermore, policies framed to achieve such an objective by change in land use policies of Delhi is construed as being in 'public interest' and the tool adopted is that of slum demolition.[22] In the construction of such an idea of public interest, the root of the matter is rarely taken into account: the failure of structures of governance in Delhi to provide adequate housing facilities, which in turn have resulted in development of lower class housing, which were later considered to be unplanned, illegal and nuisance (the official mandate of DDA notwithstanding). The usual policy instrument used to resolve this hiatus is in tune with the discourse of beautiful Delhi by slum demolitions, even though this long-drawn process has not solved the issue of lower class housing and continuous demolitions have led to 'a pauperization process'.[23]

This pauperisation process is an aspect of the invisiblisation of the poor, what Leela Fernandes refers to as the 'politics of forgetting'. Fernandes argues that the process and discourse of politics renders certain sections invisible within the dominant political process,[24] given that middle class cultural symbols and consumerism have shaped spatial politics in the cities. Beautification projects in the neighbourhoods have become one of the dominant features of this politics which gives rise to new forms of civic culture. 'Both state practices and exclusionary definitions of community and citizenship produce visions of urban development that exclude poor and working-class communities. Such questions of livability and development are fundamentally shaped by the emergence of a model of consumer-citizenship that seeks to displace the political claims of marginalised social groups to resources such as jobs and housing'.[25]

In Delhi, this project is anchored in the politics of local bodies under the politics of RWAs under the Bhagidari Scheme. This scheme was launched in 2000, wherein members of RWA and Market Traders Association (MTA) interact with key government officials (police, water, electricity, the tax department, MCD and DDA) and the Chief Minister in periodically organized workshops. Only authorised colonies are part of the scheme, [26] at present comprising of 1,600 citizens group representing 3 million population.[27] Clearly, the unauthorised habitation clusters (the jhuggi-jhopri colonies) and slums are thus not a part of this initiative, exacerbating the extant process of invisibilisation of the poor and migrants and their marginalisation. This process is in turn rooted in a representative gap, which will be discussed later in the paper.

Discourse of Planning for a 'Planned' Spatial Beauty

Attention needs to be focussed on the mechanism through which the discursive device of urban beautification is constructed to be able to analyse its implication for the poor and migrants. The main

mechanism deployed for this purpose is that of Delhi Master Plans, which also delineates the premises of urban planning in Delhi. The series of declarations that are embodied in the Delhi Master Plans follow the same discursive logic that has been discussed above, wherein the focus on beautification, conservation and environmentalism is prioritised with little attention to the requirements of the poor. Environment and livelihood questions are thus seen as belonging to different worlds rather seen as a part of the same problem.

Delhi Master Plan 1962 thus divided the city into 8 planning zones, which were seen as self-contained urban units in the matters of employment, residential spaces, recreational areas, shopping, etc. The Plan allocated land for industry, commerce, living, play and other major urban land uses in appropriate locations but the operative principle was to limit the growth of the core city by constructing a green belt around it.[28] A second thematic logic of the Plan was to suggest strategies for redevelopment by focus on conservation, rehabilitation and slum clearance. [29] Furthermore, the plan made provision of housing for the poor at new resettlement sites[30] after the existing habitations were cleared of what was seen as undesirable and 'unplanned' slums.

The next iteration of Delhi Master Plan was due in 1982 but was delayed to 2001 owing to the need to focus on the Asiad Games of 1982. Obviously, the perceived necessity of claiming a global presence and showcasing the city in the Asiad games was prioritized over the requirements of the city in term of equitable access to facilities for all, especially the poor. The 2001 Plan recognised 106 Urban villages within urbanisable limits[31] but was criticized for its tentative nature, lacking coherent objectives and most of the proposals were corrections and addition to the first plan.[32]

The next revision of the Delhi Master Plan by DDA in 2010 called Master Plan 2021 focused on the idea of making Delhi a world class, global metropolis, wherein all the people would be engaged in productive work with a better quality of life, living in a sustainable environment. This plan was criticized for ignoring major issues of the city and focusing on promoting market competition in land and housing, encouraging tourism, and increasing revenues.[33] In terms of transportation, the plan was criticized for ignoring the pedestrian and cycle movement.[34] Despite planning, today only 24 per cent of the population lives in planned settlements .[35]

Delhi Master Plans have been critiqued widely. The plan is seen to be rooted in inadequate reasoning and datasets on which its zoning recommendations are premised. This is despite the fact that the idea of zoning seems to be the mainstay of the recommendations of this Plan. Besides, the plan sees the solution of in-migration in discouraging the growth of labour intensive units in Delhi.

The idea of zoning on which much of the Plan is premised dates back to the growth of towns during industrial revolution in Europe and America wherein various urban uses – residential, industrial, commercial, ridge/regional parks, recreation, transport, utility, government, public and semi govt. facility, green belt and water body – were earmarked.[36] This zoning led approach to planning for a city since the 20th century '…assigns the right in land use, and manages any alteration of these in conformance of…" [37] the Master Plan which carries with it a particular vision of the good city with the elements of aesthetics, efficiency, movement and modernization. All this combined leads to a top down approach of planning, borrowed from the North and does not meet the requirements of the South; besides leading to exclusion of the economically weaker sections. Furthermore, which exclusion is not necessarily a function of tardiness of the implementation but also due to 'continuation and manipulation of established planning land rights and institutions, and sometimes strong resistance to changing them'.[38]

Impact of Discourse on Policy

The city-state that is Delhi is largely urban with 97.5 per cent of the population being classified as urban and only 2.5 per cent as rural (Census 2011), despite the city including 112 villages. As per Census 2011, 31.65 per cent of the population is workers, with 95 per cent of them classified as main workers.

Table 2: Population of Delhi

	1981	1991	2001	2011
Total Population	62,20,406	94,20,644	1,38,50,507	1,67,53,235
Workers				
Main workers (per cent)	31.94	31.51	31.17	NA
Marginal workers (per cent)	0.25	0.13	1.64	NA
Non workers (per cent)	67.81	68.36	67.18	NA

Source: Statistical abstract of Delhi 2012

It is in the details of the intra-city socio-economic dynamics that the contours of social justice take shape, especially for the migrant populations. Delhi Human Development Report 2013 reports a decline in population in two districts – New Delhi and Central Delhi – over the decade 2001-11 owing mainly due to removal of slums and large-scale commercialisation. The largest growth of population is reported in South West district due to development of new sub cities like Dwarka. North West District has also registered high growth in population since many of the new resettlement colonies have been relocated to this area, besides being host to old industrial estates. The West and South districts have seen rise of unauthorized colonies.[39]

Delhi Human Development Report suggests that rate of in-migration to Delhi has declined or at least stabilized as large number of migrants are settling in NCR. However, Economic Survey of Delhi 2012-13 suggest the opposite and estimates that about 75,000 people per year are migrating to Delhi.[40] The city witnessed a decrease in the net migrants from 44.20 per cent in 1981 to 40.78 per cent in 1991 and 39.82 per cent in 2001 (with an expected rise in migration between 2001 and 2021). Detailed date and materials for migrants to Delhi is difficult to obtain and one needs to depend on the Perception Survey conducted by the Delhi HDR in 2013. Hence, this section depends on this source for the data used in the analysis.

As per this survey, 16 per cent of population in Delhi are migrants.[41] Amongst the reasons for migration of people to Delhi, quest for employment and better employment shows a decreasing trend (from 60 per cent to 32 per cent in the last one decade) while migration for education and training shows increasing trend (more than twice) (Table 3). Highest proportion of migration to Delhi is from the State of Uttar Pradesh, followed by Bihar (Table 4). While the in-migration from Bihar has shown a significant rise (more than twice over the past two decades), a declining trend has been noted in migration from Haryana, Rajasthan and West Bengal.

Table 3: Reasons for Migration by Year of Migration

Reasons for migration/ years of migration	Years of migration				
	Upto 1 year	2-5 years	6-10 years	>10 year	total
Employment	31.9	42.3	51.5	59.5	50.7
In search of better employment/ salary	21.3	16.0	24.2	27.8	23.0
To take up better employment/ salary	5.4	2.6	6.8	3.9	4.4
Education and training	40.4	32.5	12.9	6.2	17.6
Others (poverty, abuse, discrimination, natural disaster)	1.0	6.6	4.6	2.6	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Perception survey, 2013 , Human Development Report, Delhi 2013

Alongside, percentage of migrating professionals has increased while the proportion of those in service sector and low skilled paid workers has declined; the proportion of unskilled low paid workers has marginally increased.

Table 4: Source of Migration to Delhi

State	Between 1981-91*	Between 1991-2001#
Uttar Pradesh	49.61 per cent	43.13 per cent
Haryana	11.82 per cent	10.43 per cent
Bihar	10.99 per cent	13.63 per cent
Rajasthan	6.17 per cent	5.16 per cent
Punjab	5.43 per cent	4.81 per cent
West Bengal	2.79 per cent	3.22 per cent
Madhya Pradesh	2.71 per cent	1.90 per cent
Other States	10.48 per cent	17.72 per cent

* Economic Survey of Delhi 2001-2002
 # Economic Survey of Delhi 2012-2013

This pattern of in-migration is likely to be a function of aforementioned focus of the Master Plan to not encourage labour intensive industries in Delhi and its aspirations to encourage a 'world class city' growth patterns in which high-skilled workforce is more desirable.

Delhi Human Development Report 2013 also reports that 44 per cent of the migrants send remittances to their native place (three-quarters of high income group migrants and one-third in lowest income group migrants). The Report also remarks that the low- income group migrants are unable to send remittances home due to high level of minimum expenditure in the city. Further, the report also notes that most of the employment generation, like in other parts of the country has

been in unorganized sector with low employment quality and no social security leading to high levels of vulnerability with four-fifth of the workers without any social protection.[42]

The question of vulnerability of the low-paid sections of migrants is also underlined in Table 5 wherein 58.7 percent of those residing in JJ Cluster migrate to the city in search of employment. It is exactly this section of migrants who are likely to have low skills and are therefore, poorly paid and, are the victims of the city's beautification drive and cleanliness projects.

Table 5: Reasons of Migrants for Coming to Delhi and Reasons for Selecting Delhi

Reasons for Coming to Delhi	Unauthorized Colony	JJ Clusters & Other Population
Better Facility	2.6 (5)	10.2 (31)
Business purpose	7.2 (14)	-
Attraction of Capital city	4.1 (8)	6.9 (21)
Education	6.7 (13)	1.0 (3)
Association /Family Transfer	20.1 (39)	13.9 (42)
For Career building	4.1 (8)	-
In Search of Job/Employment	42.3 (82)	58.7 (178)
Others	12.9 (25)	8.9 (27)

Source: Perception Survey, 2013, HDR, Delhi, 2013

Continuing in the same vein, socioeconomic characteristics of migrants make them easy targets of the disciplining project of city planning. The discussion below shows that the migrants (many of whom are residents of slums owing to their socioeconomic characteristics) are indeed the sections that are to be either disciplined into 'normal' citizens using the tools of urban planning or are to be invisiblised in the plans by the mechanisms of slum clearance for the sake of beautification of the city. Table 6 shows that a significant section of the slum residents belong to the SC category, which arguably doubles the vulnerability to the discourse of order and beautification. Further, about half of them (about 45%) are illiterate, which implies that any possibility of their being employed in 'desirable' sectors is minimal.

Table 6: Select Aspects of Slum Population in Delhi

	Total	Male	Female
No of Households	415,637		
Total slum population	2,029,755	1,140,334	889,421
SC slum population (per cent)	27.23	26.71	27.90
Literates (per cent)	55.65	61.97	47.55
Total workers (per cent)	34.84	54.51	9.63

Source: Census of India 2001

With respect to main workers amongst migrants, about a third (30.1 per cent) are employed in the service sector, which when read with the educational qualifications
– predominantly below matric/ higher secondary[43] – (Table 7), it may mean casual, insecure work in the service sector. So, any possibility of greater security of migrants in the existing urban governance regime is minimal.

Table 7: Occupation and Education of Main Migrant Earners

Occupation	Percentage
Professional	7.6
Semi professional	11.5
Service workers	30.1
Skilled low paid workers	21.7
Unskilled low-paid workers	15.6
Others (students)	13.5
Education	
Illiterate	4.3
Primary Education	11.1
Secondary Education	29.8
Senior Secondary Education	14.7
Higher Education	40.1

Source: Perception Survey, 2013, HDR, Delhi,2013

Besides, people staying in JJ clusters are normally engaged in blue-collar labour activities.[44]

Given the above profile of migrants, when read with the residential characteristics (above) and the discourse of planning and beautification, the most vulnerable section are the poor and migrants, particularly SCs in the urban governance of Delhi.

Policy Measures to Ameliorate Migrants' Woes

In policy documents on Delhi, one finds two divergent discursive threads: (a) near-unanimity in policy discourse on the necessity to discipline Delhi – spatially and socially – into the mirror of 'world class city' aspirations; and, a degree of politically driven *ad hoc* policy measures to address the vulnerabilities of the poor and marginalised. There an implicit recognition that migrants form the most significant group of such vulnerabilities but the impression that these ah hoc measures are geared towards normalising of the migrants into suitably disciplined subjects is inescapable.

One thread in the set of policy initiatives is that of Delhi Labour Welfare Board, which views its work of providing free legal aid to workers and a labour helpline as ".. a big-big leap forward …" by allowing "the workers to not only lodge complaints against atrocities or actions on anybody's part not in conformity with rules and regulations, but also to make relevant enquiries. When workers realized the facility and benefits, the relief is imaginable. It simply revolutionised the concept of workers' welfare".[45] Delhi Labour Welfare Board also has a focussed programmes in support of migrant workers:

> The Board has successfully coordinated and collaborated with various branches of United Nations in India, Central Reserve Police Force, Delhi legal Services Authority, Coalition for Rural Empowerment

(CORE) and a number of other independent agencies to organize awareness programmes ... The illiterate, particularly migrant workers, need to be educated about their legal rights, rights to information and dangers of the fast spreading HIV/AIDS. [It] … succeeded in instilling the large gathering of migrant workers with confidence with regard to approaching and taking help of Police/Law at the hour of need. This is a very important issue and needs to be addressed more often… [46]

The labour board acts as an interim instrument to normalise the poor and migrant workers. Support is offered to such workers in their pursuit to achieving the elusive status of denizens of a global city residing in planned colonies and working in the formal globalised economy of the city.

