

– BODIES AGAINST MODERNITY: Politics of Slum Rehabilitations in India

HARSHAVARDHAN JATKAR

Abstract

India continues to modernize, and the legacy of political modernity rooted in the European Enlightenment continues to reify itself in India through the performative practices of the body politic. The body politic is a totalized conceptualization of a society imagined in the form of a body, with real exclusionary effects on those without citizenship rights. This body politic is made real through performances of popular sovereignty, bureaucratic state practices and liberal democratic electoral procedures performed during urban development processes. Ethnographic accounts of politics of slum rehabilitations in Pune show that the modern body politic is indeed performatively practised, and reshaped, by the very bodies that are expected to be alienated for the making of the body politic. Bodies meet one another in different spaces and times and generate the possibility of reshaping the liberal body politic into relational and affective bodily politics. Together, bodies become both the site and the means through which political modernity is reshaped in India.

Introduction

Ashish stared at me with an inquisitive gaze for a few seconds and said:

I told you right in the beginning, I am true, my place is proven, my *astitva*¹ [existence/being] is here; to prove this, I will remain exactly where I am; this was my main thought (interview D_V_12, 16 May 2018, Pune).

Ashish was one of the last residents of Phanaswadi whose name had not appeared in the eligibility list prepared by the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) of the Government of Maharashtra (GoM) for the allocation of an apartment in rehabilitation buildings. I was introduced to Ashish by the real-estate developer undertaking slum rehabilitation of Ashish's *vasti*² (settlement) because Ashish had decided to 'stay put' in the settlement to prevent the demolition of his house. The official documents Ashish possessed had not been sufficient to make him eligible for slum rehabilitation as per the policy requirements set out by the SRA. While the eligibility cut-off date was later changed from 1 January 1995 to 1 January 2000 and Ashish could eventually become eligible for an apartment, he had to put his life at risk to prevent the demolition of his house. Meanwhile, the real-estate developer had to halt the slum rehabilitation process.

In this article I present part of my doctoral research, undertaken under the supervision of Professor Colin Marx and Doctor Kamna Patel and fully funded by the DPU60 PhD Scholarship. I am truly grateful to the Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU) for providing me with the funding and the opportunity to conduct my doctoral research. A series of conversations with the scholarly community at DPU helped me develop the arguments I present here. I am particularly thankful to my PhD supervisors and the three anonymous IJURR reviewers for continued encouragement and thoughtful provocations.

- 1 The word '*astitva*', which is not used colloquially in the language of the region, denotes an existential state with a transcendental, even theological, connotation often used exclusively in literature. I read Ashish to be referring to his felt existential threat in the face of eviction from the *vasti* (settlement).
- 2 The Marathi term '*vasti*' means 'settlement'. While it is often used for settlements that have 'some measure of physical, economic and social vulnerability', the state uses the term 'slum' to identify such settlements (Bhan, 2016). Given the negative connotations of the term 'slum' (Gilbert, 2007), I follow Bhan (*ibid.*) in referring to settlements as *vastis*, except in relation to the state's Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP).

Ashish's family is one of over 200,000 families living in Pune who had been subjected to the GoM's Slum Rehabilitation Policy (SRP), which required them to prove their residence in the vasti by demonstrating their physical presence in their houses before a certain cut-off date. Proof of residence is a commonplace practice in most modern nation-states. Most people, including those living in so-called slums, can use proof of residence to gain access to state services and procedures such as voting, tax payments or welfare benefits. Yet lack of such official proof of residence meant that Ashish would have had to leave the vasti to find accommodation elsewhere in the city. Ashish had lived in Phanaswadi since he had migrated to Pune from a nearby village after he got married in the early 1990s. He had built a house for his family on a piece of land against rent he had been paying to the landowner. Rising housing prices in Pune made finding accommodation elsewhere in the city neither possible nor desirable for Ashish, given the resource-poor context in which he lived. Thus his circumstances and SRP regulations effectively drove him to put his life at risk by staying put in the vasti and facing the impending demolition of his house.

The literature on slum politics has documented various practices by which people resist evictions, slum demolitions and resettlements across the globe. In India, scholars have examined politics at the interface between the state and the people through various theoretical lenses. On the one hand, authors have drawn on Marxian analytics to argue that the Government of India's neoliberal discourses concerning slums are driven by middle-class aesthetics (Ghertner, 2010) and capitalist logics of 'accumulation by differentiated dispossession' (Doshi, 2013). Similarly, Bhide (2017) argues that the state-market alliance in Mumbai is using colonial logics of biopolitical control over the minds and bodies of slum dwellers. On the other hand, scholars have demonstrated the limits of state efforts to govern slums by focusing on people's practices and politics beyond the state. Such practices are conceptualized as subaltern urbanism (Roy, 2011) or occupancy urbanism (Benjamin, 2008). Overall, as Sørbøe and Braathen (2022: 1) suggest, the literature on slum politics has produced a framing of 'the city [or the state] against slum-dwellers' and 'slum-dwellers against the city [or the state]'.

Albeit relevant for radicalizing politics beyond state policies and programmes, Ashish's lived experiences hint at two particular concerns with 'the city [or the state] against slum-dwellers' framing. First, slum dwellers are not necessarily against 'the state' (Ranganathan, 2014), and second, they are not a homogenous category (Roy, 2009). Furthermore, Ranganathan (2014) contends that resistance is not the only modality through which politics in informal and poorly serviced settlements unfolds in neoliberal India. Likewise, Bayat (2000) argues that informality acts as a logic of 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' rather than a resistive practice of those living under conditions of informality. Ranganathan (2014) suggests emphasizing the political agency of Bangalore's middle-class residents to tap into citizens' collective action, contending that Bayat's (2000) concept of the 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' is too individualistic. Yet, Ashish's narrative suggests that the emphasis on the 'collective' might lead towards dismissing the existential threat of eviction that Ashish alone had to endure by placing his own and his family's bodies at risk. As Ashish was ineligible for an apartment, his individual citizenship in the collective of eligible vasti residents was brought into question.

Ashish was not alone in his struggle to stop his house from being demolished in the city of Pune. Kalebai, a resident of another vasti undergoing slum rehabilitation in Pune, said to me during an interview: 'even if you take out the bulldozer, each household has ten—ten people. You cannot crush ten people under the bulldozer. Nowhere has there been made any law like that' (interview K_VR_11, 25 April 2018, Pune). Kalebai was articulating her disagreement with how the state had demolished slums in Pune. Yet she vividly referred to the use of *bodies* to stop the bulldozing of houses in her vasti. Intriguingly, both Ashish and Kalebai were making use of bodies to stop demolitions, albeit

for quite distinct reasons. Ashish wanted to get an apartment in the rehabilitated building and Kalebai was articulating her disagreement with the state's slum demolition practices.

