

REVISIONING MUMBAI

CONCEIVING A MANIFESTO
FOR
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

TWO-DAY CONFERENCE
HELD ON MARCH 3rd and 4th, 2005

CONFERENCE HOSTED BY THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI
AND
SUPPORTED BY
INDIAN COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS
AND
MMR HERITAGE CONSERVATION SOCIETY

Re-visioning Mumbai

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RE-VISIONING MUMBAI

INTRODUCTION

The Asiatic Society of Mumbai through its history has always been an interface to discuss and involve public participation in the city issues. The Asiatic Society has been the womb where city institutions like the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai and the Mumbai Port Trust have originated.

The Asiatic Society in its Bicentenary year wanted to deliberate on the Urban Conservation process dealing with reordering and regeneration of urban fabric, physical and metaphysical. As a vehicle for deliberating all such issues of tangible and intangible heritage the Society hosted a conference dealing with the Vision for Mumbai in the 21st century with primary focus on Urban Conservation as a catalyst for reordering the Post Industrial City. Although urban conservation processes in contemporary Mumbai have been limited to physical environment there has always been an underlying need to understand, recognize and assist all connotations of heritage. This legacy in forms of social and local history, language and literature, customs and rituals, performing and visual arts are as important as physical environments in the entire process of cultural evolution of Mumbai.

The publication aims at reintroducing Mumbai through its various socioeconomic patterns and changes, various alternative histories and geographies and several cultures. The publication further aims at presenting several cultural practices in negotiating the landscapes of Mumbai.

Vimal Shah
Pankaj Joshi

The Asiatic Society (1804 – 2004)

The Asiatic Society of Bombay housed in the majestic Town Hall of this city of Mumbai, is the oldest Library in this part of the country. The Society has had a fascinating history. Its genesis is traced to 1804, when the Literary Society of Bombay was established by a great savant, Sir James Mackintosh, the Recorder for Bombay, with the objective of “promoting useful knowledge, particularly such as is now immediately connected with India.”

In 1829, the Literary Society was formally invited to become an integral part of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and thereafter it was known as the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (BBRAS). In 1831, the BBRAS moved into the north wing of the newly constructed Town Hall, on payment of the princely sum of Rs.10,000.

The acquisition of the medical and literary library, which had been found in 1789, formed the nucleus of the library. In 1873, the Bombay Geographical Society, and in 1896 the Anthropological Society, donated their libraries and museums, and merged their activities with those of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Since then, many rare additions have been made to the collection of the Library through the generosity of innumerable educationists and philanthropists including Jagannath Shankarsheth, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bhau Daji Lad, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Premchand Roychand, Dr. Jivanji Modi, Nassurwanji Dadysett, Sir Dinshaw Petit, Sir Dorab Tata and the heirs of G.K. Nariman and S.V. Bhandarkar. Portraits and statues of many of these benefactors line the interiors of the Society.

The Society has retained its valuable collection of 11,830 coins. The nucleus was formed around a donation of coins from the Government and a numismatic collection, formerly belonging to Sir William Frere, presented by Sir Cowasji Jehangir. To these, many

more valuable gold, silver and copper coins were added. These include a fifth century gold coin of Kumaragupta, a very rare gold mohur of Emperor Akbar, and coins issued by Shivaji.

A note appears elsewhere on the numismatic, manuscript and maps collection.

The Society initially restricted its membership exclusively to Europeans. In 1840, Sir Maneckji Cursetji was privileged to become the first non-European member. Amongst the earliest Indian members elected were Jagannath Shankarsheth and Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy.

Since its inception, the Society had sponsored readings and discussions of papers on oriental subjects and also published a Journal since 1841 embodying these papers. The Society is recognized by the Bombay University for Ph.D. studies in Ancient and Modern Indian History as well as Sanskrit studies. Several noted scholars pursue research in these subjects under the aegis of the Society's Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P.V. Kane Institute for Postgraduate Studies and Research. Dr. Kane worked in the Society's rooms on his seminal publications on the Dharmashastras for which he was honoured with the Government of India's highest award, the Bharat Ratna.

Sir James Mackintosh was the first President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, and the Society had to wait till 1883 to get its first Indian President, Justice Mr. K.T. Telang.

In this direction, the first step was taken to set up a Research Room for scholars with proper tables and lighting. For preserving old and valuable books for posterity, a Conservation Laboratory was set up in 1991, mainly funded by the House of TATAs. This was followed by the Microfilming Laboratory in 1995 with donation from the ICICI, BMC and the State Government. Through the "Adopt a

Book" scheme of the Society, precious books and manuscripts are being preserved and recorded by these laboratories.

The Durbar Hall which was used for meetings, lectures and seminars was transformed into a state-of-the-art lecture hall. Adorning the hall, the Society installed portraits of great scholars who had contributed to making the Society a leading institute of learning and scholarship.

The Society set up a Special Collection Room to preserve the most valuable collections of the Library in the right dust-free air-conditioned environment, realising the importance of maintaining books in a dust-free and pilfer-free condition from the day the books are received in the Library. The Society undertook a major project for keeping books – Compact Book Shelving System. This is perhaps the only public library which has created this facility to protect the books, from the day the book comes to the library.

The Society awards Research Fellowships to persons pursuing doctoral and post-doctoral research and confers Honorary Fellowships of the Society on renowned scholars. The Society has a few publications and among them the catalogue of rare manuscripts is an important publication.

The Society has in its possession unique Sopara relics excavated from the Buddhist stupa in a suburb of Mumbai dating back to the third century BC. The stone casket contained eight Buddhist bronzes which are unique because they represent the seven past Buddhas (Manushi Buddhas) and one future Buddha (Bodhisattva) Maitreya. Stylistically these images can be dated to the ninth century AD.

Asiatic Society – Coin Collection

The Asiatic Society was established in 1804. The aim of the Society was to provide a platform to Indologists working on different aspects of Indian history and culture. In due course, the Society gained such a reputation that the then Government of India started supplying hoards of coins unearthed in different parts of the Indian subcontinent. This was the main supply of coins for the Society that helped in building a substantial collection of 11,830 coins.

This unique numismatic collection includes 643 gold coins and the rest in metals like silver, copper, lead and billon. The coin cabinet covers a range of coins of important dynasties like Pre-Mauryan, Mauryan, Post-Mauryan Punch-marked coins; the Kushans; the Kshatrapas; the Satavahanas; the Guptas; Sultanates like Delhi Sultanate; the Great Mughals; the Princely States and coins of the European countries like the Indo-Danish, Indo-Dutch, Indo-French, Indo-Portuguese, the East India Company and of the British. Also included are some of the coins of the Middle East, European countries and America. The Society also houses some extremely rare coins like the **5 Tola Gold Mohur of Akbar the Great** (*illustrated in Appendix I*) and some very rare punch-marked coins from the famous Sultanpur-Wai Hoard of Satara, Maharashtra.

Collection of MAPS

The Society has a collection of over 1300 maps of historical as well as geographic importance. The bulk of them belong to the second half of the 19th century, with some from late 18th, early 19th and early 20th centuries. Many of them were acquired when the Geographical Society of Bombay merged with the Asiatic Society in 1873. The maps are of different regions and provinces in the country, including a very large number of Bombay Presidency, made by among others, the Marine Survey Department, Surveyor General's Office, GT

Survey Office, National Geographical Society. There is also a collection of early 20th century maps of USA made by the US Geological Survey.

Some valuable and antique books in the library

- Bailey, Rev. B *Dictionary of Malayalam and English* 1846
Bernier, Francois *Voyages*, 1710
Bournouf, M. Eugene *Le Bhagavata Purana* (4 vols.)
(French) 1840
Brooke, R *Dictionary of the World* 1772
Cook, Captain James *Voyages to the South Pole and
round the world* (2 vols.) 1777
Galilei, Galileo Linceo *Diologo* (Italian) 1632
Gould, John *The Birds of Asia* 1850-1883
Grassmann, Hermann *Rig Veda* (translated into German) 1876-77
Langles, L *Monuments Anciens et Moderns del Hindostan* (French) 1821
Macnaghten, W.H. (ed.) *Alif Laila* (Arabic) 1839
Nizam, Sheikh *Futewa Alemgiri* (Urdu) 1829
Prinsep, James *Benares Illustrated* 1831
Raikwal, Bapu Shastri Pandya *Aesop's Fables* (translated into Gujarati)
1826
Raleigh, Sir Walter *History of the World* 1736
Russell, Patrick *An account of Indian serpents collected on the coast of
Coromandel* 1796
Shakespeare, William *First Folio* 1623
Todd, James *Travels in Western India* 1839

Sopara Relics

The Society's collection includes the famous Sopara relics. In 1882, Pt. Bhagvanlal Indraji, renowned archaeologist, numismatist, epigraphist and Honorary Fellow of the Society, excavated a Buddhist stupa at Nala Sopara near Mumbai. The site itself has Mauryan associations and two Asokan edicts have been found. From the centre of the stupa was excavated a large stone coffer containing eight unique Buddhist bronzes of eighth-ninth century AD. The coffer also enclosed relic caskets of copper, silver, stone, crystal and gold, along with numerous gold flowers and fragments of a begging bowl believed to have been originally used by Gautama Buddha. The discovery of the Sopara relics created a great stir not only in India and Europe but also among the Buddhists of Sri Lanka. The Bombay Government presented the Sopara relics to the Asiatic Society of Bombay and it is one of its most prized antiquities. The stone coffer is displayed in the vestibule, while the relics are kept in safe custody.

Honorary Fellowships and Medals

The Asiatic Society recognizes persons who have contributed to the promotion of the objectives of the Society by electing them as Honorary Fellows. This practice was started in 1815. Scholars and luminaries like Monier Williams, R.G. Bhandarkar, Father Heras, S. Radhakrishnan, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Satyajit Ray and M.N. Srinivas were among the Honorary Fellows. Current Honorary Fellows include distinguished personalities like Jayant Narlikar, Mahashweta Devi, I.G. Patel and Kapila Vatsyayan.

The Society has instituted three medals for excellence in different fields, which are awarded every three years.

Campbell Memorial Gold Medal established in 1907, awarded in recognition of distinguished services on the subject of Oriental History, Folklore or Ethnology, calculated to further the objects of the Society, namely the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Sciences and Literature.

MM. Dr. P.V. Kane Gold Medal established in 1946, awarded for valuable research work in Vedic Studies or in Classical Sanskrit with special reference to Dharma Shastra and Poetics.

Society's Silver Medal awarded to a Member of the Society who has written a book adjudged as the best in the given three-year period.

Annual Fellowships

In order to encourage and support young researchers in Indology, History and other social sciences, the Society has, beginning from 1991, instituted annual fellowships for scholars, including but not confined to PhD research scholars. One fellowship is given by the Society itself and the remaining have been endowed by various individuals and institutions.

Fellows are required to submit a research paper at the end of their tenure, and several of these have been published in the Journal.

List of fellowships

INDAL fellowship in Social Sciences.

Fellowship in Labour Studies.

Justice K.T. Telang Fellowship in Indolgy.

Gulestan Billimoria Fellowship for a topic related to Mumbai/Maharashtra.

Asiatic Society's Fellowship in Social Sciences.

G.S. Pohekar Memorial Fellowship for a topic on any aspect of Japan.

Public Interface

The Society's location in the Town Hall, its history of learning combined with public service, and its own current orientation ensure that the Society functions as an active forum for public participation.