Similar *adhocism* can also be witnessed in the recent past in the budgetary allocation for Delhi. The 2014-15 budget for NCT of Delhi provides, amongst a host of general services for all residents of the city, the following migrants-focussed allocations:

- Rs. 350 crores for 20 new schools
- Rs 1,862 crore for social security and welfare sector (not exclusively for migrants but presumably, some proportion of this allocation will benefit migrants as well)
- 7 more night shelters in addition to 185 already functioning
- Toilet facilities to all slum dwellers
- Completion of remaining houses in which 14844 of 58064 have been completed
- Provision of essential services in unauthorized colonies in time bound manner
- Rs. 711 crore for piped water supply to 50 unauthorized colonies and sewage system to be laid in 95 unauthorized colonies

Delhi budget for 2015-16 presented by the Deputy Chief Minister of the Aam Admi Party on 25 June 2015 does not differ in its approach from previous budgets. It continues the same foci:

- Rs. 253 crore for Swaraj Fund Scheme, which provides a fixed amount to citizens of Assembly Constituencies to decide how to utilized the fund to meet their requirements
- A new Delhi Urban Development Agency (DUDA) for implementation of projects approved under the Swaraj Fund and those recommended under MLA LADS
  The DUDA is also to play a vital role in providing basic civic services and their improvement in unauthorized colonies and rural areas.
- Promise of a policy for completion of pending EWS houses.
- Plan expenditure of Rs. 1793 crore in 2015-16 for Housing & Urban Development sector.
- Rs 905 crore in 2015-16 for various development works in unauthorized colonies
  – a hike of 32 per cent over the expenditure incurred in 2014-15

Apart from adhocism on addressing immediate woes, the delineation above also points to a larger issue of the gap between the urban planners and representative structures, a matter already commented upon in section I – that of democratic deficit in the bodies that govern Delhi.

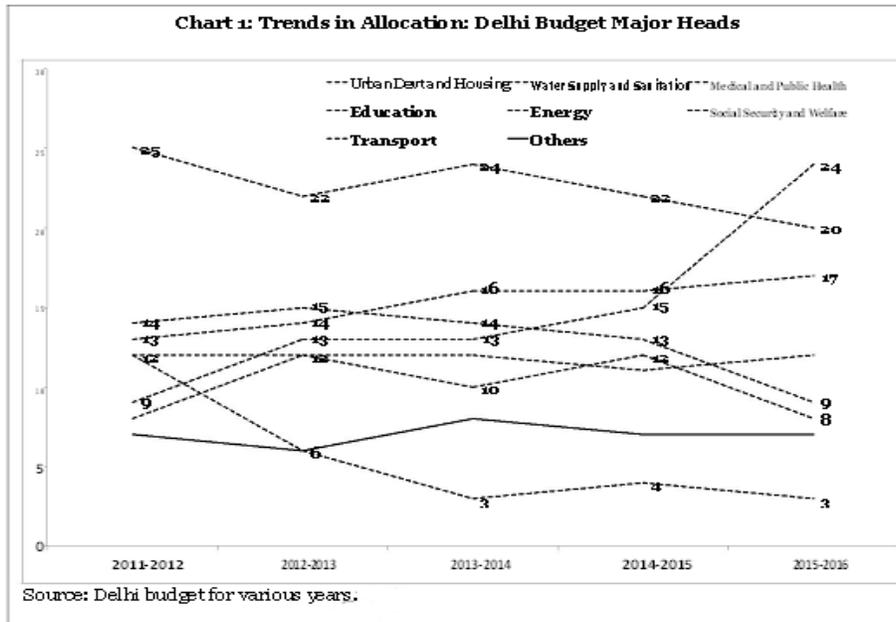## On the Absence of Democratic Accountability of Urban Decision-making

The precarious socioeconomic and spatial existence of the poor and migrants, eking out a living from low-paid, unskilled or semiskilled, casual labour and residing in slums, which are in constant threat of 'clearance' by municipal bodies under the technocratic urban planning rooted in a bourgeois vision of Delhi as global city is a function of a peculiar democratic deficit that governs Delhi.

The planning bodies are centralised, technocratic in nature and not subject to the democratic demand-making of the electorate (see Section II). The limited degree to which the electorate of Delhi is able to influence the adhocist policy solutions of the government of Delhi are also delimited by the structural location of the Delhi government vis-à-vis the office of LG and the Union government.

Within this structure of limited accountability, much of the attention is focused on the beautification and conservation of Delhi, which is aggressively pursued by the middle-class' idea of a world city. This is attested by the allocation of funds in Delhi budget in recent years. The head of urban housing, which impacts poor and migrants uprooted from 'illegal' JJ clusters has seen a declining trend over the past 5 years: from 14 per cent of the budget in 2011-12 to 9 per cent in 2015-16 (Chart 1). This head has also seen a decline in absolute numbers as well. This pattern of budget allocation is not likely to assist the migrant workers, many of whom continue to sleep "under the verandas in bazaars, on pavements and other open grounds, or in night shelters run by the municipality for homeless people".[47] A similar pattern is witnessed in the head of Water Supply and Sanitation, which declined from 12 per cent of the budget to 8 per cent in the same period. Social Security and welfare remains between 8 and 12 per cent and in absolute terms doubles in value over this period.

The largest growth in proportionate allocation in these five years has been to the heads of Transport which has remained consistently over 20 per cent and has fluctuated between 25 per cent and 20 per cent over this period. The steepest rise in proportionate allocation has been in the head of Education: from 9 per cent in 2011-12 to 24 per cent in 2015-16. This head has also shown a consistent proportionate increase over these five years, as has been the case with Medical and Public Health (see chart 1).

The prioritisation that is visible in the budget allocation for Delhi thus clearly benefits the settled approved colonies, and statistically significant positive relationship between living in JJ clusters and problem solving activism reported by Harriss in which poorer people take recourse to political parties for problem solving and are more active politically,[48] clearly has not led to significant re-prioritisation of public spending priorities. This pattern has also been further reinforced by '[a] strong anti-social climate … where government agencies and private real estate developers seek to forcibly clear slums, blaming the influx of rural migrants for the city's problem'.[49]

Chart 1: Trends in Allocation: Delhi Budget Major Heads

Source: Delhi budget for various years.

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Some degree of political influence that recognised legal colonies exercise through the Bhagidari Scheme is also not available to the poor and the migrants. Bhagidari is a partnership scheme between the government and citizens; brings together RWAs and Market Traders Association but a limited to planned colonies and other high-income areas[50] with plans to extend the partnership scheme to poor section but no action has yet followed. In any case, Bhagidari scheme offers for participation in governance for the upper and middle classes on the basis of property ownership. The slum dwellers and the poor generally pressurize the government through a deployment of what Partha Chatterjee calls political society, at the lower level, i.e., municipal bodies, through the elected representatives and low level bureaucrats to negotiate their issues.[51]

These influences and activisms are limited to the ad hoc policy interventions mentioned above. Electoral politics is removed from planning decisions and elected representatives have no direct role in this matter. Within the Bhagidari system, with the property ownership becoming the basis of participation (DDA approved residential colonies), exclusion of population in unauthorized areas and slums is the operative norm:

> Whereas the un-propertied poor in India have historically enjoyed close cultural ties to the low-level bureaucracy and local representatives, allowing them some degree of tenure and economic security, Bhagidari has re-engineered Delhi's administrative hierarchy, loosening these ties and diminishing the influence of local representatives. It has done so by creating a parallel governance mechanism outside of electoral politics that is accessible only to RWAs.[52]

Thus, the mechanism of participation that is anchored in the Bhagidari scheme only leads to a gentrification of local governance wherein the local level officialdom is required to work with the RWAs to 'maintain their political relevance and visibility'.[53]

Conclusion

The discursive hegemony of urban planning and development that informs the structures of governance of Delhi is driven by technocratic and bureaucratic control, centralisation and bourgeois aspirations of a world-class beautiful city. In this ideational frame, issues of social justice takes a back seat due to conspicuous efforts at the invisiblisation of the poor and marginalised. This effort to remove what is seen as a blot on the face of the fair face of Delhi has gone to the extent of removing productive enterprise to the outskirts and undermining labour intensive industry. Little policy deliberation focuses on the fact that the same poor and migrants which are sought to be either disciplined or invisibilised are the motors of economic growth and service industry in the city. Matters are not assisted by the limited electoral voice that the governance structures of the city allow; and, the little possibility that exists for such influence are limited to planned, approved colonies in which the poor and migrants do not reside. The governance mechanisms as well as the poor and migrants, both are thus disciplined by the exercise of a governmentality of urban planning and unless major changes in the governance structures are contemplated, there is little likelihood of both the discourse and the policy charting a different route.

Notes

[1] Frank Fischer and John Forester, 'Introduction' in Fischer Frank and John Forester, eds., *The Argumentative: Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, London: UCL Press for Duke University Press, 1993, p. 1.
[2] Amita Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire: Space, Power, and Identity in the Making of Metropolitan Delhi, in *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 175, March 2003, pp. 91.
[3] Ibid.

[4] *Delhi Human Development* Report, New Delhi, 2006, p. 8.

[5] Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of* India, London, 1997.

[6] Baviskar, Op. Cit., p. 90. See also James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed,* New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 1998.

[7] Municipal Government of Delhi was being administered as per the provisions of the Punjab District Boards Act, 1883 (2 of 1883) and the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911 (3 of 1911). Municipal affairs of Delhi were handled by a variety of local bodies: The Municipal Committee, Delhi; The Notified Area Committee, Civil Station; The Notified Area Committee, Red Fort; The Municipal Committee, Delhi-Shahdara; The Municipal Committee, West Delhi; The Municipal Committee, South Delhi; The Notified Area Committee, Mehrauli; The Notified Area Committee, Najafgarh; The Notified Area Committee, Narela; The District Board, Delhi; The Delhi State Electricity Board; The Delhi Road Transport Authority; and, The Delhi Joint Water and Sewage Board. Issues of coordination and overlap were seen as the main reason for the MDC Act 1957.

[8] Delhi Development Act, 1957, Article 6.

[9] Ibid., Article 2 (d).

[10] *15th Report of the Second Administrative Reforms Commission, GoI, State and District Administration*, New Delhi, 2009, p. 102.

[11] Ashok Kumar, 'Governance of Delhi: A Case for Streamlined Administration for the Organisation of Infrastructure' in Singh, U B, *Revitalised Urban Administration in India: Strategies and Experiences,* New Delhi: Kalpaz, 2002 , p. 103.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Sanjay Srivastava, Urban Spaces, Disney-Divinity and Moral Middle Classes in Delhi,…….

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ghertner, Asher, 'Rule by Aesthetics: World Class City Making in Delhi' in Ananya Roy and Aihwa Ong, eds., *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*, Place: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, p. 279

[16] Ibid., p 280.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Almitra H. Patel & Anr. vs Union of India & Ors., 24 August 2000, 8 SCC 19.

[19] Ibid., 286.

[20] Amita Baviskar, 'Between Violence and Desire: Space, Power, and Identity in the Making of Metropolitan Delhi' in *International Social Science Journal*, Vol.55, No. 175, 2003, pp. 89-98.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Veronique Dupont, Slum Demolitions in Delhi since the 1990s: An appraisal in *Economic and Political Weekly,* July 12, 2008, p. ???

[23] Ibid., p. 86.

[24] Leela Fernandes. The Politics of Forgetting: Class Politics, State Power and the Restructuring of Urban Space in India in *Urban Studies,* Vol. 41, No. 12, November 2004, pp. 2415-2430,

[25] Ibid., p. 2428.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Data 1983, Thynell et al 2010

[29] Priya 2006

[30] Kundu 2004

[31] Delhi Master Plan 2001, p. 15.

[32] Data 1983

[33] Roy 2005

[34] Thynell et al

35 Ahmed and Choi, 2011

[36] Master Plan for Delhi 2021: A Critical Analysis- Snigdha Dewal, CCS Working Paper no 160, Summer Research Internship Programme, 2006. Centre for Civil Society

[37] Ibid., p. 2261.

[38] Vanessa Watson. 'Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues' in *Urban Studies,* vol. 46, no 11, 2009, p. 2260.

[39] Delhi Human Development Report 2013

[40] Economic Survey of Delhi 2012-2013

[41] Perception Survey, 2013 (HDR, Delhi 2013)

[42] Delhi Human Development Report 2013

[43] Study on *Counter Magnet areas to Delhi and NCR*, Report by National Capital Region Planning Board, http://ncrpb.nic.in/pdf_files/05_chapter per cent202_cma.pdf

[44] Study on *Counter Magnet areas to Delhi and NCR*, Report by National Capital Region Planning Board, http://ncrpb.nic.in/pdf_files/06_Chapter3_cma.pdf

[45] Study on *Counter Magnet areas to Delhi and NCR*, Report by National Capital Region Planning Board,http://delhi.gov.in/wps/wcm/connect/lib_dlwb/DLWB/Home/Achievement/Labour+Help-Line

[46] Study on *Counter Magnet areas to Delhi and NCR*, Report by National Capital Region Planning Board, http://delhi.gov.in/wps/wcm/connect/lib_dlwb/DLWB/Home/Achievement/Programmes+in+Su pport+of+Migrant+Workers

[47] Ibid.

