‘Remaking Livelihoods: Everyday Struggles Of The Displaced -
A study of the Dravyavati River Rejuvenation Project in Jaipur’

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Vishruti Shastri
Introduction:

Indian cities are rapidly transforming and there is a new politically driven agenda for urban renewal in India. The government bodies and ministry of urban development of the state of Rajasthan have identified several water bodies in the state for rejuvenation and re-development projects which focusses on transforming these urban water bodies and cities in terms of planning, solid waste management, water management, sustainable energy provisions, governance and housing. Urban Planning, urban governance in the cities are focus of transformations and will be used to develop these cities into urban centers with improved public amenities, transport systems etc. For Dravyavati river rejuvenation project, Amanishah Nalla which flows through the city of Jaipur and contributes to the ecology of the city vastly, was identified along with other water bodies in the state of Rajasthan by former CM Ms. Vasundhara Raje and is based on the Sabarmati river front development project in Ahmedabad. The project has been tendered to TATA projects which has carried out several waterfront project across India.

This paper aims to research and study the changing relationships of slum residents with cities and the rivers through ‘Dravyavati River Rejuvenation’ project in Jaipur, with a focus on slum displacements, everyday struggles of the displaced and politics of infrastructure and water in India. According to the government agencies this project will help in restoring Jaipur’s historic river as the resting corridor for the public facilitating a “harmonious relationship between the citizens of Jaipur and nature”.

Figure 1 Proposed plan for the River
The Dravyavati river rejuvenation project has transformed this river and riverbed drastically and the impacts have been visible very early on in the city considering the project is only 3 years old. I focus on the Dravyavati River rejuvenation project in my study for mainly 2 reasons. Firstly, this river has a complex history with the city and has seen major transformations in its ecological, social and cultural environment. The ecology of the river and the social life on the riverbed have been completely remade through this project with pollution control in the river, displacement of informal settlements and redevelopment of the riverbanks to create public spaces in the city. Secondly, there is a dearth of academic research as this project is fairly new in the city and most studies available for this river have focused on pollution levels and waste management along the river. Therefore, this lack of sufficient academic studies provided an opportunity for me to study this project through the lens of infrastructural development, ‘urban informality’ and ‘banishment’ and to study the everyday struggles of the displaced population.

Jaipur’s urban transformation policies are dominated by efficiency in planning, administrative discussions on land use, environmental and ecological conservation and public-private corporation. Governmental organizations and institutions play a key role in efficiently planning the urban renewal programs and decisions around expenditure of public funds. Jaipur being a historic city with a strong focus on heritage, the urban renewal policies have revolved around promoting tourism and conservation. Most of the 3 million population of
Jaipur is settled within 10 km radius of this 47 km long river or nalla. The Jaipur development authority (JDA) initiated Dravyavati River Rejuvenation (DRR) project in the year 2015 and called for tenders by 2017 after selecting TATA group the construction and evictions of slums along the nalla began in 2017.

The Dravyavati River, or ‘Amanishah Nallah’ as most people in Jaipur know it, has been a dead river for over half a century. City’s trash, sewage and industrial waste finds its way into the nalla making the surroundings uninhabitable. Here, as in most Indian cities, emigration due to environmental decay and the resulting availability of unclaimed public land has attracted the poor and given rise to slums along the river. For the Dravyavati River rejuvenation project all of the slums from the nalla were cleared and families were rehabilitated under the JDA policies. This thesis will focus on the rehabilitated families and I will be especially interested in assessing the socio-economic conditions in which the residents make a living in this precarious economic, social and ecological environment. I wish to retrace how the residents in the slums made a living before the rejuvenation project, how they are redefining their relationship with the city after evictions, and how the rehabilitation in their JDA allocated colonies is transforming and redefining their daily practices today.

There is a vast body of literature concerning slum rehabilitation and river rejuvenation projects, my focus will be on the theories of ‘banishment’ and ‘urban informality’ in Indian cities put forth by Ananya Roy. I will also focus on the ‘urban political ecology’ by Eric Swyngedouw where he suggests that social, environmental structures are inherently linked with water and that any sort of transformation in water flow is never neutral. Apart from Roy and Swyngedouw, I have also found A. Ghertner’s theory of ‘dispossession by accumulation’ in the Indian contexts of displacement and gentrification helpful for this study. Ananya’s theory of ‘urban informality’ gave me a point of entry into this project and explore the tensions that generate from an ambiguous system between the state and the marginalized population of the city. Urban informality has also helped me in exploring banishment on the river/nalla and how the state uses such infrastructure projects to create exclusionary zones in the city. A. Ghertner’s concept of gentrification or ‘dispossession by accumulation’ (Ghertner 2014) in the global south also plays an important role in the state implemented informality as informality is used by the government to make way for gentrification projects such as the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project in Jaipur. Finally Swyngedouw’s ‘urban political ecology’ speaks directly
to water flows, transformations of water and the non-neutrality of such transformations (Swyngedouw 2009).

The main questions I wish to pursue are the following:

- Discourse of Good governance for issues of poverty and inequality or does it excludes the poor from being seen as a category relevant to the goals of efficient governance institutions?
- How did the river rejuvenation project affect residents’ lives on the river? Eviction and displacement have affected the slum residents and I wish to explore the repercussions of such massive infrastructural transformation.
- How does state driven infrastructural development and environmental management use ‘informal population’ in its discursive linking of environmental stress and slumification?
- Did the administration provide rehabilitation programs for the displaced population and in what ways did those programs benefit (or not) the slums residents?

The main occupations of the residents in the informal settlements before the river rejuvenation project were growing vegetables in the river (which was toxic and a health hazard), trash picking, daily wage laborers and household help in nearby residential areas.

With the river rejuvenation project and displacement of slums, all these activities have come under serious pressure. This thesis will be particularly interested in clarifying if and how contemporary slum dwellers have managed to continue their main activities, and how the rejuvenation project has altered the conditions under which the residents access and use the river. Conceptually, I wish to link slum residents, the river and the city. I intend to use slum as both an empirical object and an analytical lens through which to explore how the river and the city co-constitute each other as ecological, social and economic spaces. In the case of Jaipur the river provided a link or a bridge for the poor to access the city as this was the only space in the middle of the city that was available for them. That is until 2015, when the government of Rajasthan announced the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project. Since then this project has become an existential crisis for slum residents who have been evicted and rehabilitated by the authorities. By keeping slums and slum residents at the center of this thesis I wish to explore how this river has re-constituted the city, slums and slum residents.

One level at which the thesis will begin to unravel this is urban planning and the policies that shape state intervention in the natural and built environment. Here my main concern is with
how infrastructural development and environmental transformation reconfigure formality and informality for those who live along the river, especially in contexts of removal, displacement, and forms of reclaiming land. To this effect I have used the concepts of ‘urban informality’ as a mode of urbanization and ‘racial banishment’ by Ananya Roy. Tracing developments back to the period before and moving into the period after the rejuvenation project will enable me to specify at which points conflicts emerge and how river populations negotiate their existence with state representatives.

River rejuvenation projects in Indian cities are a major future challenge for sustainable urban development, large-scale riverfront development projects across India indicate that the riverbed is often seen almost exclusively as real estate. With ‘informality’ as my entry point into this study I explore the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project and the liberties the state takes in realizing such projects. Grounded on Ananya Roy’s (re)interpretation of informality as “a mode of urbanization” and by focusing on the lives of the displaced population at the center of this discourse this study will argue that urban mega-projects in India should be interpreted as intentionally created zones of banishment rooted in a calculated urban informality (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005). Ananya quotes Henri Lefebvre (1974) who termed “the right to the city” and contrasted it with “the right to property.” She says, ‘right to the city’ is what is actually at stake in urban informality in projects such as Dravyavati river rejuvenation project. Ananya says Informality, and the ambiguity that it exemplifies, is produced by the state itself. This is evident in all the forms of informality, from the gated, high-end informal subdivisions to informal settlements. To deal with informality therefore partly means confronting how the apparatus of planning produces the unplanned and unplannable (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005) (Ghertner 2014).
Figure 3 This is a map of Jaipur showing the walled city in red and how the city has grown along the river. The areas in green are the rehabilitated colonies, which are clearly on the outskirts of the city.
Methodology

Data Collection: Networks and Analytics:

To gather my data from the Amanishah Nalla I visited Jaipur in December 2019. I was able to visit the ongoing construction sites as well as the sites where work was completed and open to public. I didn’t find any slums here as the whole stretch of the river was cleared up for construction and people were evicted, many were waiting to be rehabilitated at the time. So I then decided to find out where the displaced people have been rehabilitated and the stories they have to share about their existence along the river and now in government flats or houses. I have collected stories related to this project about the eviction notices, rehabilitation policies, debates around the rehabilitation and allocation. I met a few people from the rehabilitation colonies in December and did interviews with them, however I decided to come back in May 2020 for more interviews. Due to COVID 19 and the lockdown that followed all over the world I could not go to India in May as planned and since then I have relied heavily on mobile phone and video calls to collect my data and conduct interviews. When in Jaipur I contacted the JDA office first and made appointments with officials in charge of the Dravyavati river project and conducted interviews with them, this set of interviews drew on ‘bureaucratic perspectives’ for displacements, rehabilitation and this project. From the JDA documents I identified a few rehabilitation colonies to establish contacts from the slum residents. My second step was to visit the rehabilitation colonies and try to establish contacts with the residents there. In the beginning I just sat with groups of people and explained to them where I come from and about my study and that I would need their help to complete this study. A few residents agreed to be interviewed so I came the next day to conduct interviews and spend some time with them. I conducted 2 interviews with the residents from the rehabilitation colony. The other 2 interviews that I conducted in person were with the officers in the JDA office. All the rest 11 interviews with slum residents and residents of the colonies along the river were done by phone and video calls. So for video recording the interviews of the slum residents I called my contacts from my first visit and they agreed to introduce me to

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1 Rehabilitation colony here refers to the areas the JDA has allocated for the purpose of rehabilitating the displaced population. These can be a cluster of apartments, row houses or plots of land allotted to the families that had to be evicted for the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project.
other residents for interviews. For the third set of my interviews with residents of ‘formal’ colonies I called a few people I already knew who live near the river and they agreed to be interviewed for my research. This is important for my research as it was very difficult for me to look for people available for interviews and it has been made more difficult due to the fact that I had to do everything online from Switzerland. I therefore used interviews through mobile as one of my major research methods apart from this I also used grounded theory, sensory ethnography, mapping, semi-structured interviews, official reports, government policies and data as my main research methods for this thesis. I also used my own observations as a resident of the city, my interactions with this Nalla/river through the years as well as the observations and recollections of the people I know who have grown up close to the river. The interviews with slum residents and residents of colonies near the nalla have reflected on their ‘lived experiences’ and ‘historical aspect of experiences’ on the nalla.

Encounters and Research Methods:

I grew up in Jaipur and crossed the Amanishah Nalla every time I had to go to the city so the first thing I did for my data collection is recollections and observations from my own memory. As my topic is related to an event and how that event is shaping up the city and specifically the lives of the residents of several informal settlements along the Nalla. I have also used grounded theory as my research method. Grounded theory as explained by Corbin and Holt are ‘integrated theoretical formulation that gives understanding about how persons or organizations or communities experience and respond to events that occur’ (Corbin and Holt 2005). Grounded theory helped me in finding my own way into the research with keeping the river as central to my study but also to venture out and explore stories that people had to share. Corbin and Holt further say ‘What can be said of grounded theory is that it is theory development based on actual data gathered through qualitative research’. This has helped in developing my research and the methods that I have used to interpret the data and form my analysis especially sensory ethnography (Corbin and Holt 2005).

The data that I have collected in the form of interviews from slum residents and residents of legal/formal colonies\(^2\) along the river reflects on the observations and interactions of these different groups of citizens with the nalla/river in the past decade. This approach of research

\(^2\) Legal or formal colonies/residential areas along the river have been to used describe neighborhoods in the city that are legal and mostly inhabited by middle, higher-middle and rich income group families.
has been described by Sarah Pink as ‘sensory ethnography’ (Pink 2015). In doing sensory ethnography, Sarah Pink says ‘the experiencing knowing human body is central to the idea of sensory ethnography’. I used sensory research to inform myself about the ‘entanglements’ of people with the river and their ‘lived realities’ (Culhane 2016). I created WhatsApp groups to get a conversation started for the project but also about the experiences of the residents of Jaipur with and on the river. This form of knowledge production helped me in building up my narrative and also in locating the rehabilitated people. I also joined the official twitter page for Dravyavati River from where I could keep myself updated on the progress of the project and also the current debates around this project. As Sarah says, ‘sensory ethnography entails taking a series of conceptual and practical steps that allow the researcher to re-think both established and new participatory and collaborative ethnographic research techniques in terms of sensory perception, categories, meanings and values, ways of knowing and practices’ (Pink 2015). She says this helps the researcher to be aware throughout the research, field visits, planning process and analysis. This has helped me in making a connection with the project and using other methods in this research such as mobile methods, interviewing and social media which has been the most important tool for me in the COVID-19 pandemic.

‘How people look, touch, smell, talk or sound can influence whether they are stigmatized or treated with respect, and whether they are identified with one social group, community and class or another’ (Robben 2008). This is what sensory ethnography does, it enhances our ways of understanding the diverse cultures and ways of being and helps in producing knowledge that is inclusive of the non-verbal, invisible and mundane information. I used Sensory ethnography in my interpretations of photographs, visuals, videos and to try to understand those experiences of people which otherwise would have been difficult to express or at least would probably have been unimportant for my research (Culhane 2016). Such taken for granted everyday stories have helped me in re-positioning myself on the river and bring out a narrative with the realities of the lives of people from informal settlements. The everyday struggles faced by the displaced people right from navigating the government policies to getting jobs in their new neighborhoods have been only visible because of the sensory approach.

It is important for researchers to de-familiarize with a place or a project during field research to be able to understand the project in an academic context and to analyze the place setting, the project critically in an unbiased way. In my case it was a bit challenging in the beginning
to distance myself as I grew up in Jaipur and have my own entanglements with the Nalla/River. However, as I progressed with my research and delved into the debates around the Nalla I could distance myself and get an objective view of this research. To situate myself within the framework of this thesis and to enter into this territory of displacement has had its challenges especially with staying neutral and silent towards this state generated violence. Through my interviews with the displaced people I realized even though I am familiar with this nalla yet I was unfamiliar with what the nalla has meant for slum residents. There have been these tensions of familiarity and defamiliarity for me with the nalla and I had to situate myself somewhere in the middle to be able to enter this field of displacement. I have written this thesis in an effort to acknowledge and bring forward the untold stories of everyday struggles of livelihood of the displaced people.

