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**NOT IN MY NEIGHBORHOOD  
MASTERPLANS AND PATTERNS OF RESIDENTIAL  
SEGREGATION OF MUSLIMS IN DELHI**

**Yasir Hameed**

## **Not In My Neighborhood**

### **Master Plans and Patterns of Residential Segregation of Muslims in Delhi**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

In the recent years, there has been a rapid increase in the rate of riots and tensions due to hate crimes (based on religion) in the National capital territory of Delhi and its surrounding towns. However, these are only a symptom of a broader pattern of *otherization* that is becoming prominent in most Indian cities. Newspapers like “The Hindu” and other media sources report a “flourishing housing apartheid” (Ashok and Ali 2012); neighborhoods are conveniently acknowledged as *Muslim Mohollas* (Muslim neighborhoods) and *Harijan Basti* (Dalit Neighborhoods) or as “areas of minority concentration” in certain official documents. However, the processes of their existence are seldom questioned by city planners. In fact, the practice of city planning remains blind to these issues and absolves itself from responsibility.

This paper investigates the entwined histories of the Master plans of Delhi with the patterns of residential segregation of the Muslim community of Delhi. My underlying argument remains that the housing issues of India, like that of the US and South Africa, cannot be investigated precisely without acknowledging its intersectionality with deeper issues of identity, race, sex, class, religion, caste, and numerous other factors. Thus, it is crucial to understand and resolve issues of systemic injustice and social inequity. This paper, however, is limited to the dimensions of religion only.

This paper applies a framework provided by Scott (1999) to examine how each of his four elements (that are requisite for most tragic episodes of state-initiated social engineering) affect the segregated residential patterns of Muslims in Delhi. He maintains that these four elements (discussed in detail later) when combined they may provide a firm basis for the concept of citizenship and “*the provision of social welfare*” just as they might enforce “*a policy of rounding up undesirable minorities.*” To simplify and shorten my argument for this paper I have chosen to go back only as far post-colonial Delhi.

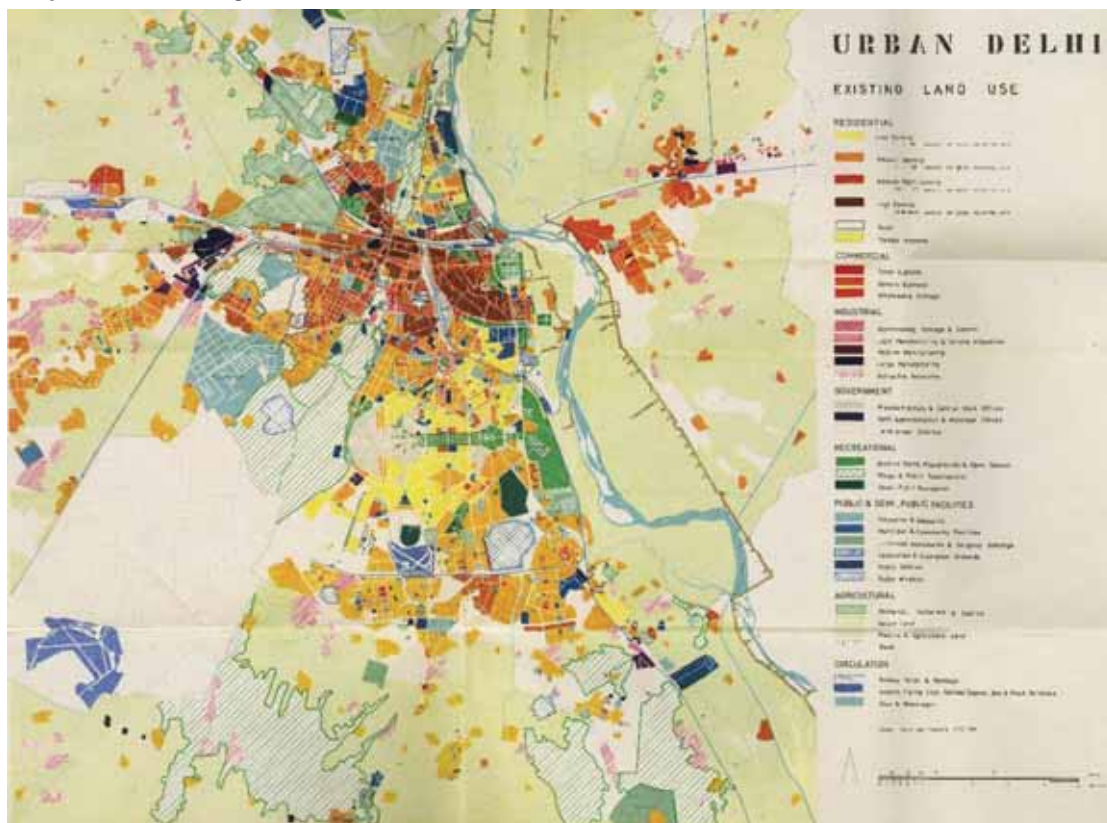
**KEYWORDS:** Segregation, Delhi, apartheid, housing rights, racial steering, discrimination

## 1. CLAIMING POSTCOLONIAL MODERNITY

“The first element is the administrative ordering of nature and society” (Scott 1999)

Postcolonial city planning activity in Delhi has been a pursuit of order, the search for spatial and aesthetic order; a “world class city,” and modernity (see Bhan 2009; Ghertner 2011b). Delhi’s pursuit of this order began with its mission to obtain efficiency and control at a time when the city has seen massive epidemics of Jaundice and Cholera. It came as a movement supported by the scientists, politicians, and municipal officials. The discourse of the postcolonial elite, which later included the middle-class (Ghertner 2012), envisioned a city that would intervene and control the rapid, unregulated building and leave past its reputation for being a city of tombs and slums. They focused on the “*haphazard, unplanned and unchecked growth*”; these blighted spaces and squalor were holding back “*everyone*” (Sundaram 2009). They were the dead roots that would have to be chopped in order to progress.