In addition to specialized lectures, several of the Society's lectures and seminars are on topics that interest the informed layperson. They are attended by a cross-section of the city's public. The annual Gulestan Billimoria seminar focuses on young people and attracts a large number of college and university students each year. The Society collaborates in a number of events like exhibitions, book releases and discussions with a wide range of institutions. For instance, in recent years, the Society has co-organized events along with British Council, Alliance Francaise, Japan Foundation, University of Mumbai, Mani Bhavan, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Cama Oriental Institute, Prince of Wales Museum, to name a few. It has also collaborated with publishers and bookshops like Oxford University Press, Popular Prakashan, Promilla Publishers, Strand and Danai in organizing book releases and book discussions. These collaborative events bring in people from all walks of life. Even for somewhat arcane subjects, there are sometimes big audiences, as for instance the time when Jacques Derrida delivered a lecture in the overflowing Durbar Hall in 1997, to listen to which even people from nearby cities like Pune and Baroda had come.

Visiting dignitaries often consider a trip to the city incomplete without a visit to the Asiatic Society of Bombay. The historical associations of the Society bring to it an enormous fund of goodwill from the public at large. To give one instance, the 125th Board meeting of the Mumbai Port Trust was a special and memorable meeting held, at their request, in the Durbar Hall of the Asiatic Society on July 3, 1997. The first meeting had been held at the same venue on June 26, 1873.

Manuscript Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay S.V. Shetty

The Asiatic Society of Bombay has a collection of about 3,500 manuscripts, some of which are very rare and 17 manuscripts are illustrated. In 1826, the Government of Bombay gave to the Asiatic Library a rich collection of the very valuable manuscripts (MSS), which had been bequeathed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company by Dr. Taylor. Some Gujarati MSS, procured in Gujarat were presented by Colonel Miles. The holdings were further enriched by the presentation of several Oriental MSS in 1834 by Mr. Borradaile. Further, a part of the Pandit Bhagawanlal Indrajii collection came by way of presentation to the Society. Thereafter, the most notable addition to the Library was a donation of Sanskrit MSS, belonging to Dr. Bhau Daji Lad. This was presented to the Society at a public meeting held in Mumbai to perpetuate the memory of the departed scholar, and is known as the "Bhau Daji Memorial". A noteworthy presentation some years ago has been a collection of Sanskrit MSS, of the late Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, by his daughter, Mrs. Kshamabai Row. Further additions were made by D.P. Podar and others.

In 1919, a subcommittee was appointed to prepare a list of MSS in the Society's possession and to recommend steps necessary for their careful preservation. A catalogue of these collections which had been a desideratum all these years was at long last completed in 1931, albeit in parts – the Sanskrit, Jaina and Vernacular sections in four volumes by Prof. H.D. Velankar after an assiduous labour of 10 years, and the Arabic, Persian, and Urdu sections by Mr. A.A.A. Fyzee rendering a service of love. Velankar's catalogue includes 2093 MSS and Fyzee's work includes 28 MSS. Velankar's catalogue has been reprinted. At present the Society has 356 MSS, which are yet to be studied and catalogued.

In 1820, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, and President of the Society, presented a number of books in foreign languages, which included, amongst others, the Dante Manuscript, one the most precious possessions of the Society, The Dante MS is a quinternion, 12 1/2" x 8 1/2" of great beauty and excellence. It has wide margins and is in single column. The calligraphy is large, attractive and clear. The titles of the cantos are done in beautiful red and gold. The initial letter of each canto is blue, embellished by scrolls and beautifully illuminated, while each *terzina* begins with a simple ornament alternating in gorgeous blue and red. The inside of the leather binding has an inscription in Italian which says: "Magnificent book in parchment of the *Divina Commedia* of Dante Aleghieri, which equals in preservation and beauty those existing in the leading libraries of Europe, especially those in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, with which it has been compared. The form of the characters shows that the date is near the middle of the fourteenth century, that is thirty years after the death of Dante, which took place in AD 1321 at the age of fifty-six. The miniatures at the head of each canto allude to the contents of each canto and indicate the style of the art of the fourteenth century in a way that renders the book highly precious."

The MS was rebound in calf, when on a visit to the Library in 1906, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay remarked that it was in a dilapidated condition needing repairs. Offers for its purchase have been received in the past, including one from the Italian Government under Mussolini. But the Management rejected these offers and the manuscript remains one of the proudest possessions of the Society.

Also, one more very prized collection of the library is an illustrated MS of the *Shahnamah* of Firdausi. *Shahnamah* is an epic accounting the history of the early kings of Persia and other episodes, such as the fight between the hero Rustom and his son Suhrab, and from these epochs down to the reign of Yazdagir who reigned in AH 411/AD 1020, with whom the epic ends. The MS is profusely illustrated, every chapter beginning with a painting. The colophon of the MS

mentions that it was prepared in AH 900/AD 1495 at Shiraz, which was a famous school of painting in Iran. The paintings are mainly illustrations of war scenes or of the feats of the heroes. The warriors and the heroes are seen fighting the enemies either on foot or on saddled horses, wearing heavy armours, inside the fort or outside in an open landscape. Paintings are colourful, being in various shades of red, pink, mauve, green, and also the prominent gold. The calligraphy of this very beautiful MS is of a very high quality.

The discovery of the dated illustrated MS of the 'Aranyaka Parva' has been an event of major importance for the history of Indian miniature painting. It affords a reasonable basis for ascribing approximate dates to a number of well-known illustrated MSS, as also for determining their provenance. The Society got this MS along with other MSS of Dr. Bhau Daji Lad's collection in 1882. It is apparent from the colophon folio that the MS originally had 362 folios but at present only 230 folios are extant. It is dated Samvat 1573/AD 1516. This manuscript was copied at Yoginipura, under the rule of Sikandar Lodi for Bhanudas Chaudhari. Almost all the folios of the MS are ornamented with beautiful old pictures indicative of the story written on them. The Aranyaka Parva of the *Mahabharata* deals with the events during the 12 years of exile of the Pandavas after Yudhishtira's defeat in the game of dice.

The Jaina tradition has patronized paintings illustrating the episodes from the life of the Tirthankaras a great deal, mainly as a visual aid to the devotees. The illustrations were also done to acquire religious merit by the pious Jainas. The Society has four such illustrated MSS of the *Kalpasutra*, one of the important religious texts of the Jainas. They are painted in the western Indian style of painting of the 15th century and later. They are in order dated AD 1415, 1625, 18th century, and AD 1826.

Palm-leaf illustrated MSS, painted during the reign of the Pala kings in Bihar and Bengal became very popular. They usually illustrated Tantric Buddhist deities. But the invasion by Bakhtyar Khalji in AD

1200 put an end to this art. However, this art later spread to Nepal and Tibet. In this art there is an influence of the paintings of Ajanta and Ellroa. There are six palm-leaf illustrated folios from the Buddhist MS *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita* of c. AD 1200 in the Asiatic Library.

RE-VISIONING MUMBAI

M A N I F E S T O

Points for Memorandum to Government

Emerging from the Session on Planning and Governance

4 March 2005, Asiatic Society Conference

on Re-visioning Mumbai

1. Declare the Principles that will govern the process of urban planning, and against which all urban policies and programmes will be evaluated and judged.
2. Modify the Rent Act so that it does not apply to new tenancies created hereafter, whether in new buildings or old.
3. Pass a law that enables speedy repossession of premises where the occupant has defaulted on mortgage payments, or has defaulted on rental payments.
4. Give tenure to slum dwellers, and allow them to choose from a variety of options as to how, if at all, they would like to take up reconstruction.

5. Modify the design and implementation of all resettlement projects to include a real process of participation by the affected people in decision-making.
6. Have the BMC take up redevelopment of areas under Section 33 of the BMC Act, with participation by the affected people.
7. Have all Government agencies, such as MHADA, BMC and others provide full and detailed information and baseline data, plot by plot, on a publicly accessible website, so as to maximize transparency in the granting of permissions and decision-making by these bodies.
8. To improve public transport, implement the underground link between Churchgate and VT, with the object of halving the headway time between trains from the present three minutes to 90 seconds on both the Western and Central Railway tracks.
9. Remove the multiplicity of authorities with planning responsibility for different parts of Greater Bombay, and place all responsibility for urban planning and the granting of permissions for construction and reconstruction with a single agency, the BMC.

IMPROVED PLANNING

1. Increasing pace of change in economic profiles of Mumbai, 20-year physical plan has proved to be inadequate.
2. There have to be improved data systems that effectively take Mumbai's economy, employment structures and their physical manifestations in buildings and their uses.
3. Every five years the 20-year master plan will have to be reviewed in a participatory fashion, along with a Capital Improvement Plan and its financing.
4. Land, particularly publicly owned land, has to be brought into use to further public interest.
5. Mumbai's rich biodiversity has to be preserved including its mangroves and coastline.

INAUGURATION

WELCOME ADDRESS B.G. DESHMUKH

Justice Chandrachud; Prof. Appadurai, distinguished participants, my colleagues of the Managing Committee of the Asiatic, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very happy to welcome you to this Two Day Conference which is called the 'Re-visioning of Mumbai' and which hopefully will lead to a document which will tell us how we can have sustainable development of this great city of ours. When I got the papers, I was asking my people in the Asiatic what are these sustainable developments, people might misunderstand that you want to make Bombay into Shanghai. But that is not the intention at all. We do want the city to be a prosperous city, we want the city where the quality of life is much better, and everybody should have a healthy and happy life. But then, we thought that since Asiatic has a distinguished position on the culture heritage and other aspects of life, Asiatic should organize a Conference which will take a holistic view of the development of Mumbai. Now, when I say holistic, I mean apart from the economic developments of Mumbai. Mumbai has soul, Mumbai has heritage, Mumbai has cultural history and Mumbai has its own particular social history also. So we thought that if Mumbai's development is to take place in a holistic way, we must discuss these various aspects. We only think of Mumbai as a commercial metropolis, as a financial capital, as an engine of economic growth. In this new era of liberalization, cities are playing an important role in the economic development. But we at the Asiatic firmly believe

that unless other aspects of the city are also taken into consideration, the city as such will not have real developments, real progress. That's why, if you go through the programme of the Conference, you will find we are covering various aspects of the city including economic development. Since many of you are old Mumbaiites, apart from the economic development you will remember that Mumbai has been the social capital of India, the political capital of India, the cultural capital of India and in so many other fields. So why don't we discuss these various aspects and ensure what we can do to let Mumbai regain its glory. I was just talking to Justice Chandrachud a few minutes back. Mumbai High Court and the Mumbai Bar had been well respected institutions throughout India, therefore when we think of restoring Mumbai's glory, why don't we think of restoring glory of the legal profession of Mumbai? Similarly, Mumbai has been the capital of political movement, social movement, why can't we think of creating various causes and atmosphere which will again give back to Mumbai, what it gave to the political and social leadership of the country. So these are all the various aspects which we will discuss in the seminar and we will try to bring out a manifesto incorporating our ideas how Mumbai's glory will be restored and that manifesto can be sent to the Government and we will ensure that this manifesto is taken very seriously by the Government. Asiatic is very happy if not proud to host this Conference because as I told you Asiatic has its own place in the city life of Mumbai. The Durbar Hall in which you are sitting has been the venue of many meetings, discussions and seminars and very heated debates have taken place here on Bombay's history and Bombay's future. So we are very happy to host this seminar in this Durbar Hall. We have got distinguished speakers, Prof. Appadurai will deliver the keynote address. We are very keen to hear him. He was telling me that he's an old Mumbai boy, left Mumbai in the 60s, so he has a personal interest in Mumbai. Justice Chandrachud is a well respected judicial luminary of the country, he will also tell us what his views are. And I am quite sure that the various

participants will tell us how they think Mumbai's glory can be restored. I again welcome you all to this Conference and I am very happy as the President of Asiatic Society to extend you a very warm welcome.

**KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY
JUSTICE MR. Y.V CHANDRACHUD
(Rtd. Chief Justice of India)**

It is a great honour to be here on this historic occasion. The gatherings of the Asiatic Society are seldom too large but small is beautiful. This is an elite gathering, whose main concern is to reform the society and inculcate in the citizens the basic notions of ethics and fairplay.

We have some of distinguished speakers here who will share their precious thoughts with us on "Re-visioning of Mumbai". I am basically a lawyer and I always ask myself the question: Does re-visioning Mumbai not include a very important facet of Mumbai? I am not speaking so much of the Law and Order problem but by my focus is on the law, lawyers and judges in Mumbai. There was a time when the Mumbai Bar, the Mumbai Judiciary and the Mumbai solicitors occupied pride of place in the history of the Indian judiciary. Over a long and significant period close to a century, the distinguished members of the Bar made a significant contribution to the welfare of the society. I may not be misunderstood as saying that today, we do not have a competent and illustrious Bar. But I do want to refute the allegations made clandestinely, in a sort of a whispering campaign, that the judiciary is no longer above reproach. Any objective person who is even faintly acquainted with law and the judiciary will agree that the Indian judiciary is not only one of the vital constitutional organs of the State but it has also scrupulously maintained its essential characteristic of being an institution of unquestionable rectitude. It is a matter of great happiness that, by and large, the common man has implicit faith in the judiciary. And, even when two illustrious men of politics differ, one says to the other that he will show him his right place by taking him to a court of law.

Re-visioning Mumbai is a subject of vast magnitude, which has many ramifications, facets and implications. I have spent the best part of

my life in Mumbai as a lawyer, as a Judge and then, after my retirement from the Supreme Court of India. I may be pardoned for saying that when I look back in retrospect and compare the bygone years with the present times, my mind is filled with uneasiness. When I was practising in Mumbai as a lawyer, the Government Law College was the only law college in Mumbai. There are now over 20 law colleges in Mumbai and, as the law of life commands, the quality essentially undergoes deterioration with the proliferation of institutions. Today, there are people who say with a certain amount of pride that their basic ambition of life is to start an educational institution, as if to convey that they are interested in the spread of education. They are not. The easiest way of making large money is now to start an educational institution and charge what is known as capitation fees, according to the whims and fancies of the people in charge of the institution. It has virtually become impossible for persons belonging to the lower economic strata to think of sending their children to a good college. That is a dream which remains unfulfilled for them. The fees have reached astronomical proportions. The Government promises grants but the Government itself needs grants because its economic position is somewhat precarious.

Mumbai has acquired a great name for being one of the safest cities in the world. A 14-year-old girl could walk on the streets of Mumbai at midnight and would be quite safe. Things are gradually undergoing a disturbing change. The protectors of law and order are themselves getting involved in rapes of young girls who happen to approach them for a complaint. We must put in our best endeavour to ensure that the basic ethical concepts of life return.

The slums in Mumbai have not sprung up from nowhere. They enjoy the patronage of the high and mighty for the simple reason that they constitute vote banks. The slums are encouraged to come up and there is then a vote-catching outcry for the demolition of slums. The simple question is where will the poor man or woman go if

driven out of the slums, especially when he or she was sort of encouraged to build a slum?

The city of Mumbai has something peculiar in it, not merely traces of culture but, the very essence of culture. A close friend of mine, who is a judge of the Patna High Court, had come to Mumbai for a function. We were provided with a tourist car. The cab driver was a Bihari and my Bihari Judge friend said: "what is this kind of a metamorphosis. This Bihari driver is behaving so politely and courteously. If he goes back to his hometown, he will change into a different kind of personality". The Bihari driver of the cab is influenced by the culture of the city of Mumbai.

On this important day which is a golden occasion in the annals of the Asiatic Society, let us promise ourselves that we will strive every nerve and will not spare any effort to make Mumbai what it has always been. There should be more cultural functions and we should have more people who will take advantage of our magnificent library.

Dr. (Smt.) Najma Heptullah
Chairperson, Indian Council of Relations

Mr. Deshmukh, Justice Chandrachud, friends, Mr. Sohoni is the Vice President of ICCR and he was responsible in advocating the cause of this conference, not only this conference of the Asiatic Society, but he's been advocating to our Governing Council and General Body that we should support Asiatic Society, which is our premier institution and this is the Bicentenary year.

I have been representing Mumbai for 25 years in the parliament. My commitment to Mumbai is very much there and if you want people to come to a premier city like Mumbai, we should be able to present Mumbai in the best form, in the form which it was before. I got married in 1966 and came to live in Santacruz. Commuting to the city was about half an hour, 45 minutes at the most, and now you take two hours and 45 minutes. It's almost as much as coming from Delhi to Mumbai. Apart from the traffic, the kind of atmosphere which was here 30 years ago is missing. This area used to be all action. Hundreds of people come everyday to Mumbai. They really do not know the original culture of Mumbai. The city is bursting at its seams and we should realize that the city has to survive that sustainable development for the city of Bombay and has to be planned. It is possible. Kolkata was terribly chaotic. But, now you find it is comparatively better. And now I find Mumbai almost like that. There is chaos on the street. There is terrible pollution. The way slums are growing. I understand that those people have a right to live somewhere. But I think there is a very thin line between making city die and making people to survive and we should try to see and here we have Justice for both. There should be some policies the Government must adopt, because people just come, make a Jhopadi somewhere and a shanty colony grows in three days and in one month it is settled. You can't move them, and then everybody suffers. And unfortunately, the idea which is carried through the media and through some interested parties is that if somebody wants to remove slums it is for the rich people. It's not true; if the slums

are properly regularized and cleaned, everybody will breathe the same clean air. If through this conference, you can send a message that we want Mumbai to be beautiful for everyone, clean, environmentally sustainable to develop for everybody who lives here. Many years ago there was a terrible textile strike headed by Datta Samant. All the mills were becoming junkyards because they were closed for a long time. I went to Mrs. Indira Gandhi and I told her that these mills should be commercially sold, when the land is sold, half the profit can go to the mill owners, a part can be given to workers. The rest of it can be given to the owners, who can go and set up mills in the hinterland, where the cotton grows so that the people who have been working here can be accommodated because most of the workers have left. She liked the idea. She asked me to discuss the matter with Dr. Datta Samant. I had a long discussion with him and why should Mumbai have the mills? There was a time some 100 – 200 years ago, when these mills were really needed over here because there was no infrastructure in the rest of Maharashtra or in the country, now Mumbai can be a service area. I am happy 20 years before, it did not happen. But now it has and you can see the only indication of the mills are those chimneys which we see. The whole area is active and very clean and all the dust and pollution has reduced. We had a Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development Committee and the members of parliament of these 145 countries used to sit together to find out how can we create an atmosphere, in which we can plan sustainable development. It should not be development which kills the one who is trying to develop. I have come here to tell you, I am from Mumbai, I have my love for Mumbai, I want to be with you, all in all the efforts to make this city as beautiful as it was.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: PROF. ARJUN APPADURAI

I am deeply concerned about this city where I spent my first 18 years. My father S.K. Iyer was a very early migrant in the year 1915 to the city. He was a distinguished journalist. He would have been about 106 years old or so now. He knew the city very well and he lived in Matunga, and later at Churchgate. He served the Government of Maharashtra and Chief Minister B.G. Kher. Those were important times. He spoke Hindustani, he spoke Marathi, Tamil and English. He inhabited this whole area. He worked for PTI. He lived at Churchgate, where I was born. But before I was born, before the war, he lived in Matunga. He has old history there. So indeed I am also very proud and my father would have been very proud that I was able to join you on this occasion. I studied at the Elphinstone College. I might say in spirit of Justice Chandrachud's very moving remarks that there are some questions whether the Elphinstone College of today is Elphinstone of 20 years ago, 30 years ago, 100 years ago and with no personal reflection on anybody. I think we have general problems of institutional decline. This is a worldwide phenomenon and therefore, it's nothing specific to India. It is certainly through the city. I also feel that it's something about which something can be done and something should be done and I feel people who have grown up here and who have investments in the city should be involved in it and in that respect I am pleased and proud to say that I am also committed to a small organization –

Partners for Urban Knowledge Action and Research (PUKAR), which was able to help to start research? Work? in the city and for the city, about the city and I am involved in it at a distance, but the people who run it are doing some valuable things, so I urge you to know more about this organization, which is among the many such in the city, to find out about it, but it's another tie that brings me again and again to the city. So I indeed do have many connections not only academic ones with this city. They are memories of some very good years in the city when in a sense many things worked for people. Mumbai always had poor people. Mumbai always had people who have struggled but there was something about what may be called social contract which seems to work better, I think its worth reflecting on what the social contract was about. It's a contract that was framed in the city and many other cities. Let me with that small introduction use my time to offer some remarks in the context of a very important event, the 200th anniversary of this extraordinary institution, the Asiatic Society and also an event occurring at the time of serious difficulties facing this city and it's indeed great that the Asiatic Society which has been a remarkable repository of historical and archival information, debate and discussion is also plunging into the issues of the present and the future in such a bold way. I am deeply touched and moved by it. I begin my comments by remarking on the fact that Mumbai city's difficulties or crisis is part of the global urban crisis and without going into the details, let me make two or three points about the shape of this crisis. The first is the worldwide rush to the cities, and that to very large cities, which are, therefore, becoming larger. Many of you are aware of the statistics in this regard. The UN has projected that 60% of the world's population soon will be in cities, secondly, they will be in very large cities, the so called mega cities, Mumbai very much included among them, and thirdly, that in many other cities the gap between the rich and the poor will grow. So this is the global reality, about the mega city. Therefore, people are concerned about the future of the city and the mega city, everywhere. There is something which is common to many of these cities, which is the second point. All these cities have in one way or the other jobs that are attracting people from elsewhere and

almost all of them had very weak history of planning for housing and shelter and common? I think Mumbai is not exempt from this. Needless to say, Delhi, Chennai or Kolkata are not exactly standard status for us, but we are talking today about Mumbai. Thirdly, in all these cities, in different ways there are very high scales of social violence and increasing crime. Mumbai is slow in this but it is changing and well all these global cities now have many obstacles to convey reality between ethnic groups, between religious groups, between class groups, between neighbourhoods and so on and if you are in Mexico City or in Lagos the obstacles will be different than Bangkok or Mumbai, but they are all there. Finally, in many of these cities, I won't say all of them, these mega cities are growing and going out of control in some way. The economies are shifting, somebody already talked about the textile industry of Mumbai. There is a broad shift away from production to consumption, shopping, buying, etc. This sometimes seems, perhaps rightly, a bad thing for participation of a globalized world. But these consumption economies are also delinked from the mechanism for taking care of the people who provide the services for them. So we just heard that it is part of service economy, information economy, knowledge economy. These are all words used but the point is that the industrial economy is on a decline and all the cities in one or other way similarly are in difficult conditions. In Mumbai whether they belong to the middle class, lower middle class, working class, who have left work and to the classes of people who worked but lived in slums and it has been pointed out that slum dwellers themselves are complex in class. They are not all jobless some of course slum pavements are indeed truly indigent they have to walk from Horniman Circle to Marine Drive to see truly indigent. But, everybody is not my enemy and there is not enough thought about the people who serve the service economy. You may say it is fine to talk about them, that they are the servants of service economy, but the servants of service economy are not much thought about and if you didn't think about them we are in trouble, regardless of our politics. Two more points about the global urban crisis, if you put it that way; since the mid 20th century, India is certainly a perfect case but it is by no means the only case. There is a

