The 21st Century Indian City

Developing an Agenda for Urbanization in India

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It gives me great pleasure to offer to you the report of the proceedings of the first Berkeley conference on the 21st Century Indian City. Because cities are not just infrastructure but people, as well as the social and economic conditions in which they build their lives, issues of land acquisition, public transportation, city services and affordable housing are intertwined with local politics, growing activism and socio-cultural factors. The problems are multidisciplinary and therefore the search for solutions must also be so. We therefore structured the panels in the conference such that each contained experts across fields and geographical areas, as well as ranging from different spheres of life. We were privileged to have two days of knowledge sharing by a range of experts as well as some lively arguments. We thus present to you both the core issues debated in each panel as well as the questions that each panel left us with.

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Best wishes,

Raka Ray
Sarah Kailath Chair of India Studies
Professor, Sociology and South & Southeast Asian Studies
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Acknowledgements

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Kanwal & Ann Rekhi

Kanwal Rekhi is an Indian-American engineer, venture capitalist and philanthropist who has actively participated in the emergence and growth of Silicon Valley and India by promoting entrepreneurship among Indians and Indo-Americans around the world and helping build a leading Indo-US venture franchise.

Prior to his venture career, Kanwal co-founded Excelan in Silicon Valley - the first company to commercialize ethernet and TCP/IP and standardize computer networks. Kanwal took Excelan public in 1987 and became the first Indo-American Founder & CEO to list a venture-backed company on the NASDAQ. He later merged Excelan with Novell, where he was EVP, CTO and a Board Director for five years, growing the company into the second largest software company in the world. He also established Novell’s operations in India, making it one of the first cross-border Indo-US technology companies.

Kanwal co-founded The IndUS Entrepreneurs (TiE) in 1992 to promote entrepreneurship among Indians and Indo-Americans around the world. He was TiE President and spearheaded its growth into the world’s largest entrepreneurial organization with over 12,000 members who have been behind many of Silicon Valley and India’s most successful start-ups. Through his work at TiE, he has counseled and aided an entire generation of innovators as they have changed the face of Silicon Valley and high tech industry.

In the late 1990’s, Kanwal actively advised policy makers in India resulting in the privatization of telecom and reforms of venture regulations encouraging fund formation in India. He was the founding partner of Infinity Capital-India in 2000, that has successfully backed and mentored numerous new entrepreneurs in India.

As a philanthropist, Kanwal has made major contributions to education. At UC Berkeley, he has funded educational initiatives on India that have ranged from examining democratic governance to the current conference on urbanization as well as been a strong force mentoring Cal students by sharing business as well as life experiences with them. He is a prime benefactor of Foundation for Excellence (FFE), a foundation in India that identifies talented students without funds, and provides them with college tuition and living expenses. He is also an active supporter of his alma maters IIT Bombay and Michigan Tech where he has endowed IT schools - the Kanwal Rekhi Schools of Information Technology (KreSIT) at IIT Bombay and Kanwal & Ann Rekhi Computer Science Hall at Michigan Tech.

Mr. Rekhi holds a BSEE from IIT-Bombay and a MSEE and Honorary Doctorates in both Business and Engineering from Michigan Tech.
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The 21st Century Indian City: Setting an Agenda

— Setting an agenda for research and policy, perhaps jointly with Indian colleagues, such that the Indian city and its transformations can be better understood and better managed

— Introducing a new repertoire of analytic concepts, research methodologies and policy prescriptions attentive to the Indian urban condition

— Defining alternative visions of the Indian “good” city which are vital to India’s future

Panelists

Raka Ray
(University of California, Berkeley)

K.C. Sivaramakrishnan
(Centre for Policy Research)
Introduction  SETTING THE STAGE

The 21st century is often called the Urban Century. Over the next hundred years, we will see rapid urbanization worldwide, with urban populations, economies, and physical limits growing at an unprecedented rate. Such urbanization carries with it tremendous potential for economic prosperity, consolidation of aspirational middle-class lifestyles, growth of civil society, and experiments with local democracy. But urbanization also presents significant challenges, including the degradation of urban poverty and inequality, the inadequacy of infrastructure, and the ecological impact of stifling pollution and increasing carbon footprints. While urban theory thus far has been centered in Western cities, the 21st century’s urban growth is primarily taking place not in Western cities but in the cities of the Global South. The Indian City, then, may be an archetypal 21st century city. But what defines the Indian City today? What challenges does it face in the future? And what can we learn from the Indian City in looking at urbanization processes worldwide? India’s rapid urban growth presents a call to scholars, policy-makers, planners, and civil society activists to engage with these various potentialities and challenges.

Raka Ray, Chair of the Center for South Asia Studies and Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley, introduced the 3-day conference on the 21st century Indian city by calling attention to the history of India’s relationship with UC Berkeley. She noted in particular the Berkeley-led conference on India’s Urban Future 50 years ago, in which Kingsley Davis of the International Population and Research Center and Catherine Wurster of the City and Regional Planning Department at Berkeley invited a range of Indian planners and social analysts to a seminar at Berkeley to discuss Indian urbanization. Indian participants in that seminar included Sachin Chaudhuri, founder of the Economic and Political Weekly, B. Chatterjee, Director of Urban Community Development of the Delhi Municipal Corporation, anthropologist Irawati Karve, Member of Parliament Ashok Mehta, economist Ashok Mitra, Pitambar Pant and Tarlok Singh, among others. As that conference revealed, Indian planners were ambivalent about the urbanization process, and the discussions reflected the tension between Nehruvian and Gandhian visions for India’s future. In his opening remarks to this year’s conference, KC Sivaramakrishnan, chair of the Center for Policy Research, Delhi, agreed that the battle between Gandhian and Nehruvian ideals continues. Today, India’s unique path to urbanization can no longer be denied, and it demands renewed attention and creative thinking. Through the course of the conference, panelists analyzed the Indian city not as a space marked by its likeness to—or difference from—canonical Western cities, but in order to understand and define, as Ray put it, India’s “own version of modernity and urbanism.”

Of particular concern throughout the conference were the various dimensions of poverty and inequality shaping India’s urbanization process. Both Ray and Sivaramakrishnan highlighted the Government of India’s (GOI) declaration in 2009 that Indian cities will be slum-free by 2015. Sivaramakrishnan noted that the GOI may create “slums free of cities rather than cities free of slums,” thereby undermining the very idea of cooperative and egalitarian urbanism. Ray, too, suggested that this undertaking may not be possible without public-private partnerships, and that negotiating partnerships with private entities can become particularly complex when dealing with public goods. The issue of the slum-free city and its relationship with different models of local governance provokes several questions: What is our vision for India’s urban future? What forms of governance—and innovations in practice—best serve this vision? Sivaramakrishnan called for the conference participants to join the battle in setting an agenda for healthy, sustainable, and responsible urbanization in India for the next century.
Policy Questions and Implications for the 21st Century Indian City

— What governance practices best position a city to improve service delivery? How can managerial autonomy be reconciled with broad political accountability?

— What are the strengths of PPPs in service delivery? What about the role of non-governmental organizations in delivering services and how can they be more effective?