[48] John Harris. Political Participation, Representation and the Urban Poor Findings from Research in Delhi in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 40, No. 11 (Mar. 12-18, 2005), pp. 1041-1054.

[49] Naveen Kumar and Suresh Chand Aggarwal, 'Patterns of Consumption and Poverty in Delhi Slums' in *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 38, No. 50, Dec. 13-19, 2003, p. 5294.

[50] John Harris. Political Participation, Representation and the Urban Poor Findings from Research in Delhi in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 40, No. 11 (Mar. 12-18, 2005), pp. 1041-1054.

[51] D. Asher Ghertner,. Gentrifying the state, gentrifying participation: elite governance programs in Delhi in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2011, pp 504-532.

[52] Ibid. p. 526.

53Ibid.

The Migrant in a Service Village in the City

Ishita Dey [*]

Introduction

This paper is an anthropological[1] account of a migrant in a service village in the city of Delhi. Delhi's urbanism cannot be understood in isolation of the migrants who play an important role in the making of a city and its functioning. Everyday politics of city-spaces are about a migrant's journey to the city, availability of livelihood opportunities and the settlement politics in relation to a migrant. State discourse on migrants extends to gathering of data and laws governing migration particularly Inter-state Migrant Workmen Act of 1979. NSSO data shows that one in three people in urban area is a migrant. One of the prime areas of attention that the 'migrant' has received in the state planning documents is in relation to housing. Housing of migrants remains a central concern and this is also evident in the recently formulated inter-ministerial task force to study migration impact that will submit a report by end of 2015[2]. One of the important tasks of this taskforce is to examine the Inter-state Migrant Workmen Act of 1979 and to understand the rural to urban demographic trends of migration.

Demographic trends of migration are important to understand the mobility trends of migrants, especially, as migration trends show the gendered nature of migration. Existing studies that have taken a close look at the census migration tables and migration data in National Sample Survey reveals an increase in the rates of female migration for both rural and urban India between 1993 and 2007-2008 (Agnihotri, Majumdar and Neetha 2012). Though migration by marriage seems the overarching reason of internal migration in state documentation, studies also indicate that majority of women have subsequently joined the labour force (Bhagat 2010, 2012; Srivastava 2012) and in some cases, as is the case in the construction industry - 'they are viewed as assistants to their husbands and confined to unskilled jobs' (Srivastava 2012). Associated migration can take various forms and as Kara (2012) showed in his work on bonded labour, which points out that often women and children become part of the 'ancillary domestic servitude' to repay debts. He writes, 'With just about every migrant male I met who took a loan and brought his family to the worksite and almost every landless agricultural family that took loans as part of their marriage arrangement each season, women and children were often coerced into performing various kinds of free labour as part of the repayment' (Kara 2012:175). Though Siddharth Kara's (2012) work looks at bonded labour across industries in South Asian towns and cities, this comment linking debt repayment and domestic servitude allows us to understand how gendered notions of work and labour affect the lives of women who migrate with husbands, families or even independently. The linkages become important to contextualise how migrant women organise their lives in the ever expanding 'service villages' of city. Do they become

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'transit labour' due to their 'transitory' (Sen 2012) nature of employment? What kinds of work-opportunities are available to women who migrate by 'association', 'marriage' or for 'employment'? How we do articulate the transient forms of work they engage in city spaces such as Delhi as they join in as part-time domestic worker, full-time domestic worker, scrap dealer, waste collector, cab-driver and egg donor? Is there a way to understand these transient forms of work as they enter in their lives in transit?

Methodology

This paper is based on field-work in several intermittent phases in three sites: Gurgaon, Gautampuri Resettlement Colony in New Delhi and a dera in Faridabad. The conversations, unstructured interviews in various intermittent phases in 2014 and 2015 with workers and organisations inform this study. Apart from that, I conducted detailed unstructured interviews with seventy women across the three sites. Each of the narratives point to specificities of the challenging working conditions under which a woman chooses to be a kamgar (worker). Narratives across these sites help us to understand what it means for a woman to be a mahila kamgar, gharelu kamgar (domestic worker) and also to adapt to other working conditions in their course of life. Most of these life-stories help us to understand how caste and religious backgrounds shape their choice of occupations and livelihood in their migrant lives.

    The first phase of the field work involved following migrant domestic workers and understanding the domestic work as a sector which absorbs migrants. My entry to my field site in Gurgaon was facilitated through a domestic worker who was part of a domestic worker's union. The local field site of this union has been instrumental in organising migant domestic workers in Gurgaon and I became a part of their weekly meetings. Since most of these workers spoke Bengali, representatives of the local field site asked me to join them in their meetings and I worked as a translator in their meetings on living wage, discussions on rate cards specific to residential colonies as well as translating pamphlets to widen the organisation's reach. After participating in these meetings, I interviewed six women in detail about their life, entry into domestic work, their constant negotiations as a migrant worker and the reasons they felt to unionise themselves. Most of these women live in rented accommodations in villages surrounding gated residential complexes and the interviews were conducted at their respective homes and public spaces such as parks. Most of the domestic workers I interviewed work in Silver Oaks - a residential complex which is accessible from their rented accommodation in cycle and by foot. Most of them have rented a one room set which opens to a balcony. One end of the balcony has a steep staircase connecting the floors; there are rows of toilet in the first floor or across two floors. Water has to be stored in drums and other vessels for washing, cooking etc. Most women reported that they preferred staying in rented accommodation such as these as they wand to stay in close proximity with people they could converse in their mother tongue in this case Bengali. Most of the women I spoke to are well versed in Hindi and their mother tongue. Their association with organisation range from various roles such as members to post bearers of the local committees of the unions. The union has made special efforts to organise local committees specific to each areas. Each local committee has representatives from the domestic workers. In case a member of the organisation or a non- member faces problems at the site of work then they can approach the local representative. The local representatives step in to work on the problem under the guidance of the local site office. The local site office helps in framing of letters and tries to work as a facilitator so that the local area committees across Gurgaon are adept in filing police complaints and taking other immediate actions.   For some, they have

joined the union because they felt the need of identification documents that organisations working with domestic workers facilitate documents which are important in everyday negotiations in 'gated' sites of employment. The identity card issued by organisations such as these and many others across the country becomes an avenue for domestic workers to facilitate their identification at several levels. Organisations working with domestic workers and migrant workers across the country issue such identity cards in some cases the state governments recognize these identity cards[3] and they become gateways to numerous other welfare services. Identity documents and its impact on migrant lives remain an important one as recruitment agencies hiring domestic workers go through several layers of background checks before registering a domestic worker for the purpose of placement. While some organisations strictly work with the motive of unionising domestic workers, some organisations have also translated themselves as facilitating agencies for employment. There are two modes of recruitment in domestic work. One of the age-old modes of recruitment has been kin-networks and the second mode of recruitment is 'recruitment agencies'. In the case of the former, the employer is in direct contact with the employee and in the case of the latter, the employer is in contact with the recruitment agencies. Most of these recruitment agencies rely on migrant workers and some train the workers before placing them with clients. One such recruitment agency is B-Able Domesteq that facilitates placement and training of domestic workers. They have a range of orientation programmes which they conducted at the employer's home to train the domestic workers according to the needs of the employers. Most of the trainers in Domesteq are former domestic workers who have worked with embassies and alike. Such training sessions are also extended for housekeeping, child care and these customised training sessions help in enhancing the skills of the worker as well as the skill-set associated with care economy including domestic work and domestic worker. Agencies like Domesteq provide an insight into the workings of the domestic work as an industry that continues to be dependent on migrant workers and the prejudices that shape the 'intimate'. For instance, how employers prefer relatively young people for various categories of work and preference towards people among certain religious backgrounds for cooking and child-care. These preferences or social prejudices as newspaper articles would report culminate in people negotiating their identities through adopting Hindu names at places of work[4].

The second field-site where I conducted fieldwork was Gautampuri Resettlement Colony. My entry to the field was facilitated through a formal request from Anita Kapoor, the person behind 'Social Action and Training' – a NGO which has been operational in Gautampuri, Phase II since the colony was resettled. Popularly referred to as Gautampuri, it is located along the Mathura road and the nearest metro station is Mohan Estate. While approaching Gautampuri from Mohan Estate Metro station, one crosses the NTPC quarters before reaching Gautampuri. There is another NGO which runs a school for local children and a few metres ahead a series of houses are nestled against each other with lanes dividing them. As I descend from the rickshaw ride from metro station with Anita (the person behind the NGO) a group of girls greet her. She exchanges pleasantries and we walk towards a three storey building which is the local site office. Anita tells me that Gautampuri was created out of 'slum demolition drive' around Gautam Nagar, near All India Institute of Medical Sciences. In 1990s when this demolition drive took place, people were resettled. For many days people had to make do with the compensation money and the land lease they received in exchange of the demolition slip. Most of the women prior to demolition drive in Gautam Nagar used to work as part-time domestic workers in Green Park and nearby areas adjacent to Gautam Nagar. While their places of work remained unchanged, the time to travel to work increased. Most of these migrant women working as part-time domestic workers are part of Shahri Mahila Kamgar Union. As she began organising domestic workers, she felt that there needs to be a platform that remains

accessible to women workers across the basti(loosely translated as slum). Anita felt that there needs to be platform where women could come and share their concerns and as a small initiative she started a micro-savings initiative under the name Mahila Bachat Kosh. Mahila Bachat Kosh as the name suggests is a micro-savings initiative meant exclusively for women in Gautampuri as well as one of the khadars in Faridabad. The bachat kosh or savings initiative brought women workers from diverse backgrounds a common platform. While most of the women I interviewed had lived in Gautam Nagar and were resettled in Gautampuri, some women migrated to Gautampuri as part of 'family migration'. Each of the narrative throws light on various different routes of migration and their entry into the labour market of New Delhi. Most of the women predominantly continue to work as part time domestic workers, followed by scrap collection, beldari(construction work) and other forms of work. How do they perceive and view their work and migrant life?

The entry to my field site in Faridabad was facilitated by Appu, a field worker who works with Social Action and Training. I was asked to wait at NHPC Chowk, Faridabad. The metro connecting Delhi to Faridabad will soon start functioning. As I pay Rs 100 to the auto from Badarpur Metro Station Appu tells me that they overcharged me as he paid Rs 10 to a call centre cab to reach from Gautampuri. I tell him I could not find the tempo service he was talking about. He reminds me that I should have crossed the border on foot and taken the tempo it would have cost me less. We crossed the road from NHPC Chowk. Pointing to the still non-functional NHPC Metro Station at a distance he says, ' In no time the autos will be plying from NHPC Metro Station'. I nod and we wait for the shared auto to take us to Omaxe Greenfield – a housing project by a private developer. As the auto takes us through a bumpy ride amidst Greenfield, he points to the real estate offices on both sides of the road. Some parts of the road are dug up and as our auto make a steep climb and halts in front of Omaxe Hills. Like any other residential complex in its beginnings, few buildings are occupied and adjacent to the residential complex are a series of automobile shops, grocery store and a Green Chick Shop outlet. Appu points to the green patch behind Omaxe and tells me that we will walk past Omaxe and Gaddakhod is behind Omaxe. We walk past the security complex and the palm trees divide the pathway of residential complex. As we reach the far end of the wall, I see a cluster of make-shift housing with asbestos shed and I ask Appu if that was Gaddakhod. He replies, 'uske pichhe'. I try to make a mental map. We take a right turn and wait for one of the construction vehicles to pass by and walk through a strip of kachha road with thorny shrub on both sides. Pointing to the rocky landscape with patches of these thorny trees on both sides, Appu asks me to be careful. We walk past the boundary of stoned wall and the path narrows. A lanky man is standing there and Appu asks me to be careful. He confesses that he used to be scared when he visited Gaddakhod in the initial days. As we walk past the narrow stretch lined along the boundary wall of housing complex for the construction workers, Appu takes another turn and we keep on walking and then ascend on to an asbestos wall. Appu says we have to crawl in. 'May be they are trying to put up a wall. How will the women and men go to work? This is the shortest route and most people go to their place of work by foot', Appu adds. Appu exchanges Eid pleasantries with an elderly gentleman and we reach Anima's house. There is an open space with a sign of the holy cross. Appu announces, 'this is the community church'. Mashi Prakash (Anima's husband) welcomes us and Anima retires to get water and tea for us. Mashi Prakash asks if we had problems reaching the place. Appu tells him, 'Ishita looked scared. I could have asked you to come and receive us. But she should know the path women take to work'. I ask Mashi Prakash if a motorable road connects Gaddakhod to NHPC Chowk, he nods and tells me that he is going to show me the way on our way back. He says, it is this invisibility which has allowed their illegal settlement to survive for years. Who will come and live in this rocky terrain? Gaddakhod, takes its name from the people who had donkeys

and areas nearby are known for stone quarries. The area hit the limelight when Swami Agnivesh united the bonded labour and deras like Ghaddakhod as Anita recounts that these were sites of exploitation and expropriation by the stone quarries. Deras like Gaddakhod as I argue in the following section is a forced choice and compulsion to remain invisible from city services as they negotiate for better livelihood and wages. It is in this sense, I propose to examine if the peripheral villages of Gurgaon which rent out rooms to migrant workers nestled next to the gated communities, resettlement colonies located at the fringe of the city limit and deras in between the thorny bushes and rocky landscape could be viewed through the framework of 'service village'. If we take these sites as service villages, the narratives across the three sites begin with how migrants moved to Delhi. Each of the narratives throw interesting routes of migration and point to the third issue that this paper is going to address, i.e., transient forms of work that most of these migrant women embrace in their life-cycle and finally if we could find a way of articulating the intimate spaces of work and labouring lives through the category of intimate labour.