growing rift between thinking about and planning about and policy as well as investment in rural and urban development. Think for a moment, what you read generally is that since 1950, 80% of it is about rural development. Now, the debate is about rural and urban 50s even with the distinguished exception of Patric Geddes, there is urban planning tradition which had not been paid attention, secondly this is a subject for much elaborate discussion as a consequence of lack of connection, between discussion of rural development and urban development. One major blank spot that is being developed which is especially costing for cities and for urban planning, is that our rural planning, particularly agricultural planning in India, is that there is growth model with a fairly small or zero worries about carrying capacity. In other words, if you think of rural India from 1951 onwards, from Nehruvian time onwards, the idea was – grow more crops, so today we are self-sufficient. When you are growing more crops, typically in rural areas you don't worry for carrying capacity, there seems to be endless place, endless water. We know that's not true. If nobody worried about carrying capacity then in cities when you have growth model pump up the economy, create new businesses, carrying capacity immediately becomes an issue. So, this is one serious problem in not having created a better dialogue between urban and rural development and asked what good things we have learnt through rural development stories and how can we apply it to urban development. They are two parallel tracks, and we have to do something about it. Last point is about global cities, which I think is very relevant to Mumbai. I hope I may be able to show that there is a growing gap – and I have to come back to this point several times today in my brief comment, between what may be called Technocratic Planning and Democratic Planning. Technocratic planning means planning basically created from a bird's eye view, looking at this room from there, looking at aggregate issues, looking at them largely from technical point of view, wondering how various units can be distributed and located, wondering how material resources can be optimally moved and delivered, infrastructure for example, wondering how housing structures can be built intelligently. Now, there is more of urban planning and planning in general,

certainly takes the human side into account, I am not denying that, but on the whole, planning is a science which sees from above or sees from a distance. This business is meant to get close to this person or that person, it is meant to function at slight distance. In this regard I should point out that Technocratic planning is no different than many other social sciences, statistics, census studies and so on and there is no harm in it because it is very difficult to do census interlineally by talking to each person for 10 hours, so there is a reason why we have very sophisticated survey instruments mainly developed in India, one can argue that 20th century statistics though Dr. Mahalanobis developed in India, at the ISI in Kolkata. But, the reality is technocratic planning and here there are key points on which we can talk more. I am not criticizing planning, particularly because I'm a social scientist. A lot of the problems are the same. It has no conception and its part of business is not politics, so the first thing to do while planning is to keep politics at a distance. Now, I want to come back to suggest to you that it is not really a good thing because today in Mumbai, politics is becoming a problematic affair. Politics is a thing that many of us in this room don't want to be involved in. Politics is a bad thing. Planning, let us say, is a good thing. When I am saying planning, which does not recognize that we live in political world is not going to work. That is the point I'll come back to. I want to make one another point and then speak more about Mumbai in particular. In all of these cities, the Mega Cities, who can see the growing gap between what I called technocratic planning and democratic planning? Technocratic Planning is planning of the city, planning of designers, economists and engineers. It is essentially scientific, and people natural, it can be very good and has its own inner logic. Democratic Planning which you might say was in the minds of the founders of India's Five-Year Plans. Nehru particularly, was always planning for the people. In that sense, it was democratic planning. But it was not planning by the people. So people were never necessarily involved, ordinary people, in planning that I was strange idea but planning is technical planning and technocratic planning, it's an expert planning. Ordinarily people are seen as involved in voting, but not in planning.

It's a worldwide story, not just a Mumbai story. So let me say that one of the consequences [and bring me into Bombay story and several of my distinguished predecessors have already pointed out, that] *can be replaced with 'is that the'* space of citizenship is shrinking. Population is growing, but if who are the citizens, by which people who can make a difference, people who can hold their hand up and somebody listens that number is going down, whether they hold their hands up in Judiciary or in the Executive or in Mantralaya or in Municipalities or in Elphinstone College – that number has gone down. But, the number of people has obviously gone up. That means citizenship is shrinking. So if you take the demolitions and or generally the problem of poor people in Mumbai or the under-housed, how do you want to put it - slum dwellers – their capacity to exercise the claims of citizenship has steadily shrunk. Whatever else the case, now we can have a debate how they shrunk, how fast, for what reasons, but I think very few of us deny that this has happened. This too is a global problem. So if you look at these 10 to 15 cities that are exploding, take the example of Mexico city, which is a nightmare. It's way ahead of Mumbai in numbers. Its physical extent is as great as the outer edges of Bombay. In fact greater. The bulk of the people living in two-thirds of Mexico City, have no investments in Mexico's politics, national politics they are simply hanging on to the jobs and trying to survive somewhere, so they also found of all kind of politics and all kind of violence. But they are trying to get to the bar. Citizenship is not one of their privileges. So, let me put the point in a very blunt way. The constitution of this country both in its core and in directive principles was based on the strong version of democracy. This is not the American version. You all are allowed to vote. It's a strong version. It says everybody has a right to a good life. This is why development as an idea is embedded in the Indian constitution. This is not optional principles. So how can you have that playing out in a place where citizenship is shrinking? There are five people who speak for every 500 or 5000. So however virtuous those five people may be and we know that three out of five are not virtuous that cannot be a good functioning system. So, let me turn to Mumbai. During the Iraq war, prosecuted by the country in which I

now am resident, though I pointed out as sometime like to do, my passport is still Indian. So we have non-resident Indians like me and we have resident non-Indians as my friend Ashis Nandy said so I am non-resident Indian, still holding passport, so still have rights to say something here and there and some fewer rights in the country in which I work, that war it was first started, shameful war, prosecuted by shameful administration. I made a little joke and I wanted to write an article, but I left with the joke, which is, the issue was, not weapon for mass destruction, issue was weapon of mass constructions. So these are wars of mass construction. So we look at Iraq, the story was how do you level the country first, so that Harry Butt can go there two weeks later and get 10,000 contracts. So I invite you to look around the world, look at Beijing, look here and look there, whenever things go down some things will go up, says a law in Physics. Nothing goes down and stays down. So the question is, when things go down, who is going to put things up. It is always worth asking that question and following it up. All construction depends on destruction. Especially in crowded limited spaces. These are not open country places, where you simply go and build somewhere. Everybody wants to be somewhere near the place of action. So if you want to build something, something else has to go. I again pick up from Chief Justice's comments and say, whoever may be involved in getting something erected, especially at high human cost, you have to follow the next step and find out what is coming up, what do people want to do there and you may be able to find out something of that logic. In previous decades in Mumbai, slums of course were seen as social and civic eyesores, something different is happening today, certainly since December. But I think the seeds are much older than December, which is that they are victims of. The people of the slums that have been demolished in Ambujwadi and beyond, are victims of the battle over a war of construction, not a war of destruction. We have big builders, constructing tall buildings, in the vertical city and the vertical city has to grow somewhere, therefore, something has to go for the tall city to come. Now, on the other side, we have much more difficult problem, that both the State and the Central Government and the governing municipalities are

also involved in construction that is directly not the tall building aspect, but roads, flyovers, etc. But it is a tight city, so when you create some projects through a big road through half the city then again displacement will occur. There would be some destruction as things have to be done, and people suffer. So there is construction going on of all varieties and they all require some destruction. So the question is, in the process who gets destroyed and at what costs? Who ultimately is paying the price and who is thinking about? The vicious circle that I see is that of this campaign of unrestricted and unplanned construction, unrestricted from the point of view of conservation, so-called cessed buildings and so on and of unplanned construction, meaning that of roads, flyovers, etc. Where the social cause is not anticipated is bound to create disparity. I say that it is a vicious cycle, I say this is not a good thing because in this process you are creating groups of people who are displaced, unhappy and non-citizens and this is not a formula for inclusion in plan, is not a formula for social joy and participation and good politics but a formula for bad politics. The vicious cycle here is that as you do unplanned construction or runaway construction you will create, for example, as in Mulund, shopping spaces and other things which also create a new demand for a service class, which will have reduced access to housing in the consumption course as they are pushed out to pseudo villages to the north and east of the island city. So you will see the vicious cycle destroy something, build something which may be shopping centres, malls or maybe some service centre, and then you need those people from the service class and many of them are from the lower end, who may have no housing so they are pushed further out, but your economy is practiced. Therefore, if it is Mulund, you tell them go beyond Thane or if it is in Thane, you tell them to go to Satara, we are headed for the direction, which is not good. This is something similar to what was happening in South Africa. When the apartheid was official, working blacks went for hours and hours to work and they had to have ID cards to enter the city of South Africa. Now the situation is changed. Of course there are other huge challenges. In South Africa, housing is a dream for the reason that people have to travel for hours and hours and live in

highly unregulated way, sometimes it is hundred of miles from the place of work, the nightmare the black South Africans are trying to struggle against now. We don't want to land up there. So, the question for the Planners is, how do we do our destruction and our constructions of roads, flyovers, buildings, etc. and lots of people to service them including taxi drivers, people who serve in the food industry, servant, mallis, but they must vanish somewhere after working hours. They cannot live here and they cannot live there. This is basically a social impossibility. As the last example, in Mumbai I would like to point out that there is a battle over heritage which all of you here at the Asiatic Society know well about. This particularly applies now to the so-called cessed buildings in South Bombay and Central Bombay, etc. It's an old struggle and that we certainly need to be cautious and careful in the larger context of our visible built heritage. There is also what others and I have tried to call along with people in UNESCO 'Intangible Heritage'. Tangible Heritage means building and structures, but what is intangible heritage? It is our social heritage, ideas, values, customs, norms, the things which give social life its meaning. Tangible heritage is VT station building and such buildings throughout the city and also small residences, which are now coming down in Girgaum and at other places. Intangible heritage is I would say a quality that the Chief Justice was referring to, Mumbai and its cosmopolitanism. Again, I don't want to romanticize it. Mumbai always had a lot of crime, difficulties, poor people and they had a lot of exclusion. Nevertheless Mumbai somehow created a *via media* or written modest *nivendi*? which was visible, I would say it is now highly strangled because more and more citizens who are not original Mumbaiites but migrants from other States, so the Taxi Driver from Bihar or from rural Maharashtra has a harder time, even though he may speak English with me and Tamil with my aunty. The actual social underpinning to that conversation is getting thinner as the linguistic capacities have improved a great deal. This is still a city of negotiation, conservation, communication. But the fuel behind it is getting thinner for the reasons that I have described. I think we need to do a great deal of study to understand better why it is that we are

collectively producing a physical environment which will not meet our own aims as middle class or upper middle class people as opinion-makers, or policy-makers, and so on. This is not a viable part, or a sustainable part. So, whatever a version of it, whether Mumbai-Shanghai, Mumbai Service Economy, Mumbai Mall City, Mumbai Airport City, etc. the reality you have to face at the lower end of the consumption change, who will serve it and where they will live and how they will live so they can live like dignified citizens. And to answer their problem, Urban Planning has to be taken up and that's a political question. It is not technocratic question. You have to ask – how can they participate? I'll come back to that in my conclusion. Of course there are no simple solutions, many of you spend years and decades thinking about this city and why it has changed how it has changed, what are its opportunities, what are its resources. I certainly have no radical new wisdom to offer. Indeed, every time I come to Mumbai I try to find out what are the solutions that people are trying, what is working and what is not working. The major things I suggest we need to think about, and I say these not as prescription, but they by way of suggestions for activating dialogues between groups like us and other groups. First, we need to make a serious effort to increase the involvement of ordinary citizens in the skill and discipline of planning. PUKAR is devoted to this. There is no way you will make progress moving from technocratic planning to democratic planning unless the skills of planning of architecture, engineering, infrastructure etc. actually occupy the minds of the people and problems of poorer people as their own no amount of planning done by a small number of people will work because it is not set up for that purpose. So, all these disciplines in which I include my own social science disciplines, economics and so on, have to become part of education system that Chief Justice Chandrachud referred to. It has now become kind of knowledge for order. Let us learn Java, Cobol etc. That's fine and a few people will make a career out of it and they do many people don't. All the people will go to either Chate Coaching Classes or somewhere else and bulk of them will not. So the question is what kind of education can we offer that allows people entries into citizenship? Planning has to be done

