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ErsatzStadt SEVEN ISLANDS AND A METRO

Sonntag, 23.02.2003 - 19.00 Uhr Volksbühne am Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz in der „Neustadt“

Kuratoren: metroZones

Eine Kooperation von Merle Kröger und Philip Scheffner (pong) mit Madhusree Dutta, Flavia Agnes (Majlis), Tushar Joag (Open Circle) und Dorothee Wenner

Im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen großen Städten hat Bombay seinen Namen nur einmal gewechselt. 1995 wurde aus Bombay offiziell Mumbai. Aber die Zugehörigkeit von Bombay / Mumbai hat sich häufig geändert. Die sieben Inseln, Grundlage für die heutige Stadt, waren einst im Besitz des muslimischen Königs von Gujarat. 1661 schenkten die Portugiesen die Inseln den Briten als Mitgift für die Heirat zwischen Prinz Charles II. und Katharina von Breganza. Die Briten erkannten das Potential der Stadt als Hafen- und Handelsmetropole.

1854 wurde die Baumwollindustrie als vielversprechendes Handelsimperium gegründet. Man holte Arbeiter aus den unterschiedlichsten Gegenden Indiens zusammen. Bombay wurde die führende Industriestadt. Der Geburtsort der Gewerkschaftsbewegung. Die Inselstadt wuchs in die Länge. Die Pendler nahmen ihren täglichen Kampf mit dem Nahverkehr auf.

Der Beginn des neuen Jahrhunderts brachte Bombay neues Wachstum als kosmopolitische Metropole: es entstand eine Stadt in der Stadt. Bollywood wurde zur größten Filmindustrie der Welt.

Mit der Baumwoll- und der Filmindustrie als Magneten war Bombay die Stadt der Träume, das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten, nicht nur für den Rest des Landes, sondern für den gesamten Subkontinent.

Die wachsende Zahl von Zuwanderern sah sich mit einer immer drastischeren Situation auf dem Immobilienmarkt konfrontiert, bis Bombay schließlich mit der Hauptstadt des Kapitals, New York, gleichzog, jedenfalls was die Grundstückspreise angeht. Die Wohnungsnot und der daraus resultierende Druck auf den Immobilienmarkt führten zur Geburt eines dritten potenten Industriezweiges: der Unterwelt, der Mafia.

Im letzten Jahrzehnt musste sich die Stadt mit einem neuen Netzwerk von Realitäten auseinandersetzen: Fremdenhass und Globalisierung. Die Schließung der Baumwollfabriken ließ 133000 Arbeiter ohne Beschäftigung zurück. Die gewalttätigen Angriffe auf Muslims und andere Minderheiten von 1992 beraubten die Metropole ihres kosmopolitischen Charakters.

Das neue Jahrtausend begann und Bombay rüstet sich, dieser Realität mit verschiedenen Kampagnen und Bürgerinitiativen entgegenzutreten. Vor ihnen liegt die Notwendigkeit, sich zu einer gesellschaftlich relevanten und effektiven politischen Kraft zusammenzuschließen.

Für "Seven Islands And A Metro" verwandelt sich die "Neustadt" in der Volksbühne in eine Stadt im Zwischenstadium. Das Hotel wird zur Baustelle, auf und zwischen den Häusern ragen temporäre Plakatwände hervor, die das Stadtbild von Bombay prägen. Teure Immobilien, strenge Ermahnungen der Verkehrspolizei, die Aussicht auf eine internationale Karriere und Heiratsanzeigen streng nach Religion, Kasten und Herkunftsregion getrennt, wetteifern um die Gunst des flüchtigen Passanten.

In den Pausen zwischen den einzelnen Programmpunkten des Abends, in jedem indischen Film "Intermissions" genannt, wird das Publikum eingeladen, sich in den Häusern mit spezifischen Aspekten der Stadt auseinanderzusetzen.

Anhand von Video- und Audiomaterial, Texten, Fotos, Landkarten, Websites und TV-Footage entsteht ein exemplarisches Archiv zwischen politischen Entwicklungen, lokalen Gegebenheiten und der Erzeugung globaler Wünsche.

Ablauf:

Flavia Agnes (Rechtsanwältin, Bombay): “Making Of A Metropolis”

Ein audiovisueller Vortrag über die Entwicklung eines Landstriches zu einer der am dichtest bevölkerten und komplexesten Metropolen der Welt über den Zeitraum von mehr als fünf Jahrhunderten.

Der Vortrag findet in englischer Sprache statt.

Madhusree Dutta (Filmemacherin, Bombay): “Confessions Of A Slum Lord”

Eine Erzählung in der ersten Person: Eine Gruppe von Menschen lebt jenseits aller staatlichen Infrastruktur ohne reguläre Identitätsnachweise. Die Präsentation findet in englischer Sprache statt.

Tushar Joag (Künstler, Bombay): “Transactions - Self As Shop”

Tushar Joag wird eine Fallstudie zum Thema Straßenhändler und informelle Märkte präsentieren. Die Präsentation findet in englischer Sprache statt.

Madhusree Dutta (Filmemacherin, Bombay): “Alfred Cinema”

Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel des Alfred Kinos.

Die Präsentation findet in englischer Sprache statt.

Dorothee Wenner (Filmemacherin, Journalistin, Berlin): “Bombay im Bollywoodfilm”

Ein Vortrag über die Stadt als Mythos ihrer eigenen Traumfabrik:

Das kommerzielle Hindi-Kino hat ein sehr eigenwilliges Verhältnis zur Realität. Doch wer das Phänomen als profane “Wirklichkeitsflucht” abtut, versperrt sich selbst die Sicht auf einen hoch interessanten Filmkosmos. Untersucht man beispielsweise, wie die Stadt Bombay im Bollywood-Kino dargestellt wird, so eröffnen sich - quasi unterirdisch - Pfade, die erstaunlicherweise ziemlich direkt zurückführen in den Alltag der Metropole und in die Lebensweise seiner Bewohner. Zudem lässt sich im fokussierten Blick auf das “Kino-Bombay” auch die Arbeitsweise der weltgrößten Filmindustrie rekonstruieren: nach der Eisenbahn ist die Film- und Medienbranche der zweitgrößte Arbeitgeber des Landes. Diese mächtige, wirtschaftliche Position hätte das kommerzielle indische Kino niemals erreicht, wenn es nicht - ungleich schärfer als in der westlichen Welt üblich - die Vorlieben und Abneigungen des Publikums analysieren würde. Dazu gehört als cinematographischer “Evergreen” die Reise nach Bombay, “Tue City of Gold”. Ein glänzendes Image genießt die Stadt in Indien, und Bollywood poliert es immer wieder neu.

Die Präsentation findet in deutscher Sprache statt.

Bollywood-Kino in der Volksbühne: “SATYA”

Beginn der Filmvorführung ca. 22.30 Uhr

Regie: Ram Gopal Varma

**Starring: Chakravarthy, Urmila Matondkar, Manoj Bajpai, Shefali Chayya, Govind Namdeo
Indien 1998**

Im Jahre 1991 erließ die indische Regierung ein Gesetz, dass den Handel mit Gold und Silber liberalisierte. Damit wurde dem Schmugglergeschäft ein harter Schlag versetzt. Die Schmuggler wandten sich schnell anderen Erwerbszweigen wie Erpressung, Landraub und Schutzgeld zu, um ihre Verluste zu kompensieren. Als sie sich gerade erholt hatten, passierte ein Verbrechen von solchen Ausmaßen, wie es die Kriminalgeschichte in Indien seit der Unabhängigkeit noch nicht gesehen hatte. Der daraus folgende Zusammenbruch der Autoritäten durchbrach die eingespielten Hierarchien der Banden, was die Anführer entweder in die Flucht trieb oder sie versuchen ließ, eine legale Existenz zu etablieren. Die Abwesenheit der Anführer ließ ehrgeizige Gangmitglieder nach der Macht greifen, was einen Zerfall der großen Banden in viele kleine Splittergruppen zur Folge hatte. Bandenkriege führten zu Hass, Verrat, wechselnden Loyalitäten und einem dramatischen Anstieg der Blutrache. Niemals zuvor hatte die Stadt eine solche Explosion der Gewalt vor Augen gehabt. In diesen Zeiten vor dem Hintergrund solcher Geschehnisse kam der Mann aus einer kleinen Stadt, um sein Glück zu machen. Dies ist die Geschichte eines Mannes, der für das Wissen um die Macht einen mörderischen Preis bezahlte und die Geschichte einer Frau, die dieses ignorierte.

