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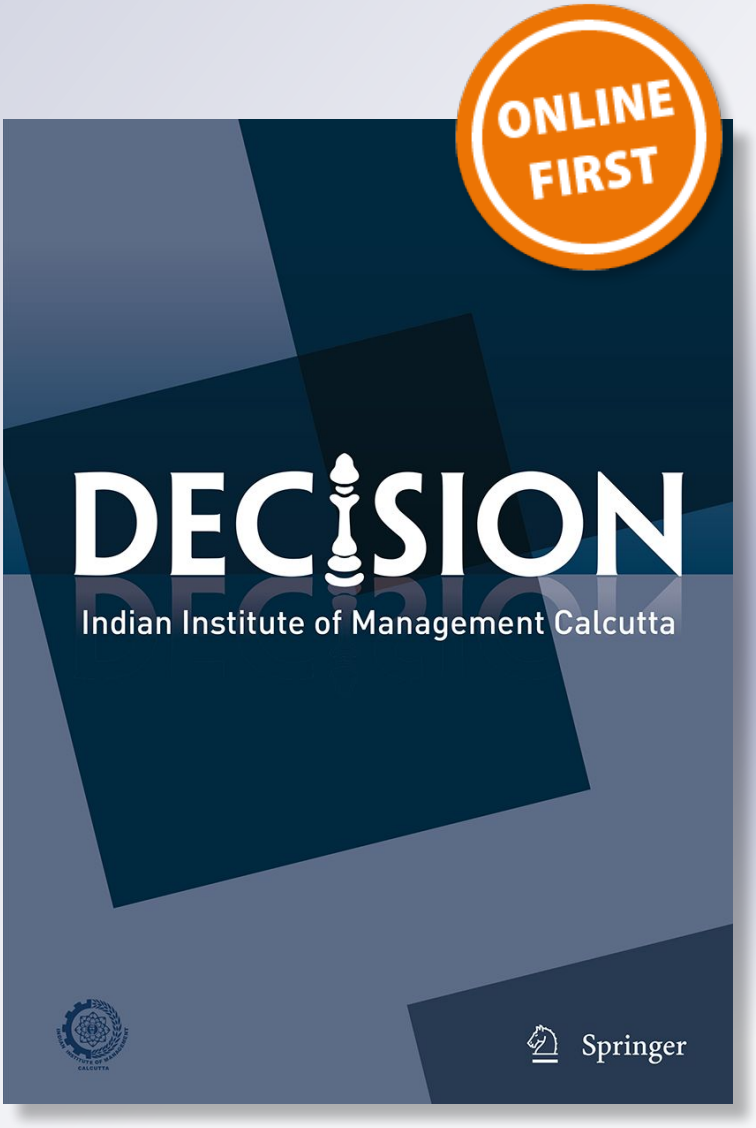

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Tenth Delhi: economy, politics and space in the post-liberalisation metropolis

Durba Chattaraj · Kushanava Choudhury · Moulshri Joshi

Abstract Recent studies of the post-liberalisation Indian metropolis have largely followed a theoretical framework from contemporary urban sociology in the West, drawn from David Harvey, Manuel Castells and Saskia Sassen, among others. These studies show the contemporary city being shaped by global transnational capital—which accumulates wealth through dispossession—resulting in a clearing of the poor and marginal from central urban areas to the periphery, and replacing them with middle- and upper-class newcomers. Concomitantly, new jobs in these cities have shifted from industrial manufacturing to post-industrial services for large transnational firms connected through international networks of global capital. These theories suggest that in the neoliberal city the welfare state has receded, surrendering its role of protecting working-class housing and employment to the interests of transnational capital. We argue that by identifying processes that unfold in New York or Paris in New Delhi, these studies only capture a small part of the picture of urban transformation in contemporary India. In the case of New Delhi, we show how Economic Liberalisation has fundamentally restructured India's capital city, producing a new iteration of the ancient metropolis, which we call the "Tenth Delhi". However, the new order does not, for the most part, resemble the above-described Western-derived theories. Instead of jettisoning its poor, Delhi has become a magnet for the working classes from across India. There are now more migrants each year to Delhi than to any other Indian city. Instead of the periphery, or squatter settlements on the urban edge, the influx of migrants is found in the oldest settlements of the city, the so-called Lal Dora areas or "Urban Villages", where new forms of rental housing have emerged. The cases of displacement and dispossession in Delhi are well documented, but little has been written about the more large-scale phenomena of "regularisation" where hundreds of the "Unauthorised" housing colonies that exist across the city have been formally regularised. Through a case study of one neighbourhood called Taimoor Nagar, which contains a patchwork of multiple types of spaces, populations and economic activities, this paper seeks to understand how things work at a small scale to explain a larger system, and to identify patterns that repeat across urban space in terms of spatial ordering, informal norms, economic relations and political change. We argue that capital-intensive dispossession has not been the primary form of urban transformation in post-Liberalisation New Delhi. The liberalisation of state

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control over spaces and types of economic activity and the expansion of democratically elected representation in this period has also been dramatically important. When most of the economy is unregulated, and most of urban space is unplanned, democratic politics mediates the relationship between urban citizens and the rule of law.

Keywords Urban governance · Law · Informal economy · Informal space · Urban planning · New Delhi · Urban studies · Urban politics · India

Introduction

Recent studies of the post-liberalisation Indian metropolis have largely followed a theoretical framework from contemporary urban sociology in the West, drawn from David Harvey, Manuel Castells, Saskia Sassen, et al. (Castells 1989; Harvey 2013; Sassen 2001). These studies show the contemporary city being shaped by global transnational capital—which accumulates wealth through dispossession—resulting in a clearing of the poor and marginal from central urban areas to the periphery, and replacing them with middle- and upper-class newcomers (a phenomenon often called gentrification in the USA). It has also transformed spaces of former working-class housing into real estate available for investment and speculation. Concomitantly, new jobs in these cities have shifted from industrial manufacturing to post-industrial services for large transnational firms connected through international networks of global capital (Castells 1989; Sassen 2001). These theories suggest that in the neoliberal city the welfare state has receded, surrendering its role of protecting working-class housing and employment to the interests of transnational capital. Under such conditions, Harvey and others have argued that these newly or would-be dispossessed urban residents must fight for "a right to the city", to make renewed claims on city space, the urban economy and the state (Harvey 2013).