among them. When I say planning, I mean in a number of fields, including architecture. That's the first thing. Some effort has to be made to reach out, to translate planning across domestic boundaries so that the specialized expert knowledge does not remain an elite knowledge, which we then distribute when we want while people stand outside the door waiting. That will not go very far. Second, I think Asiatic Society could play a great role and encourage a public debate about the relationship between housing and building, so building is one thing and housing is another thing. Therefore, I urge that we have a debate that recognizes that housing and building are not the same thing. Buildings do not turn into housing and housing by itself does not entail building. Housing may need any number of things. But what kind of building is required to tackle to the social problem of housing is an open question. Thirdly, though very difficult, bringing the cosmopolitanism outlook back. The only way in which to do that in my view again, is to create a conversation which is more open, bringing more and more people into the dialogue. Recognizing that cosmopolitanism comes from many places, many sources, many languages, many points of view, and that it's not a thin product, which has to be dripped down intravenously into other people. Lastly, I would say, we need to reconnect this cosmopolitanism that Mumbai I think genuinely did have, to planning which I have been talking about and also to politics. We all by and large, except for people who are professionally in politics, this is by the way, true in USA too, we talk to ordinary people. Politics is a bad word. Even politicians use it as a bad word. In Mumbai, we know this bad word is associated with Indian crime, corruption, manipulation, search of power, it and not associated with civic life, collective values, justice and democracy. That connection is gone. So I say that Planners in which I have included all of us really must lose their distress/distaste for politics, we must rediscover our positive role for politics and politicians. I believe institutions like Asiatic Society can truly play a leadership role in this process, as a major public institution, where people come to read, come to listen, and come to debate, which I think is the special role of such an institution. All institutions have their roles. Colleges have their roles,

high schools have their roles, indeed hospitals have their roles, the State certainly has a huge role so also an institution like this. It is only correct that I have returned to this great institution. Can places like the Asiatic where we asked the question how we can bring proper planning for this city, and other cities and bring back healthy relationship with politics? I will conclude by saying that it requires two things and I say with great respect both to planning and politics, planning cannot be left only to planners and politics cannot be left to politicians.

**RE-INTRODUCING MUMBAI: UNDERSTANDING THE
URBAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF MUMBAI
DR. SADASHIV GORAKSHKAR**

I am an exponent of both tangible and intangible heritage and when I talk of heritage, I take lots of things into account and fortunately the Asiatic Society has planned the Conference in the same direction. I wouldn't be too wrong if I express at the beginning of this business session that all of us are not just environmental professionals and realize the needs and demands of the environment, which is rich in its past memories and future hope. I have lived in this city for long and have now gone far away, 80 km from here, but I still have maintained a vital link with the city in the sense that your water supply flows right next to my house. So sitting there as also between two dams, the Tansa Vaitarna and the Bhatsa. I live in the Bhatsa village, and with all its geographical and geological difficulties of which Prof. Arunachalam knows best, I keep on looking at the city from a distance and wonder where it is going and what needs to be done to salvage or preserve what is available for us for preservation. Some years back, Nigel Harris led us to Singapore, we try to equate Mumbai with Singapore. We have chosen to go a little northwards towards Shanghai now. But I wonder whether Mumbai will become Shanghai or remain Mumbai. So let us all hear from these eminent speakers who have been invited to participate in this two-day Conference about their vision of Mumbai. It is Geography that often gives a trend to the formation of history and that's why we decided Prof. Arunachalam would speak first on the subject 'Changing Geography of Mumbai'. Mumbai as you know is very often referred to city gift of its harbour and harbour necessarily is a geographical phenomenon. Mumbai's geography, the geography of seven islands has undergone major changes and with lots of things happening in and around the coast, we really need to look at how a Professor of

Geography would look at Mumbai. Dr. Aroon Tikekar would be speaking on Institutionalizing of National Consciousness, how and why Mumbai grew and subsequently lost its intellectual leadership. This is exactly what Prof. Appadurai was referring to as intangible evidence, intangible heritage, which is equally important. Neera Adarkar would naturally talk about labour histories of Mumbai. Prof. Arunachalam was the Head of the Department of Geography at the University of Mumbai and essentially a specialist in geomorphology and mathematical cartography. As a member of the National Geographic India, Indian National Cartographic Association, Society of Indian Ocean Studies, he has contributed immensely to the understanding of the maritime heritage of India, he has studied the malwanis potis as we call them, log books of ancient Mariners. He has a number of publications to his credit, many of which were published by the Indian Navy itself. But, additional factors about his studies, is the cosmology of the Jains, on which, he has a lot of material. Dr. Aroon Tikekar today is the editor of Sakaal, former editor of Loksatta and Lokmat, started his career as a University teacher, then shifted as an archivist to the Times of India archives, worked there in the editorial departments and now has concentrated on journalism as his profession. But he is also a Professor of media at Pune University. A very good scholar, his book on the History of the University of Bombay is very well known and today he is busy writing the history of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai. Neera Adarkar is an activist besides being an architect and with Meena Menon has co-authored a book entitled *One hundred years and one hundred voices – the story of Girangaon*.

INSTITUTIONALISING OF NATIONAL CONSCIENCE

**How And Why Mumbai Gained And Subsequently Lost
Intellectual Leadership**

AROON TIKEKAR

Public opinion in India is moulded in its metropolises and takes its tone almost entirely from the educated communities centred in the chief towns. (1) There is enough evidence to show that the history of the Indian struggle for freedom, to a large extent is the history of the aims and aspirations of the educated urban classes whose leaders came from liberal professions such as educators, journalists, lawyers and medical practitioners. Another significant feature of the Indian encounter with Europe in the 19th century was that it was through socio-religious reform that political reform was sought and both these reforms were led by leaders from the educated urban classes.

Mumbai, essentially a British creation, was conceived to be a world trade-mart from its conception. It did not, however, take long for the city to become the commercial capital of India and much less to become a symbol of the national conscience in matters social and cultural, thanks to the successive visionary British rulers who not only promoted education among local inhabitants but also encouraged social change. The country learnt early lessons in multi-religious and multi-cultural cohabitation in Mumbai. With the cosmopolitan social fabric of Mumbai imbibed from the beginning Mumbai acquired the status of a 'Miniature India'. The city was singularly fortunate in having, at the helm of its social life, educated men and women of exemplary social understanding who strove hard to instil into the city dwellers a liberal and progressive outlook of life. The 19th century Mumbai, as recorded in the history pages, was on the threshold of a renaissance-like situation: questioning of and debating over conventionalities and traditions, willingness to accept new ideas coming from the West, accepting what is good in them and also discarding what is bad in their own traditions. Social and religious aberrations that had crept into the ancient society were sought to be removed. A class and caste-ridden society was seen working overtime to remove the invidious distinction between man and man and between man and woman. These educated urban young leaders set before them new social goals and to achieve them they set up appropriate institutions. How successful they were is all contained in the history books of the period. It cannot, however, be denied that

by providing progressive and creative leadership to a young city of Mumbai, they set an example before the country and thus came to symbolize the new national conscience. Many new ideas took birth in Mumbai in the 19th century. Mumbai proudly possessed many 'firsts' to its credit. In addition to setting up institutions for the spread of scientific knowledge, collection and collation of scientific data, many reform movements were started here which were later to become beacons to the people who hoped to achieve social change based on equality and justice. The first anti-caste movement was started here, the first rejection of the infallibility of the scriptures was in Mumbai, the first open letters of protest against the colonial exploitation were published in Mumbai, the first widow re-marriage took place here, the first Hindu-Muslim marriage took place here... the list can go on. The Arya Samaj was founded here, the Prarthana Samaj, which rejected idol worship, too was started here, theosophy also struck roots here.

On a very general level one can say that if in the first half of the 19th century a new life was instilled into the city of Mumbai by the enlightened leaders, the latter half was the period of reformers from the educated urban classes. If in the first half of the 20th century, Mumbai leaders would have continued their efforts in socio-reforms, the history of India would have perhaps been totally different. However, 1900 to 1947 was a period of brisk political activity and the struggle for freedom was given the topmost priority where everything else was relegated to a secondary position. Those who were the frontrunners in socio-religious and cultural change, changed their priorities and were seen leading political agitations of all kinds and of all velocities.

This presentation largely deals with how Mumbai came to symbolize national conscience by institutionalizing various ideas of social reform and how urban educated youth steeped in the Western liberal tradition provided leadership to a cosmopolitan population, and with it an appendage on how and why the same leadership failed to continue with the colossal work of rebuilding a new nation.

Life in Mumbai and its surroundings in the 1850s was quite different from that of the earlier decades of that century. It had become evident that the British had come to stay. The East India Company's rule was received with mixed reactions. Against a backdrop of constant warfare and the resultant instability due to decayed or decaying social institutions, the Company rule had provided a comparatively stable administration and apparently useful public amenities. Following the fall of the Marathas in 1818, Mumbai was singularly fortunate in having at the helm of affairs, a visionary who heralded a new age and dreamt of a better land and better people than were seen around. Mountstuart Elphinstone who was Governor of Mumbai between 1820 and 1827, did much for the betterment of the land, for education of the local people and for enhancement of the local culture. He was an administrator who had judged the pulse of the local people correctly and endeavoured to bring about changes which people, more or less, welcomed. More than the changes he brought about in social life, it was his healthy approach to problems that endeared him to the local people. "The Maratha peasantry" he once opined, "had some pride in the triumphs of their nation, and some ambition to partake in its military exploits, but although circumstances might turn them into soldiers or robbers, at present their habits are decidedly peaceful. They are sober, frugal, industrious, mild and inoffensive to everybody; and among themselves neither dishonest nor insincere. The faults of their government have, however, created the corresponding vices in them: its oppression and extortion have taught them dissimulation, mendacity, and fraud, and the insecurity of property has rendered them so careless of the future, as to lavish on a marriage or other ceremony the savings of years of parsimony..... The effects of this last are felt in the debts and embarrassments in which the whole of the agricultural population is plugged."

(2) Such understanding on the part of an alien administrator is rarely to be found in the record of Indian history. In a letter to his friend Mackintosh, he made his mind clear. He said, "... The belief that our Indian empire, it is difficult to guess the death it may die, ...

The most desirable death for us to die of should be, the improvement of the natives reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for a foreign nation to retain the government; A time of separation must come; and it is for our interest to have an early separation from a civilized people, rather than a violent rupture with a barbarous nation....." (3).

More administrators of the calibre and perspective of Elphinstone might have changed the course of history of Mumbai. In the light of Elphinstone's attitude to the local people, it is easier to understand the importance of his Land Settlement reforms and, even, his famous Minute on Education (1824). He was not alone in his belief that the Empire will be short-lived. Macaulay had said in 1833.... "It would be on the most selfish view of the case far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us than ill governed and subject to us. We shall never consent to administer the 'pousta' to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyse a great people, whom God had committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control."(4)

When Mumbai became the seat of power, it was but natural that Pune, capital of the Peshwas, lost its position of grandeur. The early decades of the 19th century saw a great influx of population into Mumbai. The city and its islands developed at a speed without parallel in history. A sleepy hamlet in a few decades emerged into a busy commercial town where fortunes were made and lost overnight. Governmental and other jobs were easily available for those who sought them. With the new thrust given to formal education people of all communities flocked to Mumbai in search of education and employment. Mumbai soon came to the forefront of socio-cultural life in the Deccan and the Konkan. With the cohabitation of various communities, community centres sprang up. These community centres, which, in the initial stages, were to accelerate the pace of social change, were later to play a significant part in political struggle. The cultural leadership in the first half of the 19th century was in the

hands of the wealthy but self-taught businessmen who were basically community leaders. Having been convinced of the need of formal education for their children, they promoted education of all kinds. Little did they realize that it was at the cost of their own leadership. Educated youth that came out of the portals of schools, colleges and later of the University, established in 1857, were soon to replace their leadership. Intelligentsia soon assumed themselves in the offices of leadership in every walk of life be it social or cultural.