Flavia Agnes: THE MAKING OF A METROPOLIS

The fishermen were here first. Before the East India company built its fort, at the dawn of time, when Bombay was a dumbbell-shaped island tapering, at the centre, to a narrow shining strand. ... when Mazagaon and Worli, Matunga and Mahim, Salsette and Colaba were islands – in short, before reclamation turned the Seven Isles into a long peninsula like an outstretched grasping hand, reaching westwards into the Arabian Sea; in this primeval world before clock towers, the fishermen, who were called Kolis, sailed in Arab dhows, spreading red sails against the setting sun. They caught pomfret and crabs, and made fish-lovers of us all. There were also coconuts and rice. And above it all, the benign presiding influence of the Goddess Mumbadevi, whose name – Mumba devi, Mumbabai, Mumbai – may well have become the city's. But then, the Portuguese named the place Bom Bahia for its harbour and not for the goddess of the pomfret folk...

Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*

The soothing westerly winds that blow over the island city and bring in the much needed respite from the scorchy afternoon sun, whisper tales from a distant past, of goddesses, seven of them, keeping a vigilant watch over the islands and guarding them from every evil - Mumbadevi, Kalbadevi, Gamdevi, Nagdevi, Prabhadevi, Shitladevi, Mountmouli (Mount Mary).

The boon they gave to the land, still hovers over it like a protective cloak, that its doors will never be shut on any one who wishes to enter it, that the city will expand to encompass every soul that sets foot on its soil. How else does one explain an original land mass of a few scattered islets encircled by marshland and mangroves, eternally stretching itself to hold a population of 12 million people? The miracle surpasses the biblical one, of seven fishes and two loaves of bread!

To guard the vibrant city of thronging multitudes from hunger and starvation, death and deprivation, disease and exploitation, chaos and confusion is no mean task. To ensure that precariously balancing dilapidated buildings do not crumble down, over crowded trains do not topple down, gangster wars do not consume civilian lives, raging fires do not ravish high-rises with no escapes, yawning manholes do not swallow toddling infants sliding on to the roads from their pavement dwellings, the monsoon fury does not wash away entire make shift settlements from the sloping hillocks and with all this, still jostle for a place in the sky as a global city, needs the benevolence of every single deity the city can invoke. So once in a way they give up and the city collapses, only to gather itself the next and forge ahead, changing its goals, restructuring its dreams, in an eternal chant of the rhythm of life.

Making of the Metropolis is an attempt to capture this rhythm through its various epochs, Its the story of people who came in, wave after wave and stayed on and laid their claim to its soil. Of the soil itself which got constructed as the need arose and the battles over its dominion (ownership). Of landlords, slumlords and builders' lobbies; of industrialists, bankers and speculators; of politicians, hoarders and black marketers - all fighting amongst themselves and in collusion for defeating the claims of the common people who moulded the landmass and lent their soul to give credence to its vibrancy. The boon of the goddesses still hovers around. But will it eventually wane away, just as the free flowing sea winds are blocked out by the cement structures that reach out to the sky? This is a secret the goddesses will not reveal now.

I	Upto 1510	Seven Islands of Pre-colonial Era
II	1510-1686	Portuguese Conquest and Company Power Base
III	1686-1819	Maritime Trade and Military Conquest
IV	1819-1858	Presidency Capital and its Municipal Governance
V	1858-1915	Industrial Town and Gateway of India
VI	1915-1947	Nationalist Struggle and Trade Union Movement
VII	1947- 1982	Parochial Chauvinism and Spell of the Bollywood
VIII	1982-2002	Decline of Industry and Invocations for a Global City

The phases do not necessarily reflect rigidly compartmentalized and mutually exclusive concerns. The concerns are fluid and flow from one phase into another or get merged or synthesized only to resurface as a newer concern. The perennial problems continue as a recurring motive of the city scape – challenges to civic administration in maintaining health, hygiene and sanitation in overcrowded spaces; water shortage and faulty drainage, reclamations, land scams and spiraling prices; smuggling and gangster wars of the underworld. Within the dynamism of the contesting claims of the city's superstructure at the top and its infrastructure at its base, upon which the superstructure rests, lies the undaunting spirit of the city.

The city carries no baggage of feudal land relationships which had to be remoulded to meet the needs of emerging capitalism. It bears no tension of agricultural lands having to give way to mines and factories. It cannot lay claim to a royal palace or a pious pilgrimage shrine as its core. Its beginnings are lowly and its concerns pedestrian. It has been and remains a trading place, dedicated to buying and selling. Its culture is of traders and trading relationships which are constantly moulded and remoulded to adopt to external challenges.

The city is of migrants, who came in, to make its soil, to generate its fortunes. The story is of their inclusion and exclusion as per the dictates of modern, capitalistic, economic pressures. The lives of the common people, the masses at the base, are determined constantly by events which are external to their being. The political and economic milestones of world history, the colonial treaties and proclamations, the governmental controls and judicial checks and balances, the regulatory policies and deregulatory schemes – all these dramatically and drastically alter the course of their lives and shape their destiny. Until around 150 years ago Bombay was too insignificant to make its own history.

Hence daunting questions regarding its status and its very identity surface every now and then. In the language based realignment of states, to whom does Bombay belong ... is it Gujarati or Maharashtrian? Or is it purely a colonial construction and a cosmopolitan entity and should now be marked as a separate state or union territory? Should it exist purely as a commercial capital and be segregated from the cultural pulls of the people at its base so that commerce and capital can thrive independent of the people who contribute towards its creation? Should the claims of some sections of migrants be subsumed beneath the loftier or louder claims of another - be they Gujarati businessmen, South Indian traders and bureaucrats, the Bihari vendors, the Bengali (now termed Bangla Deshi) pavement dwellers, the textile workers who have overstayed long after the mills have closed down, the Muslims in Bendi Bazaar who ought to have left for Pakistan when the country was partitioned ... In the fierce battle of identity politics now raging the country, almost every Mumbaikar can run the risk of being an 'outsider'. It is these waves of migrations, the legal edicts which induced them, and the political and economic under currents which regulated them are explored in this essay.

Phase I - Upto 1510 - Seven Islands of Pre-colonial Era

As per the quote from the novel of the renowned novelist, Salman Rushdie, himself an erstwhile Mumbaikar, the Kolis or the fisherfolks were here first. They were joined by Pathare Prabhus and Bhandaris (the toddy tapers), Agris (small farming communities) in around 11th century, as part of the entourage of a Hindu King, *Bimbadeva*. They survived the king and stayed on in some of the scattered islands. Then came the Muslim ruler and along with him the Deccani and Kokani Muslims and the Pathans. Fishing, farming and trading across the ocean with Arabs and Armenians, these early settlers of pre-colonial era left their mark upon the pages of history. Tell tale signs of pre-colonial settlements.

Phase II - 1510 - 1686 Portuguese Conquest and Company Power Base

The imperial designs started with the Portugues in 1510. The cluster of islets were ceded to them by the Nawab of Gujarat. A tiny spec in the distant horizons of history which was to eventually grow into a port city, an industrial town, a commercial capital and finally on its way to a global city.

The Portuguese, whose main port of functioning was Bassein (Vasai), did not develop the islands. But they brought in clear markings of medieval European Christianity, Roman Catholicism to be specific. Most fishing villages along the Konkan coast were adorned with crosses. Jesuit monasteries, Franciscan friaries, Carmelite convents and European Church architecture with stained glass window panes were to be a very distinct emblem of the city, long after the islands were handed over to the British. Five centuries later, 'convent education' still remains a status symbol even as Catholic missionaries continue to be haunted with accusations of proselytizing.

The legal document which sealed the fate of these islands for all times as a power base of the British empire, is a royal marriage agreement, between people who were as distant from the islands as though from another planet. In 1661, the

clusters were given as dowry at the wedding of Princess Catherine of Braganza to King Charles II of England through a marriage treaty. Having no practical use for these islands in 1668, they were leased to the East India Company, 'at a farm rent of ten pounds payable on September 30 in each year'. This was the first among a series of charters from the Crown, which bestowed judicial powers upon the trading company. The amount reflects the scant respect the English king had for the islands. But the trading company had other designs.