Idea of Service Village

The term of 'service' village stems from a document by HIDCO - the West Bengal State Government body responsible for land acquisition and planning of New Town, Rajarhat township near Kolkata. Figuratively and spatially, 'service village' implied the existing villages within an urban metropolis. An urban landscape with columns of high rises, sites of neoliberal consumerism such as malls and a service based economy with green business districts that house leading players of informational economy whose rise to prosperity are through profitable workings in a special economic zone - a zone where companies enjoy tax relief among many other benefits in order to be part of global economic order. This urbanism of spatial transformation of agrarian land, fisheries and wasteland into spaces for accommodating the city's future population was facilitated by HIDCO - a mediating body comprising of urban planners, architects and bureaucrats under the state government of West Bengal whose role in the development of New Town Kolkata was that of urbanisation rather than urbanism. While on paper very few villages were acquired and they were compensated, few villages remained between columns of high rises. These villages according to HIDCO would 'service' the New Town in the form of supplying labour to the functioning of the project area in the form of domestic worker, security guards etc.

I borrow the idea of 'service village' from its use as an administrative category to argue that the production of a 'city' is based on a conglomeration of services which are not remnant of an industrial economy but instead are produced by 'residential repositories' of the 'surplus humanity'[5]. Weinstein (2014) refers to Davis' (2006) work where he argues that since the mid-1980s, the cities of the south including Bombay suffered plant closures which decoupled urbanization and industrialisation. The changes in the development paradigms of the states under the pressures of the international agencies that were extremely critical of the urban bias led to a large number of 'dislocated urban poor' who according to Weinstein were incorporated into the informal economy and forced to live in slums. 'Slums', she point out are 'residential repositories of this "surplus humanity"' (2014:12). Weinstein offers us a genealogy of slums to understand its importance in urban studies. She argues that the genesis of 'slums' can be traced back to 'Frederick Engels and his contemporaries as a by-product of industrial capitalism and its creation of an urban working class' (2014:12). She makes an important clarification which paves way for why 'service village' as an idea could be used to understand the slums, resettlement colonies that is part of the material reality of Delhi's urbanism, yet remains peripheral in terms of its spatial location and affinity with the city. It's

marginalisation in the social reality of Delhi is to be understood in sheltering the city's population who are known as 'urban poor', primarily migrants who have moved into the city from various parts of the country.

Weinstein (2014) argues that in the literature on slums, while Engels viewed 'slum' as 'the consequence of capitalist relations', in 'the first half of the twentieth century' slum was seen as the source of social problems such as immorality, vice and dysfunctional family norms'. By 1960s, she points out studies on slums had moved from the first world to the third world. The industrial cities were believed to have eradicated slums and 'slums were imagined to have become exclusive property of third-world cities'. While neutral words were traded for slums in 1970s and 1980s, the policy circles never shied away from using the word slum and by 1990s the launch of World Bank and UN-

Habitat's Cities without Slums initiative brought back the use of the term 'slum' in academic writings though a resistance from scholars (Gilbert 2007; Angotti 2006; Arabindoo 2011 in 2014 :8) continued as they felt the use of the word 'stigmatizes the people who live in these settlements and can condone violent actions taken against them' (2014:9). The word 'slum', according to these critics as Weinstein points out refers to a cross-section of housing arrangements and as cases of Indian cities have shown that designation of slums can be a political decision. Weinstein draws attention to a specific study on slum policies in city of Hyderabad where areas with inadequate infrastructure due to political influence got themselves designated as slums compared to areas with adverse conditions (Naidu 2006 in Weinstein 2014). Such instances also show the political nature of the slum rather than a housing condition.

While some may argue that in arguing for service village as a site of settlement of urban migrant poor, there is a trap of double victimisation attached to the ways in which exclusive spaces has been perceived it will be important to situate the rights of migrants in the context of their participation in decision making process. Though Delhi state government had announced a help centre exclusively for migrant workers, the migrants are denied the right to vote in their place of stay as a result of which their grievances go unheard. This is particularly challenging as the lack of participation in electoral democracy for migrant remains a particularly vexed question. Bhagat (2012) in his discussion on migrant's right to city comments that they are denied by 'the political defence of 'the sons of the soil' ideology, which claims to create vote banks along ethnic and linguistic lines', and which divides migrant communities along linguistic differences(2012:92). The denial of political rights of voting according to the author is closely linked to rights of housing (ibid:94). Due to lack of proper housing facilities migrants are forced to stay in 'informal settlements'. This leads to a prolonged form of housing where the migrant fails to secure residential proof, a mandatory piece of documentation in accessing other identification and other documents related to social welfare. Most migrants face a tremendous challenge to procure their identification documents – an area as I have discussed before remains an important concern for organisations working with migrant workers. The processes of registration and the identity cards given by few organisations are slowly being recognised as an alternative identification document. In exploring the linkages between informal settlement and the life of a migrant in a city, it will be important to understand these settlements as part of service village, spaces that are lived in and are peripheral in terms of their location but integral to city's functioning. Service village in other words, provide an avenue to understand that resettlement colonies, *deras* and slums despite its administrative specificities share a common thread. Its settlers are the migrants and migrant workers who live across a range of settlement sites - slums, resettlement colonies, *deras* and illegal squatters and they also move between these sites to negotiate with 'city' life. I propose to bring the idea of 'service' and 'village' to understand how urbanism is shaped by migration and migrants, be it rural to urban migrants, intra-state migrants or inter-state

migrants. I restrict myself within the limits of Delhi's urbanism and the city's tryst with migration and migrants provide a useful backdrop to understand the spatial organisation of the city as well as a contextualisation of how an idea of 'service village' can encompass slums, resettlement colonies and other spaces of living that people are forced to live in their daily sustenance in relation to city spaces. Though each of these categories - slum, resettlement colonies, dera as administrative categories have their own specific sets of rights and entitlements in the lived experience of Delhi its peripheral location allows for mobile population to settle in these places as they step into the cities.

Historical accounts on the 'walled city' of Delhi are also imprinted with evidences of 'squatting on the public land' (Sharan 2014:119). Sharan (2014) in his work argues that Shahjahanabad was compact settlement with seven gates. He writes that 'the houses of the working classes – dyers, tanners, potters, butchers hugged the city walls between Delhi gate and Ajmeri Gate' (2014:119). One of the first attempts, he observes was to remove the Delhi Gate for the purpose of city's expansion by the British run municipality. It could not be done in order to honour the sentiments of the British re conquest following 1857. Several other attempts were made to de-congest the walled city and various processes were explored to expand the city. The western expansion of the city in 400 acres of barren land was the first attempt which witnessed minor success of de-congestion and by 1920s, another attempt was being made to pull down a wall for the southern expansion of the city. The 'wall' Sharan writes now became much more than 'memory', it was 'an active and necessary marker of distance between the imperial and the native city' with people sharing contrasting views on 'slum improvement, congestion, and urban expansion' (ibid:123). In post-independent India, Adrian Mayer was roped in and with his experience of transforming Chandigarh and Bombay, he hoped 'to develop this capital city as modern self-confident Indians would if there was such a group' (Mayer as quoted in Sharan 2014: 151). Urban planners as Sharan (2014), Breese (1974) suggest felt the need to develop its own urban planning idiom to guide the Master plan through the vignette of 'economy'.

This implied that the master plan of the city should be able to be economically viable and the idea of 'region'[6] was co-opted in this framing. Sharan summaries Mayer's thoughts on the regions as follows:

> Regions, according to Mayer were of two types: Region around a metropolitan area and a resource region and the challenge that these urban planners faced was to determine the optimum size. Three issues, according to Sharan remained central. They were - the distance of the satellite centre, size of the satellite centre and the distance between the satellites themselves. One of the main criticisms remained the magnetic power of the city and migratory patterns towards metropolis. While the migrant labour and their need was recognised in the functioning of the city as well as workings, the housing of migrants remained a contentious one. Some felt that low cost of living in peripheral cities would mean that the migrant labour would work and go back to their housing in small cities and in fact examples of workers cycling to work from neighbouring villages to Modinagar were a point of comparison. Another need of the hour was to initiate changes in places from where migrants came to work(ibid: 153-155). In anticipation of Delhi's population growth two remedies were proposed - village clusters and small towns. Sharan concludes that both expansion programmes under Colonial regime and the counter- magnets of the first Master Plan failed in their own ways(ibid:161). They failed, because there was a sharp polarisation between the urban and rural, 'migrant' and the 'rural' found little space within 'the planned urban imaginary'. The migrant and their sites of living were continued to be seen as a menace or a problem and while the city needed the migrant as the reserve army of labour for its sustenance, it did not have any provision to make a city inclusive of migrants.

Is a migrant inclusive city possible? For this we need to historically locate Delhi's tryst with urbanism – the violence of dispossession and displacement that began with evictions in Pushtha (riverbank along Yamuna that was home to thousands of residents), Gautam Bhan (2009) argues that

evictions in the creation of millennial Delhi were viewed as part of 'good governance'. While the plea to postpone evictions from five hundred children went unheard, campaigns like 'Walled city to World City' (by The *Times of India*) to showcase the world city was upheld by the court order which led to the final eviction in Pushta. In the state's bid to create 'world class city' the migrants who contributed to the city's rebuilding during Asian Games were evicted - a feature that is common in city's history of slums and informal settlements. UNESCO's project on Internal Migrant Initiative appeals for an internal migrant inclusive approach in building cities. This is particularly relevant as 'we' gear up to make 'smart cities' connect them to industrial corridors. One of the crucial allied industries of this process is the construction industry that draws a huge number of migrant workers into cities. If I am allowed to go back to the history of Pushta and its residents, many of the residents as studies show were brought to New Delhi as part of the Asian Games in 1982 and they were construction workers. Pushta was one of the many informal settlements that were evicted. Bhan (2009) tells us that between 1990 and 2003, 51,463 houses were demolished in Delhi under slum clearance schemes and he tried to understand how slum evictions were seen as markers of good governance. One of the important points that he tells us is aestheticisation of city spaces and failure to include the informal settlements in these sanitised city spaces. For instance one of the oft repeated words, used for people settling on government lands is 'encroachers'- a word that was used in legal documents since 1990s. Bhan refers to Ramananthan's work where she argues that the term 'encroachment' is coded with 'illegality' one who 'usurps the right to possession and use of land that belongs elsewhere'. It is this systemic process of demarcation through various legal categories of who is a rightful settler, Bhan argues that there is an understanding that develops in public discourse shaped by the legal courts. So, 'the encroacher' as a category when superimposed on people living in unrecognised settlements across the city is viewed as 'unworthy of legal and constitutional protection'. As citizens they are entitled to equal rights whereas in addressing them as 'improper' there is a difference of degree of treatment that is being drawn. Without going into much detail on this, I would like to flag one of the central arguments that Desai and Sanyal (2012) make in their edited collection of essays on urban citizenship. They try to expand Holston's (2009) idea of urban citizenship[7] to argue that 'citizenship and cities are mutually constitutive'. The lens of 'urban citizenship' allows these authors to explore the productive ways of reshaping of the urban and their politics (2012:11). In this strand of literature there is an attempt to understand how issues of governance in neoliberal cities have undergone a change particularly so in spaces such as squatter settlement, slum resettlement site, refugee colony, working-class mohalla. These spaces are not seen as bounded and 'shaped by various constellations of the local, regional, national and transnational' (2012:23) thereby making them sites of contestations, that people inhabit in their transit. Why in transit? The idea of 'in transit' becomes important in exploring how migrants move across cities and settle in service villages such as these. In the case of the respondents I spoke to, each of them shared their different trajectories of migration to Delhi and the move within.

Trajectories of Migration to Delhi

'We are from Murshidabad. I enjoyed studying. I studied in a local Bengali medium school. My father was a carpenter. When I was eight and a half years old, my sister (mejdi) kept me in a house near Kolkata. My employer was Bengali man. He used to ask me to remove clothes and I felt uncomfortable and told him I don't want to remove clothes except while bathing. (At this juncture I ask her if she was okay with me writing down. She says, write it down. People should know how they do these things, at least literate parents of children should tell their children that they should be

careful.) I used to be scared and look for excuses to run away. I don't know which town city it was. I looked for a chance to escape but he used to lock me up. I used to be given food, water and I tried to escape several times. Pointing to her height she said I could not reach for the latch or the lock/ key so I decided if my sister comes I would tell her. I felt uncomfortable and had no idea why he would say such things. Now, looking back I can imagine what could have happened if my sister had not turned up after seven days to check on me. My sister is also a domestic worker. We were from poor family. My parents could not afford to pay for our education or upkeep. I have three sisters and one younger brother. Three of us (implying the sisters) have provided for the family for a very long time. My mejdi visited me in a week and I told her about the man and she took me away. We never spoke about it. She took me with her to Kolkata. I used to work for a Marwari couple. When they left for office they used to keep me at the wife's maternal house. I worked there for eight years. I used to be paid Rs 30 for working at two houses. I can't tell you the year. Every Sunday we were given money to buy food from outside. When malik and his wife went for cinema they bought movie tickets for us (servants) as well. They bought us new clothes. It was nice. They were quite fond of me as I was young. I was quick to learn new tasks.

I moved to Delhi in 1999 along with mejdi. I wanted to see India Gate as well as earn money. We had heard that you can earn quite a lot of money in this line of work. My first employer in Delhi was doctor. She used to pay and treat me well. They used to stay in Delhi and I wanted to move to Gurgaon because I wanted to stay near to people who spoke Bengali. I wanted to stay close to people from my desh (country/home). My employer in Delhi put me in touch with her cousin in Gurgaon and I shifted here. I took up cleaning and cooking jobs'.