I contend in this article that these distinct uses of real bodies during slum rehabilitation processes cannot be adequately captured by 'a somewhat romantic tendency to view the state [or the city] and citizen in a morally opposed relationship' (Datta, 2012: 11). Instead, attention to real bodies helps us see that bodies sometimes become the means for survival in the city (Thapan, 2009; Snell-Rood, 2015) and brings to the fore the very cause of the existential angst Ashish felt and articulated. Such consideration of Ashish's felt existential angst requires reaching into the workings of the governmental forces that drove Ashish to the extreme of risking his body. Likewise, attention to the bodily practices such as those performed by Ashish hints at a world of politics that unfolds in the face of the governmental forces affecting Ashish's life.

In this article, I explore both the governing forces and vasti residents' actions in the face of governmental forces through the trope of the body. Since governance in neoliberal India works through fragmented space-times (i.e. it is not tied to the site of the vasti alone), I explore governmental politics of slum rehabilitations through a nonlocal ethnography of slum rehabilitation processes. Such an exploration leads into the domains of historical, political and economic analysis through the lens of the body politic. On the one hand, exploring the historical, political and economic context in which SRP becomes enforceable makes visible the legacy of a colonially induced political modernity in contemporary slum rehabilitation practices in India—particularly the residual (and re-emerging) application of the idea of the body politic. On the other hand, the trope of the body politic helps us recognize that the SRP confines 'bodies' to a rigid spatiality of a site for a specific duration of linear time. A focus on the body politic is thus not intended to 'denounce a false ideology [of state policies], but to draw attention to the social and imaginative processes through which [state policies are] made effective and authoritative' (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002: 983). In other words, a focus on the bodily effects of contemporary governmental regimes shows that the body politic is not a mere fragment of a distant metaphysical theorizing (Mitchell, 2006) but continues to emerge from policies and practices governing the lives of people such as Ashish.

While the liberal (modern) governmentality guiding slum rehabilitation processes governs through the restrictive understanding of bodies confined to the site of the vasti for a certain period, this ethnographic work demonstrates that the politics *of* and *through* real bodies during slum rehabilitations unfolds beyond the present-day site of the vasti. Such politics *of* and *through* real bodies reshapes the liberal governmental forces through real and hypothetical spaces and times relationally and affectively. I suggest in this article that attending to the *bodily politics* of the various actors involved in slum rehabilitations helps acknowledge that another politics is being engendered beyond the facade of rhetorical polemics between the state and slum dwellers—one that unfolds through various times and spaces and effectively helps various actors take control of the processes of slum rehabilitations and the remaking of the modern body politic.

Methodology and context

Sometimes, 50 people would come in front of the house in the mornings—saying 'build us houses'! That is why we looked for a developer (interview K_Pr_4,³ 3 May 2018, Pune).

The landowner of Ambenagar lived some distance away from Ambenagar vasti and was telling me why he had decided to proceed with the slum rehabilitation of

3 In the interview codes, VR stands for Vasti Resident and Pr stands for Private Developer.

Ambenagar by means of the SRP. Unlike Ashish's and Kalebai's bodily performances, which occurred on the site of the vasti, this landowner's account shows that bodies also moved in space away from the vasti to affect the slum rehabilitation process. In this case, 50 Ambenagar residents travelled kilometres away from their vasti in the mornings to demand housing from the landowner. Such repeated bodily encounters between landowner and vasti residents impelled the landowner to push for slum rehabilitation. In this article I build on a 'nonlocal ethnography' of two slum rehabilitation projects in Pune—the second largest city in the state of Maharashtra in India—to capture such bodily practices *on* and *beyond* the sites of the vasti. To capture governance processes that unfold across multiple space-times, Feldman (2011) proposes a nonlocal ethnography that is not tied to a field site per se. Feldman's (*ibid.*: 33) nonlocal ethnography helps 'highlight an apparatus [of governance] and explain its historical emergence' by describing how discourses separated in space-time 'compose a regime of population regulation'. Seeing multiple governing discourses and practices in relation to one another helps highlight the connections between various events that ultimately shape how policy unfolds in practice.

In line with the nonlocal ethnographic methodology, I selected two vastis undergoing slum rehabilitation as field sites, namely, Ambenagar and Phanaswadi.⁴ Ethnographic work was conducted over seven months in 2018. My choice of vastis was based on pragmatic and theoretical reasons for comparing and contrasting different stages of slum rehabilitation projects. The Ambenagar redevelopment began in the early 2000s but had been halted because of disagreements among residents, the real-estate developer and the local elected representative. The Phanaswadi redevelopment, by contrast, had begun in the early 2010s. During my fieldwork, Phanaswadi residents were living in transit accommodation, and the first apartment building was nearing completion. The uneven progress of slum rehabilitations in the two vastis helped me to methodologically abstract empirical differences between them and shed light on the governance regime unfolding through bodies—both discursively and materially. I drew on relational comparativism (Hart, 2018) to focus conceptually on what real bodies *do* in the shadow of the state practices of seeking liberal consents and making eligibility lists. My focus on state practices through the trope of the body also helped me recognize that the modern ideal of the body politic is still being performed through state practices that produce the exclusionary effects that Ashish's case demonstrates.

My fieldwork included conducting 60 semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders, undertaking ethnographic observations and analysing policy and legal documents centred on SRP and media coverage of slum rehabilitations in Pune. I interviewed residents of the selected vastis, landowners, real-estate developers carrying out slum rehabilitations, local elected representatives governing the vastis, bureaucrats and academic and non-academic experts working in Pune. I analysed the collected data using the methodological procedures of discourse analysis, with a particular focus on references to bodies during accounts of slum rehabilitations.

The two vastis have significantly different historical and geographical contexts. Ambenagar is situated within walking distance from many city amenities, such as schools, colleges and hospitals. The land on which it is located legally belongs to a Muslim trust and had been leased to a real-estate developer for 99 years. The vasti was established in the 1940s with the assistance of local elected representatives. The real-estate developer who had been leasing the land initiated the process of slum rehabilitation in the early 2000s. However, political negotiations between the Ambenagar residents and the developer remained inconclusive. The land was subsequently leased to other real-estate developers, and political negotiations regarding slum rehabilitation continue to date.

4 The names of the vastis have been changed to ensure the anonymity of research respondents.

Phanaswadi, by contrast, is located in the southern part of Pune close to the *gāothān* (old city) and within walking distance of Pune's primary intercity bus terminus. The land legally belongs to a private landowner, who had independently attempted to redevelop the vasti in the 1980s—unsuccessfully. After many violent negotiations and the advent of the state's SRP, the landowner leased the land to a real-estate developer in the early 2010s. The drastically different histories of the two vastis shape the attitudes, choices and behaviours of the various stakeholders involved in and affected by the slum rehabilitations. Yet, a joint analysis of the two vastis demonstrates that the modern body politic, engendered through the implementation of the SRP, is still performatively practised and ultimately being reshaped through bodily politics in both the cases. To elaborate on how the body politic is made enforceable in the chosen vastis despite their contextual differences, I first provide a brief historical account of the advent of liberal democratic SRP in Maharashtra in the section that follows.