Finally in July lockdown was lifted in India and I was able to get some help in my data collection and since then I have conducted some interviews with the residents of rehabilitated colonies and government officials as well. Some of the interviews that I am using for my study were conducted by my friends through opened ended questionnaires that I provided. So photographs and videos are also mediums that I have used for my data collection. Most of the interviews that I conducted in December 2019 were on video and the ones that I had to do from Switzerland were of course on video, participatory video therefore has been the principle data collection method for me. Participatory approach has been described by Shaw and Robertson as ‘a process wherein people themselves understand the video project methodology and process and control the video content’. In this sense the interviews became more about what stories the people wanted to share, what was important to them rather than my questions and this has produced a much more informed data for my research. Thus photographs and videos have helped in bringing forward the lived realities of hundreds of people and of the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project.

Experiences of People:

There is a rich literature that exists in ‘river rejuvenation’ projects in India and the world and they also talk about slum displacements due to such projects as well, however, most of the scholarly work that exists on river rejuvenation projects does so in the context of ecology, politics, environment and urban development. Slums as focus subjects have been studied numerous times and there is a rich body of literature that exists for slums studies in India in
the contexts of gender studies, governance, urban redevelopment and politics of infrastructure and water. The narratives that is built up on stories of the people, the everyday realities of the people on the river is what I focus on in this research. While the river rejuvenation projects are often termed by the government as the only solution to ‘save’ the rivers, wildlife and environment. In the process of cleaning the river and the steps taken by authorities as necessary in the process numerous untold stories are left.

To this effect I use narrative as a part of my methodology I bring together grounded theory, sensory ethnography, photography and videos to form the narrative. I used newspaper articles, debates generated around the project, twitter threads and interviews to form my narrative, the interviews have helped in understanding life from slum resident’s point of view. I have tried to develop a sensitivity to understand the river project through the eyes of the interviewees and to appreciate the impact of this project through my interviews.

A total of 15 interviews were conducted for this study out these 4 interviews were done in person, 5 over audio phone calls and 6 interviews were recorded on video through questionnaires. The interviews that I conducted in person of course drew richer and more personal information as I could spend some time and make a connection with the interviewees. The interviews conducted on phone calls also produced a rich content but whom I was interviewing also affected my telephonic interview results for example if I was interviewing someone I already knew then those interviews were more relaxed and gave me richer results. Most of the in person interviews and on video interviews were with the people living in rehabilitation colonies. The interviews that I conducted with the ‘formal residents’ along the river and interviews with the JDA officials were done through audio phone calls.

Since the interviews I did in person or recorded on video were with the rehabilitated people I did these in the settings they were comfortable in which was the benches outside of their houses, so we could sit and chat. The interviews were all in Hindi as none of my interviewees in the rehabilitation colonies could speak English and I translated all the interviews in English for the purpose of this study. I conducted 2 interviews with the government officials in charge of the Dravyavati river project and 6 interviews with residents of formal colonies along the river these interviews were a mix of English and Hindi as I preferred the interview to be a conversation rather than a question and answer round.

Since my interviewee group ranges from rehabilitated people to formal residents of riverfront colonies and government officials, so in terms of data collection this is a somewhat diverse
group. Due to this the similarities in the opinions and experiences to the river and river rejuvenation project have been nonexistent. However, there are similarities in the opinions within the sub groups of my interviewees for example the government officials find the project necessary for public safely, environment and boosting tourism in the city which resonate with political inclinations for the project. The group that consisted of residents of ‘formal’ colonies along the river likewise find the project beneficial in terms of real estate, living environment, health and public space of recreation. The group that saw negative impacts of the project was understandably the slum residents who were displaced as they were ‘illegally’ occupying the public land. This was the group that faced the long term impacts of river rejuvenation in the overall quality of life which is a common story throughout such rejuvenation projects across Indian cities.

There were certainly limits to my research with the limited time to complete the research in especially with the COVID-19 pandemic and travel restrictions. Also in getting data online I couldn’t get in touch with most of the officials in the government offices in the beginning due to the lockdown and finally when I could establish contact with the offices it took almost a month for them to start sending the official data and reports. Then there were limitations around contacting my interviewees (even though I had met them once, it was still difficult) from rehabilitation colonies as I couldn’t just pick up the phone to call them. With COVID-19 situation has altogether changed, it was impossible and also emotionally draining for me to sit in my home here and talk to the people there when they might not even have been fed, I had to arrange for someone else to go there and talk to the people who might be willing to talk. Therefore, I had to wait a lot to establish contacts again with the people in the rehabilitation colonies and be careful about the situations the people might have been in. This has been the most difficult part for me to emotionally detach from.

Another setback of COVID 19 with respect to my research has been the absence of people in the rehabilitation colonies due to lack of work in cities and people moving back to villages just to survive. The COVID pandemic had hit people from informal settlements especially hard as these more often than not are daily wage laborers. Indian government, several NGO’s and individuals served food, dry ration packets around the clock in cities and towns. As India is a huge country with a massive poor population it has been difficult to manage food distribution and even more difficult to deliver food packets to every person who needs it. The pandemic has been harsher for the people from poorer backgrounds and all over the country people in
huge numbers have decided to simply walk back home in the case of unavailability of public transport due to the lockdown.

In the next sections I discuss the literature studies that have informed my research followed by the narratives that the interviews have unfolded, I have divided the literature and narratives into sections with themes that the interviewees talk about. I have tried to situate myself in the stories with my own experiences of the nalla but I also have struggled in places with situating myself within the stories of the displaced families. The major issues or findings revealed through the interviews regarding how the river shapes the lives of the residents have been derived through the interviews of different ‘classes’ of people. I have interviewed people from rehabilitation colonies who were living on the river either in slums or in unauthorized colonies, this group also has interviews from families who lived in authorized land which was a result of negligence from the authorities. This group is the most vulnerable and has seen major impacts of the Dravyavati rejuvenation on their daily lives. The second group that I interviewed was from the residents of the ‘legal’ colonies along the river, through this group I find out the present experiences of residents along the river and how the river re-shaping the city. The third and final group of interviewees included government officials in charge of the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project. The interviews have helped me in understanding the river as a lived experience for various sections of society and also as a political tool for the state to create these zones of banishment along the river and to control the ‘informal’ citizens. Through these interaction I have tried to bring forward the lived realities and everyday struggles of the lives of slum residents and their experiences with river now and before this river rejuvenation project.
Literature Review

This aim of this study is to explore the impacts of the DRR project on livelihoods and every day struggles of the displaced people. In this section I will discuss urban renewal and planning practices in Indian cities and how these practices of city making have contributed to the growth of slums. I will also discuss how the neglect and inefficiency of the state in tackling the ‘informal settlements’ has resulted in the associations of slums and rivers in cities. For this thesis I have divided the literature review in 4 parts, the first part discusses the ‘modes of urbanization’ in Indian cities, the second part draws on the existing literature on gentrification, urban informality and racial banishment. The third section draws on literature on transformations of water bodies, water flow and the impacts of hydro-social transformations. The final part of this literature review draws on urban renewal in Indian cities. These concepts have helped in framing my questions and forming the narrative of this thesis around the questions I wish to address through this project.

Urban Renewal Dimensions In India:

In post-colonial India with reorganization of economy being a bigger issue, in the first few years of Urban development, as Ramachandran says, planning or renewal was not considered a ‘problem worth any attention’ (Ramachandran 1998), still slum clearance and enforcement of by laws in the cities at that time was considered an important aspect of town planning. Anupama Shaw says that even though urban development in India was supposed to be controlled by state governments and central government’s interventions were very limited, major development that has happened in India in the last 75 years has been through central government’s five year plans. However Shaw does acknowledges that the initial five year plans accepted that the growth in Indian cities was haphazard and that more local authority was needed at the time to control building activities, land use and prices (Shaw 1996).

Gupta has explained the colonial influences on the built environment of the post-colonial city which were influenced by the ideas of urban planning and perceptions of what constituted ‘proper’ and rational land management and city development. These ideas were grounded in the modernist tradition and their effect was the application of policy that often failed to see the urban as an organic whole rooted in local culture (Gupta 1993). According to Chatterjee such ideals of city planning were adopted, as the major concern of the post-colonial state was
economic development and ‘modernization’ of the country (Chatterjee 1994). Shaw quotes Shangloo and further explains that the legislations introduced by various states across India in the first few years of independence, in spite of modifications were "nothing more than an elaboration of old British law" and tended to be 'outmoded' and 'unrealistically designed' Indian urban regions (Shaw 1996). The original portions of old cities were restructured according to European notions of hygiene, order and aesthetics as defined by the British colonial rules. According to Gupta, the newer European residential areas also reflected "an architecture of power and dominance, of isolation and segregation, far from the traditional Indian urban environment", town planning concepts and practices in the post-colonial period continued to be shaped by such ideas (Gupta 1993).

Shaw argues these ideals of city planning resulted in chaotic cities which were the professional planner’s distaste for 'congestion' and crowded cities who was obsession with order and homogeneity. For instance, the need to separate workplace from residence, to permit only homogeneous land uses in adjacent areas, to erase slums because of their unsightly presence and the preference for low-density spread-out cities (Shaw 1996). Gupta also says that the ideas of 'perfect cities' have resulted in dysfunctional and uneconomic use of land in urban centers that are highly environmentally insensitive and also out of touch with local needs and priorities. He says "Despite the very high concentration that is observed in our traditional cities, it has been a legacy of colonial rule that deconcentration, dispersal of activities, the planning of garden cities and suburbs, and particularly the concept that the rulers (white city or civil lines) must turn away from the ruled (black city or the bazar area) has received much greater attention in the formulation of urban land policy as well as urban planning in general" (Gupta 1993).

Onkar et all have discussed that urban renewal in Indian cities initially meant social, physical, cultural, environmental and economic renewal. However, with cities as diverse as the population in India, the needs of each city and town changed constantly due to rapid industrialization and migration but the policies and programs of urban renewal schemes did not change for the cities. For example, any urban renewal program for the city of Jaipur (which is the pink city of India) should ideally include conservation and restoration of its cultural and built heritage areas or for Delhi, should focus on effective use of traditional core areas. Rather urban renewal for decades has meant the redevelopment of certain major centers in cities occupied by slums which has resulted in displacement of ‘informal settlements’ without any
social and economic interventions. The urban renewal policies for long have been infrastructure focused rather than overall development of cities (Onkar, Dhote and Sharma 2008). Indian megacities such as Delhi, Kolkata or Bengaluru have seen unprecedented growth and Indian planners have failed to plan cities that can cater to the needs of future. The planners simply couldn’t visualize the nature of growth. This same mistake has followed in the secondary cities such as Jaipur, Ahmadabad and towns as well. As Ananya Roy has stated “The first is that urban growth is so dramatic that it consistently outstrips even the most perspicacious vision for unforeseen growth” (Roy, What is urban about critical urban theory? 2016).

The concept of informality as discussed by Ananya Roy in ‘Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning’ refers to informality as mode of urbanization. She says, informal housing may be violation of land use but it can and does exits alongside the more upmarket informal sectors which can be legally bought but still illegal in terms of land use. This means informality is not created because of the state regulations but rather produced by state itself. Ananya quotes Agamben here “ informality is not the chaos that precedes order but rather the situation that results from its suspension”. In such situation it is in the hands of the state to decide what is legal and what is illegal and these boundaries of legality are constantly redefined by the state. The state decides what informality can stay and which has to go reproducing a power set up that is dependent on the legitimacy of the illegality (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005).

Ananya discusses four proposals that questions the ways that the concept of informality is used in urban studies and city planning. She disagrees with the dominant points of conceptualization of informality as a separate and bounded sector of unregulated work, enterprise and settlement. Ananya disagrees with the portrayal of informality as an extra-legal domain which calls for policy interventions that would integrate the informal into the legal, formal, and planned sectors of political economy. Ananya in contrast with the subaltern politics by postcolonial ideologies of Partha Chakraborty and neoliberal populism of De Soto, questions the divisions between law and informality. She says that legal norms and forms of regulation are in and of themselves saturated by the logic of informality (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005).

She discusses the authors such as Judith Innes, David Booher and Sarah Connick (2007: 207)
in an article in the Journal of the American Planning Association describe informality as a ‘valuable strategy of planning’. Ananya says the term ‘informality’ for these authors, signifies planning strategies that are ‘neither prescribed nor proscribed by any rules. The idea of informality also implies casual and spontaneous interactions and personal affective ties among participants’ (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005). She however disagrees with these theories and argues that this explanation of informality radically depoliticizes the very concept of informality as this derecognizes the systems of deregulation and unmapping in the cities as casual or impulsive. Indeed, informality is very calculated and not at all casual or impulsive, informality in fact undergirds the territorial practices of the state. 

She says, the current understanding of informality is that it is synonymous with poverty. Drawing on Davis’s idea of ‘slum’ as the global prototype of a warehousing of the rural-urban poor, marginalized by structural adjustment and deindustrialization. De Soto describes informality as a uprising from below, he sees informality as the entrepreneurial strategy or tactical operations of the poor marginalized by bureaucracy and state capitalism. Ananya however disagrees with both these approaches as neither is able to pinpoint the ways in which informality is also associated with forms of wealth and power. The cracks in the urbanisms do not take place at the gap between formality and informality but rather it splinters in a fractal within the informalized production of space. In most of the metropolitan regions of the world scope of informal urbanization ranges as much from wealthy urban citizens as it is of the slum residents and squatters. Ananya further explains that informality is no longer located primarily on public land and practiced in public space but rather today it is a crucial mechanism in wholly privatized and marketized urban formations, as in the informal subdivisions that constitute the peri-urbanization of so many cities. These forms of informality are as illegal as squatter settlements and shantytowns. They are rather expressions of class and power and can therefore demand services, infrastructure and legitimacy in a way that marks them as considerably different from the slums. The important analytical (and political) question to ask in the Indian context, as well in others, is why some forms of informality are criminalized and thus rendered illegal while others enjoy state sanction or are even practices of the state. Informality Ananya says as a ‘generalized mode of urbanization’ has transcended and modified all aspects of urban livelihood. She says it is not a residual or a transitory category anymore, rather it is now a constituent component of growth dynamic in most
societies in the Global South (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005).