In the Indian context, liberalisation has no doubt brought accumulation by dispossession, particularly in the case of land acquisition for SEZs, highways, mining and other large-scale capital-intensive projects enacted by the state at the behest of capital. In cities, unjust processes of dispossession are also taking place, as noted in the research of Banerjee-Guha (2013), or Menon-Sen and Bhan (2008) as well as many others. Others have written on the creation of elite enclaves such as gated communities (Srivastava 2015) and new greenfield cities (Sanyal and Bhattacharya 2011), and the spatial segregation of the poor to the urban periphery (Kundu and Ray Saraswati 2012), much as we find in Paris and other European capitals, where working-class and immigrant populations are segregated in public housing on the urban fringe. These works on contemporary Indian cities largely reproduce the theoretical framework of Western urban sociology discussed earlier and identify the same processes in urban India, of accumulation by dispossession, exclusive zones of residential settlement, and a push towards new poor settlements in the urban periphery.

We argue that by identifying processes that unfold in New York or Paris in New Delhi, these studies only capture a small part of the picture of urban transformation in contemporary India. In the case of New Delhi, we show how the Economic Liberalisation reforms of 1991 have fundamentally restructured India's capital city, producing a new iteration of the ancient metropolis, which we call the "Tenth Delhi". However, the new order does not, for the most part, resemble the above-described Western-derived theories. Instead of jettisoning its poor, Delhi has become a magnet for the working classes from across India. There are now more migrants each year to Delhi than to any other Indian city. Its population has doubled from 9.4 million in 1991, to an estimated 19 million today.

Instead of the periphery, or squatter settlements on the urban edge, the influx of migrants is found in the oldest settlements of the city, the so-called Lal Dora areas or "Urban Villages", where new forms of rental housing have emerged. The cases of displacement and dispossession in Delhi are well documented, but little has been written about the more large-scale phenomena of "regularisation" where hundreds of the "Unauthorised" housing colonies that exist across the city have been formally regularised, i.e. given land title, in the last quarter century. Urban Villages, Unauthorised Colonies, Unauthorised Regularised Colonies, Jhuggi Jhonpri Clusters, planned Low Income Group or Economically Weaker Sections Housing and many more, all form a complex terrain of land holdings, property rights and rental patterns in the city which do not follow a Harveyian narrative.

As for commerce, while some enclaves and malls have arisen, the more significant development is of the spread of commercial activity across all types of urban

space, which were previously only residential, with widespread mixed use of spaces for housing, work and trade. Most of these commercial activities are run by small firms untethered from the larger network of transnational corporate capital, which constitutes a tiny fraction of firms in the city. The scholarship of enclaves misses the reality of extreme levels of spatial diversity, and of different types of people (of different classes, regions, castes and religious communities), living beside each other in almost every square kilometre in contemporary Delhi. These transformations have important political implications, as is evident in the transformation of the political landscape of Delhi since 2014, with the rise of the Aam Aadmi Party—a new reformist political party which now controls the Delhi state assembly—which was able to mobilise voters across this new spatial order.

The Tenth Delhi: The City that Liberalisation Produced

In the 1970s, the urbanist Patwant Singh coined the term the "Ninth Delhi" to describe the post-colonial capital (Singh 1971). Singh's use of "ninth" was a reference to earlier ancient and medieval versions of Delhi, from the mythical Indraprastha, the residence of the Mahabharata's Pandavas (the first city), through the medieval sultanates and Mughal settlements, to Lutyens' Delhi, the capital of empire (the eighth city). Singh showed how the city after 1947 was spatially reordered by refugee colonies and planned residential colonies that were governed by the unprecedented authority of a new bureaucratic body created by the post-colonial state called the Delhi Development Authority (DDA).

The Ninth Delhi was born of Partition. Between 1948 and 1953, Jawaharlal Nehru's government scrambled to build rehabilitation colonies for refugees. Delhi's population grew from 920,000 in 1941 to 1.7 million a decade later. In 1957, the central government set up the DDA as a planning authority to rationally order the capital's urban space. In 1962, the government developed the first Master Plan—a legal document which laid out the plan for Delhi's urban development for the next two decades. Subsequent Master Plans would follow.

From 1951 to 1991, the population of Delhi grew from 1.7 million to 9.4 million. According to Jagmohan, former Lieutenant Governor of Delhi, in that time, the DDA acquired a whopping 72,000 acres of land in the city (2015). By the 1990s, the DDA had built 14 lakh housing units and planned colonies, as well as office complexes and commercial centres, and created over 100 parks and forests to provide urban green cover. Much of the land acquired by the DDA was farmland belonging primarily to Jats and Gujjars. These communities continued to live in ever-decreasing portions of their land, which the DDA did not acquire but rather designated as "Urban Villages", cordoned off by a so-called "l*al dora*" (red boundary) on a map—a zone of exception in an otherwise planned space.

Since Economic Liberalisation in 1991, the population of Delhi has doubled, from 9.4 million to an estimated 19 million today. Post-Liberalisation Delhi grew from being a political capital to also becoming a business hub and a magnet of urban migration. People moved to the city to find jobs, for education, and other newly available opportunities. But residential space to accommodate them—at least planned space—was scarce. The DDA's planned development could not keep pace with migration and economic changes occurring in the city.

In a 2013 article Gautam Bhan demonstrates how the failings of the DDA's plans contributed to patterns of illegal settlement in the city. Bhan noted that the DDA itself admitted that it built four lakh fewer housing units than it was mandated to by its Master Plan, and that 88% of that shortfall was in housing for the "Economically Weaker Sections" (EWS)—for the poor. In that shortfall, a range of unplanned housing options—some legal, some not—mushroomed in the city to meet the demands of migrants, in Urban Villages, as well as Jhuggi Jhopri Clusters and Unauthorised Colonies (Bhan 2013; Puri 2008). By 2015, only a fifth of the city's residents lived in areas that were planned (Sheikh and Banda 2015). There are at least 1000 UA Colonies in Delhi, occupied by 35% of the city's population. Many millions more live in the JJ clusters, which are also technically illegal. Others live in legal, but unplanned, areas such as Urban Villages or "Unauthorised Regularised" Colonies, which are UA Colonies that have been "regularised", i.e. undergone a process of legal recognition by the state government, and whose residents have, in some cases, been given land titles.