— What are the gaps in knowledge about the urban economy, and how can they be addressed? How do the politics of urban measurement affect the definition of problems and their solutions?

— What economic approaches will position Indian cities for equitable growth in the 21st century? What are the roles of the informal, manufacturing, and service sectors?

— How can urban governance foster a more effective political voice for the urban poor?

Panelists

Pranab Bardhan
(University of California, Berkeley)

Moderator
K.C. Sivaramakrishnan
(Centre for Policy Research)

Rakesh Mohan
(National Transport Development Policy Committee; Indian Institute of Human Settlements)

Isher Ahluwalia
(Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations)
Panel I  THE URBAN ECONOMY IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Discussion

To discuss the “urban economy” means to ask, as Ananya Roy did in her concluding comments, what constitutes an “urban economy.” All three panelists in the first session of the conference emphasized the uniqueness of the urban Indian economy at the current conjuncture, asserting that it does not exist in isolation, but is deeply connected to regional and rural economic growth. Pranab Bardhan highlighted small towns as important sites of linkage: the majority (all but 50) of India’s 5500 urban areas are populated by fewer than 1 million people. Also within this discussion, panelists questioned how to place the Indian urban economy in a global context. While Bardhan focused on differences between India and China, Isher Ahluwalia suggested that countries like Brazil and South Africa offer the most instructive comparisons to Indian urbanization. Indeed, today India is part of a configuration of nation-states in the global South that are enjoying brisk economic growth but that also face similar challenges pertaining to infrastructure, social inclusion, and environmental sustainability. Cross-national comparisons within the category known as BRICS may prove to be instructive in forging new understandings of urbanization and urban policy.

Supporting a robust urban economy requires effective municipal institutions. All three panelists emphasized the importance of decentralization and building financial and institutional capacity at the municipal level to strengthen service delivery and urban infrastructure. Both Ahluwalia and Rakesh Mohan pointed to the need for better governance and public accountability, in part through the development of universal standards for service delivery. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) have the potential to strengthen service delivery, but Ahluwalia stressed the need for clearly defined roles, and Mohan suggested that PPPs work best with an understanding of what a “public” service is, and where a PPP is best suited to contribute. Ahluwalia advised targeting “low-hanging fruit”, where good governance can effect impressive transformations in service delivery with limited resources. Regarding employment, both Bardhan and Mohan called for attention to how a more labor-intensive manufacturing sector might be revived in Indian cities; Partha Mukhopadhyay of the Centre for Policy Research later called for simultaneous attention to the service sector as an alternative path to urban growth.

There were also questions about the politics of equity in urban India. K.C. Sivaramakrishnan warned against uncritical celebration of India’s growth without attention to ongoing exclusion, and Bardhan pointed to the tension between economic concentration and the aspiration for socially just, small-scale, participatory development. Mohan suggested that placing the urban economy in a global context might offer solutions to problems of equity, raising the question of how other fast-growing cities in other regions of the world have managed spatial transformation that serves the rich but also maintains the right to the city for the poor. For Ahluwalia, the best way to tackle these issues is to address the “failure of planning.” As an example, she explained that her High-Powered Expert Committee on Urban Infrastructure recommended that the functions of urban development and housing and poverty alleviation be recombined in one ministry. In discussion, Asher Ghertner of the London School of Economics also raised questions about the limits of available data to address issues of equity. What are the “facts” of the Indian urban economy? In other words, what is the state of knowledge of urbanization and urban life in India? In order to address what Ahluwalia noted as deficiencies in urban planning in India, it is necessary to also tackle the question of the types of knowledge available about urban life and its complexities.
Policy Questions and Implications for the 21st Century Indian City

— Is focusing on public transportation sufficient to solve the problems of congestion, safety, and accessibility?

— What kind of transportation is most responsive to the urban fabric of the Indian city? How might that differ from global paradigms of world-class urban transport?

— Who should be responsible for civic services?

— How do you make transportation solutions environmentally sound and accessible to all?

Panelists

Moderator
Cynthia Kroll
(University of California, Berkeley)

Vasanth Rao
(Bangalore Metro Rail Corporation)

Robert Cervero
(University of California, Berkeley)

Pravin Varaiya
(University of California, Berkeley)

Dinesh Mohan
(Indian Institute of Technology)
Panel 2  CONNECTIVE INFRASTRUCTURES OF URBANIZATION

Discussion

The viability of public transportation to effectively serve Indian cities continues to be a major source of contention. Accordingly, the panelists discussed a variety of transit systems that offer possibilities for solving the problem of transportation in cities in India and other cities of the Global South. Vasanth Rao cited the Bangalore Metro, financed through a public-private partnership, as an example of how best to plan a rail system, as it responds to the travel patterns of Bangalore’s residents. Robert Cervero noted the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) of Bogotá, Colombia as a success story because of its coupling with land use planning. Rao stated that, as in Bogotá, the Bangalore Metro Rail Corporation undertook a slum rehabilitation program to provide Metro access to the poor, many of whom had been displaced by the building of the Metro. Dinesh Mohan asserted that because Delhi has no single central business district, the multi nodal city calls for not high-capacity, fast-moving public transportation, but “dense public transport and a cheap taxi network,” voicing the importance of multi modalism.

In her introduction to the panel, moderator Cynthia Kroll asked: “How can planners and engineers accommodate both new and old transportation systems and technologies in India”? Cervero suggested a more organized linking of formal and informal forms of transportation, citing success stories around the world. Pravin Varaiya pointed to the high rate of traffic fatalities in India, noting that better road management could make streets safer. Mohan, too, argued that in order to make streets safer for non-motorized, non-polluting modes of transportation, planners ought to make roads narrower, lower speeds, and integrate street vendors into street design.

Each of the speakers discussed the need to optimize and upgrade the existing infrastructure, particularly in a time of high motorization. Varaiya highlighted the staggering vehicle growth rate in India—14.47%, higher than average income growth—and pointed to the toll this has taken on a wide and under-resourced road network. In order to better plan for the future, there is the need for a more sophisticated urban traffic data system, which would allow for accurate measurement. Mohan agreed, saying that current statistics are unreliable. Rao expressed the importance of physical road space, suggesting that more space ought to be set aside for public transit. Mohan also explained that surface transit is less polluting than raised or underground transit, so an upgrading of the bus system would be more environmentally sound than the building of a non-surface rail system.

While Rao maintained that the Metro was the best possible solution to transportation problems in Bangalore, Mohan made clear that socially responsive and environmentally responsible transportation is more important than building systems declared fit for a world-class city. In order to restrict car use, and thereby curb congestion, Mohan and Cervero insisted upon parking regulation, but both noted the challenges in coordination and implementation in the current fragmented system. The panelists emphasized the importance of urban transportation in combating global climate change, and Cervero pointed to cities such as Seoul and Curitiba as possible models for “greening” Indian cities. All the panelists agreed that choice is key, and that a safe, multimodal system should be made more viable than it is today.
Policy Questions and Implications for the 21st Century Indian City

— How can the fight for collective rights take place within a clientelistic political system?

— What kind of regime of citizenship exists in India today? How might it evolve in the future? And who will determine this change?

— How can urban policy and planning take account of the lives of the urban majority and their aspirations?