Engaging with Ananya Roy’s work has helped in navigating the broad understandings of post-colonial states at city level. There, the difficulty in understanding how state power shapes spaces and society is further complicated by several elements: the multi-layered nature of state intervention, the juxtaposition of bold and ambitious public interventions directly reconfiguring urban spaces, and evidence of state inconsistencies and efficiencies in shaping urban spaces, which cause some to dismiss its relevance (Landau and Monson 2008). Ananya warns to both the reductionism of these narratives, and their relevance as multiple facets of states’ interventions. ‘Governability’ is a useful concept that refers both to the capacity of the state to steer society, and to the capacity or inclination of societies to comply or to resist being governed. ‘Governmentality’ on the other hand is a more classic, Foucauldian concept that we understand as the ways in which governable subjects are produced through the internalization of urban policies’ dominant visions and norms. These two ways of interrogating state practices correspond to two threads in Roy’s work. Although not using the term ‘governability’, she explicitly questions ‘why India cannot plan its cities’ (Roy, Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization 2009) where she builds on her previous work ‘excavating the role of the state in framing urban informality’ (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005). Ananya analyses the ambiguities of ‘civic governmentality’ and how the politics of cooperation of NGOs in India are caught between dynamics of genuine empowerment, the perhaps necessary pragmatism of constrained negotiations, and a problematic contribution to the manufacture of consent amongst the poor in the city. In so doing, she coins two concepts that were relevant for this study. One is the ‘politics of un-mapping’, a deliberate confusion maintained by the state around the status of ownership of urban land, enabling the state to retain flexibility in its future intervention and engage in land speculation. The second, related but broader concept, is ‘informality as an idiom of urbanization’ which politicizes informality as a purposeful modality of state’s practice in governing cities, thus innovatively applying the concept of informality to the state itself.
Slums, Gentrification and Political Banishment:

Ananya Roy has talked about state instituted violence against racialized bodies and communities as racial banishment (Roy, Racial Banishment 2019). While Ananya discusses this issue in context of US cities and the segregation of black and brown citizens in US metropolitan regions by pushing them to margins of urban life. I talk about political banishment of marginalized sections of Indian society through the lens of the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project, as this concept remains unexplored in Indian system. While concepts of displacement, gentrification and dispossession do come close to explaining the ambiguity of state practices the concept of ‘banishment’ explicitly focuses on the state creating exclusionary cities and essentially banning sections of society from areas in the city it sees fit. Ananya says, ‘Banishment is entangled with processes of regulation, segregation and expropriation and it is embedded in the legal geographies of settler-colonialism and racial separation’ (Roy, Racial Banishment 2019). Referring to Becket and Herbert she talks about banishment being ‘legally imposed spatial exclusion’, slum rehabilitation schemes in Indian cities are exclusionary and push the urban poor outside the city in the name of rehabilitation.

In worlding cities Ananya says, Indian urban centers are expanding at an alarming rate and space for Indian middle class is being made in the cities by destroying the public spaces occupied by urban poor. Such transformations she says mostly lead to beautiful public spaces, high profile residential areas or special economic zones in the cities so the beauty and orderliness of the city is maintained.

In India the planning of cities is based on the management of resources specifically land through dynamic processes of informality rather than on management of growth. Ananya describes Informality in Indian context as a state of deregulation where there are no given set of regulations or law to determine the purpose of land, use, ownership and therefore the land cannot be mapped accurately. In Indian municipalities there are no set rules and regulations for land use and the laws are often ‘open-ended’ which can be interpreted in multiple ways, therefore ‘law as social process’ here is quiet arbitrary and there are really no distinctions between what is legal and what isn’t. Informality in Indian urban planning processes can be realized in two major ways. First is, informality exists because what is legal and illegal is ever changing in the Indian urban planning processes, relationship between legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorized is not consistent here and therefore informality has
come to be the only way for processes of urbanization to materialize (Roy, Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization 2009).

Laws branding slums and slums residents as secondary citizens segregating them from the rest of the city’s private or ‘formal’ citizens have been brought in recently, the rights of slum citizens to public land are questioned by these laws. In a bid to make world class cities and buildings in cities, building by laws are often violated by private developers without any action from authorities and development authorities themselves violate the city by laws in constructing world class monuments in Indian cities. In these paradoxes between the illegal and illegal lies the ‘fundamental axis of inequality in urban India today’ (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005).

Another factor Anaya argues is that in Indian cities urban governance and planning is done through ‘unmapping’ of cities rather than through the normally assumed approaches of a modern state mapping, technologies of visibility, counting and enumerating (Roy, City Requiem, Calcutta: Gender and the Politics of Poverty 2003). While Ananya Roy situates her research in Calcutta, her research is true for almost all Indian cities and in Jaipur as well. The existence of deregulation and unmapping or informality on the peripheries on the cities allows the state a certain flexibility to modify the land uses, sell and acquire land and deploy eminent domain. The informality in Indian urban planning has allowed the state to create industrial zones or special economic zones in the cities and develop urban land through conversion of land uses ironically violating its own rules against land conversion. The state or government is itself informal here wherein informality is used by the state as a tool for exercising authority on the poor and for accumulation (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005).

Planning then in India as Ananya says is more the relationship between the unmapped territory and the published plans, the ambiguity within the law and the contentions of the laws rather than that which exists by following the law and endorsing the official rules. However in this system of informality the challenge then for the state is to keep track of the development and to not get caught up in countless negotiations with smaller actors. So while informality allows a certain flexibility in carrying out infrastructural development and makes acquisition easier it can also be immobilizing for the state. She gives the example of Bangalore airport expansion which was stalled due to land claims and acquisition issues (Roy, Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization 2009).
This is the case with most development projects in Indian cities, what is happening in Jaipur right now for the Dravyavati river project is similar to what happened in Bangalore or Mumbai or any other Indian city. The informality and mismanagement of land regulation and mapping has allowed the state a certain flexibility in land allocation for private developers and change in land use regulations. This negligence or mishandling has resulted in conflicts related to several claims for a single piece of land that either need to be compensated by the state or rendered illegal by power, violence and forceful evictions. These claims and protests for land should not be the means to serve justice to the evicted people. This system of claiming the land has anyway been cultivated and developed by the state itself through the informality and ambiguity in the system. Slums and land capturers (many powerful people in cities unlawfully capture the public land through informality in the system) are able to establish territorial claims in the unmapped city. However, these claims to public land then are just that- claims, without any legal documents and rights mostly dependent on the random and inconsistent practices of the state.

A. Ghertner says majority of slums are built on public land, which is the right of every citizen to use public space and by displacing them the state violates their right to the city and its public spaces (Ghertner 2014). This right to city (Harvey, The Right To The City 2003) has and is being violated in Jaipur along the Dravyavati river for many years, the most recent being for the DRR (Dravyavati river rejuvenation) project and unmapping or flexibility in mapping the land in the city has resulted in conflicts between legality and illegality along the river. These tensions between legal and illegal have the given the state unnecessary power to displace the slums along the river for this river rejuvenation project. Banishment as Ananya Roy has explained, moves our attention from displacement to dispossession, especially the dispossession of personhood which reinforces racial capitalism. It often entails civil death and indeed even social death (Roy, Racial Banishment 2019).

While Ananya discusses Racial Banishment in the context of American cities. This particular concept remains unexplored in India where banishment has different layers to it. In India there is an intersection of caste, gender, race and political banishment, so for example a poor woman from a lower caste would be one of the most vulnerable people in India for not just her safety or employment but for her very existence. Banishment as a concept in India exists in the form of caste banishment but also in economic, social, racial and political aspects of Indian society banishment has always been present. Through this study I wish to explore these
layers of banishment in India and how they have unfolded on this river because of the Dravyavati river project. Informality in the state systems of land use and ownership has made it possible for the authorities to create zones of banishment across cities for the marginalized populations and push them further to the margins of the city.

A. Ghertner says to understand gentrification in the Global south one must first understand that there are several assumptions underlying the various theories of gentrification and the resulting misconceptions responsible for analytical shortcomings in contexts of Global Southern cities. He says the theories of gentrification based in global south are largely prototypical of global north and in the context of Indian cities these theories have been applied in an unreflective manner. Ghertner moves away from the theories put forth by authors such as Clark or Smith who have put forth theories of gentrification in the global south. Smith for example says that gentrification has become a ‘global urban strategy’ and that global South is not just a new site of gentrification of cities but, rather the leading edge of gentrification: “gentrification is happening on a more massive scale in Shanghai or Mumbai ... than in the older post-industrialising cities of Europe, North America and Oceania” (Ghertner 2014).

He says Clark’s call for “a more inclusive perspective on the geography and history of gentrification”, has confirmed that not only gentrification has globalized, but constituents of gentrification or the range of processes that fit within the gentrification rubric has also expanded. The term gentrification is now being used to incorporate processed without any historical antecedent in the 20th century western city and not the gradual, market-driven processes of rising rents and class succession (‘first wave gentrification’), or state-driven urban renewal policies (‘third wave gentrification’). Ghertner cites Lees’s (2012a) description of demolition in China, Pakistan and India as gentrification and McDonald’s views of apartheid-era evictions in South Africa as racialized form of gentrification, to confirm the ‘generalization of gentrification’ of southern literature. He says the new southern literature is expanding and provincializing itself and therefore, supports Shaw’s claim that “the policies used to drive gentrification bear remarkable similarities in contexts as far apart as New Zealand, South Africa, India and England” (Ghertner 2014).

Through his work Ghertner offers a sympathetic critique of recent efforts to “explore if, and how, gentrification has travelled from the Global North to the Global South” by Lees. He analyzes the current patterns of urban displacement in India to argue that ‘gentrification’, as
a conceptual category, risks analytically ‘sugar coating’—to use a criticism Slater levelled against the depoliticization of gentrification studies—transformations in the political economy of land in contexts that have property and planning systems, legal frameworks, and histories of land development significantly different from those in the post-industrial, Euro-American core from which gentrification theory developed. Ghertner’s main critique aims at calling for more geographically specific modes of theoretical knowledge and against the application of universalist epistemics in describing urban processes around the globe. The author derives his claims by referring to four characteristics (given by various authors) that define the process of gentrification. These refer to (1) the re-investment of capital in once-already capitalized urban spaces, (2) the existence of well-established private property regimes, (3) the conversion of land to a ‘higher and better use’ and its (4) agnosticism to extra-economic force. By narrating processes of slum-clearance in India, the author deconstructs these assumptions and delivers a situated anti-thesis to these processes, which he grounds in the theoretical framework he derives from Harvey which refers to ‘Accumulation by Dispossession’: ABD *‘is a social process in which separation appears as a crystal-clear relation of expropriation, a relation that has not yet taken the fetishistic character assumed by capital’s normalization, or the ‘ordinary run of things’* (Harvey, *The Right To The City: From Capital Surplus to Accumulation by Dispossession 2010*).

David Harvey says, processes of displacement and ‘accumulation by dispossession’ lie at the center of urbanization under capitalism. It is the mirror-image of capital absorption through urban redevelopment, and is giving rise to numerous conflicts over the capture of valuable land from low-income populations that may have lived there for many years. The pressure to clear slums in Indian cities—for environmental and social reasons that mask the land grab—is ever mounting. Financial powers supported by the state push for forcible slum clearance, in some cases violently taking possession of terrain occupied for a whole generation. Capital accumulation through real-estate activity booms, since the land is acquired at almost no cost. Will the people who are displaced get compensation? The lucky ones may get a little. But although the Indian Constitution specifies that the state has an obligation to protect the lives and well-being of the whole population, irrespective of caste, gender or class, and to guarantee rights to housing and shelter, the Supreme Court has issued judgements that rewrite this constitutional requirement (Harvey, *The Right To The City 2003*). Since slum dwellers are illegal occupants and many cannot definitively prove their long-term residence,
they have no right to compensation. In the case of Dravyavati river rejuvenation not a single person from slums or legal properties has been compensated and they in fact have paid a subsidized price for the JDA allotted houses for their rehabilitation.

Ananya Roy’s framing of informality shows that it is essentially a political construct, dependent on how legislation defines the boundaries between formal and informal: its contours can shift at the stroke of a pen. She further coins informality as ‘an idiom of urbanization’, referring to the deliberate use by the state of informality to govern the city (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005). Ananya, however, does not elaborate much on what informality is used by the state for, and how it is used, beyond her mention of ‘un-mapping’, the deliberate production and reproduction of legal and institutional uncertainty on land status. A. Ghertner’s and Harvey’s theory of ‘accumulation by displacement’ have helped in bridging this gap of how the state uses informality for the displacement of poor and land acquisition for infrastructure developmental projects.

The River and The City:

For this thesis on river and its social impacts I draw on a rich literature on river redevelopment and urban renewal in urban regions and in India. In this section I discuss what place rivers have in the cities of global south and how urban transformation in cities have made rivers a separate entity within the city with its own socio-economic structure. The neglected rivers and riverbanks in the cities have been claimed by the slums, a neglected population that has in turn remade the river with their practices.

In the article The political economy and political ecology of the hydro-social cycle, Swyngedouw defines the role of water and the politics of control in cities as ‘the socials embedded techno institutional organization of material flows of water’ but he discusses only water here, rivers in urban contexts as single entity have not been discussed as widely (Swyngedouw 2009).

The concepts of geomorphic, hydrologic and ecological connectivity have been well established in both urban studies and ecological studies literature. Kondolf and Pinto take up these concepts and talk about social connectivity in the framework of rivers. Social connectivity by definition means “communication and movement of people, goods, ideas, and culture along and across rivers, recognizing longitudinal, lateral, and vertical connectivity” (Kondolf and Pinto 2015). These social interactions are especially intense and persistent along
rivers in urban regions. The notion of river culture is a recent term in academics where the role of river on the environmental, cultural, historical and social fabric of the cities has been discussed. However, Kondolf and Pinto write of the social interactions along rivers in the cities in terms of connectivity to, along, across and around the river. They say this concept of social connectivity is crucial in understanding the interactions of the river and city, and river as central to the city.

Kondolf and Pinto argue that in global south the local appropriation of the river and activities on the riverbanks in the urban regions are still traditional (Kondolf and Pinto 2015). Rivers in India have served social, economic as well as religious purposes for centuries. Uses such as this remain important in many cities, especially in the developing world, inherently linked to questions of public health and safety caused by poor water quality.