Liberal democratic slum rehabilitations

Pune's most recent SRP encompasses a liberal democratic clause of seeking 70% of slum dwellers' consent before proceeding to implement the policy on each site. While pre-liberalization slum policies in India retained a significant role for the state, the state's attitude towards slums has changed since the liberalization and democratization reforms of the 1990s and 2000s. In keeping with market liberalization reforms, the GoM opted for a market-led approach to slum rehabilitation in the early 1990s (Patel, 1995; Singh and Das, 1995). Later in 1995, the Shiv Sena–Bharatiya Janata Party (SS–BJP) government came to power in Maharashtra on the basis of Bal Thackeray's election promise to provide free housing to all slum dwellers based on the “philosophy” of “cross-subsidy”—that the builders can be made to subsidise slum development’ (Singh and Das, 1995: 2477). Unlike the pre-1990s slum eradication and resettlement policies, a critical aspect of Congress's (1991) and later the SS–BJP's (1995) housing policies was the attempt to house slum dwellers on the same plot of land. Consequently, Bapat (2012) suggests that the mid-1990s witnessed the first attempts in Maharashtra to include the private sector in financing the rehabilitation of slum dwellers on the same land, first in Mumbai and thereafter in Pune.

Slum evictions and rehabilitations in Pune unfolded under the shadow of the GoM policies implemented from Mumbai (the capital city of Maharashtra) until the 74th Amendment to the Constitution devolved powers to urban local bodies, including to the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) (Kulabkar, 2002). The PMC was preparing for the Development Plan (2007–2027) to be approved locally for the first time since India's independence, while the SRA, still under the jurisdiction of the state of Maharashtra, was established in Pune in 2005 to specifically administer slum rehabilitations. As powers became devolved to the PMC and SRA in the mid-2000s, the Congress government's 1991 clause to seek a 70% threshold of vasti residents' consent for rehabilitation was made mandatory under the SRA in 2005 (Joshi, 2007: 10). This effectively meant simultaneous control of slums by the municipality and the state. Therefore, unlike many other non-democratic slum rehabilitation and resettlement experiences in India (Ghertner, 2012; Doshi, 2013; Dubey, 2016), the SRA's latest SRP mandates a form of democratic participation translated as seeking 70% of residents' liberal consent and is used to support or reject slum rehabilitation processes.

Liberal democratic policies, such as the SRP, have historically been justified through liberal social contract theory, which imagines a polity within the territorial jurisdiction of the nation-state as a social body governed by state law acting as the governing head of the polity (Doyle, 2001). Derived from John Locke's liberal political thought, the idea of the citizen-subject electing governments to make decisions on citizens' behalf was instituted in India through the nation-building processes that ensued from India's independence struggle (Bayly, 2012). As Chatterjee (2019: 61) suggests,

‘There is a duality in contemporary liberal democracies between the subject of interests and the subject of rights, or *Homo economicus* motivated by rational interests and the citizen-subject as a constituent of popular sovereignty’. The SRP, which resonates with this liberal normative ideal, seeks consent from vasti residents. As Mitchell (2006) argues, the body politic is an effect of contemporary governance practices rather than a mere remnant of distant metaphysical theorizing.

In practice, the SRP clause to gain a 70% consent quota translates into real-estate developers collecting signatures from the residents on behalf of the SRA. The SRA then approves the slum rehabilitation project and authorizes higher incentives to real-estate developers so that they can cross-subsidize the free housing to be provided to eligible vasti residents. Kalebai most articulately voiced her disagreement with the SRA-sanctioned practice of surveying residents and seeking their consents as follows:

Now, this house of mine [she banged on the solid wall of her house] is old. Can anybody remove me from here? [rhetorical question] You [the state/developers], by taking our signatures, are making our solid proof here, what difference is it going to make to us? ... One hundred years, what? Were you sleeping? In 100 years, so many times, SRA people must have come and taken the proofs away ... There are strong [people], we have [people] from the old generation ... they are there to take decisions (interview K_VR_11, 25 April 2018, Pune).

Kalebai’s contentions against the liberal democratic practice of asking for people’s consent become comprehensible for two reasons. First, the persistent practice of getting signatures without any real change in her neighbourhood appears to have led to her loss of faith in the liberal democratic rhetoric—as has been the case globally in recent years (Feola, 2018; Morrison, 2018). Secondly, Kalebai appears to be hinting at a deeper connection between her bodily presence and the solid house she has built in the vasti, which a few signatures can neither capture nor undo. Kalebai and others must weigh and rearrange their relations with their community members before liberally (individually) signing off their agreement *for* or *against* slum rehabilitations, as Snell-Rood (2015) argues is the case for many women in Indian vastis.

While Kalebai disagreed with consent-seeking even though she had, in fact, provided her consent, Ashish was not allowed to provide his consent. Ineligible residents such as Ashish and the 30% of eligible residents who chose not to accept slum rehabilitation are excluded from the SRP implementation process. Under the SRP, the non-consenting residents are either given monetary compensation or resettled elsewhere in the city. While there is no compensatory provision for ineligible residents such as Ashish, the state authorities hold the right to use physical force against non-complying residents. A focus on Ashish’s and other vasti residents’ bodies clearly shows these exclusionary effects of the putatively inclusive liberal democratic processes—which helps to analytically locate those practices where the liberal body politic is made visible and real to people like Ashish. While scholars have usefully demonstrated the illiberal practices of Indian democracy in recent years (see e.g. Hansen, 2019), Ashish’s case shows the exclusionary effects of the liberal practice itself, rather than the consequence of its absence.

India’s struggle to become a liberal democratic state is therefore not new to the twenty-first century; the roots of the bodily struggle *for* or *against* the body politic dates far back in history, as I show in the brief genealogy I present in the section that follows. This genealogy traverses political debates since precolonial India and throughout the eras of European Enlightenment and India’s nation-building efforts. Through this genealogy I make visible a legacy of politics of real bodies against the totalizing body politic.

Bodily politics in the body politic

The body politic was theoretically justified by various social contract theorists in Europe and received in India as political modernity through nation-building efforts. In Europe, while Hobbes's *Leviathan* justified a hierarchical societal order where the polity obeyed the king or the head of the state, Rousseau argued for a social order based on mutual agreement between the head of the state and the polity. Yet, in seeking to claim individual liberty, John Locke argued that the state must seek its polity's consent while governing it (Chattopadhyay, 2012; Davy, 2012). In either case, the state in social contract theories was seen as a body in which the head of the state governed the polity (Doyle, 2001). In India's nation-building efforts, these social contract justifications were weighed against a precolonial hierarchical caste-based and gender-based social order often referred to as the 'Brahmanical patriarchy' (Chakravarti, 1993). Under the Brahmanical social structure, Dalits were treated as subordinate to other castes and systematically barred by Brahmin and landed non-Brahmin castes from benefiting from their own labour (Viswanath, 2014). This caste-based social order prevailed among Hindus and Muslims, where 'Muslim Dalits are/were also involved in a similar [unclean occupation as Hindu Dalits]' (Alam, 2022). As Guru and Sarukkai (2019: 3) suggest, this precolonial society in India was in fact also 'ordered like the body', with certain castes and genders seen as subordinate to others.