Paro is one of the many domestic workers who migrate with their families and kins to Delhi for work. How do we understand Paro's movement to Delhi and her life thereafter? Paro is the name she uses for her identification documents in Delhi. She tells me that people close to her call her by Suchitra. Suchitra/ Paro's journey to Delhi is like any other migrant who thinks Delhi is a land of opportunities. One of the city's popular magazines, *First City*, did a special issue on migrants and interviewed people across railway stations and called them minute old migrant who were stepping in to Delhi in search of work. Most respondents acknowledged that they did not know anybody and was hopeful of finding work. For instance, Ashok (20 years) from Tikam, Jhanshi photographed with his wife in Nizamuddin railway station had come looking for work in Delhi. His family was part of a group from his village who were hopeful to find work through thekedar. Two men from their group had gone with a thekedar to check the worksite and he is hopeful they will come back and he and his wife will join the work. Ashok is not an isolated case. There are many people like Ashok and his wife who migrate with kin and relatives to supplement the income from cultivation, to pay debts or to look for a better livelihood.

Sonia, one of the domestic workers in Gurgaon, migrated from Rajabazar, Kolkata to New Delhi. She started working after her marriage. Presently, she is the sole breadwinner of her family. Her husband is ill and cannot work. Her daughter and son are in school. They decided to migrate when the family incurred debt of one lakh rupees due to repeated ailments. They decided to migrate to Delhi for better future. She recalls that they did not struggle to make ends meet in the first seven years of marriage. After seven years she started doing home-based work to contribute to family income. She recounted that she used to make the game boards of ludo (snake ladder board game) . 'I was paid Rs 12 for making 100 ludos'. She also made paper boxes / thonga which fetched her Rs 6 for 100 thonga.

When they incurred a debt of one lakh rupees they decided to migrate to earn more. She recalls that they ended up paying more interest than the actual loan amount. A relative close to their

family informed them of a job in New Delhi. They moved to Delhi and started staying in a servant's quarter of the employer. She started working in the 'kothi'. Sonia tells me that she was aware that both of them had to work to pay of the debts they had incurred and she started working in the kothi as she did not know anybody and this was the easiest form of work as she did not have to pick up any new skills.

Kabita is from Kushida. She tells me the river across the village acts as the dividing line between Bengal and Bihar. Though she speaks Bangla, her official address reads Bihar. As a young child her father pestered her to go and work in the fields with him. Her mother ran a tea shop. Her father re-married and when she was eight years old. When I saw a new person in the house I asked my mother ' Eta ke (who is she)? She replied, 'Choto ma' (an endearing form of expression for aunt of younger age). My father did not look after us as we were girls. He constantly taunted my mother for giving birth to girls. As a young child Kabita was raised in her maternal aunt's house and she did not have the means to feed or cloth me. 'I started to work as a domestic help. When my mother decided to shift to Delhi for better livelihood option I was called to join the family and we shifted. My mother decided to shift with us (three sisters) to Delhi. My chotomama (youngest maternal uncle) used to work here'. My elder sister was married off and my brother in law is a carpenter. They have stayed behind. 'We came here and started earning money through home based work'. She corrects herself and says, 'my sister and mother worked as domestic workers but I was good at picking up handicraft and I used to prepare mangalsutra and other beaded necklaces. My mejdi had a love marriage but her husband fell ill and she was forced to resume domestic work. We loved watching films and used to use every opportunity to watch bioscope. My mejdi stays with me and now works for 12 hours. She gets her food from employers so I cook for myself. After my sister (mejdi) got married I was married off. It was arranged marriage. My marriage took place back at home. We returned to Delhi for work. He said, 'since I am not able to give you a child he insisted that I should sleep with a friend of his. I fell in love with this friend and we ran away'. After that she continues to work and stay in Delhi in different capacities.

Each of these narratives shows how women choose to migrate and organise their lives around migration – a mobility that could be shaped by 'association', 'marriage' or for 'employment'. For some people, each of these categories cannot be treated in isolation of the other. In most cases, the decision to migrate was a consequence of the existing circumstances, be it lack of livelihood opportunities in existing hometowns, additional responsibilities of increasing expenses which point to the multiple reasons but what is important to understand how they subsequently enter the job market and identify themselves as a migrant worker. Delhi is one of the key destination states of migration along with Maharashtra, Gujarat, Haryana and Karnataka. Some of the few leading source states remain Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. According to 2001 census, migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar contribute to 64.25 % of the total migration.[8] In 2001, it was reported that 55.5% were males in comparison to 44.5% females. There were two primary reasons cited for migration: firstly, work and secondly movement with household[9]. While in most cases women reported migration post marriage, in some cases even when women had become primary breadwinner their family members did not know that they had been working in Delhi. For instance, Parvati Singh is from Balia, Uttar Pradesh. She migrated to Delhi with her husband. Her husband worked as a security guard. He cannot work anymore and she has raised her children. 'I started to work in the kothi. I have been a domestic worker for the past seventeen years. Nobody in my village knows that I work here. Nobody knows that I am a domestic worker. People assume my husband is a breadwinner. My children are settled and now I have to save enough for my old age'. She says that most women support their families, raise children and majburi has forced women to work and take up jobs. It is still difficult for some

families in villages to accept that women are working be it as domestic helps, security guards or otherwise. Life in a city is expensive. There are additional expenses here of chips and cold drinks. She receives a phone call and hurries to go to her place of work. What are the kinds of work women take up across these sites? While majority of the respondents work as part of domestic workers, I would be cautious of making this claim. Most women in their narratives point to several kinds of home-based work and other kinds of work they have done in their life-cycle of 30 to 35 years. In the next section, I turn your attention to few such narratives to understand the shifting nature of jobs in the life of a migrant worker.

Transient forms of Work

Though Sonia and Kabita work as part-time domestic workers across several households in Gurgaon their entry into the labour market was through home-based work. Kabita eloped and got married. She was also pregnant and discovered that her husband had been married before. She decided to look for other kinds of work as responsibilities increased. 'I knew my husband would not support me or son. When I was pregnant he started to have relationship with another woman and now he has three wives (including me) and children from each one. After I started working in Delhi after giving birth to my child I joined a factory. I used to do finishing work. I worked there for one and a half year. Then I joined Sarvodaya School in Faridabad as a cleaner. I was illiterate and I had to help children with their books, feed them tiffin and also escort the children to the toilets. I don't know how to read and write but I managed to match letters and arrange copies and books. I used to earn Rs 3000 per month. After that I worked as a 'hospital cleaner'. I told my supervisor that I cannot take on tasks of *dom, methor* and I was shifted to girls' hostel. I had to give water to parents who used to visit their children, clean the waiting room area and I had to clean the room of the warden. My husband's torture increased and I decided to move out on my own. One of my nephews suggested that I should move to Gurgaon. I had a maternal uncle who worked as a helper and an aunt who was in export line. I decided to start working in kothis. I became a domestic worker. I saw that I could earn enough and besides that I could also stay with my sister who was planning to resume her work. I shifted to Gurgaon. I started working in kothis'. She starts telling me about her mejdi who works full time as a domestic worker and earns Rs 8000. Kabita tells me that presently she earns Rs 12000. She works at two houses. In one of the houses she works from 8.00 am to 4p.m and has to cook three meals, clean utensils and clean kitchen. 'My employer and her mother are nice people. I also have to arrange the table. In another house she cooks in the evening and earns Rs 3000 per month. She says in the line of cooking, you have to be fast if you want to work at three to four houses. Its best to find work in close proximity as it reduces the time of travel'. She wears shirts/ tops and trousers to her place of work. She aspires to learn to read and write and work in embassy households. She says that she has heard that foreign people pay more. She says, ' They write on stickers on fridge and you have to follow the instructions. Unfortunately, I don't know how to read so I have to learn a lot'. I ask her how she manages to identify the spices and other ingredients she says from pictorial images. She aspires to open a beauty parlour and was planning to take lessons in a nearby salon.

Poonam from Gautampuri resettlement colony says, like most families in Gautam Nagar, they too were migrants. Her parents were from Lucknow and they migrated when she was young. She was raised and married in Gautam Nagar. Her father worked as an ambulance driver and her mother did home-based work. She started working post-marriage. Two of Poonam's siblings are domestic workers (kothi mein kam karti hain), one of the brothers work as an ambulance driver. Poonam is in her early thirties and tells me that between marriage and mothering two boys and one

girl she has changed seven jobs. Presently, she earns money from selling food items. In one of the mobile carts she sells momos and in winters, she said she made money from selling boiled eggs. In her words, 'I have taken a break to take care of my one and a half year old boy. I have recently appeared for an interview. I need to have a stable income'. Poonam recounts to me that her first job was 'nursing' in a private hospital. When I ask her specific details she says that she says she was recruited through a contractor and was trained on the job. Her work entailed nursing patients. After working for few months she lost her job as her contract was coming to an end and she got to know of a vacancy of a security guard in Top Security. She worked as a security guard for a year. She recalls the long hours of standing took a physical toll. After working as a security guard, she shifted to housekeeping. She adds, 'mostly cleaning work, giving water etc'. Following her short stint in housekeeping, she worked for four years as Anganwadi supervisor. She was in charge of cooking meals. She tells me that she enjoyed this job as few women (from the locality) worked under her. She recounted to me that she had a fight with the contractors regarding use of stale items and left the job. After that she did not work for some time. She says, 'I wanted to try new things. Through a local NGO I heard that women are being trained to become drivers'. She signed up a course run by a NGO to learn driving.

After two years of training where they were not only taught how to drive but also received training of self-defence. She recalls, 'I was the second batch. So you can understand the fear and excitement we had when we received our driver's license and were ready to drive on roads. While women who owned cars have been driving around for a long time, women like me faced several challenges. You know most of the drivers in buses, autos are males'. She added that the training sessions that they received apart from driving techniques which were crucial in negotiating with the client, keeping their heads while driving on the road'. She tells me with joy of her mistakes and shares with me experiences of working on individual and institutional assignments. In one such institutional assignment she felt that she was overworked. She tells me, 'in jobs like these, there is no boundary. For instance, as a driver for a school bus I was told that I would have to help children with their tiffins. Most of them were physically challenged and I was at a loss. I was recruited as a driver and ended up doing odd jobs. You know you can't say no'. She shared similar experiences also regarding assignments with individual clients. 'It is almost customary to carry the bag, tiffin of your employer. There are times when you want to say so and cant. See, I didn't mind escorting the grandparents and elderly to the car but in one case I had to oversee the child even in the mother's presence. The mother used to leave the ayah behind and I had to oversee the child as she completed her errands. Though I was given tips, but still it is added responsibility. Can you imagine a male driver feeding child? With recent cases, many would fear of making children sit next to them. As a mother I could never say no to such things'. She also pointed out that other women also had to endure such requests. Though the agency's call centre made special requests to customers to not burden the driver beyond driving duties, she says there are ways of making people work and specially women. Her driving work, she recalls took her to several places. Initially she found difficulty in navigating roads but with greater use of GPRS and other facilities things improved. She said since most of the clients are female or old people, there are lesser chances of being sexually harassed at work place. When I ask her the reason for quitting the job she replies (pointing to the youngest child), 'this one'. 'I can't neglect my children because of work. Pointing to the white scooty parked outside her house, she says learning to drive brought about a change in her life. Now that I know how to drive, can you imagine what my next job would be? I have appeared for an interview to do home to home delivery. She chuckles. They have promised that I will be paid Rs 8000 in the first month'. She adds, 'I have not come from a rich family. Neither was I good in studies. I knew I had to earn money. It is not

possible to run a family with a single person's earning. My mother-in-law earns money, my husband earns money and I too need to support my family. She says she plan to open a crèche for the children in the area. She has an empty room where she plans to keep soft toys and slowly if finances permit transform it into a playschool. She says, 'most parents leave their children behind and go to work. It will help me and others as well. I have thought I will charge Rs 500 monthly for taking care of infants and Rs 200-300 for those who cannot mention of their needs. As one of her children starts crying Sumon's mother-in-law joins in to comfort her and says, 'Life in Gautam Nagar was different. We 'lived like a community'. After they resettled us here we got separated. Mostly members of a jat had their jhuggis next to each other. So we could watch out for each other. Here, most young boys are into drugs. There life would be different as there would be work and less time to waste away. Men, of course used to drink here and there. (Pointing to a road) she adds, 'you must have seen men seating in a charpoy and drinking away'. I ask her if the nature of work has changed after their resettlement. To which both Sumon and Nirmala unanimously say, 'No'. Sumon explains this further, 'see for a woman who has stepped into the city first time and is in need of a job would prefer working at homes. People consider working in kothis to be safe because your employer is a woman. Kothi mein kam karna is much more acceptable also because of the sameness in the work you do at home. There is constantly someone to supervise and in most cases, it is the women so it becomes the first work'. Nirmala adds, 'I am a mangta. Our traditional occupation is collection of waste. Till now, I travel to Gautam Nagar. I take a shared van to go to Gautam Nagar and collect waste. Most women work as kamwali, beldar, kurewali and kabadiwali'. So I ask, 'Is Poonam an exception?' She says, 'mazboori mein sab kuchh karna parta hain'. Later I was told that Poonam is from Valmiki community and her husband ran a pickpocket gang. He had a group of five to six boys. He had two wives and hence Poonam needed to support herself and her family. As we got ready to leave, Poonam commented, 'See now when I will start earning I will be able to save in Appu bhaiya ka khata'. Appu sensing my query said, 'Since I sit in the office and maintain records of Mahila bachat Kosh it is known as Appu bhaiya ka khata'.

Sumon and Appu exchange news about his wife (Mamta who is a domestic worker) and children and we take leave. On the way, Appu tells me that most women I will meet have never remained confined to any particular kinds of work. Even within domestic work, some women prefer cooking, some cleaning and some have also shifted to patient care. He says, some women from the locality have registered themselves with 'Portea' one of the major providers of elderly care and most of their journeys into the labour market have begun through domestic work.