All the uses involving human contact with water stand to benefit from improvements to water quality. Visual connectivity can be distinguished from direct access and can be beneficial even when direct contact is best discouraged. Agriculture is the most common activity that exists on the riverbanks in urban regions, with low water level in the river and toxins from industrial waste the crops can be polluted as well. Rivers have often been described by many authors including Kondolf, as entities that unite or divide populations not just by physical borders but also in a socio-economic frame (Kondolf and Pinto 2015).

In almost all major cities of global south rivers have been turned into lakes of toxic water saturated with pollutants and waste from across the city, navigation or communication has therefore been rendered impossible in the rivers instead they have turned into environmental and health hazards. The riverbeds are usually left ungoverned by city authorities as they cannot find any use for the river. Often such areas are rendered useless and dumping grounds of waste of the city are found inhabited by informal settlements or slums. Slum inhabitants or the informal population finds shelter and livelihood here amidst the waste.

Kondolf has argued that in cities or urban regions small rivers can be either converted into underground culverts or open sewers while bigger and wider rivers pose challenges in terms of bridges and transportation. Whichever the case, the aesthetics of waterways and canals and their importance for city’s transportation are in stark contrast with their heavy polluted waters. Most cities in the global south (And many in developed countries) still face major challenges with regard to heavy pollution, sanitation, public health along the rivers, illegal occupation and access to rivers.
Kondolf and Pinto argue that what happened in the 18\textsuperscript{th} or 19\textsuperscript{th} century Europe in terms of river rejuvenation and recognition is happening now in India in almost all the major cities with water bodies. He says the complex borders/boundaries between land and water, made up of numerous buildings, informal settlements, built on the edge of the river and sometimes even on the dried up land of river itself are being replaced with ‘homogeneous water fronts designed to improve traffic and prevent damage from periodic, devastating floods’ (Kondolf and Pinto 2015). This form of ‘urban development’ has rendered the rivers alienated from any sort of economic or social lives. This sort of intertwining among power, commerce/capital flows, and rivers has been written on by Mathew Gandy as well. This is exactly what is happening in Jaipur as well for Dravyavati river rejuvenation project, a complete urban and ecological transformation of the river and the city along with it.

The concept of river as an environmental network bringing social, cultural, economic and ecological benefits has been growing empirically. These are also amongst the reasons that have been cited by government authorities for justification of river rejuvenation projects in India. On a human level, urbanization has essentially changed how water flows in a city in a number of ways including canalization, hydro-electricity generation, culverting, damming and reservoir creation. In the article ‘social connectivity of rivers’, Kondolf argues that cities are based on processes of intense production and consumption and the natural ecosystem of a river can be irreversibly transformed in urban settings by the effects of toxic discharge, industrial discharge and agricultural pollutants as well as chemicals from buildings and roads.

There are different approaches that describe the concepts of relationships between social and environmental equity within the concept of rapid urbanization in the global south. Swyngedouw says there are positive as well as negative approaches, such as \textit{urban political ecology} where social and environmental disparity are understood as the result of political-economic processes and, for example, capitalism results in urbanization which causes environmental injustice (Swyngedouw 2009). However there are also more positive conceptualizations, \textit{environmental justice} theorizes that environmental inequality is the driving factor towards social mobility, demonstrations of capital and social cohesion by acting towards improving environmental justice.

On the one hand Swyngedouw’s Political-ecological perspectives on water suggest a close association between the transformations of, and in, the hydrological cycle at local, regional and global levels and relations of social, political, economic, and cultural power on the other
Hydro-social research envisages the flow of water as a collective physical and social process in an attempt to rise above the modernist nature-society binaries, within this framework the flow of water is imagined as a collective physical and social process. These processes of envisaging research of water as *hydro-social* and as hybridized flows that combines together the environment, ecosystems and society in inseparable ways has proved essential in this study.

Engaging with Swyngedouw’s approach of linking water with social aspects of cities has helped me in navigating the city through the river and in analyzing the river as an object that is not just a source of water but also an entity that has remade the city in several ways through the centuries. It calls for revisiting traditional fragmented and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of water by insisting on the inseparability of the social and the physical in the production of particular hydro social configuration. These perceptions of hydro-social research has opened up several new and important issues surrounding transformation of the ways in which politics of water is thought about, formulated, and implemented (Swyngedouw, The Political Economy and Political Ecology of the Hydro-Social Cycle 2009).

Swyngedouw says, hydraulic environments are actually socio-physical constructions that are produced both actively and historically in reference to their social content and physical-environmental properties. Therefore, he says there is nothing theoretically unnatural about man-made environment created by construction of dams irrigation systems and other hydraulic infrastructures etc. These synthetic environments are precise historical results of man-made socio-biophysical processes. Using theories put forth by Heynen, Swyngedouw says most social processes and socio-ecological conditions (cities, agricultural or industrial production systems and the like) are invariably sustained by and organized through a combination of social processes on the one hand (such as capital/labor relations and forms of organization of labor) and metabolic-ecological processes (that is the biological, chemical or physical transformation of ‘natural’ resources, usually organized through a series of interlinked technologies) on the other. The enabling and disabling of environmental and social conditions is the result of the productions of water or commodities (such as, the production of potable water, agricultural products or computer chips) (Swyngedouw, The Political Economy and Political Ecology of the Hydro-Social Cycle 2009).

‘Processes of socio environmental change are, therefore, never socially or ecologically neutral’, this phrase that Swyngedouw has said has helped in my analysis of the social impacts
of Dravyavati river rejuvenation on the livelihoods of the slum residents. This understanding of environmental change not being ‘neutral’ has been essential in examining the Dravyavati river. These processes of environmental change result in conditions under particular trajectories of socio-environmental change and can improve the sustenance or livability of some sections of society while for other sections it can lower the stability similarly for environment also these processes can be enhancing or can also initiate a decline.

Through examples of California vineyards, dams in China and Colorado river, Swyngedouw makes it clear that Hydro-social configurations, of course, generally reflect hegemonic political, social, and cultural preferences. Swyngedouw says there is an urgent need to explore and study the delicate relationships between political systems and the use, management, and distribution of water and organization of the whole hydro-social system (Swyngedouw, The Political Economy and Political Ecology of the Hydro-Social Cycle 2009).

Urban development in India has been driven by political goals and under Prime Minister Modi, this urban development has shifted towards a neoliberal approach (Kaur 2015). Connell says Neoliberal city development involves a reconfiguration of place—here, the river—which is described as exclusionary, representing power struggles which often result in keeping the poor out (Connell 2007). As Banerjee-Guha say, neoliberalism in India in terms of urban renewal or development has meant a manifestation of policies in the name of ‘common good’ or ‘good times’ as projected in Modi’s election campaigns that are in reality are reinforced by the dislocation of encroachers (Banerjee-Guha 2009). In the current politically charged environment in India, this is especially true, there have been many incidences wherein communities have been forcefully displaced, their land acquired and developed in the name of public usage but to ultimately benefit private stakeholders (Dempsey, Redmond and Emily 2018). Forsyth similarly highlights that the prevalent ideas in urban political ecology will always threaten livelihoods and damage ecosystems are being challenged now within critical political ecology (Forsyth 2003).

Swyngedouw’s ‘urban political ecology’ argues that any kind of transformation to water bodies or flows of water is never neutral and has impacts on environment physically and socially. This theory related directly to the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project in Jaipur. As it was during and after the 1981 floods in the city that the whole nalla/river and the river bank was widened. The floods transformed the physicality of the nalla in terms of flow of water and widening of the course of the nalla increasing the catchment area. This transformation led to
massive destruction of several slums on the river bank and residential colonies along the river. Since then whenever there is more than normal rainfall in the city several slums and colonies are flooded due to their proximity to the water flow and city’s inability to deal with the rainfall. Due to this threat from the nalla several families have had to be relocated and rehabilitated by the JDA. The ecology of this river was already destroyed due to toxins and pollutants from industries flowing into the river and transformed it into the nalla it became (Swyngedouw, The Political Economy and Political Ecology of the Hydro-Social Cycle 2009).

The concept of non-neutrality of transformations in hydro-cycle by Swyngedouw is then essential in understanding such projects of river rejuvenation where the physical, ecological, political, social and economic factors are transformed on such a huge scale. The Dravyavati river rejuvenation project is taking shape in its current form and on such a huge scale because of the 1981 floods that had led to a series of events affecting the entire physicality of this river. Aided by Ananya Roy’s concept of racial banishment and informality in governance which have helped around the ideas of displacement, land-use and land ownership have helped in forming the narrative of this thesis around the livelihoods of displaced people and how and why they had to be displaced in the first place.

The City of Jaipur, Urban Renewal and A River that got Lost:

Jaipur is not built along the river, rather it expanded and developed along the river. There have been a number of studies around rivers in Indian cities and Jaipur as a town planning marvel has been studied as well, in the context of urban planning, water consumption, heritage architecture and conservation and urban renewal. However, Jaipur is not the first city that would come to mind if we think about rivers and their relationships with cities in India. It is only recently that the government of Rajasthan took steps to restore its once lost river.

Jaipur is the capital of the state of Rajasthan in western India about 250 KM from New Delhi. Jaipur is famous as the ‘pink city’ due to its historical old town painted entirely in pink color. The city was constructed about 350 years ago as a walled city and the Dravyavati river originated in village of Jaisalya on the outskirts of Jaipur on the foothill of the Aravalli range and ran from north to south of Jaipur for 47.5 km. Dravyavati river was once a perennial river running through Jaipur with water collected from the surrounding Aravali’s meeting Dhund river, a bigger river in Rajasthan. As the city of Jaipur
grew beyond the walled area during British Raj and post-independence major development of the city took place along a 10 meters periphery of the Dravyavati river.

With rapid industrialization and unplanned urbanization the river turned into a ‘Nalla’ (Amanishah Nalla), with industrial waste, toxic medical waste, sewage, household waste everything finding its way into the river. Due to unplanned urban development of the city, sewage disposal is still a major problem in most Indian cities and towns, because of which rivers have turned into toxic waste carrying nallas across India and the same has happened with Dravyavati river (Chandra and Randhawa 2017). Most academic researches on this river or nalla have been in the context of pollution levels or encroachment on the nalla or waste management in Jaipur, there have been some recent studies that discuss Dravyavati river rejuvenation project but they are also either architectural studies or water management (Chandra and Randhawa 2017).

This thesis however, seeks to mark the presence of Dravyavati river as an intermediate space in Jaipur to highlight the different dimensions of the changes mentioned above. To understand this, it is important to first identify the river constituted as both land and water, as the enquiry is not just of the future flow of the river but also of the land on the riverbank and floodplains. Awadhendra Sharan has done a similar research on Yamuna in Delhi and says, this issue is simultaneously of aesthetics, economic growth, gentrification and of the conservation of nature, all combined to form what is an ecological transition zone. Second, there is also a need to understand that the river constitutes not just nature but also culture. It has been changed tremendously through human interventions but it still contains its own properties such as its tendency to flood annually during the monsoon, which on the one hand limits what may be possible by way of channelizing its flow, and on the other hand is productive of technological transformations such as the building of a series of embankments. In other words, rivers, are best imagined as envirotechnical systems, with technology and nature completely infused with each other (Sharan 2015).

Navdeep Mathur’s research based in Ahmedabad seems to be true in Jaipur as well, as open markets and street vending are among the biggest sources of livelihood for the poor in Jaipur and for inhabitants of slums along the Dravyavati river or Amanishah nalla. While a process of rehousing was conducted under a rehabilitation scheme several years ago due to flooding of the settlements and colonies in the catchment area of the river, those who were not accommodated have been forcibly relocated on the periphery of the city in underdeveloped
colonies outside the city with without basic services, causing thousands of residents to slide into poverty (Mathur 2012).

Urban redevelopment projects primarily aimed at transforming both sides of the riverbank into leisure space, with claims of providing solutions to flood management, protection of the river from sewer pollution, as well as creating value on land that is wasted as currently used. Before this project in Jaipur, the riverbank incorporated several formal and informal settlements providing homes to thousands of families. It was also used for regular markets, and other livelihood activities, particularly urban farming, as well as social and cultural activities of riverbank residents.

Through the example of Dharavi redevelopment project in Mumbai Renu Desai says the state authorities and planners had to engage the residents of Dharavi in the planning process to smoothen the implementation of the high profile project. Desai says that even though only a small section of marginalized groups was able to make claims in the process it did facilitate democracy through co-optation (Desai 2012). Another aspect of urban policies in Mumbai is discussed by Zerah who argues that the management of urban services has helped in opening up of NGO’s and CBO’s to create bridges between the government and marginalized communities, the only beneficiaries of these have been the middlemen, private entrepreneurs and influential members of the communities while contributing to labor informalization (Zerah 2009). The Dravyavati river rejuvenation project planning is based on neo liberal ideas with provisions of open spaces for middle classes, better housing for poor through rehabilitation programs (which I will discuss in the forthcoming chapters), flood management, water purification, environmental and ecological transformation etc. the proposal crafted entirely new modernist imaginaries into the realm of possibility. Their implementation required partnerships between experts, government agencies and the private.

Unlike projects mentioned above, the urban poor living along the Dravyavati river were not included in the decision making neither any of the NGO’s or CBO’s in the city were invited to mediate with authorities and the residents. Therefore, it is evident that the approach for this project has been largely top-down. A key element of the Dravyavati River Rejuvenation project has been the primary role of state authorities in initiating, financing, developing and implementing all components of the project in a top-down fashion. Indeed, the existing literature on Indian cities doesn’t provide a clear data of inclusionary practices in urban planning especially outside of the metropolitan cities. As mentioned earlier it is imperative to
study projects such as the Dravyavati river rejuvenation program and study the practices such as the flexible governing in the DRR project – which articulates a politics of inclusion and enable neo-liberal projects of urban development. Flexible governing refers to the ambivalent and shifting approach of the state authorities with respect to the urban poor in pursuing their agenda of beautifying the riverfront. In the beginning of the project promises were made to rehabilitate the displaced families and a separate rehabilitation policy was crafted for the Dravyavati River. Since there were also private registered land in the catchment area of the river, compensations were provided to the homeowners. A lot of displacement and rehabilitation has been done in informal ways by the authorities. Ananya Roya argues, informality in India is associated with the state practices, planning and the concept of urbanization rather than with urban poor and their spaces (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005).