The islands were destined to remain under Company's rule for nearly two centuries. The power of administration was bestowed upon the company through various British Charters and Letters Patents issued by the Crown.) By the time the legal custody reverted back to the Crown in 1858 the seven islands had metamorphised into one of the four major port cities of the British Empire along with Aden, Singapore and Hong Kong.

Soon after its acquisition, the Company began the task of developing the island into a port. So they built a ware house, a custom house and a quay and the various forts - Mazagaon, Varli (Worli) and the area which is still known as 'Fort'. The natives called it *Kala Khilla*. The stone used for the fort walls was the local black stone, but the term was indicative of the natives' abhorrence of the Company officers. The fort, surrounded by a moat, the rampart and the esplanade, which provided a clear range of 100 yards for firing, was a safe solace to the European population. Within this fortification, the isle of Bombay began its modernizing mission.

The seat of Power was located within the Fort in a mansion called Bombay Castle built along the waterfront. Entry to the fort was restricted through three gates, *Church Gate*, *Bazaar Gate* and *Apollo Gate*. The Churchgate train terminus, through which millions of white collar workers pour into the city each morning from the far flung suburbs, derives its name from this gate. The church in question is the first British Church, St. Thomas Church, built within the fort. The gates would be closed at night to prevent the entry of native population.

The administration encouraged migration of mercantile communities by assuring them complete religious freedom and permission to build their residential houses within the fort walls. The Gujaratis (Hindus and Jains), Parsis, Bohars, Khojas, Armenians and Jews - primarily the trading communities responded to the call.

Phase III - 1686-1827 - Maritime Trade and Military Conquest

The structure of the township:

In 1686, with the basic infrastructure in place, the Company shifted its headquarters from Surat to Bombay and began the task of building the port city. The port was important both for maritime trade and military conquests. At this time, India had trade links with China, Arabian Gulf, Africa and Europe. Tea, textiles and opium were the major export items. The East India Company set out to capture the trade from Surat and divert it to Bombay. This was the main concern of the Company officers.

These officers lived in spatial bungalows, surrounded by compounds in the southern part of the Fort. The affluent traders settled in the northern part of the Fort near the Bazaar gate. An invisible line divided the two. Other Indian communities settled outside the Fort walls in congested settlements called the Mohallas.

The city was divided into a White Town and a Black Town, and the two were physically separated by an Esplanade. This separation was integral to the very structure of the town and reflected a dual organisation and sensibility. The spacial divisions represented a highly unequal division of power which existed between the colonizer and the colonized. The term 'native' was used not merely by the British, but by Indians as well, while referring to themselves. The city was inhabited, not by Indians and Englishmen, but by Natives and Europeans, a linguistic process which denied the uniqueness of the one and elevated that of the other. By accepting the term's derogatory connotation, Indians imbibed, however unconsciously, this image of themselves. When the process was repeated over generations, its cultural and residual effects were deep. The opulence and elegance of the European section contrasted sharply with the poverty and squalor of the Indian section. The Indian Bazaars were overcrowded narrow lanes where the natives spread out their wares.

Municipal Administration:

In 1787 a Buildings Committee was set up to oversee and regulate building activity on the island. The committee consisting of the Land Paymaster, the Collector of land Revenue and the Chief Engineer were to examine the private buildings constructed by Indians and see whether they were prejudiced government public works or adversely affected public health. This is the first civic body to concern itself with matters related to urban planning. While the officers were in

the process of declaring many of the buildings in Indian settlement unsafe, they were saved from this unpleasant task due to a devastating fire in the northern part of the Fort in 1803. Most Indian houses were destroyed. Loss of trade and property to the Indian traders was colossal.

Military and Political Negotiations:

While the city was being modernized, its future course was altered once again due to a series of external events. From their base in Bombay the British entered the Maratha domestic politics. Through series of treaties, they annexed the whole central Indian region then ruled by Maratha kings. In 1818, the entire region from the coast to central India came under the East India Company. This led to the creation of the Bombay Presidency with Bombay as its capital.

Phase IV : 1819-1858 Presidency Capital and its Municipal Governance

From territorial expansion, the Company now shifted its priorities to civic governance. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the first Governor of the Bombay Presidency was an educationist. His views are in direct contrast to the ideology of the 'civilising mission' which was advocated to justify colonial rule. The self congratulatory views, expressed even after India's independence were, that the East India Company replaced disorder with order and the pax Romana was reigning throughout the country. One of the first tasks undertaken by him was to set up educational institutions. The prestigious Elphinston College and several other places in the city which bear his name to date, have withstood the parochial wave of naming everything as 'Chhatrapati Shivaji, after the Maratha warrior who had resisted the Company attacks.

In 1827 he enacted a Regulation Code of 1827 (also known as Elphinstone's code). Under its provisions, a few influential Indians as Justices of the Peace for the first time, and 'natives' were allowed a say in governance. This period is marked for the various institutions which eventually grew into major portals of civic governance. The system of taxation and revenue collection, markings of boundaries and city limits, urban planning and census surveys and judicial administration, water tanks and sewage drains were all set up during this period.

In 1827, the first land survey was also completed. The survey was undertaken with a view of defining boundaries and assessing properties for taxation purpose. This provided the first enumeration of people and property in the city and helped the process of framing rules for the assessment and collection of land revenue.

Between 1830 to 1845, Bombay's population increased from around 229,000 to 500,000. This resulted in narrow congested alleys with haphazardly built houses lining them. So through the Act XI of 1845 a new and important municipal body, known as the Board of Conservancy was set up. The Board laid the basis of municipal organization in Bombay. Through this all municipal taxes earlier paid into the government treasury. Municipal revenue was derived from five major sources - land revenue, house tax, tax on carriages and horses, shop and stall tax and liquor license fees. With municipal finances under its control, the Board was empowered to carry out public works.

In 1844 the Bombay Government introduced a rule by which every piece of land, which was to be sold or transferred had to be registered in the Collector's Office. This however, was not recorded systematically and revenue collection remained a problem.

The period 1842 to 1853 witnessed the enactment of various statutes to regulate land and its revenue. Significant among them was the Revenue Act and Revenue Commissioners Act, Boundary Marks Act, Rent Recovery Act and Bombay Rent-free Estates Act of 1852). To check the nuisance of smuggling along the sea fronts, the government also introduced the Shore Nuisances (Bombay and Kolaba) Act (Act XI of 1853).

One of the perennial problems of Bombay - encroachment and illegal constructions first surfaced during this period. The efforts of some civic officers to regulate municipal spaces met with strong resistance. Prominent among them was Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy, the leading merchant and long standing friend of the government. Later it came to notice that he had built by encroaching upon public space. Jeejeebhoy denied the charge but subsequent investigation proved him wrong. However, 'the Honourable Parsee' was permitted to retain the land despite opposition from the lower ranking civic officers. Such encroachments upon public spaces and illegal construction by prominent and influential people and its condonation by government has been a recurring theme of the Post independence Bombay as land prices sky rocketed in the city.

¹ Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities – The Planning of Bombay city 1845 - 1875* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1991) p.4

The problems of civic governance, dilapidated houses, shortage of water and blockage of sewage, undue force by tax collectors, vindictive raids, encroachments by affluent segments condoned due to proximity to power, smuggling activity along the Bombay shores - have been the recurring motifs of the cityscape, as much as the impressive and ornate architecture of the buildings in which civil administration is located.

Phase V : 1858-1911 - Industrial Town and Gateway of India

Three major external events of this period had further bearings on the city's future plans and policies and fortunes - the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the American Civil War of 1860s and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. From this phase onwards the city grows by leaps and bounds.

Through the Proclamation, the power of control over the city (and the country) shifted from the company to the Crown. The first independent struggle, which broke out in the North did not concern Bombay centrally, but Bombay was seen as an important sentinel of British power base in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. The astute trading communities of Bombay were immediately able to see with it, the possibilities of trade expansion and initiation of the industrial era. They were jubilant and welcomed the announcement of the Proclamation from the city's Town Hall with pomp and gait and reaffirmed their allegiance to the might of the sovereign power.