— What mechanisms are in place and what mechanisms should be developed for the poor to access their rights to the city?

Panelists

Vidyadhar Phatak
(formerly Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority)

James Holston
(University of California, Berkeley)

Dunu Roy
(Hazards Centre)

Moderator
Chetan Vaidya
(National Institute of Urban Affairs)
Panel 3  THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

Discussion

The discussion of the "right to the city" is based in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the critical work of French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, who emphasized the political possibility of a collective habitation of cities. The panelists spoke, then, about political rights, everyday acts of dwelling, and working as constitutive of urban citizenship. James Holston presented the struggle for citizenship in Sao Paulo, Brazil as "insurgent," pointing to the collective action of urban residents who successfully fought for their right to the city. Vidyadhar Phatak, too, discussed the collective nature of urban rights, while disputing that shelter should be considered a public good. Then, Dunu Roy spoke of the right to livelihood as most important in Indian cities, as urban space is increasingly characterized not as a public entitlement, but as private property. Rather than focusing on livelihood or residence, however, Roy suggested a move toward discussions of power and control, looking not at what constitutes citizenship, but at who defines citizenship.

The three panelists questioned the concept of democracy in both Indian and Brazilian contexts. Holston noted that democracy can bring destabilization, particularly in the convergent moment of urbanization, democratization, and neoliberalization; this moment has given rise to cities in both India and Brazil marked by increasing wealth and inequality. Despite living in the world’s largest democracy, India’s urban citizens, said Phatak, have been unable to successfully assert their rights because the 74th amendment to the Indian Constitution has not adequately devolved power to urban institutions. Both Holston and Roy noted that organizing around residence might be democratic, but is certainly not egalitarian; the proliferation of upper-middle class Residents’ Welfare Associations has led to renewed upper-middle-class claims to spatial and aesthetic rights by excluding the poor. Democracy, then, is not always synonymous with equal citizen power.

During the discussion, the very nature of rights was in question. Holston clarified that both residence and livelihood are deeply intertwined, and that claiming the right to the city was the beginning of a broader claiming of what Hannah Arendt called the “right to rights.” Roy expressed the need to distinguish the meaning of rights as either moral or political claims. Solomon Benjamin of the National Institute for Advanced Studies asserted that some citizens’ desire to be “invisible,” rather than be documented and granted rights by the state, leading to a discussion of the role of the state itself. All three panelists agreed that in India’s clientelistic political system, the concepts of collective rights and revolutionary action have lost traction, and that the everyday urban resident is now politically constructed, not as a citizen, but as a consumer. In order to move beyond this current moment, then, planners, scholars, and policymakers must seek to re-envision Indian urban space and look more closely at the ways in which rights can be claimed to the state.
Policy Questions and Implications for the 21st Century Indian City

— What is the role of the central government in municipal infrastructure financing and municipal finance reform?

— What constitutes good local governance, and is it functional for the 21st Century Indian City?

— How can policy reforms transform urban development and management in India? What is the role of the planner within this challenge?

— How can revenues be increased for the municipalities? How do we strengthen the relationship between local democracy and effective governance?

Panelists

Moderator
Pradeep Chhibber
(University of California, Berkeley)

Govinda Rao
(National Institute of Public Finance and Policy)

Om Mathur
(National Institute of Public Finance and Policy)

Richard Walker
(University of California, Berkeley)

K.C. Sivaramakrishnan
(Center for Policy Research)
Panel 4  GOVERNANCE AND FINANCE

Discussion

Within the ongoing debate on how to prepare for the twenty-first century Indian city, questions about systems of governance, finance, and local political power are central. Om Mathur discussed how municipalities could overcome spending challenges created by current disparities between inter-state competition and tax mechanisms that assist municipal revenues. Policy reforms that aim at restructuring the central government, he argued, do not go deep enough. Taking up this very issue, Govinda Rao focused on tangible plans that would help increase the capacity of and augment revenues for Indian municipalities.

The question of variations in scales of governance surfaced during both presentations. To supplement this discussion, K.C. Sivaramakrishnan revealed the incongruence of urban centers and municipalities. He asserted that “all that is urban is not municipal and all that is municipal is not urban,” and as such, directly questioned the adequacy of the municipal system itself. Furthermore, he argued that the bulk of Indian populations live in urban centers, not municipalities. This disparity directly impacts voter turnout: local leaders often win by a minority vote, and the state agenda, rather than local issues, often subsumes the political hierarchy. In agreement with Sivaramakrishnan, Ashok Bardhan of UC Berkeley also emphasized that most significant political decisions in India are made at the state level, not at the level of cities. Sivaramakrishnan, then, ended by posing the question of how jurisdictions in India are defined, suggesting that these definitions directly shape political process.

Finally, Richard Walker offered a historical and comparative narrative of lessons from the United States. Based on the US experience, Walker began by questioning the function and scope of local governments. He presented challenges that surfaced from governance projects like the New Deal in American history. These experiments exemplify the complexities of function, capacity, and politics from the local to national levels. Walker reminded the audience to consider the role of good (and functional) government, not simply governance. Thinking about government necessarily involves thinking about political contestation.

Discussion of a few key themes arose from this dynamic panel. Control over urban and public land was central to the conversation in terms of tax generation and state power. Panelists debated the efficacy of financial intermediaries such as bond markets that raise funds necessary for local functions. As a byproduct of this debate, panelists discussed how urban development and function occur in India. Urban development in India, they pointed out, means real estate development, whereas urban management refers to local power dynamics. Thus, the question arises: What is the role of democracy at the local level? Panelists reflected on current reform efforts in India through the 73rd and 74th amendments, as well as the inadequacies present within these transformations.
Policy Questions and Implications for the 21st Century Indian City

— How can existing informal infrastructure, services, and networks of finance be channeled to expand the accessibility and affordability of housing for the urban poor?

— What kinds of information would we need to build linkages between the formal and informal sectors? Are there risks of greater transparency?

— What kinds of political processes and institutions can facilitate access to land and housing? What would a constructive relationship between the public and private sectors look like?

Panelists

Moderator
Ashok Bardhan
(University of California, Berkeley)

Solly Benjamin
(National Institute of Advanced Studies)

Robert Edelstein
(University of California, Berkeley)

K.T. Ravindran
(Delhi Urban Arts Commission)

R.V. Verma
(National Housing Bank)
This panel addressed land and housing access from both economic and political perspectives. From an economic perspective, both demand-side and supply-side issues shape the accessibility of housing for the urban poor. Drawing on his experience with the National Housing Bank, R.V. Verma pointed in particular to shortfalls in availability, affordability, and accessibility, of both housing/land and credit, calling for greater integration between the financial and housing sectors and public-private partnerships to address the problem. Using a comparative perspective, Robert Edelstein highlighted the need to address broader social and spatial determinants of housing demand in India, such as the need for a more robust middle class, the persistence of deep urban-rural disparities, and a scarcity of human capital. In discussion, Rakhi Mehra of Micro Home Solutions, pointed to the need to consider a wider range of housing options (including rental housing) to serve low-income populations, and Gautam Bhan, of the Indian Institute of Human Settlements, argued for better utilization of the existing infrastructure.