There are court cases still pending between private land owners and the JDA (Jaipur Development Authority) with regard to settlement and compensation provided, so the state authorities had to struggle with this local mobilization also for the Dravyavati river project. Since the courts are generally sympathetic towards slum residents, this has aided in the growing practices of flexible governing adopted by the authorities to deal with the court orders. The DRR project thus also reveals the potentials and limitations of the role played by the judiciary in this context. Mahadevia says that urban development policies in Indian cities have been parallel and conflicting, with sets of policies focusing on large-scale urban infrastructure projects to create economic centers in the cities on one hand and on the other hand policies to alleviate poverty. The policies are in contention of each other with some including the urban poor and the others excluding them. Mahadevia further argues, this constitutes a "paradigm of deliberate confusion" and as a result policies tend to lean towards the side with more pressure. In the DRR (Dravyavati River Rejuvenation) case, we see this paradigm operating within a single project. Here, the implementing state authorities have often sought to represent the project as inclusive of the urban poor, but since they have privileged the beautification of the riverfront, this has created contradictions in the ways in which questions of the urban poor have been addressed. In other words, the practices of the authorities with respect to the urban poor have swung depending on changing calculations and pressures. I analyze this approach as constituting a flexible governing of the urban poor. That slum eviction as a line item has become the primary measure of river restoration is also
indicative of a specific historical moment in urban politics and governance. While clearing encroachments on river banks has figured in river-cleaning action plans for decades, it was usually much lower on the list of interventions (Mahadevia 2011).

Narrative

The narrative is divided in several sections, the first three sections discuss the history of the river, the city’s relationship with the river and how it came to be in the form that it had to be rejuvenated and finally about the Dravyavati river rejuvenation (DRR) project and its highlights. The sections after this are divided into 4 themes through which I discuss the debates around this project, the struggles and stories around the river from the displaced populations through the interviews, the interactions of the residents and business owners near the river and how they have changed their perspective towards the river and finally the views, motivations of the officials from the JDA for this project.

The river meets the city:

Let us first understand how the river came in existence and how it came to be in its present state. This is important because Dravyavati river is not an ancient river or a very important one historically/religiously either, this river came into existence because of the planning of the city of Jaipur. This river was a very small stream containing water from the Nahargarh hills and the 50 km long river was made out of this stream meeting Dhund river in Rajasthan in the year 1844 with covered canals running through the city providing water to the residents. This river carried water from the Nahargarh hills but also from the Bandi river in Harmada hills close to Amer. This is how the Dravyavati river came to be as a major water source in the desert region of Jaipur having hot and dry climate. The river became essential to the life in this economic and tourist center. Jaipur was a hub of jewelry and textile business and soon became a major exporter of the commodities during the British Raj itself (Mittal 2019).

Even though Jaipur is a city in the desert region of India water was never deficit here which was partly due to world class rain water harvesting techniques such as step wells, vavs, ponds and johadhs were the traditional water conservation techniques and along with the Dravyavati river met all water demands (the drinking water, irrigation, cleaning etc.) of Jaipur
and nearby villages as well. Along with the Dravyavati river, Man Sagar lake and Ramgarh dam (constructed in 1903) were major sources of water in Jaipur. These systems were being used successfully even in the years of lesser rainfall until the layout of central water supply lines were laid during the colonial period for ‘modernization’ and ‘development’ of the city. The planning of ‘new’ water supply system was done such that the drains ran into 9 streams and all of these then drained into the Dravyavati river and creating an open drain in the middle of the city. This polluted water not only affects the environment of the city but the river Dhund which is a bigger and more significant river of Rajasthan and this is where this nalla ends up in. Not just the Dravyavati river but Ramgarh bandh and Man Sagar lake have also been the victim of rapid urbanization in Jaipur. Man Sagar which is also the site of Jal Mahal, an iconic and heritage marvel in Jaipur now is a part of drainage system in Jaipur and Ramgarh has been rendered completely dry due to heavy encroachment from private investors (Mittal 2019).

A Complicated Relationship - the City and the River:

After independence Jaipur was made the capital of the state of Rajasthan and became an important center for education, politics, tourism and finance. The city expanded along the river, new city was planned with pipelines and sewers all finding their way into the river and thus the river started to become a drain. With rapid urbanization industries opened in the city and the river became the dumping ground for toxics from these industries, factories as well. Jaipur is a textile hub and one of the major pollutants of the river apart from industrial toxins is also the solvents from chemical dyes from textile factories in the city (Rajput, Pandey and Bhadauria 2017). When the canals for river Dravyavati was constructed the King of Jaipur at the time, Sawai Jai Singhji also constructed 5 check dams across the river which prevented flooding of the city in the monsoon and ensured water supply throughout the year. These dams were namely Amanishah dam, Ambabari dam, Maharani Farm dam, Hasanpura dam and Sanganer dam in different parts of the city covering the whole city between them (Maqsood 2020).

Mr. Maqsood tells me, in the year 1981 around the same time when the river had already started to become a sewer for the city mostly spillover was flowing through the Amanishah nalla with smaller downstream nallas, at this time the width of this nalla was 10ft. In the 1981 Jaipur saw heavy rainfall and floods and it was during these floods that the army had to intervene and break the Ambabari dam to avoid flooding of army cantonment along the river.
bank. The army at that time also demolished the Maharani Farm dam so that the water could flow without destroying the residential colonies. Even though major damage was prevented during the 1981 floods many houses were still destroyed and the displaced people were rehabilitated in the government scheme of Murlipura at the time (Maqsood 2020). This is where the actual problems related to this river/nalla started. Up till now it was a smaller river carrying rain water from the surrounding hills which was convenient to use for drainage of the city’s pollutants (which had also only started) and therefore was not a huge environmental issue yet. After this event the stream or the catchment area of the river increased and since then continuous spilling of waste water and pollutants from the city has ensured that this river has been flowing through the city as an open sewer (Mr. Maqsood interview).

After the floods of 1981, in 1985 the JDA took up the work of restoring the Amanishah nalla and clearing the catchment area of the widened nalla. This work was tendered to another agency with the instructions to keep the riverbed concrete free. In 2005 the state government declared the Amanishah nalla a ‘construction free’ zone and a committee was formed for this. In this regard the Rajasthan high court ordered to widen the nalla from 150 ft to 210 ft and also ordered to demolish any illegal encroachments. In the year 2012 the Rajasthan high court issued another order to remove any colony authorized or otherwise in the catchment area of the nalla to be demolished (Maqsood 2020).

The authorities did not pay attention to the structure of the river and riverbank and unauthorized construction has been common often with illegal involvement of the authorities due to which the city has developed along the river in an unplanned fashion. However, unauthorized constructions are not the only issue here, because there were also legal private agricultural land on the riverbank which came in the catchment area after the 1981 floods but in the land and revenue records of JDA (Jaipur Development Authority) these plots were still under private ownership. All of these unauthorized colonies and legal plots now come in the risk zone from floods especially during the monsoon (rainy season in India). The private land owners sold their land to property developers and because the private land were registered with the JDA these colonies were legal (Maqsood 2020). As is the case with most cities in India, Jaipur has grown at an unprecedented rate, architects and planners didn’t imagine such a high growth rate and therefore could not plan the services of the city for such a growth (Roy, What is urban about critical urban theory? 2016). This unprecedented development and
urbanization at an exponential rate has only added to the load on the nalla and has also given way for informal settlements and illegal development on the river.

It has now been 40 years since the floods that changed the course of the river and the city of Jaipur itself, with floods now being a potential risk for the city and the river is now a huge black lake associated with slums and informal settlements. There have been many news articles and campaigns since then to revive the lake and the environment of the city. Time and again there are stories in the newspapers about the negative impacts of the river/nalla on the neighborhoods and also on the lives of the people of slums along the river. One of the reports in a newspaper in 2018 stated the death of two kids from a nearby slum or ‘basti’ due to drowning in the nalla another drowning of a teenager also from nearby slums was reported in 2017. Such incidents of people drowning have been common on this nalla especially during the monsoon therefore not only is nalla a health hazard but also a danger to life.

In the above section I have discussed the origin of the river and its transformation from a once healthy river to the present day open sewer. I have also discussed the issues due to natural calamities but also due to lack of planning policies and ignorance by the authorities. Lack of planning policies and a defined land use document for the city is the major issue that comes up from the above discussion. In the next sections I will discuss the DRR Project as described the authorities, debates that have generated around this river/nalla and the new project and struggles of the people across the river due to the ignorance or rather the indifference of the authorities and how it has shaped their lived realities.

About the DRR (Dravyavati River Rejuvenation) Project:

The Amanishah nalla flows in the central part of the Jaipur region and it originates from north of Mahalbag in the Amer reserve forest area. It has witnessed encroachments on its flood plain from its originating upper catchment area to its confluence with the Dhund River, south east of Goner. Few morphological changes have been observed in the flow path of the nalla from the year 1868 to 2008 AD. These morphological changes are in the form of increase in sinuosity, marginal increase in length of the flow path and at places straightening of the nalla course. These changes may be attributed to silting of nalla bed and human/ urban encroachments in the younger flood plain of the river. Amanishah nallah was once the lifeline of Jaipur and had a perennial water flow now the river has transformed into a nalla or a sewer.
The river is ephemeral and has shrunk to a small nallah at many places due to encroachments in its younger flood plain. Amanishah nallah passes through densely populated part of Jaipur region. Surface run-off from severely degraded Amer reserve forest and intense gully erosion of areas in upper catchment of Amanishah nalla bring silt in the nalla. Besides the silt from eroded/degraded hills, the nalla also receives municipal waste, sewage, garbage and untreated industrial effluents from Vishva Karma Industrial (VKI) area; Jhotwara Industrial area, Baisgodam Industrial area, Sanganer textiles tie and dye industries, etc. Encroachments by residential units, marriage gardens and industrial activities have severely damaged the ecology of the once Perennial River. At places the width of channel is barely 12 to 15 m. This possesses severe threat to life and public property in the form of large scale encroachment and flash floods. Hence, for removal of encroachments on river sides and develop the river front it is required to take various measures.

- Removal of encroachment to take various measures to develop, detailed project shall be prepared.
- Complete ban on disposal of untreated waste in the river should be imposed.
- Planned efforts to be made to check the accelerated run-off and movement of silt from surrounding degraded hills and gully erosion prone areas.
- Further encroachments of younger flood plain of river should not be allowed by putting a wire fence and construction of training parapet wall with a service lane (traverse road) and green belt of plantations all along.
- The gully erosion areas in Amer hills need to be revegetated and existing dams and reservoirs along the river be revived/desilted and few more dams/reservoirs be made by constructing dykes/small dams/reservoirs.
- Shifting of textile tie and dye industry from Sanganer to other appropriate site as per PCB norms.
- Water harvesting through abandoned dug wells, dug cum bore wells and bore wells to revive and rejuvenate the river system.
- Green belt plantations of trees and green recreation walkways needs to be developed on both sides of the rivers to protect it from encroachments. This will ensure prevention of loss of life, property and groundwater contamination by industrial and sewage waste disposal.
• Controlled agricultural activity in the form of growing vegetables/ cash crops and flowers may also be allowed in the nalla bed to meet the growing demand of these commodities and depleting ground water table.

• Water carrying channels should be kept free from any obstruction/encroachment. Direct disposal of untreated effluents/solid waste in the channel should be discouraged/banned.

• Amanishah Nala from area west of Kishenbag, and South-East of Sanganer, passes through city area and is densely populated. It is a vulnerable track for consequent damages of seasonal and rare flash flooding. The active channel course in this segment of Amanishah nala must be cleaned from any human encroachments and frequent desilting of Nala should be carried out for natural unobstructed flow of drainage water. These measures would ensure free flow of clean water in the river with increase green cover and it will also add to scenic beauty, provide fresh air to its citizens and will augment ground water recharge in the region. It is also likely to act as added tourist attraction and vibrant lifeline for Jaipur Region (JDA 2014).

Figure 4 An Image from the Experience center on the newly rejuvenated river

This project DRR (Dravyavati River Rejuvenation), is based on four principles of urban infrastructure ensuring public health, economy and flood control in the city as projected by the government. With the promised provisions of river promenade, museum and experience
center, land for private development, real estate projects and tourism to boost economy the project aims to bring about major urban reforms in the city.

Major issue for the project other than encroachments was the treatment of sewage and polluted water along with solid trash flowing freely in the nalla. The whole city’s sewage and industrial waste is dumped in the nalla and there is no other alternate in the city’s urban planning for disposing off the waste. Therefore waste water had to be treated right before it is dumped into the nalla to revive the river. So STP’s have been set up at various locations around the city with water treatment centers through which clean water flows into the river. The river bed has been constructed using porous concrete and also left as it is at intervals to maintain ground water table. However, according to recent survey water table in Jaipur has not increased despite getting more than normal rainfall in this monsoon, which indicates that this porous concreting and natural bed at intervals hasn’t worked as well as it was projected (TOI 2020).

To facilitate the project and to manage the encroachments a detailed rehabilitation policy specifically for the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project was drafted by the JDA which has acknowledged that most of the families living on the Amanishah nalla are from economically weaker sections or are slum residents. This policy states that all the families living on the nalla will be evicted and properly rehabilitated in JDA allotted houses, apartments or plots. Families living in this area on rent will also rehabilitated by the JDA. The price of the houses will be different for e.g. BPL (below poverty line) families will have to pay INR 55000/- for a 41 sq. mt house and for non-BPL families the price for a 41 sq. mt house will 10% of the actual price. In this way JDA has or rather tried to rehabilitate all the evicted families in the villages on the periphery of Jaipur (JDA, Rehabilitation Policy For Amanishah Nalla 2012).

Theme 1- Debates Around the Project:

The Amanishah nalla has been in the Jaipur local newspapers since as far as I or my friends can remember. The news articles mostly have been about the pollution levels in the river and the health hazards to the families living on the riverbank slums. The vegetables being grown in the toxic water of the nalla have also been under the news continuously. In 2016 a local newspaper reported an increase in patients with epileptic seizures due the toxic water vegetables with a major percentage of patients being children and neurologists in the city also warned people of the dangers of such toxic produce. The vegetables of the nalla water are a
health hazard and agriculture activities along the nalla have increased in the last decade due to negligence of the authorities. Many NGO’s and organizations in the city are working towards teaching vocational skills to the residents in an attempt to reduce agricultural activities and helping people to get stable jobs.