**Map 1:** The Existing Land-Use of Delhi, 1958.



**Source:** Unknown.

A new administrative set up with a modernist master plan was necessary to achieve this spatial and aesthetic order. Thus, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) was founded in 1956. It was envisioned as a vital instrument in combating rampant land speculation and the blight of slums and unauthorized settlements. It began this process by identifying the existing land-use of 1958 as seen on the map above (Map 1).

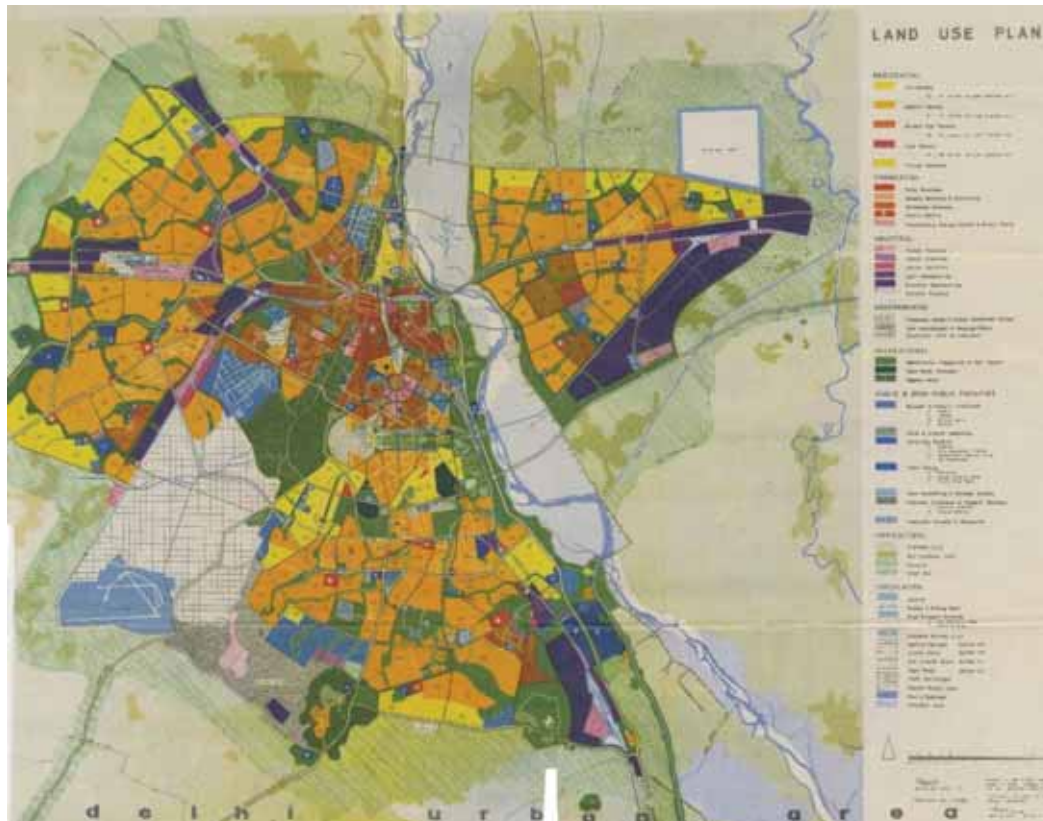
Notably, most planners, architects, and politicians were highly influenced and driven by India’s first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru’s vision of modern India. Sundaram (2009) presents a vivid account of the influence of Nehru’s modernist gestures and the Delhi’s Masterplan of 1962. He discusses Nehru’s particular dislike of “*ghost-like*” buildings of earlier periods. He maintains that Nehru’s interjection that “*the past was good when it was the present*” is

symbolic of his aspiration for India to embrace modernity which was consequently reflected in the master plan of Delhi (Sundaram 2009; Nehru 1946).

## 2. THE HIGH MODERNIST IDEOLOGY

“The second element is what I call a high-modernist ideology. It is best conceived as a strong, one might even say muscle-bound, version of the self-confidence about scientific and technical progress, the expansion of production, the growing satisfaction of human needs, the mastery of nature (including human nature), and, above all, the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws.” Scott (1999)

**Map 2:** The proposed Land-Use Plan of Delhi for 1962.



**Source:** Unknown.

Contemporary planning experts of the west consisting of Albert Mayer and other American associates were employed as consultants with the help of Nehru’s connection with the Ford Foundation. And the German-made planning tool of ‘zoning’ which was in vogue with these experts and was engaged to lead this pursuit. It was supplemented by building codes that were both prescriptive and proscriptive of Delhi’s vision of the future (Sundaram 2009). Generally speaking, the masterplan and particularly the zoning plan are typical tools common in ‘statecraft’ and town planning. They distil down the primary functions of space and land. Thus allotting an order both to nature (the green spaces and the river) and society at large. The questions that remain are that whose order was it? And who was ignored in achieving this order? Who was pushed out or sidelined and who would have to be eradicated along the way?