We term the new city that has emerged in the last 25 years, driven by new economic and political forces,

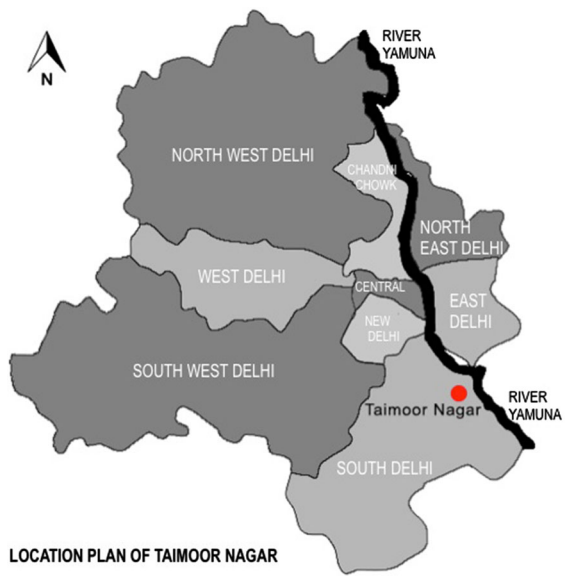
and organised by new forms of spatial ordering, as the Tenth Delhi. We deliberately avoid labelling it the informal city, the unauthorised city, the subaltern city, or the slum city, because these terms suggest that the processes that we describe in this paper are somehow marginal or exceptional to a formal or authorised norm. This is not the case. Rather these forms taken together constitute a new, complex and dynamic set of norms that produce order in the Tenth Delhi, the city that Liberalisation built.

The Taimoor Nagar case study

Much has been written about the rise of malls and call centres in post-Liberalisation urban India (Fernandes 2006; Oza 2006; Upadhya and Vasavi 2008, Srivastava 2015). These studies follow Sassen's analysis of firms linked to transnational global capital in emerging cities. However, such studies capture a small percentage of total economic activity in Delhi, where most firms are small and have no legal status. In Delhi 97.5% of firms employ less than 10 people and 76% are off the books (Economic Census 2005). Most of these firms are located in unplanned parts of the city, where the majority of Delhi-ites live.[1] There is a clear link between spatial informality and informality of work.

These macro-statistics give us a picture of the vastly informal nature of the Tenth Delhi but tell us little about the micro-level processes through which work and space are organised. The Master Plan dictated that commercial and manufacturing activity could only take place in specific zones in the city. Yet these zones were often too expensive or otherwise inaccessible for the majority of the new firms that emerged post-Liberalisation. Instead, firms and housing clustered in new and complex patterns which were contrary to the Master Plan (Benjamin 2005; Bhan 2013; Sundaram 2009). Scholars who study this phenomenon generally conceptually segregate spaces as formal and informal, slum and non-slum, or planned and unplanned. In planning, architecture, anthropology and economics, commonly used terms like the unplanned, the unorganised or the informal push most of the city to a category of marginality and Otherness. Yet these negatively defined concepts lump together spaces and economic activities which are diverse and which, taken together constitute a far larger part of the contemporary city than either formal firms or planned colonies.

As scholars in disparate disciplines facing the same theoretical blind spots, we sought to study the city we see everyday but cannot analyze using our standard tools from any single disciple. To view these understudied phenomena, we chose a multidisciplinary approach, drawing on the authors' respective fields of anthropology, political science and architecture, to study how work, politics and housing interact with space. We focused on a one square kilometre slice of Delhi called Taimoor Nagar, near the Yamuna River in south Delhi,[2] which could be covered on foot, to study it in detail from the ground up. In 2013, we led a team of architecture students and gathered primary data through a door-to door socio-economic-spatial survey, as well as through interviews, participant observation, photography and figure-ground drawings. We hoped that by approaching the problem on a small scale and using methods from multiple disciplines, we could find new ways of seeing, to show how work,



LOCATION PLAN OF TAIMOOR NAGAR

[1] There is little reliable data on housing patterns in the contemporary city, part of the "invisibility" of the majority that we examine in this paper. We draw here on a 2015 Centre for Policy Research Report by Sheikh and Banda.

[2] Our choice of Taimoor Nagar was one of convenience as the School of Planning and Architecture's hostel is located nearby. In 2013, we ran a series of workshops at SPA with a team of architecture/planning students and they contributed greatly to this research. Their names are listed in the acknowledgements.

space and politics are connected to produce order in the contemporary city. Below find a map of Taimoor Nagar as it is located in the city of Delhi.

We chose a spatial slice rather than a single neighbourhood or housing typology (for example a slum or an unauthorised colony) precisely because this type of spatial analysis allows for a picture of Delhi that demonstrates the ways in which the formal and the informal, the authorised and unauthorised, and the planned and the unplanned coexist. We posit that outside of Lutyens Delhi, almost any one square kilometre slice of the city will reveal a similar cross section of multiple typologies of housing, work and class composition.

Our space-centric and multidisciplinary method was grounded in the "studio" format used in architecture and planning. The studio is a term that describes both a space—much like a laboratory—and an educational paradigm, which has been the backbone of architectural and planning education in India, where students design buildings independently within a given set of constraints, by applying multiple methods, and through several iterations of critiques and collaborations (Prakash 2015). In the Taimoor Nagar study, the goal was not to design buildings but rather to interpret urban space. With our team of architecture students, we reinforced the studio format with social science methods such as ethnography, interviews and door-to-door surveys to enable the studio to move into the city and analyse everyday urban space.