Naina (name changed here) was born in Jamshedpur. ' My parents never cared for me. I wanted to study and was good in studies. I was sent off to stay with nani (who worked as adomestic help in Delhi) and after she passed away my mother got me to stay with her. I might have been eight or nine year old and I entered 'job market' without pay as a bacha ayah. I used to accompany my mother to her place of work and while she worked, I took care of madam's child. I don't know if my mother was paid for it but I do know I had to play with her, feed her and clean the baby'. I ask her how did she know to do all of this as she was a child. 'Didi, I have shared this with Appu bhaiya in one of the meetings here. As women we know how to hold a child, take care of her. You and I did that in our homes right! Now looking back at my 'first job' (and she chuckles) she pauses and tells me, 'Now I think it was a job. Then, probably taking care of the child was like playing with a doll'. My mother realised I was good with children and I was soon taking care of children. By this time, my father became paralysed and I was forced to work. Mostly girls are the first ones to be taken out of school. I was thrust into this and they did the same to my sister. After my eleder sister was married it was my turn. I was married when I was fifteen years old. I didn't even know what marriage meant. I

was married in 2004 and I was pregnant within a year. I delivered my first child (a daughter) in 2006. My husband worked at a workshop. He is quite old. I lived with my in-laws in Jamshedpur for a year and in 2007 we decided to migrate to Delhi. It was a joint decision. We decided to work. After we got to Delhi here (Gautampuri) I worked as a peon in Medical. Two years later I was pregnant and I again had a daughter. I took up cooking job in Badarpur and worked as a cook for three to four years. In 2011, I had another daughter, phir uske bad apna beta hua. I don't want to lie that I didn't have a dream of having a son. It might be right or wrong but I had a dream that I want to have a son. So this is how I ended up having four children (three daughters and a son). With children and increasing family expenses I incurred a lot of debt. I have a loan to pay for. Since 2011, I work as a professional egg donor. In lean seasons I take up cooking work. *Galiwale galat tarike se dekhte hain.* I aspire to be a surrogate. Didi, one of my child's life will be settled if I become a surrogate. They pay Rs 3.75 lakh to be a surrogate. I had got one of the women from here to become a surrogate and she went away for some time and came back with lots of money. I have started working as an agent for myself in egg donation business. I donate and also hire women to donate eggs. I can explain things well. I have stayed and worked with good doctors. They have been kind to explain things to us. When I had gone to donate eggs in Nepal, there were women across the country doing this work. I want to rent my womb for surrogacy. Compared to surrogacy which involves keeping oneself committed for nine months, in egg donation it is a matter of few days. The clients arrange for our transportation on the days of 'egg-drop'. Usually by 7 am the eggs are collected and by 5pm we are paid money. The pay can vary from Rs 10000-20000. I also do part time cooking work. I will leave for cooking in a while and come back by 6pm. I receive Rs 3000 per month for part-time cooking work. She says her husband initially was not okay with this line of work. When he saw the money he agreed. She wants women of her area to treat this work with respect. It is like any form of work, right? I nod and she takes leave for her part time cooking work.

How do we make sense of these transient forms of labour that women engage in? In both these narratives, these women shifted across various kinds of work cutting across sector and switched between skilled and unskilled work. Poonam and Naina are within the age group of 25 to 35 and will probably take on other jobs as well and the list of occupations will change if I follow their work-lives for another 20 years. How do we make sense of how they use 'domesticity' as a site to negotiate and enter a labour market? When do they become 'gharelu kamgar'/ domestic worker? How do we understand their occupational choices as they make their first move into the labour market and take on other forms of labour?

Concluding Remarks

One of the ways in which to understand how these women transition into the labour market is through the category of 'intimacy' and 'intimate' labour. What do I mean by intimate labour? 'Intimate' labour and the literature around draws from the idea of 'intimacy' and 'commodification of intimacy that pervades social life' in contemporary global capitalism. This 'commodification of intimacy' – a concept I borrow from Boris and Parrenas (2012) has led to transnational gendered networks of migrant labour- particularly domestic workers. Pei-Chia Lan's ethnographic work titled Global Cindrella follows the Filipina and Indonesian migrant domestic workers in Taiwan and shows the ways in which gender, ethnicity shape the employer-employee relationship. 'Intimacy', in other words needs to be understood in a social context and the site of work becomes an important entry point for this scholarship. For Boris and Parrenas, work of intimacy constitutes intimate labours and connecting intimate and labour allows us to deny separation of home from work and productive

from unproductive labour. It also allows to understanding a range of activities including 'bodily and household keep personal and family maintenance and sexual contact or liason' and most importantly allows an avenue to understand the 'transient forms of labour' that these migrant women undertake in their lives in transit.

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Notes

[1] M.N.Srinivas (1966) made an important point regarding the blurring of 'anthropology' and 'sociology' in India. In an introduction to a collection of essays on field work, Srinivas, Shah and Ramaswamy (2008) pointed out that given the nature of diverse religious faiths, communities adopting different lifestyles as well as agricultural practices that rely on both traditional methods and mechanisation, 'it would be odd if not absurd to label those who are studying tribes as anthropologists, and those who are studying rural and urban folk, sociologists' (2008:1). Neither the castes nor the tribes are immune to political, economic and cultural changes, and the two have been brought in contact with each other. Drawing from this discussion, I would like to iterate that in the course of this study, when I use the word anthropology, it implies 'social anthropology' and when I use 'sociology' it also includes 'social anthropology' given the foundational emphasis on the 'field-work'

tradition in India.

2. The panel is headed by Partha Mukhopadhyay from the Centre of Policy Research with other representatives from NITI Ayog, housing and migration experts. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation is in charge of the study. See Shalini Nair 'Centre to set up task force to study migration impact' The Indian Express, 13 August 2015.

http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/centre-to-set-up-task-force-to-study-   migration-impact/; Accessed on 15 August 2015.

3. For instance the identity card issued by Aajeevika Bureau based in Rajasthan among its members is recognized by the Ministry of Labour and Employment of Rajasthan. According to a report by UNESCO this identity card has 'become a gateway to numerous services such as employer verification, opening of bank accounts and enrolment for social security services' (UNESCO 2013: 14).

4. For instance when a domestic worker was found dead at a residence of a Parliamentarian with Bahujan Samaj Party, the police discovered that the woman was a Muslim from a district in West Bengal. She was wearing 'Hindu' attire. Even placement agencies often hide the identity of Muslim workers while placing them. According to an article, Muslims guise themselves as Hindu to work in houses as well as other sectors. For details see Shaikh Azizur Rahman, 'Muslims masquerade as Hindus for India jobs' 10 December , 2013,
 http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/12/muslims-masquerade-as-hindus-india-jobs-2013129134443863250.html; Accessed on 12 April 2014.

5. I borrow these two ideas from Liza Weinstein's (2014) work on Dharavi

6 Sharan (2014) argues that the idea of a region was inspired by the pioneers of the Regional Planning Association of America such as Lewis Mumford, Henry Wright and Clarence Stein.

7 'A citizenship that refers to the city as the public sphere and to rights-claims addressing urban practices as it substance- claims concerned with residence, neighbourhood life, infrastructure, transportation, consumption and so forth' (Holston 2009 :12 in Desai and Sanyal 2012 :11).

8. This is based on a study ' A study on Counter-magnet areas to Delhi and National Capital Region' National Capital regional planning board, New Delhi.

9. Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2012.

Terra Firma of Sovereignty:
Land Acquisition and Making of Migrant Labour

Mithilesh Kumar [*]

> Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,
> Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn;
> Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
> And desolation saddens all thy green:
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay:
> Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied.
>   'The Deserted Village', Oliver Goldsmith

In the opening passage of the chapter on primitive accumulation Marx outlines the necessity of studying the phenomenon. It is a remarkable passage and a close reading is necessary:

> But the accumulation of capital presupposes surplus value; surplus value presupposes capitalist production; capitalist production presupposes the availability of considerable masses of capital and labour-power in the hands of commodity producers. The whole movement, therefore, seems to turn around in a never ending circle, which we can only get out by *assuming* a primitive accumulation (the 'previous accumulation' of Adam Smith) which precedes capitalist accumulation; an accumulation which is not the result of the capitalist mode of production but its point of departure.[1] (emphasis mine)

The remarkable aspect of the above quoted passage is that Marx sets up the concept of primitive accumulation as an assumption. This assumption is necessitated for the logic of the study of capital to develop as much as by the need to study the originary moment of capital. In that sense there is a double movement here which begs investigation. The movement is historical and theoretical. If the concept of primitive accumulation is only theoretical to break the vicious "circle" of the machine of capital then the concept need not have to carry the burden of history and could be used for a definite set of practices irrespective of the period in time. Furthermore, if primitive accumulation is just one moment in the history, rather pre-history, of capital then the task becomes also to identify the end of the period of primitive accumulation. In the case of Marx, it seems that period is the beginning of capital accumulation which is self-perpetuating according to the laws of motion of capital. This movement has important consequences in our understanding of land, labour and capital.

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Primitive accumulation as a concept hinges on two aspects: first, land acquisition and second, reserve army of labour. Marx documents painstakingly the processes of land enclosure, eviction of peasants, rise of vagabondage etc. Primitive accumulation might have been the original sin but its effect are nothing short of an apocalypse. Yet, I will claim that this insight of Marx though no less important in profundity is nevertheless not the most important one in his study of primitive accumulation. The most important contribution of Marx in his analysis of primitive accumulation is the evolution of the state with the beginning of primitive accumulation. The state as Marx shows evolves in the struggle with labour or rather the emerging labour of capital. It is the moment of primacy of politics over economics. Force over economic coercion. As Marx himself suggests force "is itself an economic power" and this power is always predicated on politics. Marx goes further in his investigation of force or violence though. He carefully brings out how violence is woven in the formation of legislations and juridical acts. This will be an important reference in the argument put forward in this chapter. Marx also gives the glimpse of the regulatory state that is an internal logic of the capitalist state. That the extent of 'regulation' covers both the economic as well as the political and the fact that there is always a provision for the moments of exception:

> In the ordinary run of things, the worker can be left to the 'natural laws of production'...It is otherwise during the historical genesis of capitalist production. The rising bourgeoisie needs the power of the state, and uses it to 'regulate' wages...In the period of manufacture properly so called, the capitalist mode of production had become sufficiently strong to render legal regulation of wages asimpracticable as it was unnecessary; but the ruling classes were unwilling to be without the weapons of the old arsenal in case some emergency should arise.[2]

This is in addition to the legislations of permissible violence against workers, land acquisition etc. In the same vein as the evolution of the state in opposition to the workers Marx also points out to the processes of land acquisitions. Here his insights are of great significance for the study undertaken in this chapter. As much as the study of the genesis of capitalist farmer is important or the rise of the new landed proprietor the more interesting aspect of Marx's writing is the detailed description of the 'illegality' of forcibly acquiring land. It does appear as a process that is carried through fraud and extreme violence and it is so yet what is also important and interesting to study is the response of law towards this venality. Marx evocatively says that "Legislation shrunk back in the face of this immense change" and after a few pages he makes the point that by the eighteenth century "the law itself now becomes the instrument by which the people's land is stolen." In between the two distinct moments in the career of capital and its state it is easy to infer that the law of land acquisition not only took account of the frauds but in some ways also takes those very practices of fraud to create the law. In fact, the basis of exclusion and inclusion and compensation might be traced to those practices as we shall see below.

There has been a return to the concept of primitive accumulation in academic writing. There have been several variations on the theme yet most of them agree that primitive accumulation is a phenomenon which is not only restricted to the "pre-history" of capital but is an ongoing process which has actually accelerated in the contemporary age of late capital. The literature is vast on the subject but for our purposes we choose three authors who have written extensively on the subject and yet have come to radically different conclusions and solutions.

David Harvey instead of primitive accumulation uses "accumulation by dispossession" for those practices that are identified as primitive accumulation. The justification of this move by Harvey is that it is peculiar to call an ongoing process either primitive or original. More interestingly, Harvey puts accumulation by dispossession as a process of accumulation that is based on "predation, fraud and violence." Harvey also acknowledges the role of the state as the one with monopoly of violence as a crucial actor in the process along with transnational bodies such as the World Bank and the IMF.

Harvey's more daring innovation is that he links the process of accumulation by dispossession as a solution to the problem of overaccumulation of capital. The distinction that we made between the theoretical and historical aspect of the concept of primitive accumulation becomes significant here. Accumulation by dispossession is a set of definite practices by capital based on "predation, fraud and violence" and it comes at a definite historical conjuncture in the career of capital when it overaccumulates. Thus, it is an ongoing process but can also be periodic. The task is then to identify the point where the process begins and when it ends and what kind of innovation in economics and politics it brings. It must also be said that as Marx studied the evolution of the state in terms of its structure, juridical and disciplinary powers it becomes imperative that the same kind of study of the state is undertaken. Harvey does that only peripherally. What he does though is that by the virtue of locating accumulation by dispossession in the crisis of overaccumulation he brings the question of infrastructure at the centre of analysis. He does it through the concept of built environment. As he puts it quite clearly:

> One of the inherent tendencies in the capitalist accumulation process is towards overaccumulation, the production of such surpluses on a periodic basis. This means that the internal dynamic of accumulation periodically creates conditions which are markedly favorable to investment in the built environment. Such periodicity is represented historically in the 'long-swings' in construction activity, in urban building, in investment in transportation, in real estate development, in land speculation, and the like. There is no lack of historical evidence for these long-swings.[3]

What we then have is something like overaccumulation→accumulation by dispossession→ built environment or infrastructure and the process gets repeated at an expanded scale at regular intervals. It is quite clear now that accumulation by dispossession is not originary. It is a result of the laws of motion of capital itself. There will always be accumulation by dispossession as long as there is crisis of capitalism. It need not be as a result of the stage or state of development of capitalism in a country and it will take place regardless of the history of that country, colonial or metropolitan. Again, Harvey only peripherally at best analyses the very processes of disruption and the innovations of state. It is here that our next thinker becomes important.