In addition, the DDA was also granted one of the most powerful tools in the modernist planner’s arsenal at its birth. That is, the ability to acquire large tracts of land with little resistance for the purpose of development under the Land Acquisition Act of 1894. It also established its monopolist role of Delhi’s sole developer which had authority over land allocation, housing development, and land trading. Along with this in came the Slum Areas

(Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956 which was in charge in identifying slums, making them eligible for improvement and guaranteeing no eviction without resettlement. However, these rights have been bypassed time and again for the sake of efficiency in the clearance process.

“Designed or planned social order is necessarily schematic; it always ignores essential features of any real, functioning social order.” – Scott (1999)

These legislative powers were of course granted for the “greater good” of the citizens of Delhi. They were meant to harness the practice of speculative buying and uncontrolled growth. They were the proposed final solutions. This philosophy is reflected in 1959 by the DDA statement *“The pressure of demand can also be relieved by the acquisition of all vacant land within urbanizable limits by the government... thus, there will be no land speculation.”* Being customarily schematic these solutions ignored the influence of human and societal nature.

Admitting the failure of Master Plan for Delhi-1962, the DDA identified several reasons that ranged from the greater than expected population growth (almost 1.5 million), inability to enforce land-use restrictions

“despite land-use controls, mixed land use in residential areas continued.” It added that “the plan did not propose the integration of the informal sector leading to their exponential growth which outstripped infrastructural facilities.” (“Master Plan of Delhi 1962 - Experiences and Lessons” 2016)

Meanwhile, the continuing urban elite rhetoric of cleaning up Delhi, along with fear and insecurity continued to play an instrumental role in creating the concentrated residential patterns of Muslims in Delhi. Thus after the exodus of Muslims to Pakistan from Old Delhi after the partition of India in 1947, the population of Muslims dropped from 302919 people (in 1941) to 99,501 people (from 33.3% to 5.71% of total population) in 1951. This was after September 1947 when an estimated 10,000 to 20,000 Muslims were killed by Hindu mobs with the support of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). And approximately 44,000 houses formerly occupied by Muslims were now occupied by non-Muslims in the aftermath of the partition (Kudaisya and Tan 2005; Zamindar 2010; Gayer and Jaffrelot 2012). The small surviving Muslim community was now besieged within the confines of Old Delhi. The tension and anger incurred due to the losses (both financial and of human life) created due partition manifested in Delhi when scores of Muslim shrines, tombs and graveyards were demolished and defaced by mobs (Kidwai 2011; Gayer and Jaffrelot 2012; Kaul 2001). This was supported by local businessmen and government officials of DDA and Public Works Department (PWD) that was in charge of the demolitions. And the official rationale of these always encircled the discourse of encroachment and illegality.

According to Kidwai’s (2011) documentation of the partition, official talks of relocating Muslims that had decided not to go to Pakistan were in the air as the government contemplated the idea of “Muslim-Zones” in Delhi. This was never able to materialize due to the pressure of non-Muslim refugees. Localities earmarked for Muslims were eventually occupied by the scores of non-Muslim refugees that had just arrived from Pakistan (Kidwai 2011).

The fear and insecurity brought on by communal<sup>1</sup> riots and mob violence kept Muslims confined in boundaries of the Old Delhi. Some of the elite Muslim class, consisting mostly of scholars started moving out close to Jamia Millia Islamia (a minority concentrated

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<sup>1</sup> Interreligious riots between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs

university in south Delhi), due to the heavy congestions in the Old Delhi; most did however, retain their shops and properties. (Gayer and Jaffrelot 2012).

**Figure 1:** Is a typical example of the criticism of the Master Plan at the time. The discourse hasn't changed much since then. As Vasudevan (2013) pointed out, "it is as if urban planning has stood still since then."

**DELHI GROWING TOO FAST: LACK OF COHESION**  
 Singh, J D  
*The Times of India (1861-current)*; Jan 29, 1968; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India  
 pg. 8

# DELHI GROWING TOO FAST

## *Lack of cohesion*

**DELHI** has been growing too fast in recent years and today it has a population of 3.8 million. This has brought in its wake a variety of problems which made town planners sit up and take notice some ten years ago. They discussed the problems thoroughly and made many suggestions for improvement, which were embodied in Delhi's Master Plan.

Some of the assumptions in the monumental plan have already been proved wrong. It was estimated, for instance, that Delhi's population would be 4.5 million by 1981—the target date for the completion of the plan. But the rate of growth and influx has been faster — double the estimated 100,000 a year — and the figure in 1981 is more likely to be six million.

The planners had also assumed that adjoining Haryana and U.P. would co operate in implementing the plan. The plan envisaged the development of a chain of ring and satellite towns around Delhi to house the spillover of the capital's population. But Haryana and U.P. appear to be in no mood to co-operate.

These two hurdles are formidable enough. But the situation is made worse by the slow progress on projects undertaken by the Delhi Development Authority and by the fact that the expansion of essential services has been unsatisfactory.

### **Disparities**

The city continues to grow in a haphazard manner

Consider the disparities between New Delhi and the walled city, Old Delhi and New Delhi, says the plan appropriately, are not only two cities, each with a different historical background, but two communities divided in outlook and customs.