Although most of the student participants lived in the SPA Residential Complex which is located in Taimoor Nagar, the familiarity with the place did not give them spatial legibility. Architects and planners see the city primarily through the Master Plan. The unplanned areas are rendered uniformly illegible. We realised the student researchers too could not distinguish between different forms of unplanned spaces, or informal settlements, which they initially coded as visual "disorder" instead of as complex forms that need to be viewed through a new lens. Selecting a square kilometre patch constituting various categories, not limited by their legal status or physical boundaries, enabled us to look at the space as a whole. The students lived in Taimoor Nagar but did not know the invisible processes that produced it, just as we as scholars live in Delhi, with its thousands of Taimoor Nagars, which operate on an invisible order that is not outside of the formal and the legal but co-produced by people's complex relations with it. The reality of how urban space is produced in contemporary Delhi has been both understudied and theorised. What constitutes a majority of the urban experience in Delhi—the dense, mixed and unexceptional urban form—lacks a vocabulary to satisfactorily describe it. In architecture, the spaces outside the formal fold have been explained as "interstitial", or in-between (Gupte et al. 2007). Not only is this urban form not "interstitial" anymore, its organising principles are hard to decipher. Challenging the dominant view of the Plan that architects and planners operate from, in our research we innovated a methodology that was placed across disciplines and spatial typologies and rested on empirical evidence, to attempt to generate ground-up theory for contemporary Indian urbanism.

Typologies of space

Informal settlements

According to the Delhi government, aside from planned colonies that were developed according to the Master Plan, there are at least seven types of other residential colonies. These include:

1. Jhuggi Jhonpri (JJ) Clusters
2. Slum Designated Areas
3. Unauthorised (UA) Colonies
4. JJ Resettlement Colonies
5. Rural Village
6. Regularised Colonies
7. Urban Villages

It is worth noting that *within* categories of informal housing there exist vast differences with regard to interactions with the state. For example, JJ Clusters and Unauthorised Colonies are both settlements which squat illegally on private or government land—taken together these two categories of informal settlement house perhaps half of the residents of Delhi. Unauthorised Colonies are usually created by a property dealer who sells plots to buyers, on which they then build private houses. In some cases, the land is privately owned but zoned for agriculture only, not housing. Thus, the land has been legally sold but illegally developed into housing. JJ clusters are often squatters on government land, even though the

residents often say they "own" their home (which means only that they own the structure and do not pay rent to a landlord). Both are unauthorised forms of housing, yet JJ clusters in Delhi face a far greater possibility of resettlement than UA Colonies, which are rarely resettled. Furthermore JJ clusters are almost never "regularised" through land titling, while UA Colonies in Delhi have been regularised at various points in the city's modern history (Unauthorised Colonies Cell 2015; Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board). The official rationale for this discrepancy of treatment within categories of informal housing is that UA Colony residents own their land legally. But in reality many UA Colonies (as was the case in Taimoor Nagar) are squatters on government land, just like JJ clusters.

A more credible reason is that while many lower–middle-class migrants to Delhi aspire to buy a house in a UA Colony, JJ Clusters tend to house a much poorer population. Furthermore, the latter rarely invest in building multi-storey houses, or making civic improvements, because the settlement's existence is always under a level of threat. By contrast, once a UA Colony becomes an Unauthorised Regularised (UR) Colony, it impacts property values and access to various resources including sewage lines and garbage collection by the municipality. In Taimoor Nagar, the UA Colony was one among 895 colonies in Delhi which had applied in 2012 for regularisation.

"Designated slums" and EWS housing

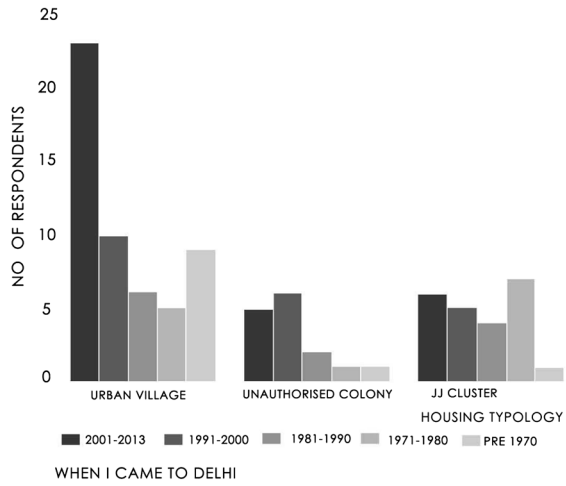
In the urban scholarship and development literature, "slum" studies of Delhi are often studies of JJ Clusters or UA Colonies. But the "slum" in Delhi is a very specific state-defined category. While scholars may use the term "slum" to indicate a variety of housing types for the urban poor, or simply to indicate any type of housing outside of planned colonies, "designated slums" are actually a specific state-defined category of settlement. They are usually older than JJ Clusters and have provisional recognition from the government, which enables them to access state services, and most crucially, protects them from demolition and displacement, unlike JJ Clusters.

There are no designated slums in Taimoor Nagar. Rather, the planned area of Taimoor Nagar includes the SPA housing complex, as well as an Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) Housing Colony built by the DDA. According to the logic of the Master Plan, EWS flats were meant to provide housing for the poor. However, their scarcity and their relative spaciousness means that EWS flats in contemporary Delhi are desirable as housing for the elite. In Taimoor Nagar, our study found that many of the EWS flats had been renovated and rented or transferred to upper–middle-class residents.

Housing for new migrants

The scholarship on urban migration often presumes that new migrants move to slums. But few new migrants to the Tenth Delhi have been able to find accommodation in state-recognised "designated slums" or in the planned EWS colonies which were built for the poor. In Taimoor Nagar, the populations in the JJ Cluster and the UA Colony also mostly comprised residents who migrated before 1991 and therefore had saved enough to "buy" a house in the city. Some UA housing had been converted into rental property, for new migrants, but otherwise—contrary to our assumptions—new migrants found little accommodation in these informal settlements. We found that most new migrants in Taimoor Nagar rented tenements in the former "lal dora" or Urban Village section, the oldest and most "traditional" part of Taimoor Nagar. Below is a graphic that illustrates how long people have lived in various housing typologies in Taimoor Nagar.