In the restructuring plans for the city, the Ramparts had no further use and were pulled down and the Esplanade was restructured into open maidans. Since the town itself had become congested the Europeans moved out and leap frogged over the Native town to areas like Malabar Hill and Cumballa Hill. The Fort area was covered into the Central Business District (CBD). In the 1864 census, for the first time the Bombay city was officially made co-extensive with Bombay Island.

The next two events were of economic significance to the city. The American civil war affected the cotton supply to the textile mills of Manchester and Lancashire in England. This led to an increased demand for Indian cotton and brought in tremendous economic prosperity and subsequently upon the end of the civil war, an economic down fall, to the city. Before the American Civil War (1861-65), the mills of England imported only 20% of their cotton from India. With the blockade of the Confederate ports, Indian cotton prices rose. By 1865, when the civil war ended, Bombay had earned 70 million pounds sterling in cotton trade. This money spurred on a financial bubble, with land reclamation schemes and the dock yards attracting huge investments.

The sudden wealth stimulated speculations. Banks started advancing monies without adequate sureties. Within two months the American Civil War ended and most of these companies went into liquidation. Large numbers of speculators became bankrupt. There were major scams by reclamation companies. Among the companys which went into liquidation was the Backbay Reclamation and the Mazgaon Reclamation. The financiers, the Asiatic Banking Corporation went bankrupt. And Bombay had become urban! And securities smas became another constant feature of the city.

The third event was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Through this event, the status of Bombay was elevated further, as the gateway of India, offering immense possibility of trading with the hinterland of Western India at one level and a pathway to trading to African, Arabian, and Far Eastern countries.

This period witnessed a burst in construction work and textile industry. A large number of construction workers were brought in from the neighbouring, famine stricken Nizam's territory. The community was called Kamatis and the area in which they settled down was known as Kamatipura, a term which is synonymous with the city's red light district. The CBD was restructured adopting the Victorian Gothic majestic and imposing styles. As the rampart came tumbling down, an impressive array of ornated institutional buildings came up along the open maidans. The Secretariat, The Rajabai clocktower, the High Court, the Public Works Office and the General Post Office. But the Victoria Terminus surpassed them all in its expanse and opulence as well as by the dome adopted to a Gothic style. In 1872 the Bombay Municipal Corporation Bldg came up next to the Victoria Terminus.

The Bombay Port Trust was created in 1873 for building a modern port. In 1880 the Trust inaugurated the Princes' Docks and in 1888 it completed the Victoria Docks. These works, completed at a time when investments were not forthcoming, caused huge losses for the administration. Later in 20th century, when it attracted investments, the Trust was able to create 1880 acres of land in Bombay and became the largest property holder in the city.

The Textile Mills:

It is around this time, Bombay became the nation's first industrial town. The first Indian cotton mill, The Bombay Spinning Mill, was started in 1854, by Cowasji Nanabhai Davar was a success. So other traders followed suit. By 1870 there were 13 mills in Bombay and increased to 70 by 1895, growing further to 83 in 1915. The mills were owned and managed mainly by Indians.

The rapid growth in mills was sustained by large migrations of Marathi speaking workers into the city. Supervisors (who were called jobbers) were sent out to recruit men from the impoverished coastal regions and the planes. But to the villagers, Bombay seemed alien, cramped and poverty stricken. So the job of recruitment was not easy. But gradually the workers trickled in. Most often, the male member of the family would work in Bombay, leaving the rest of the family in the village. These workers were initially accommodated in hostels. Eventually, these chawls became tenements, with full families crammed into single rooms. The high density of population, coupled with low pays and insanitary living conditions caused high morbidity rates in Bombay.

The 1881 census revealed startling statistics - 80 per cent of the population lived in one room tenements. The population density in European areas of Fort and Colaba were 20 & 27 per acre while Europeans formed only one percent of the population. In Indian occupied areas of the Fort - 258 per acre. In Mill areas it was around 700 per acre.

The Famines and the Plague:

To add to the miseries of city life, were the famines in hinterlands which brought in starving multitudes into the city. The Saurashtra region faced acute famine in 1877 1889 and 1897-99. The administration now began to distinguish between worthy and unworthy poor. While it welcomed the poor from the backward regions of Konkan and Ghats who came in as textile and construction labour, it sought to prevent the entry of the destitute drought victims into the city. The infestation metaphor was applied to them According to the civic administrators, 'their squalid and diseased appearance render the scene loathsome and the gathering a perfect nuisance'. Famine refugees fell sick with fever due to their feeble conditions and the administration viewed them as a menace to public health'.

The city was considering how to set itself apart and distinct from the country side and maintain the barriers between them. But the government did not have the power to effect this. The enactment of 1897, the Epidemic Diseases Act stipulated that entry could be prevented only if the source of plague were beggars, but not if they cotacated the plague in the city.

Most of the victims of famine were from the neighboring Princely states. Through an ecactment of 1864 , the entry of foreigners to the city could be restricted and the government wanted to use this clause to prevent the entry of victims from the Princely states. But the Famine Commission of 1880 had recommended that there should be no distinction between victims from British territories and the Princely states. While the administration was contemplating the implications of preventing entry of famine victims, a death by starvation on the streets of Bombay brought out starkly the city's apathy towards its poor and pierced the conscience of the city administrators.

Phase VI - 1911 - 1947 Nationalist Struggle and Trade Union Movement.

This phase of India's history left its mark in the history of world politics. The nationalistic struggle led by Gandhi who gave the world a new terminology for struggles - non-cooperation, non-violence which in India were known by the name, Swadeshi (Indian manufactured goods) and Satyagrahaha (non-violence) and Swaraj (indpendence). At the other end, a working class movement evolved rooted within the Maraxist ideological framework. The nations history evolved through these struggles and within the dynamics of the tensions between the two.

Emergence of the Trade Union Movememnt:

It was also the period when the labour movement made significant strides. In 1905, when electricity came into the city, the working hours at the mills stretched to 15 hours. Gradually through a series of strikes, the working day was brought down to 10 hours. On 9th January, 1919 , around 150,000 textile workers went on strike for 18 days, demanding higher wages. At this time they were not led by any official trade union. But soon thereafter, trade unions affiliated both to Congress, the nationalist party and the Communist Party emerged. The textile workers, a formidable force by now, struck work on several issues of economic and political importance during 1920-30. In 1928, under the leadership of a charismatic leader G. S. Dange, the textile workers struck work for six months. Soon after this the Communist Party and the workers organizations affiliated to them were banned.

The Nationalist Struggle.

There were nationwide movement against British goods, which received the widespread support of Mill owners who saw in it an opportunity for the promotion of Indian textiles. In 1935, the Government of India Act was enacted which provided for elections in the British Presidencies. The Congress Party swept the polls in the elections held in 1937. The electorate was the tax payers and mill workers had no stake in these elections.

With the advent of the second world war, India was dragged into it, to serve British interests. The Congress Party resigned since the government had acted arbitrarily. The Congress was willing to give it conditional support, condition being the freedom of the country upon the conclusion of war. But the Communist party was against any support to the war but Congress was willing for conditional support. But in the midst of this dilemma, the clarion call of 'Quit India' was given from the Gwalia Tank Maidan in Mumbai, on August 9, in 1942. These grounds have been later renamed as August Kranti Maidan (August Revolution Grounds).

Fearing widespread political reprisal, the British government arrested all congress leaders. In their absence, it fell to the lot of a brave young woman, Aruna Asif Ali, then barely in her early twenties, to step into the shoes of her leaders and unfurl the national flag and give the battle cry of Quit India.

Fire at the Bombay Port:

Bombay experienced the heat of the war in a most tragic manner. On 14th April, 1944 a major fire broke out at the Victoria Docks. A ship named Stikine which had sailed from Britain had berthed in the docks since two days. It carried highly explosive ammunition and other war material for the planned attack on Japan. Also stored in its hold were lubricating oil drums, bales of raw cotton, heavy timber, scrap iron, dynamos and wireless sets. It also carried gold bars of two million Pounds Sterling from London to stabilize the Indian Rupee, which was sagging due to the war and fear of invasion from Japan.