Education, based on the pattern of Western countries, afforded the local youth an access to books on western philosophy, ethics and economics and logic and political sciences. It was an age of enlightenment, and the light had come from the West. In addition to the books by and on social and political thinkers such as Edmond Burke, Thomas Payne, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, political histories of the nations of the world and biographies and autobiographies of their leaders came to be studied with interest. The British Government at the time also did not anticipate that the promotion of Western education in India would instinctively draw the youthful minds to European liberalism. Direct contact with various socio-political ideas of European thinkers worked like a touchstone and transformed a section of the community at large into a beehive, alive to various ideological controversies. The Anglo-Indian professors such as Dr. William Wordsworth, Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir Alexander Grant, Dr. Harkness and a host of others were catalysts in the social action and change. Sir H.B.E. Frere's Convocational Addresses from the chair of the Chancellor of the University were enough to enthuse the students who heard them with a new intent. In the very first convocation in 1862, he had said, (5) "I would beg of you to recollect that you are no longer pupils of any single school, but graduates of a University. Your standard must henceforth be, not that of your masters, or even of the government to whose service some of you may devote yourself, but of the whole educated world. I pray you that what is here taught is a sacred trust confided to you for the benefit of your countrymen. The learning which can here be imparted to a few

hundreds, or at the most to a few thousands, of scholars, must by you be made available through your own vernacular tongues to the many millions of Hindustan..... Remember, too, that not only the character of the University, but the character of your whole people, is to a great extent in your hands.”

What inspiration such words gave to new graduates can easily be seen in the books that were written and published during the decades that followed. Books on natural and physical sciences, economics, history, religion and also literature were published in sizable number. (6) An attempt was made to bring European knowledge in regional languages.

When the initial feeling of awe generated by the new enlightenment subsided, the educated youth began to suffer an acute sense of anxiety. An invariably drawn comparison of the conditions in Europe and Britain with the state of affairs in their own country was bound to make them discontented. The disparity between their country and the country of the rulers became evident and the roots of social discontent were sown here. After the era of enlightenment, came the era of realization. Every educated youth began to think of the religion to which he belonged, of the inflexible social structure around him and the miserable economic state of the society around him. The community leaders who felt the need to start organizations or associations engulfing, not only their community, but also the entire society, established them for the welfare of the society at large. The new graduates believed that many a battle would have to be fought to remove the darkness of ignorance and rid the society of the evils in the garbs of superstitions and religious fervour. If the second half of the 19th century saw many socio-cultural movements, the roots of these movements are to be found in the thinking and works of these men who belonged to the urban intelligentsia of the time.

Religious and social reforms are movements that generally interact with one another. A revivalist trend was seen in Western India mainly due to the attempted Hindu religious renaissance by the

reformist zeal and labour of Keshab Chandra Sen (1833-1884), who broadened the basis of the Brahmo Samaj, and Ramakrishna Paramahansa (1834-1889). Their preaching focused the attention of the newly educated youth on India's great spiritual and cultural heritage and fostered in them national awareness and racial pride. These movements had a significant influence on the youth of Western India also. If the tenets of the Brahmo Samaj were direct imports from Bengal, while those of the Arya Samaj were formulated in Nynvau, and, if they both were studied with interest here, it was the same kind of interest that was fostered on studying European knowledge. Neither the Brahmo Samaj nor the Arya Samaj was seen to take real roots in Mumbai. In this sense, in Western India, there was little fundamental rethinking of religions and therefore, socio-religious movements were basically not courageous. Their reaction to social change varied differently. There were those who did not like these new-fangled notions about religious oppression and they were happy to remain static. They were dubbed as conservatives. There were others who wanted a social change. This gave rise to two schools of thought, which came into conflict with each other. All the members of the society found themselves, soon, in various camps. As far as religion was concerned, either they were conservatives or status-quo-ists, revivalists or reformers. As far as politics was concerned they were either conservatives or liberals. The class of revolutionaries was yet to arrive on the scene. Even radicals appeared on the scene much later. Though their camps were different and their methods dissimilar, they had a common objective – Renaissance. Curiously, however, the leadership of the various camps in favour of change went, slowly and naturally, to those academically sound, socially aware, and individually honest and sincere people. If one leader dropped out, no vacuum was created for long, there was someone else, equally great if not greater, to fill the void. This was the need of the time and a requirement of the situation.

When some were enchanted by the arguments of the revivalists there were many others who reacted sharply to their own religions plagued with superstitious and deceitful behaviour of

priests, oppressive caste-system and excessive dominance of idol-worship. More courageous among them, only a few in number, felt drawn towards Christianity and its principles of humanity and Catholicity and converted themselves to the new faith. Rev. Narayan Sheshadri (1820-1891). Rev. Vishnu Bhaskar Karmakar (1834-1881), Hari Ramachandra Christie (1865-1920), Appaji Bapuji Yardi (1826-1894), Rev. Nehemiah Gorhe (1825-1895), Baba Padmanji (1831-1906), Pandita Ramaabai Saraswathi (1858-1922), Rev. Narayan Vaman Tilak (1861-1919) embraced Christianity of their own will and accord. The conversion of Narayan Sheshadri in 1833 caused in Mumbai a sort of a religious war. But when educated, intelligent youth were attracted to a different religion on rational grounds, a need was felt to review, discuss and modify the tenets of their own religion. New studies of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and the like began to be published at the time. A need was also felt to discard the oppressive customs based wholly on superstitious beliefs. Religion, it was felt, should adapt itself on the grounds of humanity. Women, it slowly came to be agreed, deserved a fair deal, regardless of what the scriptures said. Child marriage and *Sati* should be totally discontinued. Widow-marriage be given social sanction and caste-system should not be so rigid. Soon there came, one after the other, a host of social reformers who, alone or with others of similar thinking began to attack openly the ill-customs of Hinduism and other religions. But the ancient Hindu religion was so lethargic, that it required the power of many elephants to push it and therefore the pace of social change was dismally low.

The elite society of Mumbai around the 1850s was, no doubt prosperous but not peaceful. It was in turmoil. English education, revivalism of ancient religions, attack of Christian missionaries on non-Christian religions and, of course, the British rule, were the factors responsible for such an upheaval. The Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 did not have much of an effect in Mumbai. Even the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British crown did not make much of a change. As far as social change was concerned, "reformist" became a catchword among educated youth. One who

felt like having a particular social reform collected around him a body of persons of similar thinking, established an organization and endeavoured to achieve the goal. In the 1840s was established secretly an association called Paramahansa Sabha. Among its other objectives was the eradication of caste differences. Any person desirous of becoming its member had to munch a couple of biscuits. (8) Baba Padmanji reminiscing about his initiation ceremony has written that he perspired heavily and was shivering at the very thought of munching biscuits, an act which would have been otherwise deemed sacrilegious. The secret nature of the activities of the members of the Paramahansa Sabha could not last for long and the Sabha had to be abolished. Although Ramrao Balkrishna Jaykar (d.1866) was the president of this secretly established early anti-caste movement in Western India, Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar (1814-1882) was the moving spirit behind it. Dadoba Pandurang may be regarded as the first rationalist of modern Maharashtra. (9) His social philosophy revolved around the two major principles of rationalism and humanism. It was due to the acceptance of these two principles that Dadoba wanted abolition of the caste system. The Paramahansa Sabha had among its meek supporters R.G. Bhandarkar, Moroba Vinoba Sanzgiri, Tukaram Tatya Padwal and Fr. Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadkar, the last became later the founder-president of the Prarthana Samaj. Even Bhau Mahajan, the reformist editor of the Prabhakar to which paper Lokahitavadi alias Gopal Hari Deshmukh contributed his celebrated "*Shatapatre*" was a protagonist of the Sabha whose avowed objectives were the abolition of the caste system, renunciation of idolatory, introduction of widow-remarriage, promotion of female education and spread of education among the depressed classes. (10) But "in matters social, revolutionary approach seldom works. That was the lesson of the Paramahansa Sabha. The disruption of the Paramahansa Sabha acted differently on different members. Many of its members relapsed into orthodoxy, some became apathetic to reform, and yet others became Christians." (11) A few, no doubt, did not get disheartened. They stuck to their ideals, wiser by a failure. When they made yet another attempt in 1847, they became successful as they shed their rebellious garb and put on a

spiritual one and founded a prayer Association (of Prarthana Samaj) with objectives not very dissimilar to those of Paramahansa Sabha. The evolution of the Prarthana Samaj from the Paramahansa Sabha was the necessity of the period. Had the Prarthana Samaj not come into existence, many of the members of the Paramahansa Sabha would have been compelled to embrace Christianity. The Samaj had among its members men of the stature of Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadkar, Vasudeo Babaji Naorange, Bal Mangesh Wagle, Mama Paramananda, Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Deenanath Vishnu Madagaonkar, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Bhyolanath Sarabhai, Lalshankar Unniyashankar and Sheth Damodar Govardhandas. (12)

In the early decades of the 19th century a newspaper was a novelty. English and a couple of Gujarati newspapers such as Mumbaino Samachar (established in 1822) and Jam-e-Jamshed (established in 1833) of this period were basically started to inform the business community. Marathi newspapers, from the beginning were started not only to inform, but also to enlighten and to reform opinions. They were basically views-papers rather than newspapers. The modern character of Marathi newspapers is fairly newly acquired. Same was the case of sense later Gujarati papers. Newspapers, which slowly increased in number, were aimed at promoting or attacking, this social reform or that. They were, no doubt powerful vehicles carrying with them opinions of the educated people.

“Darpan” was the first ever newspaper in Marathi to be published in 1832 by Bal Shastri Jambhekar (1812-1844) who, in a sense, was himself the first fruit that the Western education in Western India bore. Darpan was started with the objective, “to encourage amongst countrymen the pursuit of English literature, and to open a field for free and public discussion on points connected with the prosperity of this country and the happiness of its inhabitants..... the publication is undertaken, chiefly, with the object of promoting amongst the natives the study of European literature and the diffusion of knowledge.” It was Darpan that paved way for

the coming of more newspapers by creating a new readership. Therefore when in 1841, Prabhakar was started by Govind Vithan Kunte alias Bhau Mahajan, readers were ready to receive hard-hitting views - views on everything strongly expressed Mahajan was an unorthodox man. He devoted column after column to issues such as widow-remarriage. Lokahitawadi's more than hundred letters, (13) were first published in "Prabhakar". The letters, which earned for their writer and for the editor of 'Prabhakar' instant popularity, clearly point out the defects of English education and the British administration. So sound was the reasoning of the writer that 'Prabhakar' yielded a tremendous power among the youth of those days. The still existent "Dnyanodaya" started by the American Marathi Mission in 1842 aimed at educating its readers while "Indu Prakash", an Anglo-Marathi paper published from 1862, became the mouthpiece of all liberal-minded people. Vishnushastri Pandit, a staunch supporter of widow remarriage, became its editor in 1863 and used his pen to criticize social ills. Pandit was not an "arm-chair editor." He was a spirited and inspired man. He struggled to establish the Widow Remarriage Association. "Indu-Prakash" became a vehicle for thought of most of the educated men of the time- Ranade, Mama Paramananda, K. T. Telang and N. G. Chandavarkar, Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik started in 1864, a weekly in English called the Native Opinion which was an attempt to inform the government what the 'natives' feel about the administration. It was a common criticism on the Native Opinion that it generally supported Orthodoxy. Jyotirao Phule (1827-1890), champion of the downtrodden, at one time a supporter of Paramahansa Sabha, had already launched a movement called Satya Shodhak Samaj against the higher castes. To propagate his viewpoint one of his followers, Narayan Meghji Lokhande, started from Poona, in 1877, a Marathi weekly. "Deenabandhu". The achievement of the Kesari and the Maratha by Lokamanya Tilak and Gopal Ganesh Agarkar respectively is too well known to reiterate it here.