The disparities between the two cities are getting wider. Before independence it suited the British to keep aloof from the native quarter that was the walled city. Development of New Delhi as a distinct entity was the logical outcome of their desire to maintain the great divide between the rulers and the ruled. But why should the disparities be perpetuated today?

The planners felt that the redevelopment of the old city by way of large-scale clearance and reconstruction was not immediately practicable. After assessing the requirements of schools, dispensaries, parks, etc. they suggested that the sites of dilapidated houses or houses demolished by the Municipal Corporation should be acquired for location of community facilities.

The squatters in bustis were to be relocated in various parts of the urban area so that they could be integrated with the neighbourhood. But the slum clearance work has made little progress. Until recently the Delhi Administration appeared to be shy of removing the slums. Only lately has it started taking firm action.

*Source: Times of India Article (Jan 1968)*

### 3. The Emergency of Evictions

"The third element is an authoritarian state that is willing and able to use the full weight of its coercive power to bring these high-modernist designs into being. The most fertile soil for this

element has typically been times of war, revolution, depression, and struggle for national liberation. In such situations, emergency conditions foster the seizure of emergency powers and frequently delegitimize the previous regime. They also tend to give rise to elites who repudiate the past and who have revolutionary designs for their people." Scott (1999)

The period of 'Emergency' (between 1975-77) is generally considered a dark spot in the history of Democratic India. It is the period in which the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, suspended democratic processes and is characterized by press censorship, propaganda, forced sterilizations of minorities, demolition of slums, several arrests and instances of torture. Mrs. Gandhi, like her father Jawaharlal Nehru (the previous Prime Minister), was a believer of *high modernism*. Tarlo (2003) describes this best

"By controlling population growth, increasing production, boosting agriculture, encouraging industry, abolishing socially backward customs, clearing slums and rooting out corruption, India could achieve greatness. Modernity was the goal and the Emergency was the means to attain it."

Figure 2: - An article from the emergency period.

**Mammoth plan to settle Delhi's slum dwellers**  
*The Times of India (1976-current); May 4, 1976; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India*  
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## Mammoth plan to settle Delhi's slum dwellers

NEW DELHI, May 2: Some 350,000 residents of 27 clusters of jhuggi-jhopris in greater Delhi, comprising 85,000 families, mainly construction labour, have been resettled in new colonies in the trans-Yamuna area and in the outskirts of west and south Delhi.

In all 600,000 people from 50 jhuggi-jhopri clusters are planned to be resettled under a project, considered to be the world's largest resettlement scheme.

The project will be completed in another six months, Union minister for works and housing, Mr. H. K. L. Bhagat, told newsmen.

The new townships, which are employment-oriented, will have all basic amenities. The Delhi development authority (DDA) has provided jobs to residents of these colonies at its construction sites and in its horticulture projects within the townships and in the neighbouring areas.

All those resettled have been provided a piece of land measuring 25 square yards and the Delhi administration has extended a loan facility to the extent of Rs. 2,000 a unit. Financial assistance is also being extended to them by nationalised banks. Some local agencies have come forward to give basic amenities to the residents.

The Delhi administration has taken up the task of constructing schools. For the time being temporary schools run by the DMC have started functioning in the area. Special bus routes are being operated from these localities.

The DDA has also displayed model houses in the areas so that people could take up construction on the same pattern without getting building plans approved.

Shopping centres, community centres, parks, play grounds, health centres, family planning centres and welfare centres have been provided in these localities.

As a result of the resettlement of these families and dairy farms, 22 slums and jhuggi-jhopri colonies have so far been cleared and the DDA has already initiated moves to develop these areas.—Samachar.

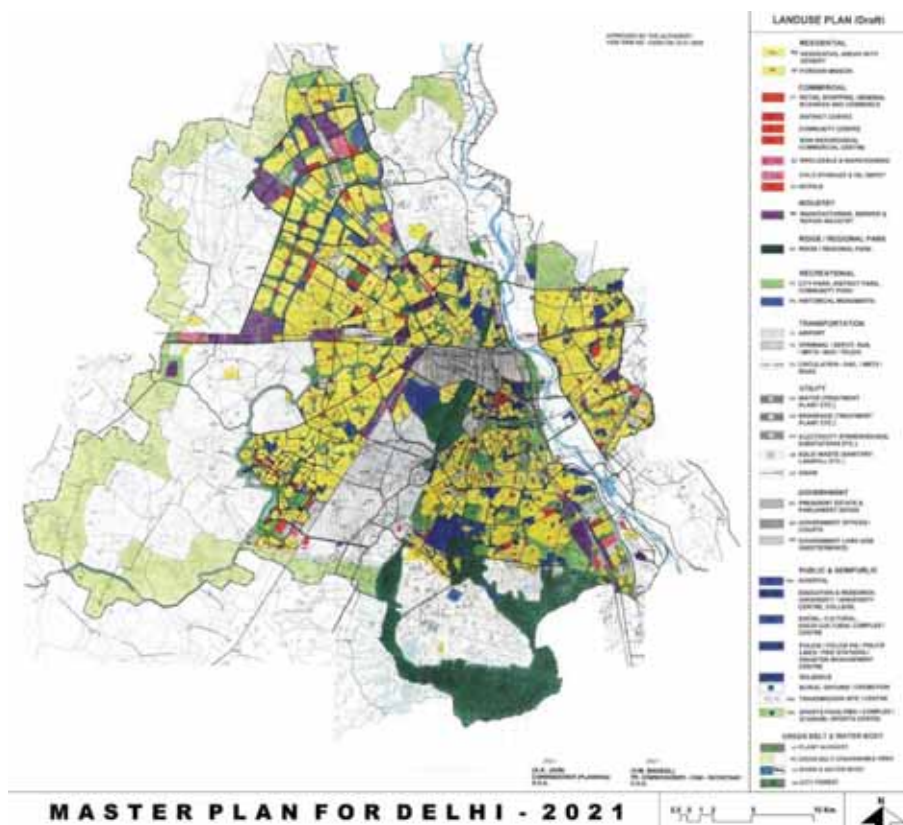
Source: Times of India Article (May 1976) - An article from the emergency period.