Around 12.35 p.m. officers on ships nearby noticed smoke billowing out of the ship but assumed that those on Stikine would be aware of it and take necessary action. So they did not raise an alarm. But as ill luck would have it, none on Stikine noticed anything amiss. It was only around 1400 that some stevedores returning from lunch noticed the smoke and raised the first fire alarm. The fire service crew from the dock joined. The gravity of the situation was such that the first party had to despatch an emergency message for more men and equipment. But despite all efforts the fire could not be located. The fire fighting crew was unable to reach the water to the smouldering cargo as cotton bales soaked it up. Thick, black, asphyxiating smoke and hot toxic gases from the dangerous cargo sapped the fire fighters.

The clock at the tower clock on the docks, showed 1550. Time was running out and the situation was getting out of hand. The deck and sides of Stikine had turned red. The fire fighters had run out of options. The heat patch on the side of the ship grew larger with each passing moment. The radiations from the struck ship set a shed on the dock ablaze. The chief gave orders to abandon the ship. Some brave and daring officers and men however did not leave their posts and continued to fight the prowling flames. The tower clock registered 1606 and a tremendous explosion that followed froze the clock hands at that moment as if in a record for posterity. Molten metals and lethal debris killed the crew still on their posts. Blazing cotton bales, flaring oil drums, blobs of melting metal flew up, showering down over a vast area killing and maiming old and young, starting numerous fires in sheds and ships in the Victoria and Prince's Docks.

But the worse was still to come. The ill-fated ship had not sunk entirely after the first explosion. Its hold bulging with high explosives, ammunition and cargo was still intact. It was 1640, just 34 minutes after the first explosion, when a second and much more powerful and devastating explosion followed. Stikine went up in the air like flying saucer and rose to the level of 3000 feet! A majority of the men of the Bombay Fire Brigade, who answered the call to duty immediately after the first blast, lost their lives in the second explosion.

The force generated by the second blast started a tidal wave that lifted the 400 feet, 4000 ton S.S.Jalpadma clear off the water 50 feet high and slammed her down. On that fateful Friday there were 23 ships berthed in Victoria and Prince's docks, only six remained after the disaster struck. 300 acres of dock area was in ruins. Port equipment lay in shambles. Fire service infrastructure was devastated. The destruction in the docks and surrounding area was immense and several hundred-dock workers were killed instantly. About 300 acres of the dock was devastated. Valiant firemen continued to fight the fire without respite for days and nights. Gold bars were flown all over the city. One such bar entered a third floor flat more than a mile away from the docks at Girgaon.

There was utter chaos and panic in the metropolis. Rumours spread rapidly that the Japanese had commenced hostilities

on the same style as the surprise attack on Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian Islands in December 1941. The major terminal railway stations were crowded with people scurrying to leave the city, with their meager belongings. As late as in 1970 during dredging operations in the docks, one or two gold bars buried deep into the soil at the bottom of the sea would be found and returned to the British government. In 1963, the government declared this day as, fire fighters day in memory of all the firemen who had died.

Phase VII - 1947 - 1982 - Parochial Chauvinism and Spell of Bollywood

The freedom came at midnight of 15th August, 1947, after the country was torn asunder by communal riots and was finally partitioned. Colossal loss of life and property, and displacement of tens of thousands of people. But Bombay was saved from the communal violence. Its cosmopolitan character came to its rescue. The communal riots erupted in the city several decades later, fanned by right wing and parochial identity politics.

Bombay was the commercial capital with all the gloss and glamour attached to it. Within this climate, the film industry thrived and within the next few decades, earned a district place for it self in the world entertainment market under a new coinage, Bollywood.

Under faulty development schemes, the population from neglected rural areas from as far away as Utter Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal (the Northern and Eastern Provinces) gravitated towards Bombay, lured by the spell of the Bollywood and the possibility of employment within the organized sector. The multi-lingual and multicultural character of the city continued. The continuous land reclamations were adversely tilting the ecological balance. The perennial shortage of space sent property prices spiraling. The land scams and the faulty housing regulations created enormous amount of unaccounted wealth, and ceated the breeding grounds for the under world.

Emergence of Parochial Identity

After independence, the states under the British rule and those governed by native Kings as well as tribal and forest regions were reconstituted on linguistic basis. But for the Bombay Presidency, a bi-lingual state comprising of Maharashtra and Gujarat, with Bombay as its capital was recommended. Its inauguration on November 1, 1956, caused a great political stir. The socialist and communists were at the forefront of this struggle. When the agitation became violent, the Chief Minister, Mr. Morarjee Desai (a Gujarati) ordered police firing in which several agitators were killed. The Congress Party suffered heavy electoral losses in the state elections held in 1957. Finally Congress relented and the state of Maharashtra came into official existence on May 1, 1960 and Bombay was declared as its capital. From this point on Bombay was groomed as a Maharashtrian city. But the name change from Bombay to Mumbai occurred only in 1995 under severe opposition from non-Marathi sections. In the next two decades, the right wing party Shiv Sena was able to channelise the aspirations of the working class, who were facing severe economic set backs, to a Marati identity. Gradually, the all party political formulation formed during the agitation for the creation of the state gave rise to a more aggressive right wing parochial identity. The unemployed youth of the city became its base.

Phase VIII - 1982 - 2002 - Decline of Industry and Invocations for a Global City.

The textile industry had already begun to decline as part of a world wide trend. Various government restrictions, the spiraling land prices, a strong labour movement which cut into profits induced the mill owners to siphon off the profits and show losses. By eighties many textile mills in the city were in the red. They would have preferred to closed down mills, sell the mill land and direct the profits to other industries outside Bombay. But tis was not possible due to government restriction on sale of mill land which was leased to the mills at concessional rates. The mill owners evolved a strategy of declaring the mills as sick industrial units for obtaining permission for the sale of mill land on the pretext of modernizing the mills. Wages stagnated, bonus amounts were reduced and workers were disgruntled.

They felt let down by the left trade unions and forced an individual trade unionist, Dr. Datta Samant to lead their struggle. The initial call for a one day strike given under the leadership of Dr. Datta Samant was a success. The trade unionist had received a certain measure of success in the engineering industry. Under pressure from the workers from several mills which were on the verge of closure, he declared an indefinate strike in January, 1982. 2,50,000 textile workers struck work.

The events that followed were beyond the simple calculations of the workers and their leader. The government refused to negotiate with the workers unless they called off the strike and the workers on the other hand were adamant. This led to a stalemate. Workers and their families were on he brink of economic ruin. Unable to withstand the pressures of the city life, several workers returned to the villages. The Congress affiliated mill, colluded with the mill owners and the government and used brutal force to break the strike. The strike went on for 18 months and at the end only a small fraction of strikers were taken back. The strike never actually ended. It just lost its steam and dwindled out. The workers who could not withstand the pangs of hunger and starvation and trickled back to work without any gains, in the wake of total face loss. The collective bargaining power of the workers had been shattered.

The strike came as a boon to the mill owners, who used the underworld to get into deals with builders with the active collusion of the political parties power. The workers remained out of all the negotiations. Special permission was obtained for the sale on the pretext of reviving he industry. But instead, the money was siphoned off and the mills remained closed. Some companies induced their workers to take the newly evolved Voluntary Retirement Schemes. During the period of twenty years from the time of the textile mill strike the number of workers employed by the mills was dramtically reduced from 250,000 in 1982 to around 30,000 workers to the present day. Economists view this as one of the swiftest job losses in the world in recent times. Several mill owners and trade unionist, including Datta Samant were brutally murdered. Bombay had turned into a mafia city.

Within this ground reality, the 1992-93 communal riots took place in the city. The demolition of a mosque in North India was the trigger. After 100 years, the city was engulfed in communal frenzy, fanned by the right wing political party Shiv Sena. The Marathi chauvinism of the fifties, which was directed against the Gujarati traders initially, and the South Indian community later, in the wake of the communal frenzy was channelised against the Muslims in the city. Suddenly, the Muslims who have been living in the city for centuries, became 'outsiders'. The riots took Bombay by surprise and destroyed the cosmopolitan character of the city.

The riots raged the city for two months before they could be brought under control. Since several underworld dons were 'Muslims' they retaliated with serial bomb blasts that went of in the city in March, 1993. But ironically, in the next elections, the right wing political combine of BJP- Shiv Sena won the state elections. A commission which was set up to enquire into the event went on for five years and finally gave a verdict against the ruling political party. But by then, it turned to be a mere legal exercise, without any criminal liability attached to it.