Another news reported the death of a 22 year old CA (chartered accountant) student who drowned in the nalla due to heavy rains in 2018 (Writer 2018). In the same year an over bridge in the city was destroyed in the rain which also shows the quality of construction of the bridge which was also constructed by the JDA. In 2018 a 10 year old boy named Ravi died due to drowning in the nalla, he was running after a kite with his friends. Ravi lived in the slums near Shastri Nagar in the city, his parents waited for the police and civil defense divers to save Ravi but after many hours of trying the divers could only retrieve his body from the nalla (Team 2018). A year before this incidence a 1.5 years old girl Salina died due to falling in the open nalla. Due to the negligence of authorities pot holes and deep pits develop along the nalla and in the year 2015 two kids from ‘Bhatta Basti’ slum drown in the one pits filled with rain water, they had come down to swim but couldn’t calculate the depth of the pit (P. Team 2015).

![Figure 5 Rescue Operation in the nalla for a kid who drowned](image)

In 2015 a newspaper reported unauthorized colonies being constructed by real estate mafias in Jaipur according to reports from the newspaper some of the officials from JDA have been involved in the illegal development along the nalla. It is because of the illegal involvement of the authorities that the catchment area of the nalla has been filled in with mud and colonies
have been developed in the nalla, which are now under scanner. Many people who bought the houses in these colonies and have property documents have had to move without getting their money back. A newspaper reported, whenever there have been orders to evict the families from the nalla due to protests from the residents no actions could be taken.

The nalla have been in news whenever there have been heavy rains in the city especially after the floods of 1981. Before 1981 the old city planning was working well in the city after the floods and demolition of check dams, widening of the catchment areas and bad construction practices by the JDA have made the nalla a death trap for the residents. The city has been rendered incapable in dealing with normal rains let alone heavy rains due to substandard quality of construction, corrupt practices and technically inadvisable solutions. Whenever there are more than normal rains in Jaipur now the destruction caused along the nalla is immense. Seven years ago, in 2013 monsoon season the army had to intervene to manage the chaos, numerous houses were demolished and families had to be rehabilitated (I interviewed a few families displaced during this time and in the following section will discuss their stories in detail). The whole city came to a standstill with low lying areas and colonies illegally constructed in the nalla completely destroyed. The cars and houses along the nalla were covered in a layer of mud and many people died.

The most recent monsoon season of the year 2020 hasn’t been any different with destruction across the city. Even after the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project and evictions of low lying colonies the rains were unmanageable. Houses and shops were flooded with water and shopkeepers had to incur huge losses due to their products being destroyed. One of the local newspapers even reported the cause of the flood like situation was the construction of anicuts and concreting of the floor of the Dravyavati river, the newspaper had reportedly warned against both the construction(Rajasthan Patrika).

The project has been now completed and the monsoon of last year (2019) was the first monsoon for the Dravyavati river. In several places in the city where bird parks, landscape gardens and jogging tracks have constructed on the riverbank the sight was beautiful as never seen before in Jaipur, however, in several places trash had collected stinking up the river and surroundings. Newspapers in the city reported from many regions about the trash in the river post which the authorities and TATA projects (the firm working on the river) took actions for cleaning.
In the current monsoons the story remained same as last years, the now clean river flowing through the city was a sight for the residents along the river and residents from all over Jaipur planned evenings out on the river bank, however in many places trash was again seen in river and because of the stagnant water, water hyacinth has also grown in parts of the river making cleaning even more difficult. Newspapers have criticized the current government for neglecting the river. Rajasthan has seen a change in government from BJP to Congress and since the Dravyavati river project was introduced by the BJP government, the current Congress party has been heavily criticized in the city for neglect on the river (T. Correspondent 2019).

Another issue in the beginning of the project was land acquisition and moving the electric poles and lines from the construction zone. TATA projects has given several circulars to JDA to move the lines with no effect, finally court had to intervene and the work resumed. Land acquisition cases are still pending in the court from private land owners who refused to move and the JDA then had to go to court. Even after the completion of the project some of the cases haven’t been resolved, the families however have been forcefully evicted (Correspondent 2017).

It is evident from the news articles that the nalla has been a point of tension between the state and slum residents. With the negligence of authorities before, during and after the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project existence of ‘informality’ as discussed by Ananya, in terms of safety, housing and land acquisition has been an issue. The presence of slums along the nalla in itself is evidence of a certain flexibility of governance here. Although the very real threat of slum clearance, floods and being dispossessed of the spaces (Harvey) many people have called home for years have made this nalla zone into a constant battleground between the state and the slum residents.

In the sections above I discussed the technical aspects of the project and the government planning and policies in the process of facilitating the project. I also discussed the debates that have been and are ongoing on this nalla/river for the last five years especially with respect to pollution in the nalla and dangerous living along the riverbank. In the next sections I will discuss how the project impacts the displaced people and who exactly this river rejuvenation is for.
Theme 2- ‘What Development?’- The Everyday Struggles Along the River:

This section will launch the project of the Amanishah nalla project through a ‘view from below’ context. I put forth the stories of my interviewees and share their struggles as they come to terms with the Dravyavati River Rejuvenation project. In their everyday struggles they reveal the boring aspects of this project which affect their everyday lived realities.

From Sewer to Sewer- Stories of Displacement:
About 4 years ago residents of the ‘kachchi basti’ or slum near Hatwara in Jaipur received notices from the JDA to move from their colony. Hemant says he lived in his former home in Hatwara near the Amanishah nalla with his parents and 3 brothers, where he used to study with his brothers and his parents worked as daily wage laborers, since this colony was in the
middle of the city work was always available for his parents. Like most of his neighbors, Hemant’s family also came to Jaipur as migrant laborers in search of jobs, they belong to a village near Jodhpur in Rajasthan (Hemant 2020).

After the government of Rajasthan announced the Dravyavati river project, JDA identified the colonies which came under the catchment area of the river and sent notices to people to move. I asked Hemant if the police also came in the process of their moving but he said they didn’t come however, JDA officials did come several times. In fact the residents of the colony received three notices over a period of 4 months, the residents were assured that they would be allotted a plot, house or apartment under the Dravyavati rehabilitation policy. Once a family gets a house or apartment allotted they had to shift within a month and also pay a certain amount decided on the basis of the caste the family belonged to, so for a Scheduled Caste and Schedule Tribe (SC-ST) the cost was Rs. 1,06,000, then for Other Backward Classes (OBC) the amount was Rs. 1,15,000 and General Category (which is mostly Brahmins, Baniyas, Thakur, Vaishya in Indian caste system defined for official purposes) the amount to be paid for a house/apartment was Rs.1,30,000 (Hemant 2020).

As is evident from above photographs, quality of construction and basic amenities (drainage, trash collection, water supply etc.) in the residential areas are very poor but the evicted
families have no choice they just have to deal with all these situations on a daily basis. The houses were allotted on a humanitarian basis (as old to me by a JDA official) to anybody living on identified land for the river rejuvenation project so everyone from authorized colonies, unauthorized colonies and informal settlements was to be covered under the scheme. The system of allotting the houses and charging a nominal amount of money was used to ensure only the people who have been affected by the river rejuvenation project get benefitted from the policy. In India it isn’t uncommon for people to miss use such government schemes if they are free so to avoid this the system of paying for the houses was devised and the cost was kept nominal as it was noted that the families living on the riverbank whether in legal colonies or unauthorized settlements were financially challenged (Maqsood 2020). Mr. Maqsood who is now retired but was heading the Dravyavati river project in JDA also said that the amount was not always paid in one installment ad whenever a family showed incapacity to pay, the authorities agreed to take the money in installments and several families couldn’t pay the full amount and it was simply ridden off.

However Hemant says that they were made to pay the full amount within a month of allocation of the house without provisions of installments. Several JDA flats and colonies were used for rehabilitation, most of them however are situated outside the city (Hemant 2020).

Fareed on the other hand lived in an authorized colony and had a JDA ‘patta’ (registry letter) for his house. He lived in welcome colony near Hasanpura which is also close to the Jaipur junction (main railway station of Jaipur) and worked as auto-driver (three wheelers in India). He says he or any of his neighbors did not receive any kind of notice for evictions, they were visited by JDA officials in 2017 who explained the court orders and the DRR project and were asked to move. When he and his neighbors didn’t move after the initial visit of the officers, one day police came with bulldozers and started demolishing their houses, they were left with no choice than to move then. However, they were also allotted the JDA houses in rehabilitation colonies in 2018 (Fareed 2020).

Deepak also lives in the same rehabilitation colony as Hemant and Fareed, he is a tenant in this colony and he has also shifted here from the Hatwara ‘Kachchi Basti’ (slum) after receiving notices from the JDA. He says all the families living in his colony received notices and were rehabilitated in the JDA flats in Bhakrota and even though he was living in a rented house in the ‘Kachchi Basti’, he still came to live in the rehabilitation colony on rent. He had to move this far from city despite the fact that he could have rented another house in another slum
closer to the city but most of the slums in the city are along the river and were being evicted, he says at least here he has his friends. On being asked about the cost of the apartments and methods of payments he says the prices differ from which floor the apartment is (prices increase with height of the building) and that the families were given options to pay in installments with many pending payments ridden off by the JDA (Deepak 2020).

Ritu who lived in Malviya Nagar slums used to work as a household help in the nearby colonies and would make enough to support her husband who has a small barber shop. Both of them could make enough money to send their three kids to school and Ritu could manage her time between her job and her kids. They were asked to move two years ago and it was not really a formal notice she says the officials from JDA and Nagar Nigam came with bulldozers and told them to move otherwise their houses would be demolished. So they had no choice but to move, initially Ritu and her husband had thought to move to another slum or kachchi basti close to their jobs but all the bastis along the nalla were being demolished and they couldn’t afford to pay the rent for a small house in smaller colonies near the city. When they received the allotment letter for their house in the rehabilitation colony they had no choice but to move. This colony is too far from the city and Ritu is struggling to find work because she cannot travel to the city everyday early enough and where she is living now there are no developed colonies to find household help kind of job. Even though this new house is far away from every basic thing they need like jobs, their kids schools this is the only place they have to live in (Ritu 2020).

Sushma says she and her family moved to the rehabilitation colony around six years ago when her house in the Gurjar ki thadi region of Jaipur also on the banks of Amanishah nalla was destroyed in heavy rains. She and her neighbors at that time had been relocated by the JDA. They had ‘pukka’ (Concrete) houses in their colony but their colony was unapproved, they were allocated plots of land by the JDA on subsidized DLC (prices of land fixed by land and taxation department) rates and built the houses on loan. Sushila used to work in a hospital in Mansarover colony which was very close to her house however after moving she had to leave her job and now she doesn’t work. She says, their former house was close to the major markets and the city with Mansarover and Sodala (These are developed regions in Jaipur with good markets and generally good services) being very close therefore work was never an issue for her. Now her two sons are mentally challenged and her third son is the only earning
member in her family, however since this colony is close to Vishwakarma industrial area in Jaipur he found job in one of the factories as transformer mechanic (Sushma 2020). Sana who lives in the same colony as Sushila now, has moved from the Devi Nagar (Malviya Nagar) region of the city. Sana and her family also moved due to flooding of their house six years back, her house was in an unauthorized colony and was right down in the Nalla. She was allotted the house under JDA rehabilitation scheme on subsidized rates. Her husband is a tailor and has a shop in Malviya Nagar, also a developed and busy part of Jaipur. Since he has a shop he still works at his shop but now he has to travel across the city every day to reach his work which adds on their expenses and is time consuming (it takes about two hours each day to travel back and forth) (Sana 2020).

Both Sushila and Sana’s families had to be rehabilitated due to the devastation caused by heavy rainfalls which was not exactly floods but these low lying colonies were right in the catchment area of the nalla and therefore were flooded. However, they did not move due to Dravyavati river rejuvenation project, these families moved a few years before this project began. In Jaipur rehabilitation of slums has been an ongoing process and as Sana says, the police would visit them any day asking them to evict the colony but no actual action was taken to displace them.

Shyam Goyal used to live in Madhav Nagar and had several auto-rikshaws in the city which he rented and drove, he also had a 90 bigha (36 acres) land for a samiti (organization) here which unfortunately was in the catchment zone of the river and therefore he also had to move. He had to pay 10% of the market price for his plot and constructed the house with loan from the bank. He had to uproot everything, leave the huge land he was living and working on to come and live in a small house which is too far from the city. He says he has had to compromise with his kids education which was one of the reasons he moved to Jaipur from his village. Even though earlier his house was under the catchment area of the nalla he still had clean surroundings but now they are living next to the industrial area with too much air pollution (Goyal 2020).

What Services? Where is The Better life?:

When asked about cleanliness and absence of trash and how it is shaping the lives of the families after relocation to JDA approved colonies with all the services Hemant said there hasn’t been much change here. Even though the colonies are JDA approved much of the basic
services are missing here, Fareed says here also they are living close to a nalla (drain) and because their colony is not under JDA anymore as the region comes under the jurisdiction of a village. The village sarpanch (the elected head of village) refuses to recognize the relocated families as part of the village and they are constantly asked to go ‘where they came from’ (excerpt from interview translation). Fatima, wife of Fareed says ‘hume to nalle se nikal ke nalle main hee patak diya’ (Fatima 2020) (we have been dumped from one drain to another) as there are no trash picking services here and the trash just lies around. Deepak also has similar issues with the services and insists there essentially aren’t any. The services like trash picking by the JDA are here but for days cleaners don’t show up which causes bad smell as well. Water also gets logged in the streets as the sewage system is not proper here. Even though the JDA constructed this colony water supply is also an issue here, for days on end there is no water supply from the water tank in the colony and the residents have to hire private water tankers on their own expense. Hemant also says that the residents never had water issues in their former homes in the slum even though they lived in unauthorized colonies but they were in the middle of the city so water was available 24/7 from public taps (Hemant 2020).

Sushma and Sana say their colony even after six years doesn’t even have a sewer line and they have to rely on septic tanks for the waste from their houses which when full has to be emptied on their own expenses. Fareed also says there are no cemetery facilities for Muslims either and they have to travel 16 km for cemetery and although there is a crematorium for Hindus nearby, the villagers don’t let them use it and this has been an issue for the residents from rehabilitation colonies since they moved here. There are no temples or mosques which the residents feel is another service they are being deprived off of, there is a temple in the village but again the village residents make an issue with using it (Fareed 2020). Sushma even asks us if we can do something for their colony or at least complain to the authorities on their behalf, this was actually one of the very difficult moments for me in this study.