Several accounts that surfaced during the post-emergency investigations (Shah Commission Reports) revealed that Muslim settlements of old Delhi were targeted for “slum clearance” under the directions of Jagmohan Malhotra (the Vice-chairman of DDA during that period). These slum clearance drives came with bulldozers and trigger-happy police officers that were meant to “*cleanse the informal*” settlements of Old Delhi. Those that weren’t among the estimated 12 to 1,200 dead (based on different versions of the story) after the shooting and demolition drive of Turkman gate were rounded up in trucks and driven off for “resettlement” in a resettlement colony ironically named as “Welcome.” In a twenty-one-month period, an estimated 700,000 people were displaced in Delhi (Dayal and Bose 1977). However, it is known to have enraged Jagmohan Malhotra that the displaced Muslims were huddled up together in particular locations and could potentially build strength due to this. The idea of a “mini Pakistan” coming up in Delhi has been known to have bothered him immensely (Tarlo 2003).

“Removal of Slums, unlawful encroachments and beautification of cities, roads and other areas is a problem which had been attracting the attention of Government for some time. However, no ruthlessness was shown in its implementation for achieving these. Attempts were also made to ensure that nobody was shifted unless some arrangement for his rehabilitation was already made. The entire concept in this regard suffered a drastic change after the emergency was imposed and demolitions by bulldozers of slums and the encroachments came to acquire the blessings of the Governments concerned. The speed and the scale of work in this direction surpassed all precedents and dwelling houses, shops, temples, and places of worship and homes of the poor were destroyed. There was a phenomenal increase in the number of demolitions during the period of emergency compared with the number of demolitions in the years preceding it.” –(“Shah Commission Final Report”)

#### 4. THE CONTINUING DISCOURSE OF THE “UNAUTHORIZED.”

Map 3: The Proposed Land



Source: -use plan for Delhi 2021



While the events of the emergency period would eventually lead to Mrs. Gandhi's downfall, they did little in changing the discourse around slums and unauthorized colonies of Delhi. In fact, the urban elite consisting of the "middle-class" time and again, at almost a bi-decadal frequency, has used this rhetoric to rationalize massive slum clearances and displacement. The unauthorized is immediately treated as a threat as it undermines the Masterplan and modernity itself. It is "undisciplined" as well as a "serious human problem." These are the "bad neighborhoods" of Delhi, blighted and criminalized. Many of these also happen to accommodate most of the minority populations.

*"Any planned development needs discipline which seems to be lacking in this sort of building activity taking place in the city. More than about 600 unauthorised colonies, existing in the city, which have so far been considered for regularisation, are result of this. The present method of regularisation may not be helpful in improving the low level of physical environment existing in these colonies. For improvement of physical and social infrastructure, the house owners in these unauthorised colonies should be asked to form into societies and these societies should come forward with plans for improvement of the target group. This is likely to improve the present state of affairs." - Master Plan for Delhi - 1990*

*"Unauthorised colonies in Delhi pose a serious human problem as a huge population is living in these colonies. The issue of existing unauthorised colonies has engaged attention since the mid-seventies when a policy for regularization was formulated. 567 out of 607 listed unauthorised colonies were regularized till October 1993, but many more unauthorised colonies have come up since then. Such colonies are to be identified by the Govt. of NCTD. The present method of regularization of unauthorised colonies is by the provision of basic infrastructure to improve the environment. However, regularization has not really brought in any tangible improvement. Effectively, the process has only led to de-facto tenure rights on the land and access to services" - ("Master Plan for Delhi - 2021" 2009)*

Correspondingly, Delhi has seen a rapid growth in the numbers of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and migrants due to instability and conflict in different regions of India. These include people of escaping Punjab due to the Sikh Pogrom of 1987, people fleeing the Mumbai Riots of 1992, Gujarat in 2002, Jammu and Kashmir, North-East India (mainly Manipur and Tripura), and Central India (Bihar, Chhattisgarh, and Jharkhand). Due to family and other connections, many of these would end up being sorted into ethnically or religiously 'homogenous' neighborhoods that may be unauthorized or slum settlements. Nevertheless, they rarely are in a position or offered a choice by the market to settle outside their 'community'. And following this process many are displaced yet again to "resettlement colonies" due to the purges conducted by authorities.