Bombay as a Global City:

It is within this climate of a violent political and economy, that a call to convert the city into a global one has been given. The mill land has been developed into multiplexes. A scheme titled, 'Bombay First' was started in 1995. At this time, the cost per sq meters of office space in Mumbai was '\$1689 - 30% more than its nearest rival, Hong Kong. Asian cities occupied the top three places, Mumbai, Hong Kong and Tokyo-inner central. Hong Kong's annual rentals were \$1291 per sq m and Tokyo \$1215.

In 1997, as the sun set on the last colony of the British empire in 1997, the dream of inviting global capital to Mumbai blossomed. In August 2000 the Confederation of Indian Industry renewed its three year old proposal to convert Mumbai into an off shore financial centre which would offer tax efficient and less regulated jurisdiction for attracting investments into the country.

Beyond city limits, satellite cities have been created. A 370-hectare complex just outside the island city to rival the earlier center at South Bombay. Located near the international and national airports it was planned as a 'modern' sophisticated 'city within a city' complete with technical and infrastructural facilities that compares with the best in the world.

Conclusions:

The smoke from the chimney's has been extinguished. High rises with shopping malls and bowling alleys adorn the skyline of the mill area today. The workers continue to live in their dilapidated houses with no hope for a future unless their children join the underworld or are sucked into communal politics. The communal elements and the underground mafia has been able to effectively channelise the frustrations of the youth in the wake of despair and desolation.

At the other end, the rupee is shrinking, faced with global challenges and the buying power of even the middle class is dwindling. It is not that the policy of globalisation has bought about only doom and that there is no prosperity in the city. A small section of the upper middle class and the elite have been able to reap the fruit of these conomic policy. But what is of concern is the increasing disparity between the rich and the poor with a shrinking middle class in between. The city has no space for the poor.

This type of development, and the trend of de-industrialisation can be seen elsewhere as well. But nowhere has been the swift as sudden or as violent as it has been in Bombay. As the sky rises block the sea winds, one wonders whether the boon given by the goddesses will end.

Madhusree Dutta: CONFESSION OF A SLUM LORD

The hierarchy of Indian housing system are broadly like this: Palaces, bungalows (independent houses), apartment houses, chawls (barrack style match box accommodation), organised slums, encroached slums (what is called squatters in Europe), pavement dwellers and lives and life styles beyond all these categories.

This story is of a set of people who belong to this space, which for the convenience sake we can call 'beyond'. They lived in the marshland, behind the arterial water pipe which runs through the length of the city. The pipe ran through the inaccessible inhabitable land and living behind it gave them a desirable invisibility, which was essential for such community. They were a diverse people - multi-cultural, multi-professional, multi-religious and multi-lingual. But so fluid and uncertain was their life style that they, to our civilised eyes, looked like only a bunch of identity less people. And that suit them fine. But ironically they named their settlement 'Raju Nagar', named after the then Prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

But the riots of 1992-93 changed the equation. The fishermen's colony of the neighbouring area which was desperately looking for an 'enemy' to avenge all the misery in their lives, chanced upon this settlement and burnt it. A community living on the edge of civilization and urban development themselves, got a target who were even lower than them and almost beyond any known kind of vulnerability. The climate of communal violence expected every citizen to find an enemy to the nation. And the fishermen proved their loyalty to the nation. Rumors spread that the settlers are Pakistani spy and they would poison the water source of the city.

The burning incident suddenly made the cluster of houses visible. It shattered their calculated, well orchestrated invisibility; their exclusive status of living a substitute way. The police noticed them, the petty politician took note, the communal goons kept an eye on the burnt huts and peace activists like us found a people and a cause to fight for. They even made it to the newspaper.

The petty thieves, the casual prostitutes, the domestic maids, the nobodies had to give statements, receive papers (something they generally do not need to touch), were assured a proper life, the promise of a secured future by some, received life threats due to political reasons from the others. This avalanche of attention and the current of main stream society's real politic dislodged them from their own life style and organic methods.

The net of social security with all its holes and traps threatened to come down on them and make them a part of us or PLUs (people like us). Hence names, identities, nationality, marital status, religion, paternity become a concern, an identity, a struggle and a threat. Some tried to grab the opportunity to get 'settled', some could not apprehend it, while some others tried to manipulate the system, but every body was amused and suspicious.

This is a case study of an attempt to stream line the lives of a substitute people. This act in ordinary English is called philanthropy and in progressive circle, community development.

I shall introduce you to some of the key characters of this narrative.

Tushar Joag: THE HAWKERS OF BOMBAY - A SUBSTITUTE EXISTENCE

Who are the Hawkers and where do they fit into the pattern of trading in the city?

Bombay's culture is of trading. Traders have played a major part in the evolution of the city. The colourful (read exotic - with snake charmers and elephants) bazaars, where the first Indian trading communities displayed their wares caught the colonizers gaze from the earliest times.

Over a period, from the streets, the established traders set up shops for petty trading and were governed by the Shops and Establishment Act. The city earned its revenue from the tax on these shops. The whole sale markets also grew in specific areas. Then certain places were demarcated within each ward as 'markets' and licenced hawkers were allotted places here. But the street vendor never lost his place in the trading pattern of the city. But gradually he was pushed down the ladder as more affluent traders in shops, super markets and more recently shopping malls began to claim a space in this pattern.

As the city grew from Island to the suburbs, and as multitude of middle class white color workers had to travel great distances each day from the suburbs to the city center for work, the importance of hawkers increased. Leisurely shopping became the prerogative only of the upper class and hawkers continued to cater to the daily needs of the middle class.

At the other level, as the economic disparity between the rich and the poor increased, hawking became an important occupation - both to the seller and buyer. For the people whose buying capacity had decreased, the cheap wares on the street sold by the hawkers were the only avenue for shopping. At the other, for many workers, who had been retrenched and had lost their source of livelihood, being a hawker became an alternate source of livelihood. As it is an unorganized labour force, entry and exit into this sector was relatively easy. It is within this economic framework, I explore the situation of the city's hawkers.

The hawkers are an essential part of the service sector and are basically retrenched labour and fresh migrants. They form 65 % of the unorganized labor force of the city.

The hawkers are an indispensable part of the urban social order and an integral part of the economy with an annual turnover of about 159 million Rupees. If legalised and regulated, annually this sector could earn the deficit-strapped municipal corporation revenue of 14.5 million Rupees. It is the failing of the urban development bodies that they have been left out of the planning.

What do the hawkers sell?

The hawkers sell goods that are made in homes or by small scale indigenous manufacturing units. The hawkers thus sustain not only these local enterprises but also indirectly the jobs created by them. The amazing similarity between the various goods they sell is that many of them have brand names and sometimes packaging that imitate foreign products. These products are simulacral but can not be termed as fakes and even give good value for money. People for whom the branded goods are out of reach mitigate their desires through these objects. The mimetic nature of these products does not allow for any other marketing except through the informal markets. More over low overheads and infrastructural costs of this strategy of marketing is what allows the products to be priced in an affordable bracket.

The lower middle classes and working class from the informal sector depend on these roadside stalls for their cheap meals. The cheap meals are also what makes the market an area of social activity. At nights these areas undergo a transformation. The day- time stalls are replaced or joined by carts that sell foodstuff. The aromas of the various fast foods attract hoards of people who go to the road-side bars or cant afford to eat in restaurants.

Contesting Claims:

The hawkers are frequently looked upon as a menace, and accused of causing congestion and obstructing vehicular and pedestrian traffic. The role of the middle and upper classes has been anti hawker even though they also depend on them for certain shopping necessities. These already privileged classes have been promised by the various governments of the state of Maharashtra that Bombay will be the Singapore of tomorrow. Their promised land will have, airconditioned malls and high-rises, wide streets and fly overs with unobstructed traffic flow. The impediment in achieving this dream of the Asian success story are certain sections of people who have to be swept under the carpet.