The village today is a collection of lanes lined with five-storey buildings hosting shops on the ground floor. At its core is a *chaupal*, a central area where



elderly Gujjar men still hold court while smoking hookahs. Historically this was the space where the village council met, though currently it retains no formal powers. Administratively, there is now a Resident Welfare Association, and the village is part of a ward with a municipal councilor. It receives services from the Municipal Corporation, like any other formal part of the city. Yet in other ways it is treated like an Urban Village both by the people living there and by local-level state actors, who still make allowances for it as a self-administering exceptional space.

There is extensive mixed use (of commercial and retail with residential) in the village area, in violation of the Master Plan guidelines. Building rules are not applied, most glaringly in terms of the height of the buildings, which can reach five stories in an area where even as an urban village the building bye-laws stipulated that "residential buildings within Lal Dora and Extended Lal Dora are permitted two-and-half floors" (Report of the Expert Committee on Lal Dora 2007).

In Taimoor Nagar, these five-storey buildings are tenements which house new migrants from Bihar, Nepal, Bengal and elsewhere. These buildings are owned and managed by Gujjar landlords who converted their two-storey houses into five-storey tenements to lease to migrants from north and eastern India. They invest the rent collected from these tenements in the real estate market on the urban outskirts of the city. These buildings have largely come up in the last two decades after Liberalisation. Despite being technically illegal or unauthorised, these buildings are commonplace in Urban Villages across Delhi because they fulfil a fundamental need for housing for new migrants to the city. In 2013, these tenements provided single room accommodation for Rs 2000. Both the size and price cannot be matched in the EWS housing provided by the DDA, which are larger sized and thus more expensive. This pattern is repeated in Urban Villages across Delhi as well as the larger National Capital Region (Naik 2015).

Regulations and "jungle raj"

Going by the state's categories, our one square kilometre space had a DDA planned colony, an Urban Village, an Unauthorised Colony and a JJ Cluster. However, even the state's typologies are hardly straightforward when operationalised on the ground. For instance, for local MCD officials, it is often unclear what type of classification a piece of land actually has, and whether it will conform to an administrative typology. The Urban Village is one such example. Lal Dora areas are supposed to be exempt from *some* building regulations, as unplanned but formal spaces which still technically come under the laws of the Master Plan. In reality though, MCD official do not enforce *most* building regulations, including building bye-laws, in these areas (Report of the Expert Committee on Lal Dora 2007).

The way in which classification works on the ground is complex, but not illegible. Uncovering these micro-workings in a variety of cases is an important part of a research agenda on urban India. Solomon Benjamin's work on Vishwas Nagar, a wiremaking cluster in East Delhi in the 1980s, shows that there are a dozen types of rental arrangements in that one settlement alone (1991). There are rules and parameters that govern local classifications and understanding of space. These are informed both by state classifications and longer-standing local and historical categories, yet are distinct from both.

Even the informal is regulated by sets of highly specific local norms and regulations. For example, in the urban village, aside from allowing five-storey construction, officials also allow extensive mixed use of space, with buildings that have commercial, manufacturing and residential use. As an MCD official said, *"Nahin hona chahiye lekin hota hain"* (It should not be this way, but it happens). When it comes to clear violations of existing regulations, local officials choose not to "see" them, unless forced to do so. While there are many practices in Taimoor Nagar which are not legal but exist on the ground, this does not mean that "anything goes". As the same official told us, despite deviations from formal regulations, not having *any* sets of norms would mean "*jungle raj*".

Rather, understanding these norms as they are deployed by residents, politicians, bureaucrats and the police requires situated forms of knowledge that are specific to cases and locations. In this, local actors, whether state or non-state, demonstrate what James Scott understands as *metis*—"a wide array of practical skills and acquired intelligence responding to a constantly changing natural and human environment" (1998), as against high modernist state planning and rule-based bureaucracy. Thinking of lower-level state functionaries as *metis-walas,* as holders of valuable

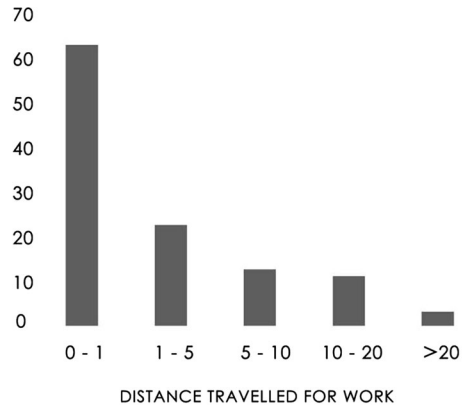
situated knowledge, may help with understanding the meticulous ordering and internal forms of regulation that exist within the informal, but are perhaps less visible to planners and bureaucrats.

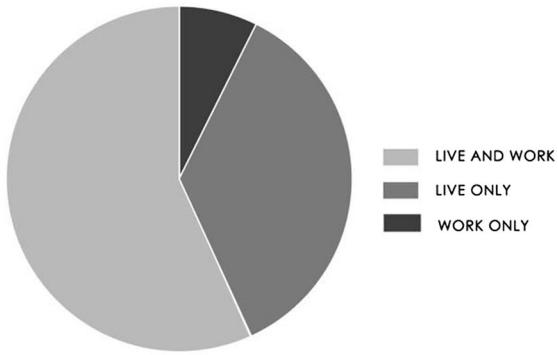
Work and space

Occasionally in Delhi, there are fits of state action to enforce the Master Plan by demolishing illegal structures. These are usually initiated by a judge or IAS officer. Though regularisation is a far more widespread phenomenon in Delhi than demolition, these demolitions make more spectacular headlines. The gutted showrooms on Mehrauli–Gurgaon Road remain standing as monuments to an activist judge who ordered all illegal construction on that stretch to be sealed in the mid-2000s. Such acts may please a few bureaucrats but they hardly make a dent in how the city's economic life is organised. They are exceptions that prove the norm, that if all units in violation of zoning were actually sealed, then the city's economic life would effectively be shut down. And if all unauthorised housing were torn down, most of the city would be demolished (Biswas 2005).