Yet the normative power of the liberal body politic was strong enough to influence political thinkers who contributed to India's nation-building efforts. For instance, Upton (2017) argues that Tilak, a prominent nationalist intellectual from Pune, strongly advocated for British liberalism in India. Likewise, Chakrabarty (2016) recounts that Ambedkar, head of the committee drafting India's constitution, rejected his caste affiliations under Brahmanical patriarchy in support of political liberalism. Thus the hierarchical body politic of the Brahmanical patriarchy was replaced by the liberal body politic, in terms of which the polity was to be governed through rule of law (Bayly, 2012). As Waghmore (2013) firmly argues, Dalit grassroots political movements in Maharashtra have indeed grown and been further strengthened in civil society through the framework of constitutional law—while advancing anti-caste struggles in India. In fact, Guru (2011: 99) argues that historically disadvantaged groups in India have supported liberal democracy since 'it offered them an opportunity to acquire and then expand normative spaces involving not just equality, liberty, and rights but self-respect and dignity'. In effect, liberal democracy has found support from elites and grassroots political movements in Maharashtra. In this context, India's political culture has produced a regime that 'leads towards similar [hierarchical body politic] constructs of society, [where] the use of the terms like the "Head of the State" [continue to] carry with it bodily connotation' (Guru and Sarukkai, 2019: 3–4).

In contrast to advocates of liberal democracy in India, intellectuals such as Gandhi and Iqbal promoted alternative conceptualizations of nationhood. Gandhi's concept of the *swaraj* (self-rule) and Iqbal's rethinking of the Islamic nation sought moral groundings for engendering a collective consciousness without relying on modern Western conceptualizations of the liberal individual. Gandhi's philosophy centred on the concepts of non-violence, *satyagraha* (truthfulness) and spirituality (Veeravalli, 2011), while Iqbal's ideas of nationhood focused on the notion of *khudi* (selfhood) attached to the emotional and passionate world (Vahdat, 2015). Yet Gandhi saw 'the nationalist collective ... as a body in need of purification and vigilance' (Tambe, 2009: 21; see also Veeravalli, 2011), just as Iqbal supported the idea of an Islamic nation through a reconstructed 'Islamic subjectivity' under 'the monotheistic Godhead' (Vahdat, 2015: 1; see also Hussain, 2018). The two *vastis* I refer to here are home to diverse historically marginalized castes, religions and genders—including Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists and non-Brahmin castes and Dalits. Moreover, residents of these *vastis* had been subjected to the liberal consent-seeking practices of the SRP irrespective of the normative ideals

they held. When speaking of generating a unified collective among vasti residents from various backgrounds, a respondent from Ambenagar, Babu, also suggested that:

Frankly speaking, if one village one Ganapati [a Hindu god] happens, we have no problem. But unity does not happen! ... Because Ganapati does not say that I want one and not another. Do one village one Ganapati! But everyone should approve (interview K_VR_4.2, 29 March 2018, Pune).

Therefore, regardless of who occupies the position of head, the idea of unity under a single head remains a prevalent normative trope through which people in Pune imagine the *possibility* of a body politic. Yet Babu also criticized the ideal of the body politic by saying ‘unity does not happen’. Fragmented politics is a reality many residents experience in everyday life, even though the normative ideals of a unified body politic persist in the imaginations of the people and the state. In seeking to respond to exactly this dilemma, gender- and caste-focused political and sociological thought has deconstructed the idea of the modern body politic (hierarchical, consensual or liberal) by challenging the very mind–body binary that sustains it, both in the West and in India (Doyle, 2001; Meynell, 2009; Guru, 2011; Piran, 2017; Guru and Sarukkai, 2019). On the one hand, based on Foucauldian theories of discipline and power, bodies themselves are shown to be the subjects of disciplinary societal regimes, be they sanctioned by the state, other institutions or discourses (Butler, 1990; Heath, 2018). On the other hand, a focus on the body’s agency reveals that bodies also resist and challenge dominant disciplinary regimes (Doyle, 2001; Thapan, 2009; Snell-Rood, 2015; Ebila and Tripp, 2017). In fact, the conceptual use of ‘embodiment’ has become prevalent in urban theory, whether to critique real-estate developments (Dharia, 2021) or demonstrate the making of emotions, affect and political subjectivities in the urban (Doshi, 2016). Yet embodiment as a concept retains hints of the Cartesian mind–body dualism that founds the liberal body politic (Butler, 1990). Embodying something—as a wilful act—requires control of mind over body. Instead, a focus on real bodies—not as a reductive replacement of any fuller form of being, but *being* itself—helps us overcome the mind–body dualism that demands the wilful and often rationalized political agency of individuals. Real bodies can be seen as infrastructures that build cities (Simone, 2004) and as sites that accrue ‘slow infrastructural violence’ (Truelove and Ruszczyk, 2021). Effectively, the real body lends agency to individuals and collectives, and often exceeds wilful political orchestrations.

For instance, contrary to the biopolitical control of the body in colonial India, Gandhi experimented with his body to reach the limits of self-control over ‘the body through suppression of desire’ (Prakash, 2000: 189). Here the body appears as ‘the site of agency rather than the mystical body of the sovereign or the object of protections enforced by the state’ (Feola, 2018: 212). Despite encountering limitations to self-control of the body, Gandhi’s body *became* a site and means for the anti-colonial struggle, even though he explicitly disavowed his intentional engagement with politics (Alter, 2000: 52). Critical here is the focus on Gandhi’s performative politics, rather than his normative ideas, as mentioned earlier. Likewise, Guru and Sarukkai (2019) demonstrate that everyday sociality in contemporary Indian politics is constructed around lived experiences of caste-based bodily discrimination, which also ultimately challenges the mind–body binary inherent to the liberal body politic. Moreover, Tambe (2009: 21) argues that Gandhi’s own experiments with his body supported ‘his active troubling of the masculine character of anti-imperialist politics’. Consequently, gender- and caste-focused literature in India shows that ‘the body’ helps cut across caste, religion, gender and colonial vectors of power.

As Alter (2000: xviii) suggests, the focus on the body in India ‘links the prose of insurgency and counterinsurgency in terms of a less binary ... semiotics’. Therefore the

focus on the body itself helps us undertake a ‘critique of the state ... not just to reject such metaphysics [as the body politic], but to explain how it has been possible to produce this practice effect’ (Mitchell, 2006: 85). Consequently, in this article I take forward and expand on this theoretical focus on the body as the site and the means of politics across multiple spatialities and temporalities. Exploring the spatial and temporal modalities of bodily politics, as I elaborate in the sections that follow, helps us recognize and bring into re-presentation the varied and fragmented spatio-temporal means through which the modern body politic is both experienced and being reshaped in India.