A dialogue about the economics and infrastructure of housing provision ensued, thereby extending the discussion into the politics of housing and the role of the state. Edelstein’s presentation highlighted the potential for various public-sector roles in housing provision, from the Singapore model of extensive public housing to the U.S. model of guaranteeing private home financing. In the Indian context, Verma saw the role of the state as that of an “enabler” that could regulate and streamline land markets and financial flows to facilitate greater efficiency. K.T. Ravindran placed the politics of housing within a historical context, tracing the shortfalls in the development apparatus to a tension between centralized urban institutions for service delivery set up in the Nehruvian era and the liberalized economy. This tension has led to bureaucratic “fossilization”, inefficiency, and the inability to respond to economic and social change, even as problems of urbanization and the environment become increasingly salient, and the non-formal sector is increasingly constrained by liberalization.

In a critique of recent trends in the politics of housing and urban service provision more generally, Solomon Benjamin argued for caution in disproportionate attention to transparency among low-income groups, and suggested that this transparency might close off opportunities for small-scale action. He provided an alternative way of thinking about the “value” embedded in the economies of the poor by describing them as economies of toil and innovation that also have transglobal connections. Benjamin encouraged activists to employ open-ended ethnographic approaches attentive to the subtle, sometimes opaque politics of land, and the ways in which alliances might transgress geographic boundaries. In response, Amita Baviskar, of the Institute of Economic Growth, questioned whether such an approach might relegate the problems of the poor to the margins of political discourse, despite the risks of co-optation that go with public consultation.

In discussion, Verma and Bhan spoke of the challenges of integrating the massive informal sector into planning for housing access. Can housing finance be extended to low-income households? How can risk be managed in the context of informal income and informal land ownership? Ravindran suggested that these gaps in bankability lead to inequalities: planners play the land market and fuel land speculation, and only bankable projects receive funding. Verma suggested that links to the informal sector must be strengthened through multi-faceted approaches to building trust and evaluating risk—and that the poor could be seen as a business opportunity. In her concluding comments, Ananya Roy warned against the potential depoliticizing effects of casting the poor as financial consumers and sidelining the question of rights.
Policy Questions and Implications for the 21st Century Indian City

--- Can democratization be achieved by creating limited formal mechanisms for citizens’ input that are disconnected from local political structures/interests?

--- How far can a formalized system of participation encompass the depth of contestation present in urban society?

--- Can we consider encouraging the informal with the formal? Public space with private space? Collective services with individual services?

--- What can we learn from people’s movement struggles rooted in claims on space, information, funds and services?

Panelists

Moderator
Asher Ghertner
(London School of Economics)

Neera Adarkar
(Architect and Urban Researcher, Mumbai)

Teresa Caldeira
(University of California, Berkeley)

Lalitha Kamath
(Tata Institute of Social Studies)

Amita Baviskar
(Institute of Economic Growth)
Panel 6 **THE SOCIAL LIFE OF CITIES**

**Discussion**

The social life of cities across the world, particularly in urban centers in the global South, involves simultaneous patterns of inclusion and exclusion, visibility and invisibility. Teresa Caldeira’s presentation showed how citizens subvert these everyday politics. She vividly described the use of practices such as tagging and graffiti by youth in Sao Paulo, Brazil, inviting panelists to think about alternative mobilities in the global city. In her presentation, she drew attention to how youth assert that “a city only exists for those who can move around it.” By calling attention to the production of signs in the city, Caldeira demonstrated how the signs could be understood in the familiar framework of social movements.

Amita Baviskar and Neera Adarkar’s use of the “commons” complemented Caldeira’s Brazilian narrative. Baviskar’s rich analysis of collective biographies and new spaces of exclusion in Delhi, such as the shopping mall or the automobile, highlighted the unstable, dynamic meanings of public space. These new constructions, she suggested, denote the building of a world-class city, and have accordingly reshaped collective meaning. Adarkar underpinned the discussion of the production and use of space with her study of urban redevelopment projects in Mumbai. Actors like Bombay First, modeled after London First, initially led redevelopment in Mumbai. Adarkar demonstrated how forms of political contestation surface through the juxtaposition of the historic significance of chawl galleries and high-rise redevelopment towers. Lalitha Kamath examined the changing channels through which such political contestation is articulated. She traced the redefinition of collective meaning through new forms of public participation mediated by private actors. She posed the question, “How does the state perform people’s participation in a context where it relies on private capital to build infrastructure?”

Kamath emphasized the emergence of network participation, where small intermediaries like NGOs and state-led public-private partnerships serve as proxies for the state. These new forms of participation also play out through property contestation: high-income RWAs are concerned with land use, whereas, lower income RWAs struggle for tenure security. These new networks, centered in cities, she asserted, could all depoliticize governance.

How individuals participate in these spaces ultimately becomes a question of collective meaning and imagining alternative urban futures. In Brazil, the use of graffiti by marginalized urban youth who live on the periphery indicates the illicit or illegal requirements to actively participate and move in the city. Simultaneously, the very use of law, as seen in Kamath’s presentation, marginalizes some citizens, while legitimating middle-class participation.

Adarkar’s exploration of chawl galleries opened up the possibility for spaces to be reimagined with new meanings. Ananya Roy noted that chawls serve as an alternative urban future—as political, cosmopolitan space. Finally, Adarkar, along with other panelists, remarked on how place-making still comes with an aesthetic, which is shaped by history’s collective actors, struggles, and stories. This panel focused on the social life of cities, but ultimately raised a more fundamental question: What is the political?
Policy Questions and Implications for the 21st Century Indian City

— What are the links between land tenure, water, and sanitation systems? Should they be assembled or disassembled?

— What is the role of political participation in service delivery?

— What is the role of the urban citizen in the politics of resources?

— How can innovation in infrastructure systems provide an alternative vision of the future of urban India?

Panelists

Moderator
Malini Ranganathan
(University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign)

Isha Ray
(University of California, Berkeley)

Alison Post
(University of California, Berkeley)

Aromar Revi
(Indian Institute for Human Settlements)

Renana Jhabvala
(Self Employed Women’s Association)
Panel 7  URBAN ECOLOGY: THE POLITICS OF RESOURCES

Discussion

In the contemporary Indian city, struggles for public resources have led urban residents to informal means of procuring amenities such as water, transportation, recycling, and waste removal. This final panel addressed how political and technocratic imaginations assert alternative urban futures. The first two presentations discussed innovative solutions to the management of water and sanitation systems in the city. Alison Post presented a comparative perspective from Latin America, focusing on urban water management to enhance service delivery and efficiency. Through her work in Argentina, Post discussed the problems of two basic policy reforms—decentralization and institutional reforms to isolate service delivery from politics—both of which ultimately only increased politicization. Then, Isha Ray provided several alternative possibilities for water reuse in an urban center. Ray offered a model of water irrigation that countered the normative framework of a sewer system. She suggested that an innovative reuse-centered design in sanitation systems become a part of the city planning process.