*"The carriers of high modernism tended to see rational order in remarkably visual aesthetic terms. For them, an efficient, rationally organized city, village, or farm was a city that looked regimented and orderly in a geometrical sense." - Scott (1999)*

## **5. THE YAMUNA PUSHTA CASE**

In more recent history the use of modernist ideals to justify the removal of Muslims populations has been seen again in the Yamuna Pushta evictions, a case in which an estimated 300,000 people were displaced a month before the monsoon rains. These were extensively discussed by newspapers and eminent scholars. However, the fact that population of the settlement was overwhelmingly migrant Muslims (70% approximately) was downplayed in most of this coverage (Wood 2007). While there is no evidence available that clearly suggests that these evictions were motivated by the presence of Muslims, the active role of Jagmohan

Malhotra<sup>2</sup> (who was this time around the Union Minister of Tourism and Culture)<sup>3</sup> in ordering these evictions under the pretense of 'cleansing' Delhi for the Commonwealth Games of 2010 suggests that religious discrimination was at play. The area these settlements had occupied had been zoned for a 'greenbelt' (Gopalakrishnan 2016; Gonsalves 2011). Those that could afford to pay RS 5000 to RS 7000<sup>4</sup> were given a 12.5 m<sup>2</sup> (135 sq.ft) to 18 m<sup>2</sup> (193 sq.ft) of land in a resettlement colony in Bawana far away (approximately 40 km or 24 miles) from their original homes.

Given this was done three days prior to the elections (and it was well known by most that the slum usually voted for the opposing Indian National Congress party) it appears that people of this settlement were disenfranchised. It was not clear where they would cast their vote and in the end, the majority of the former residents ended up not being able to vote at all due to confusion and exhaustion caused by the eviction process.<sup>5</sup>

### 5.1 The Eviction Process in Yamuna Pushta

The stage was set for evictions and armed policemen accompanied by bulldozers. Here is a sequence of only some of the most important events (till mid-April) having to do with the demolitions (as reported by PUDR<sup>6</sup>) in their report 'India Shining' (A Report on Demolition and Resettlement of Yamuna Pushta Basti 2004)

5<sup>th</sup> February: Single bench of High Court halts the demolitions in Pushta; a woman committed suicide in the Pushta following demolitions

12<sup>th</sup> February: Division bench of the High Court reverses the halt on demolitions

13<sup>th</sup> February: 1000 houses in *Gautampuri II* in Pushta demolished

21<sup>st</sup> February: Election Commission (EC) ordered a halt on demolitions until the elections are over

8<sup>th</sup> March: EC changed its stance and approved the removal of more than 18,000 jhuggis<sup>7</sup> from Pushta

17<sup>th</sup> March: 1000 houses demolished in *Gautampuri I* in Pushta

24<sup>th</sup> March: 3000 jhuggis destroyed in *Kanchanpuri*. 9 protestors arrested

Events in *Indira* and *Sanjay Amar* colonies:

3<sup>rd</sup> April: Selected list of people were told to break their own houses. Demolition of these finally occurred on 7 April

6<sup>th</sup> April: Pradhans<sup>8</sup> were called to the police station and threatened into breaking their own homes. 20 bulldozers came next morning. Later, 2 suspicious fires broke out and caused massive destruction of homes. A child and an elderly man died as a result.

16<sup>th</sup> April: Policemen proceeded to cut off water supply and pipes from their source

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<sup>2</sup> Key actor in the evictions of the emergency period discussed earlier in the chapter.

<sup>3</sup> This time under the BJP led National Democratic Alliance.

<sup>4</sup> Almost the amount commensurate with the entire monthly income of these settlers.

<sup>5</sup> Conversation with former resident of Yamuna Pushta.

<sup>6</sup> The Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR), Delhi is an organization that was active in the defense of these settlements; it reported several incidents of recurrent fires a couple of weeks before the evictions, and unchecked police brutality.

<sup>7</sup> Makeshift houses

<sup>8</sup> Usually refers to village leaders and representatives but the terminology has been adapted in urban settlements as well.

18<sup>th</sup> April: Another huge fire broke out, and efforts to put it out were hindered by the lack of piped water.

## 5.2 “Resettlement” of Yamuna Pushta.

### Delhi govt. failed to keep promises, say resettlement colonies' residents

SMRITI KAK RAMACHANDRAN

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ALL IN A DAY'S WORK: A view of Bawana resettlement colony. Photo: Sushil Kumar Verma