Spatial modalities of bodily politics

Space in modernity is seen as a container in which bodies are located. This modern concept of space makes it amenable to manipulation through state (Foucault, 1995) and colonial control (Legg, 2007). The SRP provides 25 square metre apartments against each slum structure, irrespective of the bodies that live in it. Contrary to the modern idea of space as a container, McFarlane (2011: 649) argues to see the ‘spatiality of the city [as] processual, relational, mobile, and unequal’. I build on McFarlane’s (*ibid.*) notion to demonstrate in this section how bodily movement across the spatiality of the city—which is not confined to the slum structure or the territorial bounds of the vasti—helps produce a bodily politics that ultimately reshapes slum rehabilitations.

A member of the Muslim Trust that owns Ambenagar land repeatedly encountered Ambenagar residents at his residence. This trustee described these encounters with the residents, saying:

That is why we looked for a builder and put the blanket on his neck.⁵ The management of Ambenagar was getting out of control. The Trust was losing a lot [of revenue] ... See, it is like this: ancestors have given us this cauldron [land], you fill it with dung or make biryani in it [we don’t care] ... We are white-collar people; owning land is not white-collar people’s cup of tea (interview K_PR_4, 3 May 2018, Pune).

The trustee referred to the nuisance created by the bodies in front of his house, which directly compelled him to consider leasing the land to a developer. In his view, these bodily encounters hinted at a stark difference between ‘white-collar people’ and those who have the political competence to own land in Pune. While the notion of ‘Waqf lands’ is instituted in the state (i.e. under the body politic) via the formation of the Waqf Board,⁶ the Muslim Trusts were also given the (liberal) choice to register their lands under the Waqf Board. The Muslim Trust that owns the Ambenagar land had chosen not to register its land under the Waqf Board, and the land was eventually leased out to a developer for redevelopment. During our interview, the trustee repeatedly mentioned *goondagiri* (hooliganism), which he made a point of avoiding. The trustee argued that land ownership requires the capacity to deal with hooliganism and that putatively civilized ways of resolving land disputes via the modern state institutions do not suffice in Pune. The bodily encounters between the mob of residents and the trustee were not intended to generate uncivility but rather performed to produce an affect well within the remits of Waghmore’s (2013) notion of ‘civil society’. However, the trustee was eventually compelled to lease out the land to a developer, thereby effectively alienating himself from the land. This alienation was augmented by the fact that the trustee already lived many kilometres away from Ambenagar.

5 The proverb ‘putting the blanket on someone’s neck’ refers to a heavy, wet blanket to describe a situation in which someone passes on a cumbersome possession, issue or liability that they cannot resolve or sustain.

6 Waqf Boards in India administer any movable or immovable property dedicated by a Muslim devotee for any purpose recognized by Muslim law as pious, religious or charitable.

Unlike the trustees of Ambenagar land, the landowners of Phanaswadi resided within the space of the vasti. Rafiq Bhai—the landowner of Phanaswadi—told me that his bodily presence in the vasti allowed him to maintain control over the vasti and collect rents. However, this presence in the vasti over many years had not helped him gain tenants' trust when he decided to redevelop the area in the 1980s. Nevertheless, when the developer started implementing the SRP, Rafiq Bhai chose to use his bodily presence and existing relationships with residents to facilitate the rehabilitation process. He stayed among the residents in the transit accommodation despite owning another house elsewhere in the city and justified his choice of staying in the vasti as follows:

My relationship with the people is more, meaning whoever people, poor, etc.; I have grown among them. So, my friendship [with them] grew ... I am inclined to live among them, so these people themselves ask me to stay. So even I thought that until they go into the apartment buildings, I will stay among them. That is why I stay here; once the rehabilitation completes, I will go (interview D_VR_5, 8 May 2018, Pune).

Rafiq Bhai told me that although the residents themselves often met with the developer, he resided among them in case there were disagreements or misunderstandings between residents and developer. Many residents also found it useful to have Rafiq Bhai bodily present among them in the transit accommodation. Rafiq Bhai's bodily presence bolstered residents' trust in the SRP and allowed him to gauge and resolve occasional concerns and disagreements.

Both narratives demonstrate that bodily proximity or distance as well as mobility in space affects slum rehabilitations, where bodies are made the site and the means of politics. While in the first case, the trustee's alienation from the land resulted from his bodily encounters with the residents, in the second case, Rafiq Bhai's estrangement from vasti residents was delayed, based on the perceived benefits of his bodily presence among them. Although the 50 residents of Ambenagar deployed a 'collective agency' (Ranganathan, 2014) to persuade the trustee to provide housing for them, this 'collectivity' was only temporarily created to produce an affect. Likewise, the Phanaswadi landowner stayed among the vasti residents only temporarily to make way for redevelopment by leveraging his relations with vasti residents. In both cases, relational and affective agency produced temporary collectivities while allowing for retention of the possibility of freedom from such collectivities.

While bodies of vasti residents and landowners affected slum rehabilitations, the developer's body also became a site and means of politics in both vastis. The residents of Ambenagar met with the developer's employees on multiple occasions, yet they did not remember meeting the developer himself except during one gathering in the early 2000s. The then-elected state representative had invited the developer to this gathering to tell residents about the proposed rehabilitation scheme. Participants in my research remembered that a 'big stage' had been put up and hundreds of chairs arranged on the local school ground. The state representative had already spoken with vasti residents about the slum rehabilitation before the meeting. Yet the developer's account of the rehabilitation differed from the state representatives' account during the meeting. A discrepancy arose regarding the size of the new apartments. Because of the disagreement the meeting did not end well. Neither the grand setup nor the deliberated *embodied* encounters between the developer and vasti residents could ensure consensus. The state representative, gauging resident's imminent reaction to the changed terms of the scheme, decided to flee the scene, leaving the developer to face vasti residents' frustration and anger.

Decades after the gathering, residents were still recounting jokingly how the mob broke the chairs and the stage and the developer eventually 'ran away'. My research participants grinned as they told me that the developer had only been sighted once by

vasti residents since, and even then he had fled immediately. Indeed, some residents complained about the very fact that the developer had never met them physically and that nobody even knew who he was. The latter comment was rhetorical and articulated sarcastically, since many residents did know the developer. However, both comments encompassed the complaint that the developer had not *physically* met residents often enough. Some vasti residents thus used their collective agency to keep the developer's body out of the vasti, while others used this non-encounter between the developer's and residents' bodies as a justification to reject the developer's attempts to rehabilitate the slum. Stopping certain bodies from entering the vasti was a means of deferring the slum rehabilitation process to, as Weinstein (2014) suggests, 'stay put' in the vasti.

In Phanaswadi, the developer made an explicit attempt to meet with the vasti residents physically. The Phanaswadi landowners, who had previously failed to redevelop the vasti themselves, requested that the developer meet the residents in person to build trust. When I interviewed Javed, a vasti resident, he spoke highly of the landowners and cheerfully told me that the developer had personally visited their community once in the vasti, with the developer's family. Javed recounted his many encounters with the developer:

I had gone to his office many times ... [but] no questions, such [humble?] language, he [the developer] lives in such a way as if he has nothing there [smiling with surprise] ... such man is [almost] impossible to meet (interview D_VR_1, 10 March 2018, Pune).