Innovation in the distribution and management of resources within the city signifies an alternative urban future, also meant to incorporate informal systems currently in place that address urban service needs. Renana Jhabvala demonstrated how marginalized women, such as SEWA's female ragpickers in solid waste management, organize and employ themselves through informal systems. Jhabvala highlighted the major problem in the city: the bottom 50 percent of the population, the urban majority, remains excluded. Jhabvala pushed the audience to consider the bottom 50 percent of the urban population. Planning and managing resources and services in the city, then, is not just the work of urban elites or urban experts, but of urban residents. Finally, Aromar Revi's presentation focused on this bottom 50 percent. He presented an overall perspective on the declining status of the urban poor, challenging the future urban agenda to look at land, labor, and housing market failures. Simultaneously, Revi emphasized the need to balance the ecological footprint with the ever-increasing human development index necessary to sustain India.

This panel illuminated the role of urban residents as a fundamental component to the future provision and management of urban resources. The politics of inclusion and exclusion best articulate the relationship between citizens and resources. Panelists discussed innovation as a replacement to exclusion. They reflected on best practices, suggesting that institutional change is not enough to respond to currently insufficient frameworks and governance. Instead, they called for a return to the daily micro-politics of resource distribution and attention to how organizations and institutions can best improve provision through the insight of the citizen. The resurfacing of the citizen generated a debate on the right to livelihood and the right to shelter. Is this a necessary distinction, and how should it be used? The false opposition sparked a debate to demonstrate the distinctions. The use of citizenship language—right to livelihood or right to shelter—could be deployed to serve as a political strategy. Panelists asserted that imagining the future of urban India must incorporate a specific strategy that responds to the contextual needs of urban residents.
The 21st Century Indian City

— The 21st century Indian city represents a unique set of historical possibilities

— Planning for that city means creative thinking about who will live in Indian cities in the future

— This offers the opportunity to move beyond “claustrophobic” conceptions of the world-class city and engender new political imaginations of what a good city looks like

— The lack of models to follow need not constrain urban imaginations, but rather presents an opportunity to define new political spaces and paths of urban growth.

Panelists

Ananya Roy
(University of California, Berkeley)

Partha Mukhopadhyay
(Centre for Policy Research)
Conclusion

The 21st century Indian city represents a unique set of historical possibilities. As Partha Mukhopadhyay highlighted in his concluding comments:

- It is built more around consumption than production
- It is defined less by migration than by encroachment on rural areas and thus involves unique migration patterns; and
- It is characterized by complex interlinkages between informal and formal economies.
- It also exists within a country that is largely non-urban.

Thus, the 21st century Indian city is more than “the 20th century city somewhere else,” and planning for that city means creative thinking about who will live in Indian cities in the future.

What form might this thinking about the future take? Ananya Roy argued that the 21st century Indian city offers the opportunity to move beyond “claustrophobic” conceptions of the world-class city and engender new political imaginations of what a good city looks like. Such new political imaginations can involve multiple new alliances and theoretical frameworks:

- South-South dialogues that expand urban theorizing into “an intellectual project of global urbanism,” as well as new flows of ideas about urban models and possibilities
- Rethinking the politics of knowledge around urban planning and the limits of data about the city and its inhabitants
- Redefining the future of Indian cities as a broadly inclusive project of urban citizenship
- Taking the “urban majority” seriously when thinking about how cities function and whom they serve

Building on what Raka Ray called “culturally dynamic, politically vibrant, environmentally sustainable cities” in a unique historical and geographic conjuncture has no clear precedents. The lack of models to follow need not constrain urban imaginations, but rather presents an opportunity to define new political spaces and paths of urban growth.
Neera Adarkar, a partner in Adarkar Associates, is an architect and an urban researcher. She has been a visiting faculty member in the Academy of Architecture, Mumbai. She is associated with various organizations active on social, urban and gender issues. Her involvement as an activist in the mill workers struggle and in Mumbai's textile mill lands led her to participate in the process of formation of Mumbai Peoples' Action Committee, a coalition of citizens' groups. She is on the Expert Committee panel appointed by the State Government for the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan. She has co-authored with Meena Menon, A Hundred Years, Hundred Voices: The Millworkers of Girangaon - An Oral History. Her latest publication is an edited volume titled, The Chawls of Mumbai, Galleries of Life.

Isher Judge Ahluwalia, is the chairperson of the Board of Governors for the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER). Prior to this, she served as the director and chief executive of ICRIER. She is the appointed chair of the High Powered Expert Committee on Urban Infrastructure of the Ministry of Urban Development and former chair of IFPRI's Board of Trustees. In 2009, Isher received the Padma Bhushan from the president of India for her services in the field of education and literature. She received a B.A. in economics from Presidency College, Calcutta University, an M.A. in economics from the Delhi School of Economics, and a Ph.D. in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

Amita Baviskar is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi. Her research focuses on the cultural politics of environment and development. Her first book In the Belly of the River: Tribal Conflicts over Development in the Narmada Valley (Oxford University Press) discussed the struggle for survival by adivasis in central India against a large dam. Her subsequent work further explores the themes of resource rights, subaltern resistance and cultural identity. She has edited Waterlines: The Penguin Book of River Writings (Penguin India), Waterscapes: The Cultural Politics of a Natural Resource (Permanent Black), Contested Grounds: Essays on Nature, Culture and Power (Oxford University Press) and Elite and Everyman: The Cultural Politics of the Indian Middle Classes (with Raka Ray, Routledge in press). She is currently writing about bourgeois environmentalism and spatial restructuring in the context of economic liberalization in Delhi. She is co-editor of the journal Contributions to Indian Sociology. Amita Baviskar has taught at the University of Delhi, and has been a visiting scholar at Stanford, Cornell, Yale and the University of California at Berkeley. She was awarded the 2005 Malcolm Adiseshiah Award for distinguished contributions to development studies, the 2008 VKRV Rao Prize for social science research, and the 2010 Infosys Prize for Social Sciences.

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**Solomon Benjamin** is an Associate Professor at the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS) and co-chairs their Urban Research and Policy Program (URPP). Benjamin’s research over the last decade looks at cities and towns under globalization, issues of urban poverty, politics and economy and a particular interest in land development. His recent work looks at Indian and Chinese Urbanism while at NIAS he coordinates a research on Bangalore’s wetlands and their local governance and economy.

**Teresa Caldeira** is professor of City and Regional Planning at University of California Berkeley. Her research focuses on predicaments of contemporary urban development and patterns of spatial segregation and social discrimination. She has been studying relationships between urban form and political transformation, particularly in the context of democratization and neoliberalization in cities of the global south. Her work is interdisciplinary, combining methodologies, theories, and approaches from the different social sciences, and especially concerned with reshaping ethnographic methods for the study of cities.

**Robert Cervero** is Professor, Department of City & Regional Planning; Director, University of California Transportation Center; and Interim Director, Institute of Urban & Regional Development at University of California, Berkeley. He works in the area of sustainable transport policy and planning. His current research is on the economic benefits of balancing infrastructure investments with place-making. He is a frequent advisor and consultant on transport projects, both in the U.S. and abroad. Professor Cervero was the first-ever recipient of the Dale Prize for Excellence in Urban Planning Research and has twice won the Article of the Year award from the Journal of the American Planning Association. Presently, he is Chairman of the International Association of Urban Environments and the National Advisory Board of the Active Living Research Program of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. Professor Cervero was recently appointed to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), responsible for the human settlement chapter of the 5th IPCC assessment. He is also an author of the forthcoming 2013 Global Report on Sustainable Transportation for the UN-Habitat. Professor Cervero currently serves on the editorial boards of 10 scholarly journals.