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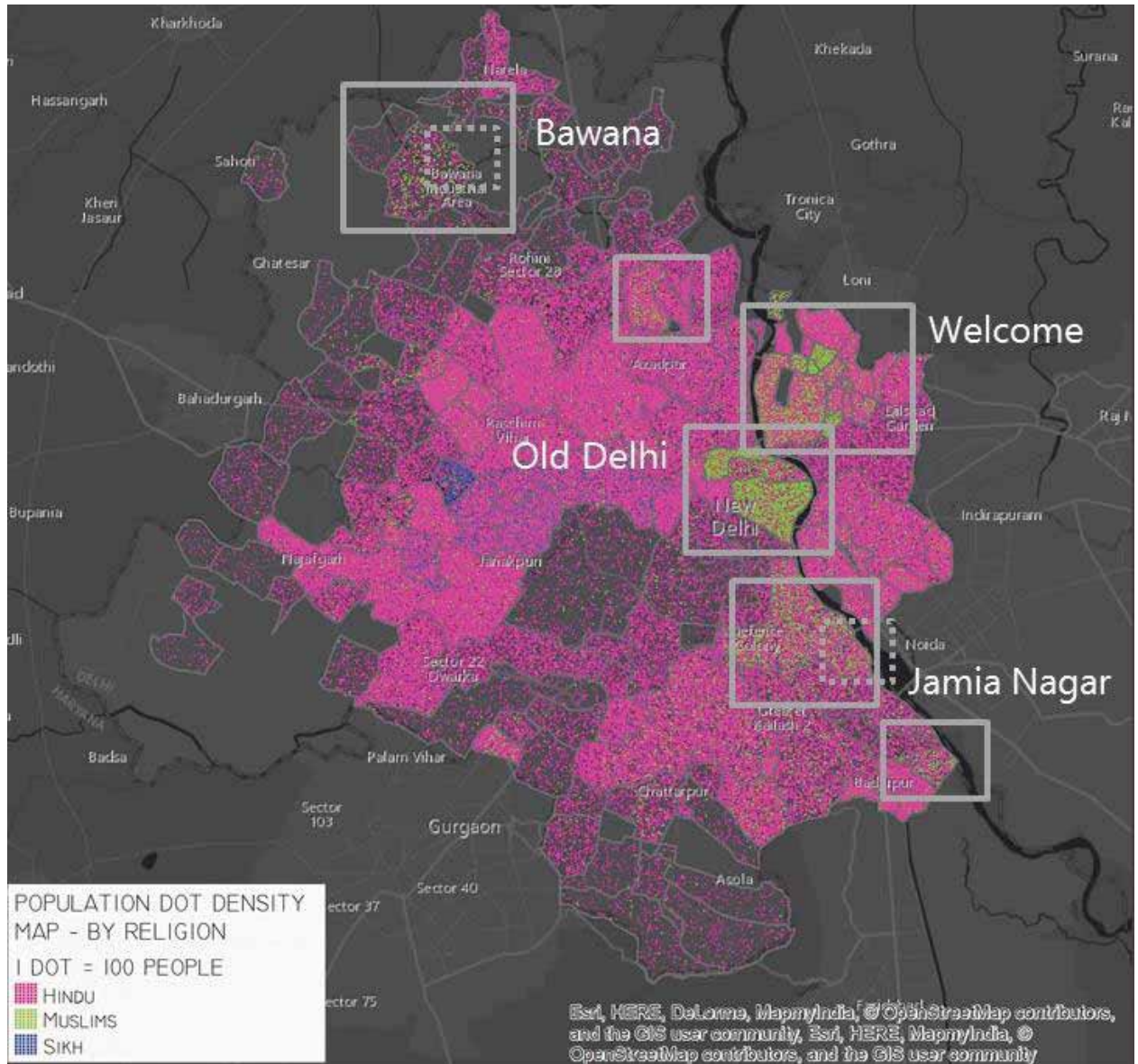
“People in resettlement colonies must learn to control their bladders. Yes, there are toilet blocks, but you cannot use them at all hours. So we must train ourselves to control our needs,” said Kamlesh of Bawana Resettlement Colony referring to the limited access to amenities including toilets. “And if you have to go at night, then there’s plenty of open space for that,” she is quick to add.

Figure 3: Article from “The Hindu” (a daily newspaper) September 2002 on the Bawana Resettlement Colony.

The process of “resettlement” was no less problematic; demand for bribes, physical threats, lack of alternatives and extortion became standard procedure. To elaborate, the households “entitled” to resettlement land were far short of available land, thus bribes were demanded by acting officers in order to be moved up the waiting list or to even be considered as eligible. Moreover, Rs 500 was charged for relocating each family; that was loaded into a truck and

driven off. In addition, BPL<sup>9</sup> and Ration Cards<sup>10</sup> were confiscated by policemen leaving many of the settlers undocumented and unable to avail government subsidized food, goods, and services.

The resettlement colony, which was miles away from the city, had only substandard essential services available. This included an overcrowded public toilet where Rs. 1 was charged to use the toilet, Rs. 2 to bathe and Rs 5 to wash clothes. This would end up costing the families living there almost 10% to 15% of their monthly income.<sup>11</sup>



Map 4: showing population dot density by religion of the National Capital Territory of Delhi in 2011. Muslims are present in notable figures only in certain Census Towns (CT). This corresponds to the history narrated in this section. It's also important

<sup>9</sup> Below Poverty Line Cards are a recognition of extremely low wages and is necessary to avail government subsidized items and services.

<sup>10</sup> Ration Cards are necessary to avail government subsidized food rations and are also frequently the only form of documented identification available to the poor.

<sup>11</sup> From conversation with a resident

## 6. Failure of planning? Trajectories and Smart Cities

Planning in Delhi has been successful in erasing discussion of social conflict by completely ignoring it and deeming it irrelevant to the modernist state. It doing so it has only exacerbated the issue to the magnitude that is both felt and perceived today. It has been successful in un-mapping and erasing the unimportant from the maps<sup>12</sup>; no attempt has been made to map the boundaries of the various categories of unauthorized settlements in the land-use plans of Delhi (although one can imagine that even this may become a tool in the evictions later on).