To expose the oppressive and debaucherous priests- the Maharajas of the Vallabh sect, Kersondas Mulji (1832-1871) opened a front and, through his journal Satyartha Prakash, attacked the

Maharajas and their lavish lifestyles vehemently. The anonymously published history of the sect of Maharajas and also the proceedings of the Maharaja Libel Case (14) makes stunning reading. The lone crusader's struggle to fulfil the mission of life cannot but be admired. Many a life was devoted to a single reform, successfully or otherwise, however major or minor it was. Behramji Malabari (1853-1912) through his "Indian Spectator" and "East and West" and through his numerous articles and speeches advocated social reform. He advocated the Age of consent Bill, which became an Act in as late as 1924 but had created considerable controversy in the latter part of the 19th century. Gujarati and Marathi journalism of the latter half of the 19th century was thus born to serve a social cause. "Chabuk" criticized the working of the Parsi Panchayat while "Rast-Goftar" (Truth Finder) aimed at social reforms. It was however a newspaper called Gujarati of Iccharam Suryaram which advocated nationalism for the first time in Gujarati journalism.

Community Centres that were given birth to in the first half of the 19th century to promote an all-sided development and to encourage education amongst its members, underwent a metamorphosis and turned themselves into platforms for debate. Each association or organization saw a conflict between the young generation and the old. Invariably, the scene was that of the older generation yielding to the younger generation. The education that the younger generation had received in schools and colleges had made all the difference. The old tenets of religion were seen crumbling before the hard logic of humanism, rationalism and universalism. In all centres of cultural activities, opposition to child-marriage and promotion of inter-caste marriage, protest of excessive drinking and encouragement for widow-remarriage became in essence, the real immediate social problems to be attended to. And it will be seen, the social reform in Western India was for a considerable time restricted to these problems. Each community, however, progressive its members claimed to be, was confronted

with these problems. The Pathare Reform Association of Bombay, passed at its meeting held in Pune on 18th July, 1863 a resolution to publish a tract advocating marriage of Hindu widows. The tract contains, in appendix a contemporary newspaper report about the first ever widow-remarriage between Pandurang Vinayak Karmarkar, a youth of 25 and Venubai, daughter of Prabhakar Krishnabhat Paranjapye, who became widow at a tender age of nine. The marriage was solemnized on 15th June 1869 in the presence of the intelligentsia of the city. The report said (15.) "Tuesday the 15th of June 1869 must be engraved in characters of gold. It has given birth to a new era in the social and religious history of the Hindu community in Western India. In the imperishable pages of history, it will be memorable as the day on which commenced the open defiance of this side of India of a time-honoured but erroneous custom. The marriage of a Hindu widow, especially of the Brahmin caste, has been unknown to the nation for years unnumbered." For this event friends had come down from, to quote again, "the utmost length of the G.I.P. Railway – from Sholapur to Nagpur. Rao Bahadur Moroba's large mansion near Gowalia Tank was kindly lent by him for the residence of the bride and another bungalow near the Rao Bahadur's, belonging to Bava Rewagar Koovargar, was occupied by the bridegroom. Among those who attended the memorable event were Dr. Bhau Daji who was then Sheriff of Bombay, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadkar, Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, Sheth Dwarkadas Vasanji, Sheth Khatao Makanji, Sheth Mathuradas Lowji, Professor Mahadevo Govind Ranade, Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar, Bala Mangesh Waglay, Ardesheer Framji Moos, Naoroji Furdoonji and also several Europeans such as Dr. John Wilson, Dr. Hunter, Mr. Mathias Mull and Mr. Martin Wood of the Times of India. On 16th June 1869, the newly wed couple "gave a general entertainment to members of Pathare Prabhu, Shenvi, Sonar and Brahmin communities. It was attended by upwards of one hundred persons. It was a most pleasing and graceful sight to see. Venu Bai amongst other Brahmin ladies serving dinner to the guests".

Today such an event may not evoke any reaction, but 125 years ago it must have been a real sensation. The story of social persecution of Sheth Madhowdas Ragnathdas, a Mumbai merchant, who married in 1871 a widow named Dhunkorebai, evokes a picture of misery. (16) Another event in the social history of Western India is the case of Rakhmabai (1864-1955). At the age of 11, she was married to a 19-year-old youth, Dadaji Bhikaji. After coming of age, Rakhmabai refused to go to her husband's house on the ground that her husband was no match to her. Her refusal landed her in law courts and the suit lasted for four long years, 1883-1887. Though basically it was a suit between the two, it assumed a proportion large enough for the entire Hindu society at the time and a thorough questioning of the Hindu Code was on the anvil. The Dadoba-Rakhmabai case put to test the social and ethical code and even the learned judges faltered while giving judgement. Even after the court order was passed against her, Rakhmabai showed exemplary courage in refusing to go to her husband even at the risk of internment. This had become such a sensitive issue that the entire elite community was divided in favour of Rakhmabai or of Dadoba. She had even appealed to citizens through the columns of The Times of India. (17)

The society, then, was changing and each case that surfaced was testing the moral courage of the people.

It will not be correct to say that in the wake of socio-cultural and religious reforms, the leaders of the time failed to bring political reforms. Not that these leaders were insensitive to the political climate of the period. Socio-cultural and religious reforms were, in a sense, attempts at unification of a divided society. There were attempts at removing barriers of all kinds, such as casteism, tyrannical grip of priesthood and other social fetters that had chained the society at large. A successful unification of the society by removing all the barriers was an attempt at gaining in strength. A strong and

healthy, enlightened and united society would make more effective political demands. The voice of a divided society was so feeble that the alien government could easily afford to ignore it.

The members of the newly awakened society were aware of the disadvantages of foreign rule. They were uneasy about the East India Company's new rule as protectors of Indian subjects. That the company which had come with a purely commercial motive had remained to conquer and to rule was a fact that they could not accept. But when the able administrators effected, one after the other, changes beneficial to the local people, these leaders could not do anything but wait and watch, railway network, postal services, works in the public interest such as opening of colleges, road making, constructing buildings, and starting industries were all works of public utility. But the difference was soon felt. Gone were the Elphinstones and the Malcolmes, even the Freres were a rarity. The administrators that followed failed to judge the temper and the temperament of the populace. The gap between the rulers and the ruled widened with every new official step. Age-old industries became rickety. To add to poverty, famines and epidemics made frequent appearances. The alien government became more despicable than in the days of prosperity. In the days of prosperity the foreign rule did not matter much. But during the financial crisis, community termed as the 'Share mania' between 1861-65, the foreign rule came in for a lot of criticism. The youth of the time reacted sharply to the situation and blamed the foreign administrators. As early as the year 1841, the Bombay Gazette published a series of eight letters under the by-line of A Hindoo, which were purported to be a critical assessment of the British rule in India. It has been conclusively proven that these were the contributions of youthful Bhaskar (1816 – 1847), brother of Dadoba and Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadkar. The letters even today appear rabid antagonistic. Unlike most of the editorial staff members of the English newspapers those days, the editor of the Bombay Gazette for a brief period had sported a pro-Indian stance for which he was later to be penalized, but at the time he was so pleased at what he called "the lubrications of a

Hindoo" in exposing "the tyrannical sway of Great Britain" that he appended an appreciative editorial note to the second letter in which he not only expressed a hope that "Hindoo" would continue his remarks, but also added, "we wish we had many more enlightened Hindoos who would take up their pens in defense of their rights" . And the response was breathtaking, more followed the way shown by Bhaskar Tarkhadkar. 'A Second Hindoo' 'A Third Hindoo', 'A Fourth Hindoo', 'A Parsee' and so on. Bhaskar Tarkkhadkar's criticism of the British rule was centred around eight subjects 1) Odious nature of British Imperialism in comparison with other powers; 2) Treatment of Indian Princes; 3) The Company as a ruler; 4) Economic drain; 5) Law and Justice; 6) Education; 7) Religious Policy; 8) Britain's Historiography of India. Through these strongly worded letters, the letter writer accused the British Government of treachery in politics, deceit in trade and commerce, extortion from the people at large, ruining indigenous industries, draining the country of its resources, racial discrimination, forbidding Indians from holding high positions, partiality in justice, disregard to the education of the local people, hypocritical behaviour in religion, even lack of objectivity on the part of the British historians writing in India. In fact, these were the major issues that surfaced during the ensuing decades of political conflict. These letters, which appeared between July to October 1841, are, in the words of J.V. Naik, noted scholar, "the first open letters of revolt against the British Colonial Policy". A keen student of history, Bhaskar who unfortunately died at the age 31, could analyze the Indian situation as it existed then with an uncanny insight and could forthrightly express his views in candid words. Much before Dadabhoy Naoroji expostulated with the help of facts and figures his theory of economic drain of India, Bhaskar Tarkhadkar had provided a general analysis of the economic exploitation of India. He had said:

".... above all nothing has drained India so much of its wealth as by your trade. If you were half so honest as you say you are, or had you a tenth part of the regard which you wantingly say you have for the welfare of India, you could not have persuaded yourself that

all the raw materials produced in the country should be sent to England for manufacturing them in the articles and brought back here for sale... Is this honesty? Could you commit such treacherous activities in your other colonies with impunity? What would it be to you and your Government? We cannot look on your Government in any other light than that of the most bitter curse India has ever been visited with. The whole wealth of India has now been transported to Great Britain, and we have no employment left (for) us."

The language employed by Bhaskar Tarkhadkar to convey his feelings was no doubt emotive and sensational, but it did carry with him the majority of the contemporary educated local youth. In 1842, the next year, "Prabhakar" newspaper carried a letter this time by 'a Konkanastha (Resident of Konkan), in which charges similar to those levelled by Bhaskar Tarkhadkar were repeated. Even the editor, Bhau Mahajan (1815-1891) had reiterated the stand of the letter writer. In another year's time, in 1843, one Ramakrishna Vishwanath was to come out with a book in Marathi titled Hindustanchi Prachina Va Sampratchi Stbithi Va Pudhe Kaagy Honar Yavishayi Vichar (India, Yesterday and today and some thoughts on its Future) in which, quoting Edmund Burke, the author had said that India did not have a rule but it is a military tyranny. Economic drain of India remained a much discussed subject throughout the 19th century. It was Dadabhoy Naoroji who, with his passion for facts and figures gave the hypothesis a scientific base and expostulated a theory that was difficult to disprove. The instances mentioned above, however, were few and far between. Bhaskar Tarkhadkar was a more of a freak phenomenon rather than the culmination of the deliberations of the intelligentsia.

Revivalist trends, scientific temper and introduction to various political ideologies and concepts such as humanism, rationalism, nationalism, and universalism were direct results of the Western education in India. Every educated citizen was deeply concerned about the effects of the British rule in India. There were a few who

welcomed the material changes such as railway, postal services, and communication etc. but the majority of them felt that the foreign rule was not beneficial to the populace, and that the material development was more for the benefit of the rulers than for the public at large. In any case, these developments at the cost of freedom were not worth. A majority of them were of the opinion that the government should represent the hopes of the local people and that the local people should have a say in the administration. Jagannath Shankarsheth, an outstanding and influential figure of the 19th century, endeavoured to obtain for the Indian gentlemen admission to the Grand Jury and in 1833 he succeeded in his efforts. He firmly believed that many of his fellow Indians were quite competent to discharge duties of Grand jurors. He also pleaded with the authorities for appointment of Indians as Justices of Peace. In 1835, during the peaceful administration of Sir Robert Grant (Governor of Bombay, 1835-38) his efforts bore fruit. Jagannath Shankarsheth himself was one of the first Justices of Peace. Many more like Dr. Bhau Daji followed, but the government did not have to repent for appointing Indians to such high posts.