**Pradeep Chhibber** studies party systems, party aggregation, and the politics of India. His research examines the relationship between social divisions and party competition and conditions that lead to the emergence of national or regional parties in a nation-state. Pradeep received an M.A. and an M.Phil. from the University of Delhi and a Ph.D. from UCLA. He is currently the Indo-American Community Chair in India Studies and the Chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley.
Robert Edelstein joined the faculty of the University of California at Berkeley in 1985 after being a Professor of Finance at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and is active in the fields of real estate economics, finance, and property taxation; energy and environmental economics; public finance; and urban financial problems. He has been published widely in prestigious economics and business journals on topics related to commercial and residential analysis and real estate markets. He has testified before the United States Congress on many real estate finance issues. He has been President and has served on the Board of Directors of the American Real Estate and Urban Economics Association. He is the past President and a member of the Board of the Asian Real Estate Society. Dr. Edelstein received an A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University.

Asher Ghertner is a Lecturer in the Department of Geography and Environment at the London School of Economics. He has conducted long-term ethnographic research on urban governance, the politics of slum demolitions, and class formation in Delhi. In addition to publications in Economic and Political Weekly, Economy and Society, and the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Asher is currently working on a book manuscript titled Rule by Aesthetics. This project examines the legal, political, and economic means by which a form of aesthetic rule has replaced mapping, surveying and census-taking as the key instrument of planning in contemporary India. Asher's broader interests are in the aesthetic politics of the Indian urban, new geographies of governance, and the possessive and aspirational power of property.

James Holston is professor of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley. His research examines the worldwide insurgence of democratic urban citizenships and right to the city movements. He is the author of The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia (University of Chicago Press) and editor of Cities and Citizenship (Duke University Press), as well as essays on citizenship, law, democracy, violence, urban architecture and planning, critical ethnography, and new religions. His recent book, Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil (Princeton University Press, 2008) examines the insurgence of democratic citizenship in the urban peripheries of São Paulo, Brazil, its entanglement with entrenched systems of inequality, and its contradiction in violence under political democracy. He is currently preparing an edited volume with Teresa Caldeira, entitled Peripheries: Decentering Urban Theory, and a book that documents through photographs and interviews the autoconstruction of houses and neighborhoods in the urban peripheries of São Paulo.

Renana Jhabvala is the Chair of SEWA Bharat, as well as National co-ordinator of SEWA, responsible for SEWA movement at the national level. She was the Chair of SEWA Bank and is committed to micro-finance owned and managed by poor women. She has been with SEWA since 1978 when it was a small organization with about 500 members. Today SEWA is a Central Trade Union with 12.5 lakhs members in 9 states and become a nation-wide movement of poor self employed women and sustaining over 120 co-operatives, associations and women-owned companies. She is a member of the Prime Minister’s National Council on Skill Development. She has a BA in Mathematics from Hindu College, Delhi University and an MA in Economics from Yale University, USA.

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Cynthia Kroll is the senior regional economist and executive director of staff research for the Fisher Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics, a research center on the UC Berkeley Campus. Her more than three decades of research has ranged widely over topics involving real estate and land development issues; the effects of globalization on a wide range of industries and urban places; and environmental, natural resource and natural hazard concerns. Recent research topics include the effects of globalization on the California economy and industries; the transformation of San Francisco and the surrounding region during and after the dot-com boom; state and national responses to the housing and credit crisis; finance and green real estate; innovation and green industries; and local governance effects of the housing and credit crisis. With colleagues, Dr. Kroll is in the process of editing two books, one on the global housing crisis, and the second on the employment effects of globalization, both from multiple country viewpoints. In addition to her twenty-six years at the Center, Dr. Kroll has also worked for the State of California’s Office of Economic Research, for the Association of Bay Area Governments, for SRI International, as an adjunct lecturer in the UC Berkeley Department of City and Regional Planning, and as an independent consultant. Dr. Kroll holds masters and doctoral degrees from UC Berkeley’s Department of City and Regional Planning.

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Dinesh Mohan is Professor of Biomechanics and Transportation Safety and Coordinator of the Transportation Research and Injury Prevention Programme (TRIPP) at the Indian Institute of Technology. Delhi. His research includes the following areas: transportation research (safety and pollution), human tolerance biomechanics, motor vehicle safety, road traffic injuries, childhood injuries, effectiveness of automobile safety equipment, evaluation of injuries to cyclists and motorcyclists, motorcycle helmet design, evaluation of government’s and motor vehicle manufacturer’s standards concerning motor vehicle safety. Professor Mohan is member of the WHO Advisory Panel on Accident Prevention. He serves on the editorial boards of 4 international journals dealing with safety. In the past he has worked at the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, Washington DC (1975-1978) and the University of Michigan Transportation Research Institute (1971-1975). Professor Mohan has been a consultant on safety related matters to government departments in India, Nepal, Indonesia, Thailand, Bangladesh, Iraq and Libya and automotive industries including TELCO, Ashok Leyland, Volvo Trucks, Eicher Motors Ltd., Escorts Ltd., Maruti Udyog Ltd., SIAM, Bajaj Auto Ltd. and also to international organizations like the World Bank and WHO. Professor Mohan is the recipient of: (1) Distinguished Alumnus Award 2002 from the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay. (2) International Research Council on Biokinetics of Impact’s 2001 Bertil Aldman Award for Outstanding research on the biomechanics of Impacts; (3) American Public Health Association International Distinguished Career Award in recognition of dedication and leadership in the area of injury research and teaching, with contributions and achievements that have significant and long term impact on the problem of injury prevention and control; (4) The International Velo–City Falco Lecture Prize (5) The Association for Advancement of Automotive Medicine’s 1991 Award of Merit for outstanding research in traffic safety; (6) The 1991 International Association for Accident & Traffic Medicine’s International Award and Medal for Outstanding Achievement in the Field of Traffic Medicine.
Rakesh Mohan is a Senior Fellow in the Jackson Institute of Global Affairs at Yale University and every Fall, he also teaches in Yale’s School of Management in their Practice of International Economics of Finance division. He is also a Non Resident Senior Research Fellow at the Stanford Centre for International Development, Stanford University. Dr. Mohan is also Chairman, National Transport Development Policy Committee, Government of India, in the rank of Minister of State. In addition, he is Vice-Chairman, Indian Institute of Human Settlements; and Global Adviser, McKinsey and Company. From June 15, 2009 to December 15, 2009, he was Distinguished Consulting Professor at the Stanford Centre for International Development at Stanford University. Prior to this, he was Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India (September 9, 2002 to October 31, 2004 and July 2, 2005 to June 10, 2009). Earlier, in September 2002, he was appointed as the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank for a period of three years. He relinquished that post in October 2004 when he was appointed as Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India.