The biggest issue however for most people in the rehabilitation colonies is jobs, they have been rehabilitated so far away from the city that technically they are not in the city anymore and their former jobs have become difficult to reach to (Hemant 2020). Deepak says he is a city bus driver earlier he could just move within the city conveniently from his home now he has to first travel 20 km every day to get to the city and then start his work. Hemant’s parents
are daily wage laborers, in the city they could get jobs easily but now they again have to travel for jobs and they miss out on many days due to not being able to reach the city early enough. Ritu’s husband has to travel every day to his barber shop which is an added expense and everyday he travels almost 3 hours to get to his shop and he loses many of his morning customers. They are spending more now but earning a lot less than they used to. Ritu and her husband both want to continue to send their kids to school, this is one of the main reasons why they moved to the city in the first place. Here they have found a school within their budget but it is nowhere near in quality of education to the one their kids were going in the city. They say we can compromise on anything but education is something we don’t want to compromise on (Ritu 2020).

Hemant says he used to put up stalls on road side with his brothers in the evenings during festivals such as Holi, Diwali, Sankranti, Gangaur, Raksha Bandhan and Teej. He says he would sell firecrackers, mud diya\s (mud candle holders), candles, Holi and rangoli colors during the festival of Holi, kites for Sankranti and for several other local festival he used to sell decoration and pooja items. These festivals were a source of income for many families along the nalla, Ritu used to sell handmade decoration items, hand painted textiles and diya\s, these really helped them in celebrating festivals and provided extra money. Ritu says they did have to deal with police sometimes coming to shut their stalls sometimes they could give money to the police officer to keep the stall open but at times they had to close and come another day nevertheless, they were mostly able to sell their products. Now after moving to the rehabilitation colonies they cannot find customers for their products only a few people sometimes buy their stuff but their business is practically non-existent here. They have to either go to the city to sell but since this a part-time activity many people don’t do this festival business anymore and many others still go to the city to sell as this is all they can do now (Ritu 2020).

Fareed (65 years old) was a painter and auto driver in the city now he is doing nothing because he is too old to travel every day and doesn’t get any job here near the new colony. Now he has a small shop in front of his house where he keeps some chickens and sells them but he is not able to sell these chickens also a lot and is struggling now. He says he was in contact with the MLA Pratap Singh Khachariyavas for pensions for Fareed and his wife but since they moved nothing could be finalized and now they don’t have any prospects of future pension as well (Fareed 2020).
Shyam who now lives in the Vishwakarma industrial area displacement/rehabilitation colony which is officially a part of Jaipur urban, says since they are closer to the industrial area pollution is a big issue here. Even more so because right next to the colony, a ‘kumhar’ (potters in India) ‘basti’ (Settlement) is situated and every evening the potters burn their pots for baking them and heavy smoke issues from the kilns. This ‘Kumhar basti’ incidentally is also illegally occupied JDA land but they haven’t been asked to move or manage the pollution. Since this basti is not in or near the city and no major development is being planned in this region, this is an industrial zone in the city’s master plan and the JDA is not too bothered about this land. Shyam says he alone cannot make an application against the whole ‘kumhar basti’, he needs support from the residents in his colony but unfortunately nobody wants to get involved with government matters again, after the traumatizing evictions people just want to live peacefully and therefore they have accepted to live with the pollution from industries and ‘kumhar basti’ as well (Goyal 2020).

Similar problems of finding jobs and access to basic amenities are faced by the residents of rehabilitated colonies on a daily basis. These colonies are located outside the city often in jurisdictions of villages nearby and the residents are left in an in-between-space within the framework of the city. Fareed says they cannot change their ID’s to get accepted in their new locality as well for two reasons, first it will not make the village sarpanch and village residents accept them even if they do and they will not get entitled to any of the services anyway and second they then lose all the rights from the JDA as rehabilitated citizens. The families here may have authorized ‘pakka’ (concrete) houses on subsidized rates but they are still struggling for basic services.

There have also been families who were displaced here like Sana’s or Sushma’s in the years before the DRR project started who have now sold their houses making a high profit and moved back into the city. The houses initially were sold to the families for about Rs.50,000 for a 60 sq.ft. plot now however many families have resold the houses for Rs. 9-10 lakhs (9,00,000/-). This has helped them with money and since they moved back closer to the city in many cases they are now better off than the people who are still living here. This practice of selling off the houses allotted by JDA for a nominal price for a profit is seen as ‘using the government money for free’ and is actually one of the reasons that the JDA usually doesn’t allot the houses for free (Sushma 2020).
Corona impacts on their lives now:

On top of the trauma of displacement COVID-19 pandemic has hit the displaced families and the impacts of Corona have been enormous in slums and rehabilitation colonies as well. The families here were already finding it difficult to get jobs after the displacements as they have been moved into colonies on the outskirts of the city but after the COVID pandemic hit India and subsequently Jaipur along with the lockdowns getting any kind of job has been especially difficult. Since the families here are living in the authorized JDA colonies no government official has visited them to check on the services and during COVID also there have been no help for the families here.

Hemant’s parents haven’t been able to travel to the city in the lockdown and even if they could go in the city there are no jobs available as everything is shut in the city. They have had to struggle to buy food in the lockdown and they cannot go to their village where they have agriculture land and extended family for help as all the transportation is closed. Like millions in India who chose to travel thousands of Kms by foot, Hemant and his family did not do this as his parents are old and they do have a house here. They have had to take help from their friends and even shopkeepers for rations of food.

Fatima says they were not offered any help for food, health care or any other service, she does say that they have been fortunate enough to not have a single Corona positive case in their colony. They get could get basic food rations from their ration cards (in India BPL below poverty line card holders get monthly rations of wheat, rice, oil etc.) but any special help during Corona has been non-existent for the people in the rehabilitation colonies. Another woman Fatima’s neighbor (she refuses to tell her name or come in front of the camera) says water logging is a big issue for them, as the water from nearby nalla gets logged on the road and during COVID lockdown they had to live several days with the water logged as no JDA or Nagar Nigam cleaning employees would come for days on end which disrupted their basic activities of going out to buy food. All over India and in Jaipur as well state governments, NGO’s, individuals and restaurant owners have provided food to people living in slums but here in this colony none of the residents have received any help other than the usual basic ration through ration cards (Fareed 2020). Shyam had to drive to the city for his driving job from his old house as well but the distance was not too big and he could always get passengers travelling to the city. Here he says his world has totally changed on asking this is also an industrial area so he might get some passengers here as well he says ‘no we have to travel to
the city our system has been totally disrupted’. This travelling and going to the city has been completely stopped during the COVID pandemic and he hasn’t been able to run his business (Goyal 2020).

Ritu’s husband who was travelling to the city to his barber shop hasn’t opened his shop in months and since Ritu hasn’t been able to find work after they moved they are struggling to survive now. They are scared to go out into the city because of COVID-19 as they cannot afford health care and medical expenses if anyone of them gets infected. Her kids’s studies have suffered greatly too due to the lockdown and she is struggling to pay the school fees as well now. Ritu’s family has helped them a little bit but they cannot depend on them for too long. Ritu had planned to sell some handmade decorative products in the city for Diwali and Dussehra to earn some money for the festivals but now with COVID-19 she had had to cancel her plans. She is however planning to go to the house where she worked prior to moving and try to find some work for a few days during the festivals so she can help her family (Ritu 2020).

As stated earlier by Fareed no old person in their colony gets any kind of health care or pension from the government. The families in the rehabilitation colonies already belonged to marginalized sections of society and by displacing them from their homes and jobs they have been pushed into poverty and after the COVID-19 pandemic nobody knows how they are going to keep on surviving without any help.

The lives of these people are spent in waiting for someone who will hear them, someone who will come to their aide, someone who will recognize their rights to the city and citizenship rights. The lives of these displaced families has come to square one, they came to Jaipur to get a better life, education for their children instead they are now dependents on the state.

Banishment, Informality and Dispossession On The Nalla/River:

The stories of everyday struggles of the displaced residents are encounters of state violence through infrastructure developmental projects. As Harvey says, ‘the problem is that the poor, beset with income insecurity and frequent financial difficulties, can easily be persuaded to trade in that asset for a relatively low cash payment. The rich typically refuse to give up their valued assets at any price’ (Harvey, The Right To The City 2003). Through displacement and relocation the residents slum residents have been banished from the city and pushed to the margins of society. This river rejuvenation project was advertised in a bid to re-make the city of Jaipur along the river and create a beautiful urban eco-space in the middle of the city. this
project may have done exactly that but at what cost? Whoever this project is for, it is certainly not for the poor of the city. This project is not different than numerous infrastructure projects across India in terms of creating these zones of ‘banishment’ in the city. Here ‘banishment’ is not based on caste or gender rather on this river ‘banishment’ exists in economic, political and social aspects of the city.

This concept of banishment unravels or comes alive on the Dravyavati river or Amanishah nalla in Jaipur. The numerous informal settlements throughout the city across the river have been long standing examples of political banishment of the marginalized sections of the society (Roy, Racial Banishment 2019). Here as the river has transformed into the nalla so has the urbanity of the riverbank with becoming a major point of urban transformation in the city. The nalla provided land to migrants with nowhere to go and because it was a sewer for the authorities no one really cared what became of the riverbank.

Every few years the court orders to remove the slums due to dangers in monsoon and the families are rehabilitated by the JDA and this is where the story ends for the government. In the rehabilitation colonies this is where the stories are disrupted, families are displaced and dispossessed by the city, the fundamental right to the city, citizenship rights of this section of the society are violated in this moment of rehabilitation by the state. It is this state driven violence that questions the citizenship of marginalized population of the city and in Jaipur along the Amanishah nalla or Dravyavati river this violence of the right to city has come alive. The rehabilitation colonies are situated almost always on the outskirts which is a literal banishment of this ‘informal population’ from the city. Informality in state system of land-use and ownership has made it possible for the state to forcefully acquire the land from slum residents.

Going back to Swyngedouw, ‘Hydrosocial territories (imagined, planned or materialized) have contested functions, values and meanings, as they define processes of inclusion and exclusion, development and marginalization, and the distribution of benefits and burdens that affect different groups of people in distinct ways’ (Swyngedouw, The Political Economy and Political Ecology of the Hydro-Social Cycle 2009). In line with Swyngedouw’s non-neutrality of hydrosocial transformations, the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project has made the city exclusionary and produced stigmatizing and traumatizing experiences of slum families, from ‘self-governing’ and ‘self-employed’, they are now charity and welfare seeking dependents on the state.
Throughout the history of this nalla ‘informality’ (Roy, Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning 2005) has been ever present, before the rejuvenation project informality made it possible of the state to use the river as a sewer and dispose of city’s waste into it. Slums in India emerge with the backing of politicians and creating of neighborhoods by improving degraded areas of the city like railway lines or waterways and slowly making pukka (brick and mortar) houses out of the kachcha (temporary) ones. Therefore the presence of slums can also be attributed to ‘informality’ in the state political systems. Most slums are established on public land and so were the several slums on the Dravyavati river, which is their ‘historical entitlement’ and this right of citizen’s to public land is never acknowledged which is also another aspect of ‘informality’ present on this river. It is this informality in the system that has made displacement and dispossession possible for thousands of people along the Dravyavati river (Ghertner 2014).

People have been dispossessed of their homes on the river without any compensation and in fact the officials say slums residents take the JDA houses on very low rates and after selling them go back to another slum and this just becomes a cycle and they have to stop it. However every time the slums are displaced the residents are always rehabilitated on the outskirts of the city away from jobs and employment, they are therefore left with no choice but to go back and find another slum in the city.

Lefebvre says, ‘that the clear distinction which once existed between the urban and the rural is gradually fading into a set of porous spaces of uneven geographical development, under the hegemonic command of capital and the state’. Most of the rehabilitation of relocation takes place on these intersections of rural and urban regions and because of territorial conflicts the displaced people become even more vulnerable because both the rural and urban systems exclude from access to services. Such projects bring forward the neo-liberalist ideas or rather the capitalist remains of European or western ideology of development.
Theme 3- The Other Side of The River:

The Dravyavati river rejuvenation project has had its fair share of controversies and residents across the city have had complex relationship with the nalla and the project itself. There is a section of the city residents that has received the project in a positive light, they however do understand the struggles of the displaced people. This section of thesis discusses the views of private property holders, real estate developers, residents of colonies and business holders along the river. In this section I will discuss my own interactions and my interviewees’s

Figure 9 Map Showing the Three Rehabilitation Colonies I visited. It is clear that all these colonies are outside the city and that the slum residents have been pushed to the margins of the city is evident from the location of these colonies.
interactions with the river and find out their own perceptions as well as their views for the livelihoods of the displaced people.

Residents of legal colonies along the river now:

Chitra a dentist by profession grew up in a suburban residential colony near the Amanishah nalla. She says she has crossed this nalla every time she went to school as a kid and later to university or for shopping (Chitra 2020). Every person who has grown up along the nalla hates the unpleasant stench from the nalla and this has been a nalla as long as Chitra can remember. She says she didn’t know about the existence of a river in place of the nalla, she grew up knowing the nalla as an open sewer. Shweta who is a banker says ‘as a kid I just knew this as a nalla and my mother forbade me to go anywhere near it, but as I grew up I just assumed this nalla is a result of bad city planning’. Most of Jaipur’s citizens have similar assumptions or understandings for the existence of Amanishah nalla as most of them have never seen or heard of the once flourishing river in place of this nalla (Shweta 2020).

Chitra says when she read about the Dravyavati river project she really didn’t believe it, she says ‘I just thought this is one of those plans of the government that never take off or do take off and never get completed’ (Chitra 2020). She and her family never expected the project to start so promptly and that it finished also almost on time was a happy surprise. She says especially with the COVID-19 pandemic the already complete river front provided a safe escape in the evenings. Many residents in the colonies along the river feel safer with the COVID-19 pandemic. They feel it is better for everyone that slums have been relocated and the slum residents rehabilitated as they feel in the pandemic the slums with all the trash and unhealthy living conditions would have been affected in a worse way and they also feel that their colonies were safer this way (Chitra 2020).