Not everyone in Phanaswadi was as positively inclined towards the developer as Javed. However, none of my respondents spoke ill of the developer either. Most male respondents recalled personally meeting the developer on several occasions, while female participants had seen him at least once. The bodily encounters between the developer and the residents, as well as their cordial dialogues, had left little room for the residents to disagree with the developer. Likewise, since the developer had bodily met with the vasti residents along with his entire family, the vasti residents felt that the developer had genuine intents. Unlike in Ambenagar, these bodily encounters helped generate consents, and the residents had moved into the new apartment buildings. In this case, liberal democratic consents and affective and relational bodily politics paved the way for redevelopment—except for Ashish, who had to defer slum rehabilitations by temporarily risking his own and his family's bodies.

These narratives also demonstrate the relevance of an affective character of bodily politics. While the residents wished their demands to be heard, discussed and ideally met, they also emphasized seeing and meeting the developer, as this would have provided an opportunity to get to know him and determine his trustworthiness. The developer in Phanaswadi explicitly told me that it was of utmost importance that 'they [the developers] build trust with the residents in these [slum-related] projects' (interview D_PR_4, 30 June 2018, Pune). Ashish, who had been excluded from the eligibility lists, had repeatedly met with the developers to find a way to comply with SRA policy requirements, and the developers told me that they had tried their best to help Ashish get an apartment. Both developers' efforts to build trust had led to deliberate bodily encounters with residents, but with two very distinct outcomes that ultimately reshaped each slum rehabilitation and the making of the body politic through *bodily politics*.

Temporal modalities of bodily politics

The SRP uses a linear temporal model that progresses from drawing up eligibility lists to ultimately allocating an apartment to vasti residents using a lottery system. Time in modernity indeed flows linearly. Yet alternative temporalities shape human life and community politics. For instance, Bendik-Keymer (2020) proposes using spiral and

overtone times to be accountable to ancestors and descendants in the days of climate crisis. Similarly, Das (2018) distinguishes between actual ('real') and subjunctive ('as-if') temporal spaces to generate an ethic of everyday life. As I argue in this section, real bodies appear in indicative (real) and subjunctive-prospective (imaginary) moods of time and ultimately affect the making of the body politic during slum rehabilitations.

As I continued interviewing Kalebai after a long transect walk through Ambenagar, her fervour about her vasti and the problems of the SRP did not diminish at all. Let us return in more detail to Kalebai's remarks from the introduction:

When janatā [people] rise with fire [anger], then everyone will rise; but if you [the state/developer] are going to remove us by burning [our houses], then what is the use? Even if you [the state/developer] take out the bulldozer, even then each household has ten—ten people. You [the state/developer] cannot crush ten people under the bulldozer (interview K_VR_11, 25 April 2018, Pune).

Kalebai's comment regarding the possibility of making bodies work against a potential threat of demolition is thankfully enunciated in the subjunctive-prospective temporal mood. In other words, the situation of bulldozing a house with ten bodies residing inside is an imaginary situation. Yet Kalebai's strategic calculations regarding possible future scenarios included the use of real bodies. Kalebai recognized that crushing residents' bodies with a bulldozer operated by another real body representing an institution (government/private firm) was quite different from setting houses on fire. The former requires bodily confrontation, while the latter action can be covert. Accordingly, Kalebai's conditional response involved suitable tactics and counterstrategies. In the case of fire, she anticipated that bodies *could not* help, while in the case of a bulldozer, she imagined bodies to become a counterstrategy against eviction. Her speculative imagination may have been based on vasti residents' past experiences of the GoM's or the developer's strategies to eradicate slums using violence (Waghmore, 2013; Bhide, 2017; 2020). However, she could predict neither the GoM's nor the developer's strategies, or guarantee residents' response. Instead, her speculation suggested that bodies were and might conditionally become instruments of resistance.

Ashish's situation also hints at the expectation that the state or the developers would not dare violate his or his family's bodies. While state institutions do have the power to use physical force in cases of non-compliance to policy, the necessity to use physical force to evict Ashish from the vasti did not arise, as GoM changed the eligibility cut-off date from 1995 to 2000. This change of eligibility criterion finally enabled Ashish to claim his apartment in the rehabilitations. As the last remaining bodies from the vasti relocated, the developer could begin constructing the apartment building. In the meantime, though, the bodily risk that Ashish bore to stop evictions, much like Gandhi used his body in anti-colonial struggle (Alter, 2000), was supported by the subjunctive-prospective consideration that the SRA would not violate real bodies. Yet the prospective eviction was still resisted through *bodies* in indicative (real) time. Ashish's case shows that it costs time and money to find a place in the modern body politic—a cost that Ashish bore, by risking his and his family's life by using their real bodies to resist eviction.

While individual bodies were used to engender a politics of slum rehabilitations, a state representative reminded me during an interview that state policies cannot be changed by bodily encounters between individuals. He told me that only when a mob of people visits the municipality do the municipal authorities notice them. In anticipation of this effect, an elected state representative from Ambenagar had once taken a group of 4,000 women to the municipality to stop the slum rehabilitation process in Ambenagar. This encounter between the municipal authorities and the 4,000 women resulted in the slum rehabilitation being deferred until further negotiations had been conducted between real-estate developers and the vasti residents. While such bodily encounters fall within the ambit of political society

under Chatterjee's (2004) analytic, the fact that an elected representative deliberately gathered the 4,000 women to go to the municipality shows that such bodily encounters took place by 'the merger of the sociocultural and political' under Waghmore's (2013: 29) notion of 'civil society'—generating a kind of 'dis/possessive collectivism' (Roy, 2017). One respondent told me that many women were paid to take part in the rally against the SRP. Here, the purpose of collective formation was to generate an affect through constructing temporary relationships between women. Such bodily encounters were performed in the indicative past (in real time), eventually affecting the slum rehabilitations and the transformation of the body politic performed through the SRP in Pune.

The above narratives represent singular instances of various actors making bodies work for political purposes in relational and affective terms, either in the subjunctive-prospective or the indicative past. They indicate the tactical use of real bodies as a means for undoing the exclusionary effects of practices of the body politic as experienced by Ashish or Kalebai.

Conclusion

India's colonial past has made the liberal body politic part of its history and politics. While the liberal body politic was substantially debated by intellectuals during India's independence struggles (Bayly, 2012; Chakrabarty, 2016), India's present-day majoritarian nationalist politics has produced an 'ideology of injury and violation ... that arouses and electrifies the sentiments of the body politic' (Govindrajan *et al.*, 2021: n.p.). These sentiments of the body politic (i.e. the desire for a sovereign nation-state governed by a single head) have resulted in popular practices that continue to silence historically marginalized and minority communities. Simultaneously, marginalized populations in India have resorted to liberal democracy and constitutional rights to ward off continuing caste-, religion- and gender-based bodily marginalization (Guru, 2011; Waghmore, 2013). Therefore constitutionally protected and institutionally practised liberal rights remain relevant and valued in Maharashtra despite the kinds of exclusionary effects liberal practices produce, as I showed in this article.