Partha Mukhopadhyay is Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research. His last assignment, over the last seven years, was with the Infrastructure Development Finance Company (IDFC), where as a part of their Policy Advisory Group, he was involved in nurturing the development of policy and regulatory frameworks necessary for the flow of private capital into infrastructure projects in a manner that provided efficient service to the final user. Recently, in 2003, he was Visiting Faculty at IIM, Ahmedabad on a sabbatical from IDFC, where he taught courses on International Trade and Finance and Infrastructure Finance and Development. Prior to this, he was with EXIM Bank of India, as the first Director of their Eximius Learning Centre in Bangalore, and before that, with the World Bank, in what then was the Trade Policy Division in Washington. His research interests are in service delivery, particularly the institutional structures and regulation of economic and social services; international trade and finance; impact of the market economy in rural areas; and labour market issues in the Indian information technology industry. Dr. Mukhopadhyay has a Ph.D. in Economics from New York University and an M.A. and M.Phil from the Delhi School of Economics.

Vidyadhar K. Phatak is a professional planner associated with planning of Mumbai in various capacities for the last 43 years. During his long tenure from 1976 to 2004 with Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA), he led a multi-disciplinary team to prepare the Regional Plan for the Mumbai Metropolitan Region, coordinated and monitored an urban development project funded by the World Bank, established and operated a revolving fund for assisting the local authorities in MMR to plan and develop municipal infrastructures, initiated the use of Geographic Information System and was also involved in the preparation of environmental and rehabilitation components of the Mumbai Urban Transport Project for seeking a World Bank loan. During this period he was a member of many government committees; important amongst these being the Task Force on “Planning of Urban Development” appointed by the Planning Commission, Government of India (1983), National Commission on Urbanization appointed by the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India (1988) and Task Force on “Preparation of a Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation of persons likely to be affected by Urban Infrastructure Projects” appointed by the Government of Maharashtra (1995). He was also a consultant to the World Bank for preparation and appraisal of the First Tamil Nadu Urban Development Project. (1987). After retirement in 2004 he has been involved as an adviser to consultants (Price Water House Coopers) for strategic planning of Mumbai-Pune-Nashik golden triangle and the Kolkata Urban Services for the Poor, consultant to the World Bank for study of land and housing in Mumbai and preparation of Andhra Pradesh Urban Reforms and Municipal services Project. He was deputy team leader of LEA International for preparing the “Business Plan of Mumbai Metropolitan Region”. During 2008-09 he was Town Planning Adviser to Government of Punjab and helped prepare Master Plans of Bathinda, Patiala and Jalandhar. Currently, he is a Director of the National Housing Bank, Member, Building Sub-Committee of the Reserve Bank of India, Member, MMR-Heritage Conservation Society, Member, Technical Committee of Central Bank of India, Member, Mumbai Metropolitan Planning Committee. He is also a visiting faculty of the M.Arch – Urban Design program of the Kamala Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute of Architecture, Mumbai and Tata Institute of Social Sciences.
Alison Post is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. She studies comparative political economy, focusing on the politics of urban and regional development. In particular, her research examines the politics of regulating urban infrastructure and utilities investment in Latin America. Her doctoral dissertation, "Liquid Assets and Fluid Contracts: Explaining the Uneven Effects of Water and Sanitation Privatization," won the 2009 William Anderson award from the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in the general field of federalism, intergovernmental relations, state or local politics. She holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in Government from Harvard University and B.A. from Stanford University. As a Marshall scholar, she also earned a M.Sc. in Urban and Regional Planning from the London School of Economics and Political Science. She has served as a postdoctoral research scholar with the Committee on Global Thought at Columbia University, a Visiting Researcher at the Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad in Buenos Aires and the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (E.C.L.A.C.) in Santiago, and as a Researcher at L.S.E. Urban Research in London.

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Aromar Revi is an international researcher, practitioner and consultant with a quarter century of interdisciplinary experience in sustainability, public policy and governance, the political economy of reform, development, technology and human settlements. He is the Director of the Indian Institute of Human Settlements (IIHS) India’s first prospective independent national Innovation University addressing its challenges of urbanisation through an integrated programme of education, research and advisory services. He has been a senior advisor to various ministries of the Government of India, consulted with a wide range of UN, multilateral and bilateral development institutions and works on economic, environmental and
social change at global, regional and settlement scales. Aromar has led over a hundred major research and consulting assignments in India and abroad. He has lectured and taught at two dozen Universities across four continents; written and edited five books; contributed to over thirty academic articles in peer-reviewed journals across multiple disciplines; helped structure, design and review development investments in excess of $4 billion; worked on three of the world’s ten largest cities; with communities across twenty-five of India’s twenty-eight states; apart from multiple international projects in a dozen countries.

Ananya Roy is Professor in the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, Berkeley, where she teaches in the fields of urban studies and international development. She also serves as Education Director of the Blum Center for Developing Economies and as co-Director of the Global Metropolitan Studies Center. Roy is the author of *City Requiem, Calcutta: Gender and the Politics of Poverty* (University of Minnesota Press, 2003), co-editor of *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, South Asia, and Latin America* (Lexington Books, 2004) and co-editor of *The Practice of International Health* (Oxford University Press, 2008). Her most recent book is titled *Poverty Capital: Microfinance and the Making of Development* (Routledge, 2010). Roy is now completing an edited book (with Aihwa Ong) titled *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global* (Blackwell, 2011). Roy serves on the editorial boards of various journals including Planning Theory, Public Culture, and the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.

Dunu Roy is Director, Hazards Centre, a unit of the Sanchal Foundation, assisting urban and rural communities in research and action programs related to shelter, livelihoods, services, and governance, and in the struggle for justice by the urban poor. He is also a consultant to multilateral and government agencies on resource management, environment, biodiversity and disaster preparedness in several States of India. Dunu Roy has a B.Tech and an M.Tech. from the Department of Chemical Engineering, IIT Bombay.

Sanjeev Sanyal is a writer, economist and urban theorist. He was named “Young Global Leader 2010” by the World Economic Forum in Davos. He is President of the Sustainable Planet Institute and is an Honorary Senior Fellow of WWF. He is also one of Asia’s leading financial economists and was Deutsche Bank’s Chief Economist for the region till 2008. In 2002, he co-founded GIST, a global leader in the field of “green accounting”. He serves in the boards of Sushant School of Architecture and of Action for Food Programme. He has been an Adjunct Fellow at the National University of Singapore and at Oxford University. He has also served as a member of the Steering Committee of Urban Age at the London School of Economics. Sanjeev is the author of the bestselling book *The Indian Renaissance: India’s Rise After a Thousand Years of Decline* (published by Penguin). He writes columns for a number of national and international publications. In 2007, he was awarded the Eisenhower Fellowship for his work on the economics of cities. Sanjeev attended Delhi University and Oxford University where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Somini Sengupta was born in Calcutta, raised in Canada and California and returned to India as the first Indian-American bureau chief for The New York Times in Delhi. Currently on sabbatical from The Times, she lives in Delhi, where she is raising a toddler and during naptimes, writing a book about contemporary India.
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Chetan Vaidya, an architect-urban planner with over 30 years of experience in urban planning, finance and management, is the Director of National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA). He works with the Ministry of Urban Development (MOUD) Government of India on various urban issues and assists various city and state governments in implementation reforms under the Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). NIUA is the National Coordinator for Peer Exchange and Reflecting Learning (PEARL) program under JNNURM. As Director of NIUA he thus coordinates a large number of urban studies including City Cluster Economic Development in National Capital Region of Delhi, Sustainable City Form for India, Property Tax Reforms, City Sanitation Plan Preparation, Implementation of 13th Central Finance Commission Recommendations for Urban Local Bodies, etc. Prior to joining NIUA, he was Dy. Project Leader, Indo-USAID Financial Institutions Reform and Expansion Program (FIRE), the major objective of which was to develop commercially–viable urban infrastructure projects focusing on urban poor. He has Bachelor of Architecture from M.S. University and a Master of City Planning from IIT Kharagpur.