Furthermore as (Bhan 2009; Bhan 2013) and (Ghertner 2011a; Ghertner 2011b; Ghertner 2012; Ghertner 2008) have discussed, through the discourse of the urban elite which includes the “middle-class” the key phrase used to express the desire for reform in Delhi is “world class city”, “global city” and “Slum Free City”. This has been irrespective of the political party in power and has created a questionable association of illegality with informality resulting in a resurgence in the cases of slum clearance and displacement. That is the creation of rationality that criminalizes the action of auto-construction due to unavailability of other affordable options. The lack of options is further exacerbated as Muslims and Dalits are rejected as tenants by landlords (discussed in detail in chapter VIII). They also face discrimination (because of their religion or caste) in the presumably open real estate market as potential buyers of property as real estate agents either refuse to show them properties outside “their” respective neighborhoods.

In fact, the Real estate market continues to exploit these differences (discussed in detail in chapter VIII). As cooperative housing programs meant to facilitate housing delivery in the country subsidize segregation through several religion specific housing cooperatives (these restrict individuals of other religions or caste from buying or renting in these housing developments).

Markedly, the phrase “making Delhi like Paris” is usually credited to Jagmohan Malhotra during his days as the Vice-chairperson of the DDA (Jervis-Read 2010). Which accordingly isn't far from the truth if one compares the end product. The scale of evictions and the creation of a “Banlieue”<sup>13</sup> (that is to the present day is predominantly composed of racial and ethnic minorities) is comparable to Haussmann's “clean up” of Paris.

*“once their plans miscarried or were thwarted, tended to retreat to what I call miniaturization; the creation of a more easily controlled micro-order in model cities, model villages, and model farms.” Scott (1999)*

Meanwhile, most of the literature on urbanism, housing and city planning in Delhi has addressed the very visible class disparities, underproduction of housing, and the failure of housing authorities in providing housing for the unhoused in Delhi. Yet It seems to be ignoring the intersectionality<sup>14</sup> of religion and caste with these issues. Planning still seeks a

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<sup>12</sup> It is important to note that the area around Jamia Nagar that is now the Muslim neighborhoods of Abul Fazal Enclave, Zakir Nagar and Batla House were in the original Master Plan for Delhi -1962 zoned for recreational purposes. While since the Master Plan for Delhi 1991 the zoning of these areas has not been defined in the land-use plan and are considered to be *lal dora* or *unauthorized*. In addition, the owners of the house don't possess land titles and the sale of the land is only documented as a Power of Attorney registration. This could become, based on past trajectories, another reason of mass evictions as the Supreme Court of India in 2011 declared that “A power of attorney is not an instrument of transfer in regard to any right, title or interest in an immovable property”

<sup>13</sup> Derived from the French word for “Banishment” (Add Source), Refer to the outer “suburban” Paris, which was initially home to blue collar residents. Thus initially was known as the red belt due to a strong communist presence. It has become a place of residence for many of Paris' immigrant ethnic minorities, particularly from North African countries. Thus are not necessarily places of racial concentration but most Banilieus have a sense of spatial stigma attached to them and are marginalized.

<sup>14</sup> See Crenshaw (1989)

technical “Band-Aid” or fix for India’s woes and has recently declared the “Smart cities mission” to be its one stop solution. (Schleeter 2014; Kumar and Sen 2015) What these smart cities are, remains to be defined accurately by the Government itself, but they have identified replicability to be one its prime criteria.

*“The focus is on sustainable, and inclusive development and the idea is to look at compact areas, create a replicable model which will act like a lighthouse to other aspiring cities.” (“Smart Cities Guidelines” 2015)*

Finally, for now, I end this paper by only quoting the last of Scott’s four elements to end this analogy with Delhi’s history and the residential patterns of its Muslim population.

*“A fourth element is closely linked to the third: a prostrate civil society that lacks the capacity to resist these plans. War, revolution, and economic collapse often radically weaken civil society as well as make the populace more receptive to a new dispensation. Late colonial rule, with its social engineering aspirations and ability to run roughshod over popular opposition, occasionally met this last condition.*

*In sum, the legibility of a society provides the capacity for large-scale social engineering, high-modernist ideology provides the desire, the authoritarian state provides the determination to act on that desire, and an incapacitated civil society provides the leveled social terrain on which to build.” (Scott 1999)*

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## TABLES FIGURES, PHOTOS

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**Map 2:** The proposed Land-Use Plan of Delhi for 1962.....; **Error! Marcador no definido.**

**Map 3:** The Proposed Land-use plan for Delhi 2021.....; **Error! Marcador no definido.**

**Map 4:** showing population dot density by religion of the National Capital Territory of Delhi in 2011. Muslims are present in notable figures only in certain Census Towns (CT). This corresponds to the history narrated in this section. It's also important..... - 11 -

**Figure 1:** Times of India Article (Jan 1968) Is a typical example of the criticism of the Master Plan at the time. The discourse hasn't changed much since then. As Vasudevan (2013) pointed out, "it is as if urban planning has stood still since then." ..... - 5 -

**Figure 2:** Times of India Article (May 1976) - An article from the emergency period..... - 6 -

**Figure 3:** Article from "The Hindu" (a daily newspaper) September 2002 on the Bawana Resettlement Colony..... - 10 -

### Source:

**Map 1 & 2:** Master Plan for Delhi 1962 - Delhi Development Authority

**Map 3:** Master Plan for 2021 – Delhi Development Authority

**Map 4:** Data Source - Census 2011, Census of India, Base Map: Esri

**Figure 1 and 2:** ProQuest Times of India Database

**Figure 3:** <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/delhi-govt-failed-to-keep-promises-say-resettlement-colonies-residents/article3906452.ece>.