Nidhi a housewife living near the shipra path landscape park on the Dravyavati river says the environment along the riverbank has changed drastically after the massive cleaning and construction on the river. She says since the park is right opposite her house, during the lockdown she and her kids could enjoy the beautiful views of the river from their own garden and terrace, this also made the lockdown a bit easier for them (Nidhi 2020). Her family had welcomed the project very positively and in her neighborhood, like Chitra’s family, they never thought of such an initiative by the government but they say it was a welcome move and they appreciated the government for this. However during the current monsoon season authorities
failed to stop trash flowing into the river and parts of the river became waterlogged and polluted again.

Chitra says a few days ago she witnessed stall of an old woman from slums during festivals being removed by police from the road. Since she was present there she asked the police constable to at least let the woman complete her transaction. Chitra says the JDA didn’t do the slums residents a favor by rehabilitating them in fact these removals have actually made them dependents on the state (Chitra 2020).

Nidhi says she does misses her maid who lived in the slum nearby, she has missed her especially in the lockdown and she does understand financially it has been hard on so many girls and women who worked as household help in the residential areas near the nalla. Nidhi has tried to help her former maid through the lockdown but she knows not everyone will do this, she is now helping her maid sell some painted diyas. There are few people like Nidhi who understand the problems related to this river rejuvenation projects for the poor and marginalized citizens but most people from her neighborhood don’t seem to realize the impact this project has had on the displaced residents. For the most part it has been ‘out of sight, out of mind’ situation in the city (Nidhi 2020).

Shweta says most people have this notion that if you have a house then you are not struggling anymore, and if you are given a house for almost free then you don’t have a right to complain. People she says, forget that the reason slum residents have been given houses by the JDA is because their homes, employment, their whole life and any kind of means to earn a living has been destroyed by the state. Such displacements as Ananya says banishes the already marginalized population from the city and this banishment is not recognized by the state and the city then becomes a state created zone of banishment for the displaced people as they are banished from everything their employment, education and homes (Shweta 2020).

Most of the people living in colonies near the river whom I interviewed seemed quite happy with the river rejuvenation with some also addressing issues this project has created for certain sections of society. Sahil has 3 marriage gardens in different parts of the city, all three however were in the catchment area of the nalla and due to widening of the new course of the river all three of his marriage gardens were demolished. Even though this has been a huge loss of property and money for Sahil and since he has other businesses he was able to manage his finances but he also had to let go of a many of his employees. He says many of his employees were also the residents of the slums near his marriage gardens and when they
received the notices for evictions Sahil did try to help them find jobs in other places and houses to rent but unfortunately he couldn’t help everyone of his staff and many had to move (Sahil 2020). He says he helped many of his employees and their families during the protests against the evictions by arranging food and shelter for them. He even helped them in negotiating with the authorities and talked to JDA officers to try and make the terms and conditions in favor of slums residents. He says he did all this as he understood the struggles his employees were facing but more importantly he understood the struggles they will face for a very long period due to their relocation on the outskirts of the city. He also says that he knows he is one of the few who are concerned with ‘what will happen to the slum residents after they have been relocated’ most people he knows are just happy with the whole beautification along the river. Sahil says he would have kept most of his employees and transfer them to his other shops or factory but with the COVID pandemic he had to shut almost all of his offices (Sahil 2020).

The other interviews I did with residents or with people working near the river had mostly positive views for the project. Sanjeev a teacher in a school (India International School) near the V.T. Road intersection also close to the landscape garden says the school administration and other teachers are quiet happy with the project. The school earlier was right on the banks of the nalla and there was always the threat of flooding the grounds in the monsoon. Since they also have a hostel for residential kids the risk of kids near nalla was always there and the teachers had to be extra careful with kids playing in the grounds. With river rejuvenation and broadening of the river and riverbank the school now has a beautiful garden. He says since many migratory birds are also returning now the whole environment has transformed completely and this has actually become a wonderful place for the school (Sanjeev 2020).

On asking about the environment Shweta says the whole neighborhood has transformed and now she goes jogging every morning with her husband along the cycling track on the river. Every weekend now she takes her kids also to the parks on the river, she says her family has already gotten used to the beautiful river. There is no bad stench coming from the river anymore which all the residents had become accustomed to but of course she feels a lot better with her new surroundings. Although, she says she also misses her maid and she understands the struggles all the slums residents had to go through and are still going through. She says ‘since all the slums have been cleared and with COVID I am really struggling now to look for a new maid’ and she is actually now thinking of calling her old maid and giving her a room on her terrace so she can continue to work for Shweta.
To get an idea of future development along the river I interviewed Sharad, he is the owner of a real estate firm in Jaipur and is involved with several residential and commercial projects in the city. On asking about future development along the river and his firm’s involvement within the whole river project and development he says ‘we are not involved in the rejuvenation project at any stage with the JDA so for any government plans for this project/region we really are not a key player’. TATA projects is the firm that has been selected by the JDA for the construction and redevelopment of the river and TATA projects is working with other smaller firms however Sharad’s firm is not working on this project. Even though he is not directly involved with the river rejuvenation project his firm does owns several plots of land near or on the riverbank. He tells me he bought the land several years ago as it was quite cheap back then due to the location along the nalla and he would have developed the plots without the river project as well, as the plots are anyway close to the city. However since the river project the prices have increased in the regions along the river he is now planning to develop the plots along the river as luxury properties. He says he is planning to construct apartment complexes on 4 of his plots in the 3-4 years, all of these will be luxury living apartments. He says even though his firm is not a part of rejuvenation of the river but JDA is now planning to develop some of the land in private partnership and he will definitely try to get in to projects with JDA as well. He says the profit percentage along the river has increased to almost three times and with luxury river view apartments he is planning to expand his offices as well (Sharad 2020).

These interviews have revealed that residents of the colonies near the river do welcome this project and their personal interactions with this river have transformed drastically in positive ways but they also understand the everyday struggles the displaced people have to face because of displacement and dispossession. They also understand such projects are never ‘neutral’ (Swyngedouw, The Political Economy and Political Ecology of the Hydro-Social Cycle 2009) or entirely positive for the environment or economy and have huge unprecedented impacts on the city, ecology, society and economy. Such projects are politically driven and promote a kind of ‘gentrification’ in the city which push the displaced population to the margins of the city and society.

Theme 4- The River, State and Politics:

This section follows the interviews I had with officials from JDA who were and are involved in the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project. I spoke with them about issues related to the slum
residents and the policies JDA and the Nagar Nigam had drafted for this project. The justification of such policies specifically the ones used for evictions of the slums, relocation and rehabilitation were also discussed. I have already discussed rehabilitation policy in earlier section of this paper in this section I have addressed how the state sees its policies. Finally I have addressed future development plans along the river by government and the situation with the change of government in Rajasthan and how this event had affected the JDA’s operations along the river.

I asked Mr. Maqsood, why was this project initiated in the first place? To this he says that Ms. Vasundhara Raje, former Chief Minister of Rajasthan, had planned to clean and rejuvenate several water bodies across Rajasthan and Dravyavati river was a part of this plan along with the Soor Sagar lake in Bikaner and Buddha Pushkar lake. Especially after the successful completion of Sabarmati riverfront development, the planning for Dravyavati river rejuvenation project was started (Maqsood 2020).

This project of river rejuvenation in Jaipur will also make Ms. Vasundhara Raje alongside PM Narendra Modi a pioneer politician in the field of river rejuvenation. It is clear from news articles as well that this project is a big tool for the BJP party for elections in Rajasthan as well. Such projects are often political tools for a certain party to get more votes in elections and the propaganda of ‘gentrification’, ‘slum free city’ and ‘tourism’ were used for this project as well.

Mr. Deepak Mathur says after the change in government now it has become difficult for the JDA to continue working on the Dravyavati river as the Congress party is not bothered with it and therefore it has become difficult to maintain and deal with the pending court cases for this river as well. JDA still has its contract with the TATA company who is carrying out the construction work so they will manage this river through TATA group for now (M. D. Mathur 2020).

Mr. Maqsood says that the JDA has rehabilitation policies and it also has apartments, houses and plots of land that it has used in the past to rehabilitate slum residents from across Jaipur and from the nalla as well especially during monsoons, ‘so this rehabilitation process for the river rejuvenation project was not new or unusual for us’ (Maqsood 2020). However he says, for Dravyavati river project JDA created a new rehabilitation policy as this project included registered properties with JDA that needed to be acquired, slums and illegally constructed houses sold to several families needed to be evicted. It was this mixed land use along the river and especially the existence of properties which were legally registered with the JDA and legal
agricultural land because of which a new policy had to be drafted. He says, ‘after the 1981 floods the catchment area of the Nalla increased but no previous government or the JDA focused on changing the land use and ownership rights along the river, so the land that was earlier in the safe zone now came under threat but in JDA records it was never changed’ (M. D. Mathur 2020).

Now for the Dravyavati river rejuvenation all these properties and plots of land had to be acquired along with the slums and here the state has clearly used the existing ‘informality’ in Indian system to its benefit and acquired the land it deemed necessary for this project. Anaya Roy has talked about ‘informality’ in Indian system through the examples of Bangalore and Kolkata and here in Jaipur it is present too. As for compensation Mr. Maqsood says the rehabilitation policy has been drafted keeping in mind the vulnerability of most of the families in informal settlements along the river and all the families have been rehabilitated in the designated colonies constructed by the JDA on a subsidized cost. It means that none of the families were given any compensation for the acquired land and in fact the families had to pay for the new houses.

Mr. Deepak Mathur says that the JDA without discrimination has rehabilitated every family along the nalla on a humanitarian basis but to avoid misuse of this policy they charged the families a nominal amount as confirmed in my interviews by the slum residents as well. In this payment system also informality is omnipresent, the terms of payment for example set out by the JDA haven’t been consistent, some people have paid the whole amount in one payment while others have chosen to pay in form of EMI’s and some haven’t paid the full amount at all. These informalities in the government systems have made it possible for the state to change land use and ownership laws at its own convenience and in fact these cycles of informal governance are projected as a help to the marginalized as most of the times in such cases the issues pf payment are handled in very random ways these practices speak directly to Ananya’s theory of ‘urban informality’.

Mr. Maqsood says the rehabilitation policy was needed as most of the land along the nalla was legal and sold to private developers who constructed residential colonies on this land and there was heavy encroachment on the public land therefore this policy was drafted and all the people were rehabilitated in already available JDA flats, houses and plots, about 1000-1200 families were rehabilitated in flats and plots across the city. Incidentally all the rehabilitated colonies or areas are located on the outskirts of the city (figures 3 and 9) which is justified by
the state as ‘these are the only places where flats or land was available which could be given on subsidized rates’. Which means these were the areas where government wasn’t planning any infrastructural projects, or any sort of ‘gentrification’ is not planned for these areas for the near future. This has been and still is a practice followed in Indian cities where ‘informal settlements’ from the city centers are pushed to the margins of the city and the marginalized population is ‘banished’ in this way from the city. Of course the state projects these relocation programs as a favor or a service to the poor but as is evident from the interviews are such policies and programs not another way for the state to control this marginalized section of the society and keep them in check? The discourse of good governance and issues of poverty and inequality excludes the poor from being seen as a category relevant to the goals of efficient governance institutions and this river rejuvenation project in Jaipur is an example of this.

Conclusion:
In using infrastructure practices in cities in India as a lens to look at everyday struggles of livelihoods of displaced people an image of contradictions, uncertainties, tensions between the state and the poor, conflicts and disorderliness of a system that relies immensely on practices of ‘informality’ in the state emerges. Amanishah nalla was an in between space in Jaipur providing a home to those who had nowhere to go and access to the city for slum residents. For the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project on the Amanishah nalla removal of slums from the nalla was necessitated by the state. This project has transformed the city on a huge scale, however such transformations in urban regions are rarely neutral and this river project has also had enormous impacts especially in the vulnerable section of the society.

There is a need to understand the outcomes of this river rejuvenation project as something more than just ‘unprecedented consequences’. Due to conflicted interactions with state generated ‘informality’ in the systems, the slum residents have had a chaotic relationship with this project and in turn with the city itself. For slum residents (such as Hemant, Fareed and Deepak) on the river ‘banishment’ has always been a part of their entanglements with the city but because of this river rejuvenation project, ‘banishment’ is now an everyday reality for them as they constantly struggle to access the city for employment, education and basic services. The rehabilitated residents live in constant fear of being again pushed further to the margins of the growing city someday, when the state will see their new colonies as potential sites of ‘gentrification’ and development. Practices of the state forcefully displacing people
from public land for developmental projects is clearly an example of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ in Jaipur. Therefore the consequences of such urban infrastructure projects like Dravyavati river rejuvenation need to be addressed by thinking about the complexities of social systems.
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**List of Interviewees**

**Group 1**

This group consisted of people from rehabilitation colonies who were earlier living in slums on the nalla or unauthorized/authorized colony which came under catchment area of the river/nalla,

1. Hemant- He is a students and his parents are daily wage laborers, he lived in Hatwara slums with his 4 brothers and parents before moving to Bhankrota rehabilitation colony.
2. Fareed and Fatima: He is an auto-rickshaw (3-wheelers/ tuktuk in India), he had his own house in a privately developed colony which came in the catchment area of the nalla and therefore he has moved to the rehabilitation colony.
3. Deepak: He is bus driver and used to live on rent in the Hatwara slums, he has move in the rehabilitation colony also on rent

4. Shyam Goyal: He had several auto-rickshaws and land for an organization he runs but it was all in the catchment area so he had to move to the Vishwakarma industrial area rehabilitation colony.

5. Ritu: She lived near Malviya Nagar slums with her husband and kids, he used to work as a household help in the nearby colonies

6. Sana: She is housewife and her husband is a tailor, they were also living in an authorized colony on the nalla near Malviya Nagar

7. Sushma: She used to work in a hospital in Mansarovar but after moving to Vishwakarma industrial area rehabilitation colony she couldn’t find any work so her son is the only member in family who works now.

Group 2
This group consisted of the people living or working near the river,

1. Chitra: Dentist
2. Nidhi: Housewife
3. Shweta: Banking Professional
4. Sanjeev: Teacher in a school near the river
5. Sahil: Businessman, he had 3 marriage garden on the river/nalla
6. Sharad: Real estate firm owner

Group 3
This group consisted of the JDA official who were involved in the Dravyavati river rejuvenation project,

1. Mr. Maqsood: Superintendent Engineer JDA, He is now retired but he was in charge of this project until he retired
2. Mr. Deepak Mathur: Executive Engineer JDA, currently in charge of this project.