The various citizen's fora, environment conscious groups, heritage protection groups, and other elitist organizations are active in clearing the way. They have extravagant concern for trees, animals, nonliving things or their immediate surroundings and a great apathy towards human beings not from their class. The builder lobbies indirectly manipulate these citizen's initiatives and government mechanisms to claim the spaces within the city by clearing tenements and edging out this 'non-statutory encumbrance'. The comfort and the profits of progress are only for the oligarchic middle classes and upwards.

The people who are now being elbowed out of the economy are the same people who were invited to Bombay when the mills were set up. People who migrated from the coastal regions and other parts of Maharashtra to work as labour for the mills. The 1982 strike saw a number of mills closing down and 200,000 workers being laid off. 20% of these retrenched labour are now earning their lively hood as hawkers.

Also a great number of fresh migrants come into the city each day in search of jobs. Though there is absolutely no possibility of the organised sector accommodating them, the city absorbs them. But ask the disgruntled middle class and they will voice their venomous intolerant opinion, heaping their insecurity on to these migrants- that these 'outsiders' are going to take over and that will see the end of this city. Blissfully oblivious or in denial of the fact that even their ancestors must have migrated here and not very long ago.

Trading as a Fundamental Right:

The Constitution of India grants the citizens certain fundamental rights which includes the right of trading.

The preamble of the Indian Constitution states that India is a sovereign, socialist, secular democratic republic State and shall secure to its citizens justice, social, economic and political equality of status and opportunity.

Article 19(1) (g) gives the Indian citizen a fundamental right to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

But in the case of hawkers, this right is non-existent. While at one level, due to their sheer numbers, they can not be excluded all together, at the other, the claims of the other sections seem to get prioritised as against their rights of hawking on the streets. I will now show how the state interventions have constantly tried to restrict these rights and their claims are subsumed to the political jugglery within a system based on party politics.

Adverse State Interventions:

The state in its zeal to enforce law and order and support the contentions of the middle class, has time and again violated the right to livelihood of the hawkers.

Some hawkers were periodically issued licences. But in 1978 due to pressure from the middle class and environmentalists, and due to overcrowding, Municipal Corporation stopped issuing licences. After this period, only physically challenged people were issued licenses for establishing public telephone booths. The only other category of people who were able to acquire a license were cobblers, who are lower caste, under the reservation policy of the state. All others were deemed as illegitimate. Ten years later, every day they were charged a fee as refuse removal charge. But this did not legitimise them. After sometime, even this was stopped.

Despite this the hawkers constantly faced the threat of demolition. The Greater Mumbai Municipal Corporation has been cracking down on the 'menace' of hawkers ruthlessly demolishing their makeshift stalls and evicting them. Periodically the municipal trucks would swoop down in a particular zone, and demolish the stalls and carts of the hawkers, and ruthlessly destroy their wares. The hawkers whose goods were ceased were liable to pay a fine to the city administration. This caused tremendous financial loss to the hawkers, who functioned on a small profit margin. During the tenor of Mr. Khairnar, (1991-94) the ex-Deputy Municipal Commissioner these demolition drives increased to such an extent that he earned the title of 'Demolition Man'. He had a love-hate relation ship with the political parties due to his actions on the hawkers. The Sena - BJP coalition though far from pleased with Khairnar stood by his demolitions since it meant erosion of the ruling coalition's base.

Due to their number, the hawkers form a major vote bank for the politicians who intervene from time to time to earn their goodwill. In June 1994 Khairnar was suspended when he levelled serious allegations against the then Congress chief minister (Sharad Pawar) and some senior municipal corporation officials for their support for the hawkers.

Exhorted by the various groups sympathetic to the cause of the hawkers, a task force had been appointed for looking into the subject. A letter was issued on the 3rd of May 2001 from the Secretary, Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation (UDPA), requesting all State Governments to halt all evictions against hawkers "till such time that the policy on street vendors is finalised".

The Bombay High Court order set apart 131 hawking zone roads. The number count of 1997 according an official survey placed the hawker population at a hundred thousand. The said survey did not consider vendors on private properties, lands belonging to the Bombay Port Trust, Railways and other central government owned land. The real figure according to the general secretary of Bombay Hawkers Association though, is that there are 300,000 such hawkers. The Bombay high court order demarcating the hawking zones can accommodate only around 17,000 hawkers making the 283,000 hawkers illegal which under no circumstances is 'reasonable'.

The crackdown on hawkers is justified by the administration "in order to restore Mumbai's roads and pavements to its citizens".

Through these various schemes the hawkers rights to citizenship has been restrained and their fundamental right to trading has been curtailed.

Goregaon Station Market - a case study

Mumbai is divided into 6 zones that are further divided into 24 wards. Goregaon a northern suburb on the Western line falls under the P ward / South of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. It covers an area of 24.44 Sq. Km with a population of about 400,000.

According to the official records, the ward has 2000 hawkers. Of which only 197 hold licenses. Around half of these hold licenses pre 1978 which is when the Bombay Municipal Corporation stopped giving licenses as since they thought that the streets were already too congested to allow hawking on them. The only licenses that were being allotted post '78 were to cobblers on grounds of reservations for backward castes. In the Goregaon market, the current tally is -48 pitch (1 mtr X 1mtr space without any construction) and 30 stall licenses and to handicapped persons for operating public telephone booths (current tally 77). Currently only the second category (handicapped) are being issued licenses. Licenses in other categories obviously pre '78 are 12 and 30 for stall and pitch respectively.

In the year 1988 a receipt system - RRC (refuse removal charges) was introduced whereby hawkers paid the municipality daily cleaning charges (between Rs.5 and Rs.15 which was later increased to Rs.30 and Rs.100) and were issued a receipt. However, in 1998, following a High Court order the system was stopped. Thus withdrawing whatever little legitimacy their trade had gained through the receipt system.

The Sr. Inspector of the Goregaon ward, department of licenses informed me that their vans regularly patrol the area under their jurisdiction to drive away the hawkers. The municipal corporation had been earning Rs.3 to Rs.4 million a day, or Rs.14.6 billion annually, through the 'receipt' system. This money perhaps is now collected as bribes. The fact that the vans do make regular rounds was corroborated by the president of the hawkers Union - "But the officers are understanding since they are also doing their job"he told me. They have an 'arrangement' that made things easier for them by this 'arrangement' they get a tip off before a raid. Since otherwise the when the BMC and the police conduct their surprise 'raids', they have to disperse in a moment with all their goods on their person- or else the goods are either destroyed or confiscated and retrieving them is an arduous task involving phenomenal fines and red-tape. Of course since their survival is at stake, they have little option but to swallow the losses and return to their business at the same spot till the next raid. With the current order for maintaining status quo the evictions are carried out only on receiving complaints from the residents and hence less frequent. The degree of un certainty prevents the vendors from having elaborate structures to display their wares- their the self is the only establishment. Unions regularly collect money from its members help retrieve any confiscated goods.

The Unions have been instrumental in getting some benefits for street vendors. Bombay is one of the three cities where there is a strong movement among the hawkers to get organized under unions. The other two cities are Ahmedabad and Calcutta. The largest, and most influential, union in Mumbai is the Bombay Hawkers' Union.

Goregaon has the presence of a CITU hawkers union (Centre for Indian Trade Unions a Marxist trade union movement), a Shiv Sena Union and the Bombay Hawkers Union. The CITU has a strength of 400 and the Shiv Sena about 40 members. 900 hawkers are registered with Bombay Hawkers' Union.

The Goregaon Market is right outside the suburban local railway station. The railway stations and vicinities of housing colonies is where the concentration of hawkers all over Bombay is. The Municipal authorities want to relocate the markets away from these spots to hawker's plazas and earmarked hawking zones. The vendors complain that the pace of the city neither affords time nor energy for commuters to take a detour, and go shopping in a plaza not on their way home. Also the authorities demand unrealistic amounts for allotment of spaces in these plazas and zones which are way beyond the means of the vendors

The P Ward (Goregaon market) has no demarcated hawking zone. There were plans in 1995 of reserving two areas as hawking zones- Santosh Nagar and the Aarey Colony. Both the spots are about 3-4 kilometers away from the station and if the markets were relocated here, accessing them would involve extra commuting on part of the clientele. When the proposal was put up in the ward councilor's meeting it was not for reasons of inaccessibility but a failure to reach a consensus on other technical issues that the plan was scrapped. The tussle over the evictions and relocation of hawkers has at least two other angles of contention -that of votes and political control over Bombay and secondly the property and land prices. The high land prices in Bombay are a known. The eviction of the hawkers in certain areas or the reluctance from housing colonies to allow the hawkers to ply their trade around their localities is to maintain these high rates. Of the areas chosen for relocation in Goregaon one has extremely low density of population, and the other comparatively much lower real estate rates.