The Master Plan imposes significant limits on where manufacturing, warehousing, commercial and retail properties can be located. Retail is zoned in "community markets" and "commercial centres", and manufacturing is segregated to zoned "industrial areas". These forms of spatial segregation pose practical problems for most small firms (of less than 10 people), which comprise 97.5% of all firms in the city. In Taimoor Nagar, almost all commercial activity takes place in the unplanned sections. Most retail is concentrated in the Urban Village and JJ Cluster. There are manufacturing and services clusters engaged in woodworking, apparel manufacturing, metalwork, waste recycling, etc. The patchwork of diverse spaces enables productive forms of economic clustering, which needs suppliers, distributors, workshops, warehouses, and accommodation for workers, all close at hand (Benjamin 2005; Sundaram 2009). In Taimoor Nagar, most people surveyed were employed in small firms or ran micro-firms themselves. The majority of people said they owned a business. "Business" here means a wide variety of things, from vegetable vendors to owners of retail showrooms, which are mostly off the books. The multiplicity of work allowed in unplanned areas is essential to economic growth in Delhi.

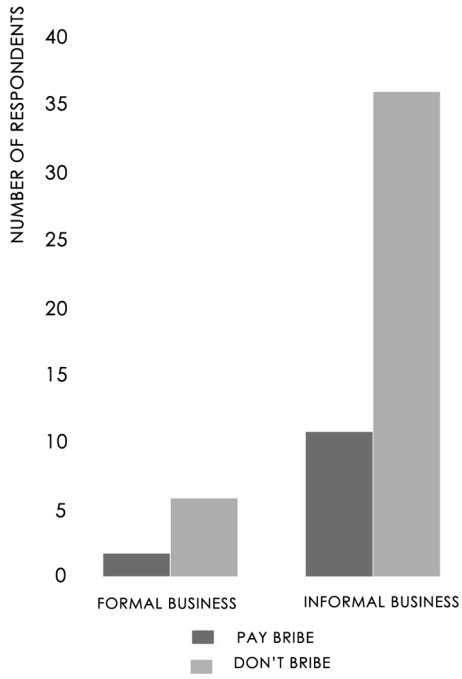
Without these options, the majority of residents of the city could not afford to live in or set up firms in Delhi. In Taimoor Nagar, the majority of people surveyed said they both lived and worked in the area or the surrounding neighbourhoods. Over 60 per cent said they travelled 1 km or less for work. The graphs below show that there is significant overlap between work and residence.





LIVE AND/OR WORK IN TAIMOOR NAGAR

Our survey revealed that most business owners in Taimoor Nagar said they had no papers—*kagazat*—for their business, meaning that they were informal, much like 76% of all firms in the city, as is demonstrated by the graph below. In addition, most business owners—both those who had formal businesses as well as those who had informal businesses—said they did not pay regular bribes to police. In fact, in Taimoor Nagar there seemed to be no connection between legal status and paying a bribe, as is demonstrated in the figure below.



BRIBES : FORMAL VS INFORMAL

This is surprising because scholarship on informal work suggests that the police and the hafta system are the means of producing order in informal spaces. The question then is: How are these spaces ordered?

The democratisation of New Delhi: doing business, claiming space

We mean "order" in the most basic sense that political scientists understand it, which is order as the opposite of chaos, which can take hold when a space lacks shared norms or rules and an understanding of what constitutes legitimate authority. In such situations, a political theoriest (and likely not an anthropologist) would argue that violence is common as individuals or groups seek to assert their dominance and further their interests. In political theory, the opposite of order is usually the law of the jungle, what Hobbes termed the "state of nature", or what the MCD official in our fieldwork called "*jungle raj*".

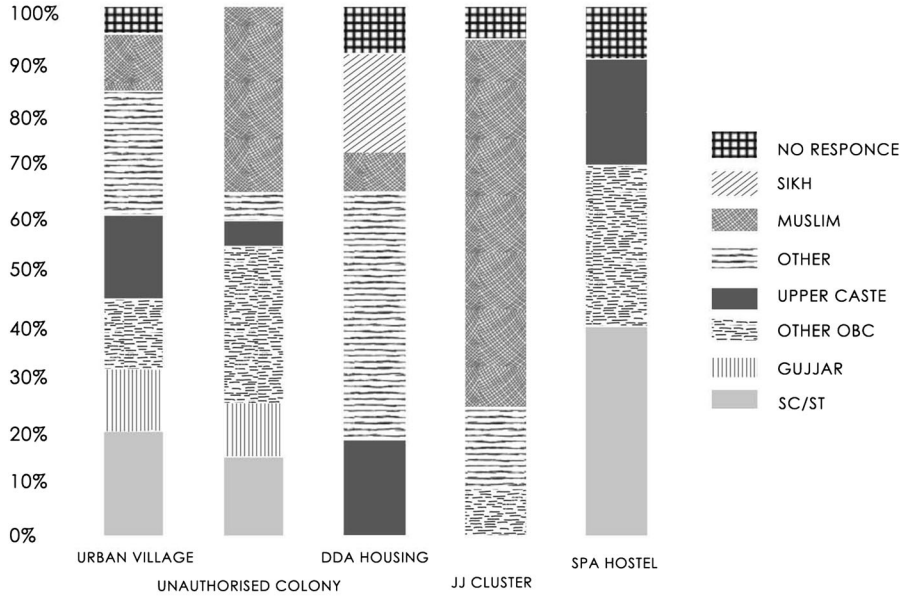
Taimoor Nagar is neither in a state of nature nor a jungle raj. If anything, the perception of safety is greater there than in many planned areas of the city which become deserted after dark. Our premise is that there is order, and that this order is different from earlier iterations of order found in pre-liberalisation Delhi. If the Master Plan produced order in the Ninth City, it does not do so now. In the Tenth Delhi, a wide diversity of people, interests, and economic activities are accommodated and organised in cramped, largely informal, and mostly unplanned, urban space. In the Tenth Delhi, order is produced by democratic politics. Below see a breakup of religion and caste in Taimoor Nagar by housing typology (locality).

In Delhi, Liberalisation and democratisation happened in the same time period. Until 1993, New Delhi was a space administered by the Home Ministry of the central government, with an appointed Lieutenant Governor, and a weak municipal corporation, with no elected Assembly or Chief Minister. In 1993 Delhi developed a hybrid system, with a 70-seat elected Assembly and a Chief Minister, as well as several hundred municipal ward councilors. It still retained the unelected Lieutenant Governor appointed by the Home Ministry who controls the DDA and the Delhi Police. While a full discussion is outside the scope of this paper, the effects of the creation of the Assembly have become apparent two decades later, particularly during the 2014 and 2015 assembly elections.