In response to these shortcomings of liberal democratic practices, real bodies have found significant attention in sociological and anthropological analysis of the modern nation-state (Butler, 1990; Turner, 2008; Desai, 2016; Feola, 2018; Heath, 2018; Guru and Sarukkai, 2019). Scholars have explored how affects and relations engender civility and collective action (Waghmore, 2013; Mitchell, 2018), survival and identity (Thapan, 2009; Snell-Rood, 2015), or the everyday social (Guru and Sarukkai, 2019). In this article I extended the theoretical call to conceptualize bodies as the site and the means for politics to analyse slum politics through relational and affective registers in Pune. In a context where multiple historically marginalized castes, religions and genders encounter liberal state practices, attention to how real bodies perform demonstrates the effects of the modern body politic that is still experienced, challenged and effectively transformed by individuals such as Ashish *in* and *through* the body.

This bodily politics unfolds through various spatio-temporal modalities. Bodies encounter each other in space and affect the attitudes, choices and behaviours of various actors. Developers deliberately meet with residents to convince them to consent to rehabilitate, and residents repeatedly visit landowners to seek their assistance with developing the vasti. Landowners decide to stay within the vasti to manage potential conflicts, and residents performatively stop the developers' body from entering the vasti to ward off slum rehabilitations. While bodies meet one another in indicative time (denoted through the present and the past tense), encounters between bodies in the subjunctive-prospective time (i.e. in imaginary scenarios) also affect how slum rehabilitations unfold. Residents imagine potential ways of making tactical use of bodies to remain vigilant of state-market strategies for collecting consents and use these potential encounters to form a judgement about slum rehabilitations in the present.

While the literature on slum politics has tended to focus on moral polemics between ‘the city versus slum-dwellers’ (Datta, 2012; Sørbøe and Braathen, 2022), attending to bodily politics shows numerous modalities through which slum rehabilitations are reshaped by bodies—either through wilful acts of individuals or through non-volitional political effects engendered through bodily encounters. The consequence of focusing on real bodies is far-reaching, since it helps us recognize the re-emergence of the sentiments of the modern (liberal) body politic and acknowledge that this modern body politic (hierarchical, consensual or liberal) is being remade in relational and affective terms. Such remaking of the liberal body politic is necessary in view of the history of subjugation under European colonialism (Chandra, 2013) and the history of socially marginalized groups’ struggles in India (Guru, 2011; Waghmore, 2013).

Though suitable for rethinking liberalism, rejecting liberal democracy on ontological or normative grounds alone fails to acknowledge the performative effects of liberal practices on those subjected to it, and the efforts already being undertaken to remake liberal democracies in practice. In this article I showed that bodies not only experience the totalizing and exclusionary effects of the body politic engendered through liberal practices (e.g. Ashish), but also become the site and the means for survival in the city (e.g. Kalebai) (see also Bhide, 2017; 2020). Such survival is achieved not through obedience or liberal consents to the head of the state, but through affective and relational politics among various performing actors. This politics *of* and *through* bodies spills over into real and hypothetical spaces and times—eventually making its mark on the formations of the modern body politic. In sum, in this article I argued that relational and affective bodily politics is helping undo the exclusionary and totalizing effects of the liberal body politic performed during slum rehabilitations in Pune through multiple spatio-temporalities.

Harshavardhan Jatkar, The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, and The Bartlett School of Environment, Energy and Resources, University College London, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT, UK, h.jatkar@ucl.ac.uk

References

- Alam, S. (2022) Dalit Muslims and the state: Pasmanda movement and struggle for ‘scheduled castes status’. *Contemporary Voice of Dalit*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2455328X211069478>
- Alter, J.S. (2000) *Gandhi's body: sex, diet, and the politics of nationalism*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA.
- Bapat, M. (2012) *How has market-based slum redevelopment worked for the poor? The case of Pune, India*. Unpublished report. Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), Bangkok.
- Bayat, A. (2000) From ‘dangerous classes’ to ‘quiet rebels’: politics of the urban subaltern in the global South. *International Sociology* 15.3, 533–57.
- Bayly, C.A.A. (2012) The advent of liberalism in India: constitutions, revolutions and juries. In C.A.A. Bayly, *Recovering liberties: Indian thought in the age of liberalism and empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bendik-Keymer, J. (2020) *Involving anthroponomy in the Anthropocene: on decoloniality*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Benjamin, S. (2008) Occupancy urbanism: radicalizing politics and economy beyond policy and programs. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32.3, 719–29.
- Bhan, G. (2016) *In the public's interest: evictions, citizenship, and inequality in contemporary Delhi*. University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA.
- Bhide, A. (2017) Colonising the slum: changing trajectories of state-market violence in Mumbai. *Economic and Political Weekly* 52.7, 75–82.
- Bhide, A. (2020) Everyday violence and bottom-up peace building initiatives by the urban poor in Mumbai. *International Development Planning Review* 42.1, 57–71.
- Butler, J. (1990) *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge, London and New York, NY.
- Chakrabarty, B. (2016) B.R. Ambedkar: a ‘rebel-liberal’ in the Gandhian universe. *Indian Historical Review* 43.2, 289–315.
- Chakravarti, U. (1993) Conceptualising Brahmanical patriarchy in early India: gender, caste, class and state. *Economic and Political Weekly* 28.14, 579–85.
- Chandra, U. (2013) Liberalism and its other: the politics of primitivism in colonial and postcolonial Indian law. *Law & Society Review* 47.1, 135–68.
- Chatterjee, P. (2004) *The politics of the governed: reflections on popular politics in most of the world*. Columbia University Press, New York, NY, and Chichester.
- Chatterjee, P. (2019) *I am the people: reflections on popular sovereignty today*. Columbia University Press, New York, NY.
- Chattopadhyay, S. (2012) *Unlearning the city: infrastructure in a new optical field*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Das, V. (2018) Ethics, self-knowledge, and life taken as a whole. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 8.3, 537–49.
- Datta, A. (2012) *The illegal city: space, law and gender in a Delhi squatter settlement*. Ashgate, Farnham.
- Davy, B. (2012) *Land policy: planning and the spatial consequences of property*. Ashgate, Farnham.
- Desai, M. (2016) Gendered violence and India's body politic. *New Left Review* 99 (May–June), 67–83.
- Dharia, N.V. (2021) Embodied urbanisms: corruption and the ecologies of eating and excreting in India's real estate economies. *Cultural Anthropology* 36.4, 708–32.
- Doshi, S. (2013) The politics of the evicted: redevelopment, subjectivity, and difference in Mumbai's slum frontier. *Antipode* 45.4, 844–65.