Pravin Varaiya is Professor in the Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences at the University of California, Berkeley. From 1975 to 1992 he was also Professor of Economics. His current research interests include transportation networks, electric power systems, and hybrid systems. His honors include a Guggenheim Fellowship, three Honorary Doctorates, the Field Medal and Bode Prize of the IEEE Control Systems Society, the Richard E. Bellman Control Heritage Award, and the Outstanding Research Award of the IEEE Intelligent Transportation Systems Society. He is a Fellow of IEEE, a member of the National Academy of Engineering, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Science.
R.V. Verma is the Chairman & Managing Director of the National Housing Bank (NHB). Prior to joining NHB, Mr. Verma worked with the Reserve Bank of India. At the NHB, Mr Verma has been responsible for several policy related developments and execution oversights to develop the Indian Mortgage market, the designing and guiding of the development of the mortgage market. Additionally, he as also worked on policy initiatives on regulations and supervisory oversight of housing finance companies by working in close association with policy makers, viz fiscal, monetary and credit policies, housing policies at the Union and State levels; led NHB’s initiative on securitization and development of secondary mortgage market in the country; headed the Committee constituted by the Reserve Bank of India on “Development of Residential Mortgage Backed Securities”; played a key role in the launch of pilot issues of MBS in the country; and led the initiative on mortgage guarantee mechanism and headed the Committee on the “Development of Mortgage Guaranty” in India set up the Reserve Bank of India. Mr. Verma has an Masters in Economics from Delhi School of Economics, a Masters in Business Administration (Finance) and is a Certified Associate of the Indian Institute of Bankers.

Richard Walker is Professor of Geography at the University of California, Berkeley, where he has taught for 35 years. Walker has written on a diverse range of topics in economic, urban, and environmental geography, with scores of published articles to his credit. He is co-author of *The Capitalist Imperative* (1989) and *The New Social Economy* (1992) and has written extensively on California, including *The Conquest of Bread* (2004) and *The Country in the City* (2007). Walker has served as Chair of the Geography Department, the Global Metropolitan Studies Center, and the California Studies Center at UC Berkeley, as well as chairing the statewide California Studies Association. He has several prestigious grants to his credit, including Fulbright and Guggenheim Fellowships, along with prizes such as the Carey McWilliams Award for California Studies, a Distinguished Teaching Award at the university, and the Hal Rothman prize in Western History for *The Country in the City*. He is currently working on books on the history and geography of the Bay Area and the political economy of California from the Gold Rush to the Great Recession.
About the Organizers

Center for South Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley

The Center for South Asia Studies (CSAS) supports teaching, research, and outreach activities relating to South Asia at UC Berkeley. The only US Department of Education-funded National Resource Center for South Asia in California, CSAS is committed to enhancing knowledge of the region among students, academics, and the public at large. UC Berkeley has been a premier site for the study of South Asia in general, and India in particular, for the past century (Sanskrit courses date back to 1906). With over 40 faculty members conducting research in the area of South Asia studies, Berkeley offers 85 to 120 courses with significant India content every semester, and instruction in over six Indian languages. The University of California, Berkeley, is recognized as one of the top universities in the United States and was recently ranked as the second greatest university in the world by the Times Higher Education Supplement.

Center for Global Metropolitan Studies

The 21st century will be an urban century with more people around the world residing in metropolitan regions than in any other form of human settlement. This urbanization is taking place in both the global North and the global South. Its implications are widespread: from environmental challenges to entrenched patterns of segregation to new configurations of politics and social movements. The Global Metropolitan Studies Initiative is concerned with this urban condition. Bringing together numerous faculty, this multidisciplinary endeavor supports research and houses graduate and undergraduate curricula. It is one of a handful of “strategic” initiatives selected by the UC Berkeley campus to mark a new generation of scholarship and to consolidate an emerging academic field.

Global Metropolitan Studies (GMS) is co-directed by two faculty members from among the faculty affiliates. The directorship rotates every two to three years. The current co-directors are Ananya Roy (City and Regional Planning) and Richard Walker (Geography).

Policy direction for GMS is established by a broad-based steering committee. In addition, the deans representing the founding departments of GMS (City and Regional Planning, Landscape Architecture and Environmental Planning, Political Science, Geography, and Civil and Environmental Engineering) and the director of the Institute of Urban and Regional Development, the host research unit, are invited to participate in GMS ex-officio. Additional faculty members serve on search committees and educational program committees. See our Governance page for details.

Fisher Center for Real Estate & Urban Economics

The mission of the Fisher Center for Real Estate & Urban Economics (FCREUE) is to educate students and real estate professionals and to support and conduct research on real estate, urban economics, the California economy, land use, and public policy.

FCREUE is many things to many people.

- Students and alumni from the Haas School of Business, the College of Environmental Design, the Goldman School of Public Policy, and other schools and programs across the UC Berkeley campus are able to take advantage of the resources available through the center. FCREUE provides academic resources, serves as a liaison to industry leaders, and is a resource throughout their professional careers.
- Real Estate Faculty and faculty associates, from many disciplines across campus are given financial support and a forum to present their research to industry professionals. The Center’s staff researchers share applied economic research on real estate, urban economics, and California policy issues with colleagues at the university, the real estate industry, and the general public.
Critical to the success of our efforts is our partnership with our Policy Advisory Board (PAB). For over thirty years real estate and finance leaders have provided the primary financial support for all the Center's activities. The Fisher Center provides the PAB with timely economic, financial and real estate market updates. The PAB also actively participates in FCREUE research and classroom and executive education.

For real estate practitioners we produce timely, practical, and relevant executive education conferences.

FCREUE recognizes each relationship adds value to the others, and is critically important to fulfilling the Center's mission.

**Center for Policy Research**

CPR is an independent and non-partisan research institute and think tank. Its main objectives are to provide thought leadership and creative solutions to address pressing intellectual and policy issues. It is one of the 27 national social science research institutes recognized by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), Government of India. It is set apart by its multi-disciplinary approach and unique blend of scholarship and practical expertise. CPR's faculty have considerable impact on policy and public debates.

The main objectives of the Centre for Policy Research are:

- To develop substantive policy options for the improvement of policymaking and management;
- To carry out policy studies of various sectors of the policy, economy and society with a view to promoting national development;
- To provide advisory services to governments, public bodies or any other institutions including international agencies on matters having a bearing on the performance and optimum use of national resources for social and economic development; and
- To disseminate information on policy issues through publication of journals, reports, pamphlets and other literature including research papers and books.
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