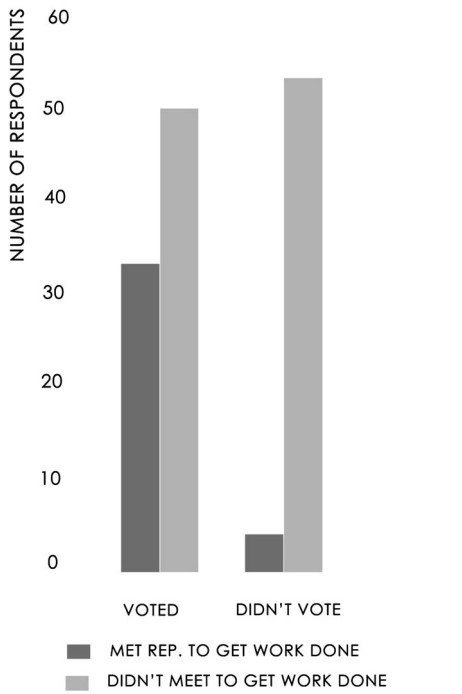
In our survey, we asked respondents if they had voted in the previous Assembly Elections. About 58% had voted, while 40% had not. When we asked the people who voted whether they had met their councilor or MLA "to get work done", about 35% of voters had themselves met their councilor or MLA to get their own work done, whereas only 5% of non-voters had met the councilor or MLA. This is represented in the figure below.

We were careful not to ask whether they had met the leader at all, say at meetings during election campaigns. Rather, these respondents had met their representatives specifically for their own ends.

Residents of Taimoor Nagar suggested that MLAs or councilors were approachable when they had problems. The relationship with the elected official is part of an ongoing political process, not a one-off outcome. In fact in Taimoor Nagar, we found that the type of space in which one lives has significant correlation with the level of engagement with local politics, irrespective of education or class (or often inversely related to education or class, where poorer or less-educated citizens are far more politically involved than the rich). The MLA can



RELIGION AND CASTE BY ITS LOCALITY



MET MLA/COUNCILOR TO GET WORK DONE

secure a water or electricity connection, regularise a settlement or prevent harassment by the police by making a phone call. Then, local-level bureaucrats can provide basic services, slowly extending varied forms of security of tenure. This extension of services is almost entirely a politically mediated process, rather than a planned one. How these processes occur over time can be illustrated with a story of cow-driven gentrification.

Two decades ago, the Delhi government deemed dairies illegal within city limits. Dairies were evicted and resettled outside city limits, but currently approximately 1000 "illegal" dairies exist in Delhi. Meanwhile, before large-scale land acquisition by the DDA, Taimoor Nagar mostly housed farming and grazing land belonging to the Gujjars. In the 1980s, the government acquired land from the dairy farmers along the Yamuna river. Then, the land lay fallow for over a decade and the dairy farmers continued grazing their cattle there. By the 1990s, the farmers built sheds for their cattle. The MLA arranged for water, electricity and eventually road access to sheds for the cows. Then, farmers built a hut for an overnight guard because cattle require constant watching, and in order to deter cattle thieves. Over time the huts and sheds, now linked up to power and water from the city's grid, were converted to rental housing for humans. Eventually, the land was plotted and sold off as well. Soon the informal colony of cattle became an Unauthorised Colony of humans. There were still some cowsheds interspersed within four-storey tenements and private houses in the UA colony when we

did our fieldwork. But that would surely change as soon as the colony was included in the list of 895 colonies that were to be "regularised" by the Delhi government. The cows moved on to gentrify a new pasture.

It is through the process of "regularisation"—the re-classification of previously Unauthorised settlements as "regularised"—that political processes can change the legal status of a settlement. Indeed regularisation drives and promises on the part of political parties reach their zenith during election years (Anwar 2015). To be considered for regularisation, Residents Welfare Associations (RWAs) have to present plans to the government and show that the majority (usually 60%) of the land area is covered, with detailed maps and documents. The determinant of which colonies will be regularised, however, is also political, based on whether the area is within the constituency of the ruling party. Once regularised, the property value shoots up when a house gets a land title, as it then becomes salable in the legal market. For example, the price per plot in the UA Colony in Azad Nagar was Rs 75 lakh, which shot up to Rs 3 crore after regularisation (India Today 2013). In Delhi, regularisation is connected to the speculative land market across the city, which is a major repository of surplus untaxed wealth. In fact, during the recent regularisation drive in 2012, cases emerged of fake maps being deposited to the Delhi government, showing plotted areas which were actually fields. Once the fake map is accepted as "regularised", then the land can be parcelled into plots and sold.

Hernando De Soto has written extensively about the need for titling in Third-World countries to unleash hidden reserves of capital that can be used as collateral (2003). In urban sociology in the West, there have been many critiques of De Soto's argument as being "neoliberal". In the Indian context, regularisation of unauthorised colonies has taken place in cities across many states, by ruling parties of radically different ideologies from the CPIM to the BJP (Bhan 2013; Bhide 2014). In Delhi, there were waves of regularisation even before Economic Liberalisation. If one looks at the history of the giving of land titles to squatters, this process, in itself, seems hardly neoliberal in the Indian context. It is true, however, that De Soto's claim is overstated in the Indian context: titling itself does not lead people out of poverty (Gilbert 2002). Moreover, robust markets exist even for untitled property in informal settlements (Birch et al. 2016). Regularisation rather is the endpoint in a long, incremental process of state recognition, through the extension of services such as electricity, water, postal delivery, schools and sewer lines. Moreover, these processes need to be incremental in order serve the shifting economic needs of the businesses located there (Benjamin 1991).