- Doshi, S. (2016) Embodied urban political ecology: five propositions. *Area* 49.1, 125-28.
- Doyle, L. (2001) Introduction. In L. Doyle (ed.), *Bodies of resistance: new phenomenologies of politics, agency and culture*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, IL.
- Dubey, S. (2016) Understanding participation in a heterogenous community: the resettlement of Kathputli colony. In S. Chakravarty and R. Negi (eds.), *Space, planning and everyday contestations in Delhi*, Springer, New Delhi.
- Ebila, F. and A.M. Tripp (2017) Naked transgressions: gendered symbolism in Ugandan land protests. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5.1, 25-45.
- Feldman, G. (2011) Illuminating the apparatus: steps towards a nonlocal ethnography of global governance. In C. Shore, S. Wright and D. Peró (eds.), *Policy worlds: anthropology and the analysis of contemporary power*, Berghahn Books, New York, NY, and Oxford.
- Feola, M. (2018) The body politic. *Political Theory* 46.2, 197-217.
- Ferguson, J. and A. Gupta (2002) Spatializing state: toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality. *American Ethnologist* 29.4, 981-1002.
- Foucault, M. (1995) Panopticism. In A. Sheridan (ed.), *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*, Second edition, Vintage Books, New York, NY.
- Ghertner, D.A. (2010) Calculating without numbers: aesthetic governmentality in Delhi's slums. *Economy and Society* 39.2, 185-217.
- Ghertner, D.A. (2012) Nuisance talk and the propriety of property: middle class discourses of a slum-free Delhi. *Antipode* 44.4, 1161-87.
- Gilbert, A. (2007) The return of the slum: does language matter? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31.4, 697-713.
- Govindarajan, R., B. Joshi and M. Rizvi (2021) Majoritarian politics in South Asia. *Editor's forum, Society for Cultural Anthropology* [WWW document]. URL <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/series/majoritarian-politics-in-south-asia> (accessed 21 September 2023).
- Guru, G. (2011) Liberal democracy in India and the Dalit critique. *Social Research* 78.1, 99-122.
- Guru, G. and S. Sarukkai (2019) *Experience, caste, and the everyday social*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- Hansen, T.B. (2019) Democracy against the law: reflections on India's illiberal democracy. In A.P. Chatterji, T.B. Hansen and C. Jaffrelot (eds.), *Majoritarian state: how Hindu nationalism is changing India*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Hart, G. (2018) Relational comparison revisited: Marxist postcolonial geographies in practice. *Progress in Human Geography* 42.3, 371-94.
- Heath, D. (2018) The tortured body: the irrevocable tension between sovereign and biopower in colonial Indian technologies of rule. In S. Legg and D. Heath (eds.), *South Asian governmentalities: Michel Foucault and the question of postcolonial orderings*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hussain, A. (2018) Muhammad Iqbal's constitutionalism. *Indian Law Review* 2.2, 135-58.
- Kulabkar, P. (2002) The politics of implementing urban plans in India. *International Development Planning Review* 24.1, 77-103.
- Legg, S. (2007) *Spaces of colonialism: Delhi's urban governmentalities*. Blackwell, Malden, MA, and Melbourne.
- McFarlane, C. (2011) The city as assemblage: dwelling and urban space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29.4, 649-71.
- Meynell, L. (2009) Minding bodies. In S. Campbell, L. Meynell and S. Sherwin (eds.), *Embodiment and agency*, Penn State University Press, University City, PA.
- Mitchell, L. (2018) Civility and collective action: soft speech, loud roars, and the politics of recognition. *Anthropological Theory* 18.2/3, 217-47.
- Mitchell, T. (2006) Society, economy, and the state effect. In A. Sharma and A. Gupta (eds.), *The anthropology of the state: a reader*, Blackwell, Malden, MA, and Oxford.
- Morrison, A. (2018) Rescuing politics from liberalism: Butler and Mouffe on affectivity and the place of ethics. *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 44.5, 528-49.
- Patel, S.B. (1995) Slum rehabilitation: 40 lakh free lunches? *Economic and Political Weekly* 30.40, 2473-76.
- Piran, N. (2017) Qualified freedom on borrowed territories. In N. Piran, *Journeys of embodiment at the intersection of body and culture*, Elsevier Science and Technology, St. Louis, MO.
- Prakash, G. (2000) Body politic in colonial India. In T. Mitchell (ed.), *Questions of modernity*, Volume 11, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Ranganathan, M. (2014) Paying for pipes, claiming citizenship: political agency and water reforms at the urban periphery. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38.2, 590-608.
- Roy, A. (2009) Why India cannot plan its cities: informality, insurgency and the idiom of urbanization. *Planning Theory* 8.1, 76-87.
- Roy, A. (2011) Slumdog cities: rethinking subaltern urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35.2, 223-38.
- Roy, A. (2017) Dis/possessive collectivism: property and personhood at city's end. *Geoforum* 80 (March), A1-11.
- Simone, A. (2004) People as infrastructure: intersecting fragments in Johannesburg. *Public Culture* 16.3, 407-29.
- Singh, G. and P.K. Das (1995) Building castles in air: housing scheme for Bombay's slum-dwellers. *Economic and Political Weekly* 30.40, 2477-81.
- Snell-Rood, C. (2015) *No one will let her live: women's struggle for well-being in a Delhi slum*. University of California Press, Oakland, CA.
- Sørbøe, C.M. and E. Braathen (2022) Contentious politics of slums: understanding different outcomes of community resistance against evictions in Rio de Janeiro. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 46.3, 405-23.
- Tambe, A. (2009) Gandhi's 'fallen' sisters: difference and the national body politic. *Social Scientist* 37.1/2, 21-38.
- Thapan, M. (2009) *Living the body: embodiment, womanhood and identity in contemporary India*. Sage, New Delhi.
- Truelove, Y. and H.A. Ruszczyk (2021) Bodies as urban infrastructure: gender, intimate infrastructures and slow infrastructural violence. *Political Geography* 93.102492, 1-10.
- Turner, B.S. (2008) *The body and society: exploration in social theory*. Third edition. Sage, London.
- Upton, R.E. (2017) 'Take out a thorn with a thorn': B.G. Tilak's legitimization of political violence. *Global Intellectual History* 2.3, 329-49.
- Vahdat, F. (2015) Sir Muhammad Iqbal: the dialectic of Muslim authenticity. In F. Vahdat, *Islamic ethos and the specter of modernity*, Anthem Press, London.
- Veeravalli, A. (2011) Swaraj and sovereignty. *Economic and Political Weekly* 46.5, 65-69.
- Viswanath, R. (2014) *The pariah problem: caste, religion, and the social in modern India*. Columbia University Press, New York, NY.
- Waghmore, S. (2013) *Civility against caste: Dalit politics and citizenship in western India*. Sage, New Delhi and Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Weinstein, L. (2014) *The durable slum: Dharavi and the right to stay put in the globalizing Mumbai*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN, and London.