Ranabir Samaddar bases his analysis of primitive accumulation on the creation of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and that of unorganized labour. There is a broad parallel with Harvey in identifying what constitutes primitive accumulation. Samaddar identifies them as:

> (a) The dissociation of the labourers from the means of labour (in some cases the dissociation is hidden) through various forms of displacements and consequent forced migration. (b) The extra-economic or the violent and other coercive ways of administration (including taxation) to effect this dissociation. (c) The production of the "critical mass" that turns into capital through this process. (d) Production of colonial relations through this dynamics of violent exploitation (within national territories too, known as internal colonialism). (e) The unorganised state of production where labour regulatory laws make little sense and, finally (f) the emergence of the free labourer.[4]

For Samaddar, SEZs in India presents these features in a congealed form. However, where Samaddar's contribution becomes of immense significance is, his analysis of state and governance in the process of primitive accumulation. He goes further in his analysis and links the global and the national aspect of the process. Samaddar captures the complexity of the process when he says that the process "is made possible through techniques of state and governance for differential administration of localities in the interest of accumulation, and these techniques are made possible precisely because of globalisation within a national context." This is a development on the thesis of Harvey about primitive accumulation. Samaddar does not restrict primitive accumulation to "predation, fraud and violence." Even 'peaceful' and 'consensual' acts of acquisition by or on behalf of the state could be termed as primitive accumulation. For Samaddar the crucial question is the

question of labour; migrant, unorganized and precarious. It is a question of collective action by this emergent political subject and its contradictions with the state. This is the site of power and resistance. This is also the site where the state has to innovate and renovate itself. To contain this subject, name it, enumerate it and individualize it where as earlier it might have been that the state policy was to aggregate. But more on this later.

Kalyan Sanyal in his book *Rethinking Capitalist Development* discusses the problem of primitive accumulation in similar terms mentioned above but he also discovers a process that is the reverse of primitive accumulation. This reversal needs to be discussed in detail. Sanyal's theoretical move hinges on the detection of "wasteland" that is the result of primitive accumulation. He jettisons the classical Marxist understanding of self-perpetuating capital and comes up with the space that is outside of capital, a space of need-based economy that is non-capital in nature and operation. Yet, the interesting aspect is that this outside exclusionary space needs to be governed and governed according to the logic of the market:

> I characterize this decapitalization of means of labor as a reversal of primitive accumulation. The result is a need based economy in which the dispossessed are rehabilitated in non-capitalist production activities; and the rehabilitation, I further argue, is made possible by interventions brought about by the discourse of development[5]. (emphasis in original)

What this theory claims then is that once the process of primitive accumulation takes place there are two economies that come into being. A self-perpetuating capitalist economy and the other subsistence based need economy with different trajectories, circuits and modes of operation. The movement is from pre-capital to capital and non-capital. What Sanyal does mention but does not analyse to its fullest is that these two circuits irrespective of the fact that they might be outside of each other need to be governed, politically and economically, and that act is performed by the state. Intervention of the state is in both the realms of the economy. Outside should not necessarily mean exclusionary but Sanyal ignores the results of his own logic. Or put in another way one can say that, even though there might exist an outside of economics but there is no or nothing outside politics. The economic subject of the excluded space is at the same time included as a political subject. It is a schizophrenic existence of deprivations and rights as also of collective action and contentious politics.

We now have here the elements that set up the problematique of land and labour in contemporary age of late capital. From Harvey we know the centrality of crisis of capital and the rise of infrastructure and logistics as a possible solution for the crisis. From Samaddar we deduce the centrality of the problem of labour and the political problem of state and governance and for Sanyal the need-economy as the other of capitalistic economy is where results of prinmitive accumulation lies. It might be the original sin but a bit of redemption is on the agenda of capital. This is the aftermath of primitive accumulation. We will analyse displacement and eviction and production of the political subject within these parameters but first we will bring forth a lacunae in the above analyses. What is common to all three thinkers is that although they discuss land acquistion, eviction, coming up of SEZs etc. they do not analyse land itself. What, in fact, is land? After the process of primitive accumulation or even during the process how does land change its political and economic nature? It is true that the state evolves with the process of primitive accumulation but is it not the case that this evolution is also happening with respect to land? Does land offer to the sovereign kind of political manuevres and claims and technologies which is unique? How does the relationship of the state with land influence the relationship of the state with the political subjects? How does the state mould old political subjects into new through its political intervention on land? If it is true that

some of the most militant political movements in history has been over land what is it in the political nature of land that allows it to be so. This will be our concern in the next section.

The Question of Land or The Land Question

The title of this section is not a quibble or an attempt at figure of speech. These are two moments in the career of land as a political and economic object. It is also an indicator of the theoretical problems inherent in the study of land and land relations. It seems that land qua land is extremely difficult to study. There has to be a move to at least one remove of abstraction in order to land. The study then becomes of land as property or of the cultural symbol of land or from where things can be extracted minerals or rent. Yet the land and its own political character remains unexplored. We will first see some conceptualizations which depend fundamentally on land and has a bearing on our own investigations. Also, the role of the state with respect to land has undergone a profound shift. There is now a vast amount of work done on the nature of land relations and land reform done by postcolonial states in the aftermath of insistence. Land to the tiller was a slogan and economic programme of these states. Irrespective of the success or failure of both the slogan and programme, it is evident that the task was to settle political subjects in the view of creating small individual property. The land acquisition now is an attempt at negation of that property and making the political subject mobile. In short, land is the space where the sovereign uses its power of exception. Land acquisition is first and foremost an act of the sovereign power. This power is what defines the sovereign; the ability to empty political spaces of subjects through juridical power or through the means of violence, legal or otherwise.

One theoretical strand that attempts to study land qua land uses landscape as a unit of investigation. The claim they make is that "*land* itself has been selected for investigation not on the strength of its cognitive or experiential importance alone, but precisely because, in all of its human settings, land appears both as an object with use-value and as a symbol with meaning. Dualised land: land, 'economic and symbolic, scarce and unlimited'." Allen Abramson who makes the above argument is not oblivious to the extremely political nature of land and points out that landlessness and physical rootlessness have been used to define criminality and anti-socials. He then links landscape to memory making, myth making and ownership. In such a scenario the interventions of law and the state makes landscape assume a "characetristically broken appearance." The distinction is quite clear then, the political subject of the state is tied to the land in more ways than simply property relations (the only relation state and law are interested in).[6] With this same approach of landscape Paul Durman studies the protest in 1997 against the expansion of Manchester's Ringway airport. Using Locke and Heidegger, Durman shows the fundamental difference between how the state sees land and how the protesters did it. For the former land is an "instrument and resource for the realisation of a technological project" but "the protesters apprehend the land through their passionate relationship with it and as a result they reveal it as a distinct actuality."[7]

The use of landscape as a theoretical concept to study land has its advantages as has already been done by Drummer. However, the realm of politics, in this theoretical approach, is based on passion, memories and myths. This is not to say that politics cannot happen on these basis but it leaves the question of economics entirely on to the state and not the political subject struggling against the state. It is a task yet to see how the political subjects calculate the economic loss and gain of protest. This need not be either economistic or purely subjective. The contention of this investigation is that passion, identity and memories could be very well used to make an economic and

political demand. This political claim-making also changes the very meaning of identity and memory fundamentally as we shall see.

Stuart Elden makes a strong case of studying territory as a political technology comprising "techniques for measuring land and controlling terrain." Elden is firm that territory is "more" than just land or terrain. In fact, he puts land firmly in the realm of political economy. This is how he defines land:

> *Land* is a relation of property, a finite resource that is distributed, allocated and owned, a political-economic question. Land is a resource over which there is competition.[8]

Territory as political technology is a far reaching concept and in it is engulfed the creation of borders and nation-states. He also mentions that territory is historical and hence "produced, mutable and fluid." What this concept does successfully is that it allows us to investigate certain apparatuses of power in terms of territory. It is quite possible to analyse infrastructural territories or logistical territories. These are territories quite autonomous, if not completely independent, of the territory of the nation-state. The port systems and the airport system with their routes and networks can be conceptualised as precisely such territories. It is quite hard to ignore or dismiss the theoretical approach of Elden. However, what is left out in Elden's analyses is the possibility of a reverse motion of land-terrain-territory to territory-terrain-land or other possible combinations. These categories do not simply exist simultaneously or parallel to each other or even overlap. There is not simply a theoretical possibility that territory although being more than land in fact becomes just that. There can be such an exceptional political situation. The challenge would then be to understand this collapse because in this movement lies the nature of sovereignty and state power. In that case the question to be asked would be what political technologies are acted upon land or what kind of political technology does land become in the moment of political exception? What is the status of the political subjects of the land? We will discuss this below.

A mention of Henri Lefebvre is important here. For Lefebvre space acts in multiple ways. It is cognitive, a "mental act", it has social relations inscribed in it and it is produced and reproduced which depends on the productive capacity of capital. The problem of state in the study of space is crucial for Lefebvre. All these elements and more go into what he terms as production of space. Yet his most radical intervention, in my opinion, is in the realm of the political economy of space. It is here that Lefebvre shows us the possibility of radical politics that is inherent in space which can be fruitfully used for the study of land. As an aside, it is intriguing why Lefebvre never takes up the land question in his analysis of space after all land is one of the most important elements in the creation of space. In any case, here is what Lefebvre has to say about the nature of the political economy of space:

> Space remains a model, a perpetual prototype of *use value* resisting the generalizations of exchange and exchange value in a capitalist economy under the authority of a homogenizing state. Space is a use value, but even more so is time to which it is intimately linked because time is our life, our fundamental use value. Time has disappeared in the social space of modernity. Lived time loses form and social interest except for the time of work. Economic space subordinates time, whereas political space eradicates it, because it is threatening to existing power relations. The primacy of the economic, and still more, of the political, leads to the supremacy of space over time.[9]

What Lefebvre is doing here is staging up the concept of space as the very anti-thesis of commodity. With time which in the capitalistic world can be extended to the concept of socially necessary labour time it is space that becomes the arena of class struggle (to which Lefebvre draws the attention of the Left movement). The negation of capital is through the negation of commodity that is the exchange value. If we try and use elements of this analysis on land we can say that land

resists politically. Land resists in becoming a commodity. Land always lends itself to the possibility of the commons. This is what is under threat in the contemporary age of late capital. The state and capital want to individualize political subjects instead of letting it aggregate and become unruly. It wants to enumerate and measure land so that every inch is accountable. It wants to digitalize the records so that there is no room for manipulation. This political contradiction is at the heart of the movement against land acquisition.

The problem for the state is that it cannot, in any circumstance, reproduce land in its own image which is to say that it cannot measure and govern land with finality or perfectly. The practices of the political subjects either in the form of militant often violent struggle or in their ability to inhabit and manipulate the liminal space of legal and illegal prevents the state to mark its land and territory. For the state power, as a result, land becomes at the same time a space for governmentality and a zone of the exercise of power of exception. Biopolitics, biopower and sovereignty do not operate vertically but are in fact in a relation of networks, each influencing the other. This will become clear when we look into some empirical examples.

In a study of property restitution in Transylvania it has been shown that land from being a constant material entity in fact "moves, stretches, evaporates--of land that acts."[10] In a postsocialist country the creation of private property in land made this possible. From collectivization to rights of ownership through the use of legal mechanisms in the form of Romania's Law 18 (which could be said to be an exceptional law) opens land to variety of interpretations. Thus, it is possible that several land measuring surveys of the same piece of land produce different measurements. Involved in this is a series of negotiations between the political subjects and the representative of the state. Also, state apparatuses like government records cannot keep up with the negotiations and exchanges between the political subjects. To add to that natural causes like river erosion or change in the flow of the river can either create land where none existed or completely subsume a given land and make it vanish. As such the land becomes elastic both in records as well as in political terms. There is, thus, no point in quarreling over real land and the land mentioned on records. The political innovation that is unleashed through this material practice is real enough. The ability of land to be elastic also reveals new forms of governmentality and regulation of political subjects through the medium of land. If we use the terminology of Lefebvre then land will always motivate politics because it will refuse to become a commodity. The exchange also will be more negotiations or violence without necessarily successfully attaining a stable exchange value. It only goes to prove that the question of land (in contrast to land question) is primarily political and only secondarily economic.

Another relevant example is a study of Delhi. In her study of urban villages of Delhi Sushmita Pati has shown that the process of land acquisition can create a peculiar mechanism of capital accumulation and structure of politics[11]. She shows quite clearly that the process of land acquisition is highly differential in nature. This could be due to the very nature of the relation between land, state and political subjects as is evident in the difference between *lal dora* and non *lal dora* land. This could also be the result of the power structure within a given community and between communities. Finally, it could be the result of pure violence and physical grabbing of the land. Mostly, all three operate at the same time. It is quite possible to infer from her analysis that it is land that directs the nature of capital accumulation which is not necessarily in contradiction with mainstream corporate capital version of accumulation but does indeed form the underbelly of contemporary capitalism. It is because of land that certain definite kind of negotiations by political subjects with the state is structured and even though the actors are state and political subjects the negotiation happens in a space where it is difficult to draw the boundary between legal and non-legal. Thus, while there has been a study of SEZs as a zone of exception as a result of one kind of land

acquisition, Pati shows that it is quite possible to have another form of zone of exception precisely because land has been acted upon politically by the subjects in a different way. In the case of SEZs the power of the state is able to sanitize land temporarily and reproduce it as a space of surveillance, inaccessibility, discipline and organized production for global capital. In the case of urban villages the fact that they are zones of exception lie precisely in their openness. These spaces are so because land is malleable here too as encroachment, grabbing and demolitions could be successfully practiced. And just like Romanian land records are a result of negotiation rather than 'scientific' interpretations. These spaces have their own mechanism of surveillance and discipline and more importantly their relation with global capital might be circuitous but is definitely not absent. The point is that 'informal' spaces of capital depend largely on the political condition of land. Differently, what can be termed as zone of exception depends on the network of power between state, political subjects and land. Zone of exception is not a stable empirical or theoretical or a space with only a few definite properties, it is varied and its nature and form depends, in the last analysis, on land. This will have important bearing on our study of infrastructure, in this case Delhi airport.