This process of extensive contact with local political leaders as a way of getting access to state resources has been well documented by Javier Auyero in his study of clientelism as a normal form of doing politics in a Buenos Aires slum (2001). For most people who live and work on the wrong side of the law, democratic politics becomes the main means of ensuring day-to-day social order. Auyero studied a marginal slum population, whereas we chose a locality in Delhi that would provide a cross section of spaces and populations. In a city where most housing is in unplanned spaces and most firms are informal, political ordering of space exists not just for poor people, but for *most* people, many of whom are economically well-off but share the same problems as poorer citizens, including the lack of formal papers for their businesses or spaces of work and housing. Benjamin demonstrates that in India political actors at the most local level of democracy—the ward councilor, the local MLA—become the agents through which a politics of accommodation is enacted. In Taimoor Nagar, these political functions are widespread, well known, and practiced in everyday life. A phone call from an MLA to an MCD official can ensure that a building that is higher than the code is not sealed, just as a call from the MLA's office to the Jal Board can get an Unauthorised Colony access to piped water supply or state water tankers in Delhi's parched summer months.

An important vein of recent scholarship on India has examined these political processes in-depth, but often this type of politics is consigned to a non-civil, non-formal arena of politics which is juxtaposed against other forms. Partha Chatterjee locates such processes into the realm of "political society", as the street politics that is the opposite of "civil society" (Chatterjee 2006). Similarly Ananya Roy's use of the concept of the "shadow city" as opposed to the "city" (2009) suggest that such processes happen outside the zone of normal, or rule-bound politics or state action. In academic literature on Indian urban politics, such

activities are either pejoratively labelled "vote bank" politics or as exceptions—even if they are seen as positive exceptions—to how "normal" politics works. We find this a fallacy of distinctions. In a democratic state, elected representatives are supposed to represent constituents' interests and provide access to state resources in exchange for votes. Politics and state action in Taimoor Nagar is quite normal and unexceptional in this sense and would be recognisable to scholars of democratic politics, particularly urban patronage politics and political machines, in many parts of the world.

What makes Delhi exceptional is not its democracy but its bureaucracy, which has forced most Delhi residents to live at least partially outside the law (as owners of informal businesses, or residents in an unauthorised colony). This does not negate their claims to political representation and access to the state. Rather it demonstrates the marginality of the law and the centralised bureaucracy in producing order on the ground. The duty of an elected official in a democracy is to represent the interests of their constituents, whoever they may be. In many cases, this requires providing legal protection, or making legal, those constituencies who are currently outside the law. The "regularisation" of unauthorised housing colonies is a very visible example of how legislation is passed by elected representatives in a democratic system to extend legal protection to their constituents. A political system where an elected representative represents the interests of his or her constituency is what political theorists define as a democracy.

The election of the Aam Aadmi Party to the Delhi Assembly in 2014 and 2015 is an assertion of the political demands of the Tenth Delhi. Unlike the two establishment parties, the Congress and the BJP, the AAP's campaigns did not target specific caste or religious communities but rather specific spaces. In its mobilisation against spurious water bills, or its campaign against electricity price gouging, it was able to mobilise people of the same settlement type who have similar problems, similar aspirations and similar interests, instead of fighting election-season battles based on class, caste, religion or community. In the post-Liberalisation city, where large numbers of citizens are not alienated labourers but rather are small traders and producers, interests are organised around space, formality and access to the law. The politics of space needs to be brought to the centre of studies of inequality and justice in Indian cities. In a geographically stratified city, the AAP's victory was the assertion of the demographic power of the "illegal" and unplanned spaces that make up the majority of the city.

Conclusion

When most of the economy is unregulated, and most of urban space is unplanned, democratic politics mediates the relationship between urban citizens and the rule of law. An account of post-Liberalisation economics and space in India's capital city thus becomes an account of Indian democracy. There is a need for more grounded research along these lines. We hope our work contributes to opening up a research agenda as we try to understand the content and contours of economic transformation in the world's largest democracy.

The effects of neoliberalism as argued by Harvey and others—of large-scale corporate capital with state power at its behest, dispossessing groups and displacing them to the periphery—may be a familiar narrative in North American and European cities. But capital-intensive dispossession has not been the *primary* form of urban transformation in post-Liberalisation New Delhi. The liberalisation of state control over spaces and types of economic activity and the expansion of democratically elected representation in this period has also been dramatically important. Harvey et al. presume a world before neoliberalism where the city and its residents existed within the protections of a welfare state. In New Delhi, however, as in most Indian cities, there was no such edenic past to lose; there is only a more egalitarian world to gain. The central state was largely a controlling and coercive authority, which controlled economic and spatial relations through myriad regulations, red tape and bureaucratic might. These aspects of state coercion have decreased, not only over firms—through the loosening of the license permit raj—but also over space. Instead, new forms of order have emerged in their place, which are negotiated in the domain not of bureaucracy or the law but of democratic politics. Our stance in this paper is not normative (we do not posit that this emergent form in the Tenth Delhi is an ideal or just form of urban ordering), rather it is descriptive and analytical. Our observations are substantiated by

other empirical studies of Delhi (Benjamin 1991; Sheikh and Banda 2015) and also echo Oldenberg's classic study of Delhi politics and patronage systems (1976).

Our study also raises questions about how politicians negotiate the law and the legal limits of their powers in providing access to resources to their constituents and how these negotiations are managed. We suggest that street-level bureaucrats need to be studied as state actors who are regulators of economic activity in space, beyond simplistic notions of corruption or bribery. How do local-level policemen, junior engineers, health inspectors and others regulate business activity in spaces where most of the activity is outside the law? The proliferation of domestic capital in the hands of myriad small-, medium- and large-scale businessmen and urban landowners needs to be studied. Much of this activity takes place outside banking systems, through informal social networks and financing that is not on the books, and fuels the construction boom which is restructuring the urban periphery. The studies of urbanism solely as displacement miss out on much of how economic and spatial order is being reconstructed under neoliberal conditions in India. Doing theory from the south requires more than reproducing northern theory with southern empirics. It requires taking southern empirics seriously to challenge, and displace, prevailing northern theories of global structural change (Sanyal 2007). Our conclusions were only possible because we looked at economics, politics and space together and worked in a multidisciplinary framework using multiple methodologies. New methods of study drawing on multiple epistemologies are needed to understand what kinds of cities a quarter century of liberalisation in India has actually wrought.

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