Madhusree Dutta: ALFRED CINEMA

If I am to give direction to Alfred cinema I would say it is near Bombay Central. If anyone asks, what is it, the reply would be: a cinema hall and a culture wrapped in the time hole. How can something which bears an address stating it is at the center of the city be a mere time hole object! The story of Alfred cinema is the story of aberration in urban history.

When the city was burgeoning through trades, ports and the industry; a huge number of people came or regularly visited the city who could be called the first of the subalterns. It was broadly the last half of the 19th century and the first half of the previous century. With the trades came the petty traders and their workers and casual laborers. They would come from far flung areas of central Asia and from neighbouring regions, spend a few days to a few weeks on business in Bombay and leave. Ports attracted unorganized loaders, the city builders plied construction workers and all of them created a space/need for a sex service industry. This huge population existed in between pockets of the more visible and recognized population of colonials, traders, early industrialists, mill workers etc. A substantial section of this population was a floating mass and the number was huge.

These people were accommodated in an area which on the one hand existed between the famous city of new civic buildings: trading zones, European blocks, Indian merchants' residences and the upcoming textile mill zone. On the other hand, the area was clubbed between the port and the ever growing markets for niche commodities. The bazaars all around this area which existed till the last decade are called Chor Bazaar (market of thieves, selling second hand goods), Kapda Bazaar (cloth market), Null Bazaar (pottery and metalware), Kanda-Batata Bazaar (potato-onion bazaar), Sabzi Mandi (wholesale vegetable market) etc. The trading covered half of the country, parts of central Asia and Europe.

The bazaars evolved, big amounts of money circulated in small units, population grew around it, prostitutes were welcomed, shrines of various faiths and stature grew and then developed the need and the market for a more consolidated and collective entertainment culture. In 1895, an area was demarcated by the civic authority as entertainment zone - called play house. Even now you could hear some people saying I live in pillhouse - an India corruption for the English word play house.

Some enterprising entrepreneurs, mostly Muslims and Parsis, ventured into this new business of entertainment, hitherto a prerogative of rural folk and urban street performers. Space was leased out to them at a subsidised rate to build play

In 1970, Bombay also became famous for its burgeoning real estate price and the mafiadom related to that. The narrow island city, which had always been over crowded, by then became blood thirsty for space. The slums and huts were pushed out. Also after two decades of the independence and after a full cycle of industrial developments and higher education drives, a service sector consisting of newly born middle class came of age. With their buying capacity, they slowly started influencing the entertainment business. The narrative started changing in order to cater to the middle class taste and aspiration for realism.

From the mid '80s due to the pressure from the space hungry service industry the bazaars started shifting to the edge of the city. After unloading at the border of the city, the goods were brought to the Grant Road area bazaars in small quantities by the local vehicles. No regular flow of visitors any more. First it was the sub-continent and more, then it was the whole of the country and now it is only from the next railway station from where people had come to work in these bazaars.

Things were not all gay at the red light area either. The aggressive and highly sponsored aids campaign brought ill luck to the business. The customers started staying out in the fear of police harassment. Besides, the break in the centralized market systems reduced the number of floating customers. The sex service industry too got disintegrated into smaller clusters and groups attached to local pubs and hotels. As a cinema hall owner lamented, 'the police vigilance turned the red light area into the white light area and in turn put red light on our business'.

Came '90s and two radical things happened to the film industry and both hit the Alfred cluster below the belt. The film industry has discovered a lucrative market in the Indian diaspora spread in all the continents. The films changed their narratives, textures, tunes and even faces of the actors to fit into that market, where the consumers are only interested in an highly polemic and imaginary homeland. Smaller multiplexes came up to house these new kind of films. The ticket price in these multiplexes are broadly 2000% more than that of the Alfred types. The Grant road locals' choices and preferences were quite down in the producers' list of priorities. With that came television, cable tv with 24 hours movie channels and aggressive consumer goods campaign. And the entertainment industry entered the domestic arena deserting the Alfreds even further.

So what should the Alfred, the New Royal and the Gulshan and the Taj talkies have done? Get into major renovation, put dolby and cinemascope screen and increase the ticket price to match the market. Obviously that would be suicidal.

Demolish the cinema hall and sell the plot to some real estate developer and live happily ever after with that money? Well, the owners would have love to do that. Taj talkies was demolished ten years back. But the debris is still lying there, no new construction started yet. This land was given to the original owner at a subsudised rate to start play house. As per the rule if any cinema hall is demolished, then in the new structure there has to be another cinema hall with at least half and in some cases one third of the capacity of the original hall. And the new hall must have the components like car park, proper cooling system, good projection room etc. Hence Daulat talkies demolished its old structure, got a new residential bldg in its campus and tucked in a small hall in the middle of the flats - only to house bats and pigeons.

In the middle of all these confusion, desertion, frustration, decay and decadence banner painter Rehman comes to his studio everyday to paint banner for the new release on Friday. He continues. The hall owner cannot afford to get new films. If he could he would have also brought the mass produced, computer print out publicity banners with the prints. He continues to bring old, pre-computer era films, depending on the hand painted publicity banner. Hence Rehman survives, at the Alfred cinema. So far.

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Biografien

Tushar S. Joag

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Studium der Bildenden Kunst in Baroda/ Indien

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2000 Gründungsmitglied der Künstlergruppe Open Circle in Bombay; soziale und politische Interventionen

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Madhusree Dutta

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Studium der Theaterregie

seit 1993 Dokumentarfilme und Essays zu den Themen Gender, Identität und Marginalisierung; Screenings und Auszeichnungen auf nationalen und internationalen Filmfestivals

seit 1996 Geschäftsführerin von Majlis, Zentrum für multikulturelle Initiativen in Indien. Das Zentrum organisiert Kampagnen und Workshops zur kulturellen Fortbildung, produziert Filme und interdisziplinäre Kunstprojekte und unterhält ein Videoarchiv zu zeitgenössischen Themen.

Mitherausgeberin von "Nation, State and Indian Identity", einer Sammlung von Essays zur Identitätspolitik in Indien

Flavia Agnes

geboren 1947

Anwältin mit dem Spezialgebiet Frauenrechte, Aktivistin und Autorin

Flavia Agnes ist eine der Pionierinnen der aktuellen Frauenbewegung, deren Arbeit um 1980 begann. Ihre Arbeit umfasst u.a. eine Reformierung der Gesetze gegen Vergewaltigung, häusliche Gewalt und Diskriminierung von Minderheiten.

1990 gründete sie mit anderen Frauen Majlis, ein Zentrum für juristische und kulturelle Ressourcen. Seit über einem Jahrzehnt bietet Majlis juristische Beratung und Vertretung bei Verletzung von Frauenrechten und Menschenrechten an und engagiert sich in der rechtlichen Aufklärung von Frauen in ländlichen Gebieten.

Autorin der Autobiografie "My Story Our Story - Of Rebuilding Broken Lives", einem Meilenstein der Frauenbewegung, übersetzt in fünf indische Sprachen.

Weitere Publikationen: "State, Gender And The Rhetoric Of Law Reform", 1995; "Nation, State and Indian Identity (Mitherausgeberin), 1997; "Law & Gender Inequality", 1998

Verschiedene Auszeichnungen durch Bürgerinitiativen, Menschenrechts- und Frauenorganisationen für ihre Arbeiten zur rechtliche Situation der Frauen sowie zwei National Awards als Produzentin von Filmen zum gleichen Thema.

Dorothee Wenner (Berlin)

freie Filmemacherin, Journalistin und Mitglied im Auswahlkomitee "Int.Forum"/Berlinale. Seit Mitte der 90er Jahre "indisch aktiv": u.a. Autorin der Biographie "Zorros blonde Schwester - Das Leben der indischen Kinolegende Fearless Nadia", Regisseurin des Dokumentarfilms "Ladies' Special" und Beraterin/Ausstellung "Bollywood" im Museum für Gestaltung, Zürich.