Finally, we need to spend some time analysing the question of land records and digitalization as it has important bearings on our analysis of land acquisition for the Delhi airport. In a research paper of Centre for Public Policy Research a remark on land stuck in litigation is made. It says that "if land that has been locked in litigation by the government for over 30 years is systematically evaluated and released into the free market, post allocating land out of this total, to engage in housing development activity undertaken by the State itself on a welfare-cum-profit motive, it could perhaps aid in combating the present housing crisis in our country."[12] The report then gives the figure that the area locked under litigation is 1, 150, 728 acres which is 0.14 per cent of the total land area. The report then makes a strong pitch for digitization of land records for that would help identify land ownership conclusively as well as prevent further litigation. This statement and the spirit need to be understood clearly. The welfare-cum-profit liberal project aside what this statement betrays is the incomprehension of land. Land that is disputed, under litigation or in any condition where 'ownership' can be ascertained only with difficulty or not at all is a dark spot for the state. Its authority and power is challenged because they cannot be recognized. It is quite another matter that those very lands could be used by people productively, collectively or even in a state of 'illegal occupation' by dalits or urban poor while under litigation. Digitalization of records is one way of exercising sovereign power over this obscure territory. The other way is, of course, violence and displacement. Amita Baviskar has shown convincingly how it is planning that creates in its "interstices" the liminal spaces of unplanned settlements on land. In that sense elements of violence and displacement are woven in the plan. It is the case that state plan is in constant exercise of comprehending land as much as it is concerned with altering land. So, it is plan and digitalization of land records that emerges as a source of power of the sovereign over land. There is a problem here though. Land records no matter how accurate could never be restricted to one interpretation and not even cadastral surveys produce a final unitary measurement of land as was shown in the study of Transylvania. Sushmita Pati in her study gives a hilarious account of how land records are used and interpreted by officials in Delhi. Most of the records are in Persian as a result of the colonial administrative policy and the officials responsible for interpreting the records don't know the language. This is enough ground for negotiations and the new 'interpretation' of the records has already rendered land malleable. But even if one grants that an infallible land can be produced it does not take away the question of power. In a study by CASUM-m it has been found that "in the process of developing computerized formats, tenure forms have been homogenized to exclude those used/occupied by marginal farms."[13] This is besides the loss that marginal farmers have to suffer in

terms of accessing the welfare measures of the state. The point is that records, digitized or in indecipherable scripts, must not be seen merely as an act of bureaucracy which is self-sufficient. It is not an absurd exercise. Actually, it is at once to comprehend land as well as physically control the land by the state. This is an exercise of graded power by the sovereign. This also lends to the political fact that this same impulse to comprehend and control land is at the root of the exercise of exception by the sovereign power.

We have now developed the theoretical tools required for our analysis of land acquisition for the Delhi airport. We want to see if there is something peculiar in the politics of land acquisition for infrastructure. We also want to see if land around infrastructure installations have a unique genealogy. We want to investigate the "after" of the instance of primitive accumulation and could all displacement, eviction and land grab be termed as such. Also, in the line of enquiry suggested by Samaddar we would like to see how new forms of labour could emerge from an act so primitive.

Deserted Village, Populated Land

Nangal Dewat situated inside the boundaries of the airport adjacent to Hotel Centaur is or rather should have been a nondescript village. Yet when the time for expansion of the airport came the village brought forth issues that will challenge the very notion of community, ownership and individual subjects. But first a tale of how gods could be isolated and mortals dig tunnels.

When Nangal Dewat was acquired for the expansion of the airport and some villagers settled elsewhere the problem of the community temple remained. It is supposedly an ancient temple. The temple was secured by the Delhi International Airport Limited (DIAL) by erecting iron sheets and police protection was provided. Enterprising villagers then dug a tunnel beneath the sheets to conduct worship. In 2013 when this field work was conducted the tunnel and the temple were both functioning. This could have been simply yet another example of everyday resistance by villagers whose land has been grabbed but whose spiritual faith remains with them. The only problem was that the question of faith was not new to the airport complex and it became a case of competitive religiosity. Another village, Mehram Nagar, near Terminal 2 whose local place of worship was near runway 10/28 was allegedly allowed to conduct worship. Needless to say this place of worship belonged to the Muslims. The issue generated enough interest and enough political capital that Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) intervened in the matter. The allegation went as far as to suggest that the location of the runway was changed to preserve the place of worship, in this case Mazar, of the muslims. The same allegation was repeated in interviews with the hindu inhabitants of Nangal Dewat but there was no documentary proof that it happened. At least, none was forthcoming till the point of time of field work. Even though it must be said that manipulating construction plans for airport was not unheard of for reasons other than purely economic or strategic. In the first quarter of the twentieth century when Delhi airport was still an airbase the colonial authorities dug a tunnel for making underground roads so that these very same villages Nangal Dewat and Mehram Nagar could be preserved. The absence of such considerations in contemporary times should be seen as the new imperative of governing spaces and people rather than any original sympathy or understanding of the colonial state.

To carry the narrative forward, once the RSS took the cause of the temple of Nangal Dewat the history of that village changed dramatically. Nangal Dewat became a village that was more than a thousand years old and became a site for all major political activities both in the colonial times as well as postcolonial. Nehru visited the place to congratulate the villagers for their rebellion against the British and Vinoba Bhave came calling for his Bhoodan Movement. History was created and

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memories made to claim the temple and the village. The problem was that the history and memory was not being created of an even 'community' and once the political reality of displacement and compensation hit the 'community' of worshippers unraveled to reveal a differential entity. The political subject that brought home this political reality was the dalits. There are now two Nangal Dewats one which has been displaced with the temple and the tunnel and another that has been resettled (only some) just a few kilometers away from original Nangal Dewat. This story is about those that have not been settled.

Nangal Dewat was notified to be acquired for the "public purpose" of expansion of Indira Gandhi International Airport in 1972. Alternative plots for those who lost their land were provided near Rangpuri Pahadi, another village near the airport. The plots that were to be provided according to the terms of compensation are as follows:

Sl. No.	Area Occupied by the Villagers (Sq Mtrs.)	Area Proposed to be Allotted by AAI (Sq. Mtrs)
1.	0-32	26
2.	33-48	40
3.	49-80	64
4.	81-100	90
5.	101-140	100
6.	141-180	160
7.	181-250	200
8.	251-350	250
9.	351-550	350
10.	551-800	450
11.	801-1500	550
12.	1500 and above	650

The figure had been arrived at by conducting a survey in 1972-73. Nangal Dewat consisted of old abadi (Lal Dora) as well as extended abadi area following the colonial pattern of division of land in villages. The problem was that although revenue records had been prepared in relation to the extended abadi area there was no record prepared for the old abadi or Lal Dora area. The terms of compensation were that plots of land were to be provided to those original occupants of land who were in physical possession of the land. The problem was that the villagers did not quite follow the precepts of land records assiduously or rather land records failed to register everyday changes happening to land. These changes ranged from construction of superstructure on the said land, to division of the plot amongst legal heirs (in which case the allotment was a single plot for the consolidated original plot and not two plots), sale or exchange amongst the landowners. It led to peculiar situations because the records won't match the field survey. Thus, there would be occasions where a person's name will be in the survey report but not in naksha muntazamin and vice versa. Even when the name appeared separately in the survey report and naksha muntazamin, the Delhi High Court observed that it does not lead automatically to an alternative plot on the basis of any superstructure raised. The interesting aspect is that land is separated from the built structure legally. It is an aspect which we should keep in mind while analyzing the built environment in terms of Harvey's category. Yet, these litigations were the easier part because what is unique about land records is the fact that an individual's name is fixed to a piece of land. The question is how do we

begin to understand land and subjects where the very individuality of subjects is denied. This is exactly what happened to the dalits of the village.

The story of first the settlement and eventually the displacement of dalits in Nangal Dewat is perhaps one of the most fruitful analytical conjunctures to study state, citizenship, identity and labour. It begins in 1958, just a decade after independence, when 122 dalits were settled down in Nangal Dewat as part of the project of land reforms undertaken by the postcolonial state. They were given plots of land for residence but not for agriculture or other economic activities. The four communities that were settled in Nangal Dewat were Makbuja Jullahan, Makbuja Chamaran, Makbuja Kumharan and Makbuja Ahle. The interesting aspect is that the land was not allotted to the individuals but to the communities. Unlike in the above case where the land and the person did not match in the records in the case of dalits there was no person. At least not till much later. This is of enormous significance and we will come to it later. What does it tell about the relationship between the citizenship granting state and the subject? Quite clearly, in this case the issue of individual citizenship does not arise. It was the community that was granted the land. Who gets what and where was to be decided by the individuals of the community within themselves. This question needs a deeper probe as the issue of caste is involved. If the state sees a particular caste group as a 'community' and not individuals with respect to its welfare project the nature of the social contract changes from a Rousseauist understanding of it. In fact, it is not even the Hobbesian Leviathan. Instead, what we have here is a state that treats its subjects differentially granting some (upper castes) citizenship and property rights while on the other citizenship is denied and supplemented with a form of pastoral power with putative property rights. This was till the imperative of capital took a decisive turn and the problem that the state confronted now was to extricate the individual from the community.

When the question of compensation for the acquired land came up it was quite clear that the measures adopted for the upper castes were different from those of the dalits. In any case, the three member committee that undertook the task of looking into the matter came up with recommendations for compensation to dalits. "The committee took the view that the records of 1958 may be considered only as a secondary evidence and a fresh survey be undertaken to ascertain the possession of lands in respect of 122 names that appeared in the records of 1958." The criteria for determining the eligibility of alternative plots was that "122 persons should also be in possession of the land in community land. In case of his death, his LRs should be in possession of the alloted land. Merely the allotment of land in the year 1958 should not be the sole basis for allotment of alternative plots." The secondary documents that were to be used for proving the possession in community land included "electricity bill etc." As a kind of relief to the displaced the committee "noticed that in the earmarking made in the year 1958, the plots were numbered. However, as on date, the position differs due to a gap of approximately 50 years. Therefore, it was considered that a person may not be rejected merely because of the reason that he is not occupying the same plot. However, he should be in possession of land in community land only, preferably in the same Khasra Number." The purpose of these criteria by the committee as interpreted by the Delhi High Court was "to ensure that those persons who had been in continuous possession since 1958 ought to be given alternative plots, since they had been living on the land for over 50 years, which was required for the expansion of IGI Airport, and were required to be rehabilitated. Thus, those persons whose name appeared in the list of 122 persons but had subsequently sold or exchanged their lands and moved out of the area would not be eligible for claiming an alternative plot of land. Similarly, persons who had acquired property in the community lands after 1958 would also not be eligible since they could not be stated in

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possession as original allottees of the community land." Let us pause and take a closer look at the interpretation of the court not legally but critically.

The problem for the court was to create a legal person of property. This was a problem because in the revenue records the land was community land. Here a writ petition by Harijan and Backward Jan Kalyan Samiti came to the rescue of the High Court. The originial writ petition was rejected because "the court was of the view that alternative plots should be allotted to such communities...group and not to individuals comprised in the group. It would be up to the group to divide the alternative land amongst its constituents." Clearly, the court was not yet ready to see individual/citizens. However, the Samiti again filed a separate writ petition and the above mentioned committee was formed. The uninscribed political subject demanded the status of a citizen. This particular judgement was the first step towards giving an individual identity of the legal person and hence a citizen. The survey and the electricity bill would sculpt the final citizen figure who is also a dalit. The result: 59 persons out of 122 fell through the net of the newly defined criteria of a propertied citizen. So, the question to be asking now is that what is it in the structure of state power that allows it to deny citizenship rights to the most marginalized even though the positive legal system creates a framework for its granting? The answer according to the Scheduled Caste Welfare Society in its deposition to the chief minister of Delhi is discrimination against dalits. This is not false as all 59 persons who were not allotted alternative land at Rangpuri Pahadi were rejected for reasons other than the criteria mentioned by the committee. It is quite interesting to note the difference in the nature of litigations in the case of dalits and non-dalits. While in most cases of upper caste allottees the litigation is about the size of allotted land commensurate to the original. This is one of the reasons the analytical distinction between land and superstructure becomes so important as most alterations in land was done through the built superstructure either by buying adjacent land or encroachment. In the case of dalits its plain and simple question of land. Yet this is only part of the explanation. Another crucial explanation is that the everyday life around land hardly ever follows the land records or other state apparatuses for property. The land was frequently exchanged by dalits according to convenience. Land or land as property for them was not fixed. It is a different vision of land from that of the state which always wants to fix it and document it. A fluid land is a challenge to the vision of the sovereign power which requires a firm and fixed land, *terra firma*. It is this fixity of land that allows the state to use its power of exception. In fact, land is that political entity where the principal power that the state uses is one of exception. Displacement, demolition, eviction etc. is not simply the exercise of the sovereign power of exception but in the age of globalization and rise of transnational quasi state bodies it is the ultimate expression of power of exception by the state. The practice of dalits challenged this operation of state power.

Anil Lohia, general secretary of the Society said that most of the dalits used to work at the airport mainly as porters in the airport godowns while the upper caste mostly operated either in taxis or were into the logistics business carrying goods to and from the airport. Dalits were the logistical labour. They still are but now they have also attained the status of migrant labour. This chapter, in some senses, provides the geneology of logistical labour. To make logistical labour it requires a complex operation of power sovereign, pastoral and biopolitics. Most importantly, this labour cannot be allowed to remain fixed in order to be suitably productive for capital. It has to be kept mobile. It has to be transformed into reserve army but that does not suffice anymore. It cannot be allowed to become a standing reserve army of labour. It has to constantly move not only physically or in terms of work but also in terms of identity, citizenship, subjecthood, non-subjecthood. The art of governance lies in regulating this movement. One might as well say that governance is actually the logistical operation of the state.

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