Prompted by this success Jagannath Shankarsheth, along with many others, originated an idea of properly constituting an association to press for legitimate demands in the interest of the public at large. The association came to be called as the Bombay Association and was the first and the foremost of such organized bodies in Western India. With Jagannath Shankarsheth at the helm, the Bombay Association was started with a view to bringing to the notice of the Government grievances of the public and seeking redress. The Bombay Association with the moderate language it employed in its petitions was to be a model for many other organizations that were to be set up in years to come. The setting up of the Bombay Association had not only been appropriate but also timely. The new charter to the East India Company was to be renewed in 1853. It was, therefore, believed that it was an opportune time to communicate to the British Parliament the shortcomings of the Company's rule in India.

Under the presidentship of Jagannath Shankarsheth, this first political organization of Western India assembled on 26th August 1852 in the building of Elphinstone Institute, where all the members of the city's elite were present. The meeting was convened to draft a petition to the British Parliament about the welfare of the local people. In this petition mention was made of the delay in administration and judiciary, of the disproportionate expenditure on administration and the gross neglect of social welfare. There was a request to allow the local people to participate in the actual administration. A demand was also made for the establishment of a University. It was also suggested that the period of the charter be reduced from 20 years to 10 years. These were the demands made on the first of such petitions of the Bombay Association.

Customarily before renewing the Charter the British Parliament appointed a committee to report on the performance of the East India Company. The company used to be renewed only after receiving the report of the Committee. When, therefore, in the following year, the members of the Bombay Association were in possession of the report of the Parliamentary Committee they had something more tangible to suggest. In the Second petition that the Bombay Association dispatched to the British Parliament, references were made to the one-sided enquiries of the Committee, to the reconsideration of the duration of the Charter. Demands included colleges for professional courses, particularly law. How much weightage was given to the petition of the Bombay Association is anybody's guess. But, no doubt, they were much discussed in and outside the British Parliament at the time. The city of Mumbai was endowed with a University in 1857 and a Law College in 1855. In 1854, the Association wanted to present its Third Petition. This, however, was not possible. The Association continued its useful activities for a time but later became inactive. Attempts to revive it in 1867 were also unsuccessful. Personality clashes seem to have affected the smooth functioning of the Association. In the words of the Editor of Rast-Goftar, "the institution was well-planned, with the

best of intentions, of course. There was a lucky mixture of wealth and education, and the institution worked well for a time; but its halcyon days were not of long duration. As may well be expected, there were faint rumours first, then came loud complaints against each other, and the result was that members like Dr. Bhau Daji and Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee resigned from the Association in sheer disgust. We know what the Bombay Association is worth since. It exists in name only”.

Most of the well-intentioned institutions go the way the Bombay Association went. But it does not mean that the entire blame should go to its members. A time had come when unanimous demands were not possible. Educated citizens had formed themselves, to suit their temperaments and thinking, in groups such as moderates and extremists, Liberals and Conservatives, radicals and revolutionaries. There were some who gave preference to social reforms over religious reforms, political reforms and vice versa.

About the same time, in 1866, Dadabhoy Naoroji had founded in England the East India Association for propagating the cause of India and had collected around him a body of British and Indian men. He had also begun publishing a journal, an official organ of the Association, in which through a number of articles with facts and figures attempts were made to disprove the claims of the government in India. On 23rd May 1869 was opened the Bombay branch of this Association. People of the stature of Weddeburn, Phirozeshah Mehta, V.N. Mandlik, Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar had become its active members.

After Dadabhoy Naoroji's return to India in 1884, the East India Association in England lost its lustre and with it its Mumbai branch too came to be patronized less and less. With every failure, however, these people of indomitable courage, went a step forward. On his coming back to Mumbai, Dadabhoy, along with others, established another association, which had a truly political objective. It was called the Mumbai Presidency Association. When its members

assembled for the first time on 31st January 1885 at the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, they claimed to have started a political association for "the promotion and advocacy of the public interests of the country." (26) The chair was occupied by Sir Jamshetjee Jeejeebhoy. In his keynote address, Sir Jamshetjee said, "it is plainly desirable that the opinion of all sections of our community should be organized and concentrated so as to be systematically available for the information of Government.... The desire of the promoters of this movement is to concentrate existing forces, by giving information which must be useful to Government and by spreading among our own people true ideas about public affairs, to advance the true interests of this country, which as every capable judge admits, are identical with the true interests of Great Britain". (27) Budroodin Tayyabji, Naoroji Furdoonji, K.T. Telang, Vurjeevahdas Madhavdas, Dinshaw Manekjee Petit, Mangaldas Nathubhoy, Justice Nanabhoy Haridas, Dosabhoy Framjee, Jairazbhoy Peerbhoy, M.A. Rogay and many others were present on the occasion.

The Bombay Presidency Association did not carry its name for long for within less than a year it became one of the precursors of the Indian National Congress, which was to become the mainstream of the political activity on the national level. Sir Allen Octavian Hume (1829-1912), a civilian who resigned his job in 1882, had founded in 1884, along with Sir Surendranath Bannerjee, an association called The Indian National Union. The Pune Sarvajanik Sabha, founded in 1870, had become the mouthpiece of the socio-political thought of Rao Bahadur Mahadeo Govind Ranade and his school of thought. The Sarvajanik Sabha was doing, through its journal, almost the same work that the Journal of the East India Association did in England.

Lord Dufferine who became the Viceroy of India in 1884 was faced with multifarious demands from various organizations from the nook and corner of the country. He felt the need of a single institution rather than many regional ones to represent the Indian aspirations. He suggested to Sir Allan to start one and Sir Allan picked up the lead and brought all the elements warring for a

common cause together and founded a single organisation under the banner of the Indian National Congress. Many smaller regional institutions such as the Association of Western India established by Vinayak Jagannath were merged into the Indian National Congress which had its first session in Mumbai, attended by only 72 delegates on 28 to 30th December 1885, under the Presidentship of W.C. Bannerjee (1844-1906).

This was the beginning of a new and brilliant chapter in the history of modern India.

A mention must also be made to another 'freak' phenomenon in the history of 19th century Western India. Historians have not been able to trace any roots of the writings of Vishnubava Brahmachari (1825-1871) alias Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale who published in his book *Vedoktadharmaprakash*, (1859) two essays on Rajaneeti and Sukhdayak Rajyaprakarani nibandha. The first was an exposition of Vishnubava's views on polity while the second was his dreamland of a welfare state.

Vishnubava was a product of the newly begun revivalism in Maharashtra. His opinions on Hinduism make it amply clear that they were expressed to meet the challenge of Christian ideas and secular western ideology. Hinduism, according to him, was the pristine and pure form but ill-practiced. He, therefore, wanted people to study the Vedas. A conservative that Vishnubava was in religion, he came to expostulate ideas on Welfare State, which are curiously enough similar to those of the Communist Manifesto published in 1848. There was little possibility of Vishnubava coming into contact with Marxian writings, as he was scantily educated and poverty-stricken. Vishnubava, like Marx was possibly seeking similar solutions to a welfare state. But Vishnubava's socialism was a Utopian kind of socialism and it was based on Monism. (28) His ideas today appear almost romantic but in some decades of the 19th

century, they appeared almost revolutionary. Vishnubava considered the nation as one house and all citizens one family. It was, according to him, the duty of the king to see that all citizens were happy and they in their town had the duty to obey his laws. All land should be in common and the produce belonged to the community as a whole.

Vishnubava regarded his views of such importance that he had them, with the help of Captain K. Phelps, translated into English for sending them to the British members of Parliament. A longer passage from his "An essay in Marathi on beneficent Government", published in 1869, will bring out his thinking. He said therein (29)

"... The entire land should be caused to be brought under cultivation by the governed, in such a way, those particular trees and crops might be made to grow in plots of ground favourable to them. Embankment across rivers, as well as reservoirs and tanks, should be constructed, in order that the land might be irrigated throughout the twelve months, and numerous sorts of fruits and bulbous roots, vegetables, grain and wood and cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep, horses, asses and camels, should be reared, and fodder for the latter should be stored in granaries in every village. All the villages should be allowed to remove there from as much grain as might be required for their maintenance, and as much fodder as might be required for the cattle. Thus, during the cold, hot and rainy seasons, in short, throughout twelve months of the year, crops should be uniformly raised upon the whole of the land, the produce thereof, being considered as the joint property of all. It should however, remain in the custody of one person only, and all should remove from there as much as might be necessary for consumption. The king should establish and keep in working order several manufactories for the manufacture of woolen, hemp, flax, silk, cotton and other kinds of cloth, and should have a large stock of them at each of the village depots. From this stock every one should be allowed to take cloth of any description as might be agreeable to him. ...Gold and silver ornaments studded with pearls and diamonds of different sorts, should be prepared and placed in each village, and used by women

and men alike; and if broken, they should be returned to the royal depot, and new ones taken away for use. In like manner, tools (implements of husbandry) and machines should be made, and placed at every village, and means for all games and sports should be kept as well....”

Further

“The King should bring about marriages of all through the marriage department, and if it should occur that they did not suit the male should be allowed to take another husband. In fact, there should be free marriage; that is a marriage consummated by the mutual consent of the future husband and wife. When children attain the age of five years, whether boys or girls, they should be committed to the care of the king who, after having them educated in all the sciences and arts, should assign to each that occupation which he or she would seem to show an inclination whilst studying....” (30) and so on.

Was this Vishnubava’s dreamland or Ram-Rajya, as we call it? But that he should see such a dream was important considering the times he was living in.

Another new chapter in the history of modern Mumbai was started 50 years ago after political freedom was obtained. If 1818 was the watershed in the history of Mumbai when after the fall of the Peshwas, the seat of power was shifted to it, and if 1857 was another landmark in its history when Queen Victoria’s Proclamation, announced from the steps of this magnificent building, the year 1947 was a major landmark in its history when political freedom was brought from the alien rule. Not only because being a commercial capital of India, Mumbai attracted people from all corners of the country, and, within a few decades it started bursting at its seams, but

also because the political freedom brought in its wake an atmosphere of power with or without responsibility; many institutions lost their relevance completely, some lost their hold on society. Even today centenaries, sesquicentenaries, bicentenaries are celebrated, some with pomp, some others in a lacklustre fashion. However, the society at large has lost interest in historical events and institutions. Mumbai is a naturally protected harbour. Nature is kind to it. Man-made disasters have humbled this city time and again in the past. In matters of social reform, though some steps have been successful, there is seen a powerful slide. The problems of the civic corporate life and civil society have significantly influenced the quality of life. By the sheer numbers, the system has come under a great strain, with a constant fear of its crumbling down. Mumbai of today is apparently at the mouth of a volcano which might erupt any time on any day. Struggle for survival has set aside all social-cultural considerations.

Has popular vote driven out the enlightened urban leadership of the class of the 19th century leaders such a Dr. Bhau Daji, Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar, Justice K.T. Telang, Sir Pherozshah Mehta? Where have all those Tarkhadkar brothers gone? Why did the reform movements stop before successfully reaching their destinations? Why do the old social institutions look so rickety and woebegone? Why should Mumbai look as if it is cursed with a kind of lumpenization? Why should it suffer mediocrity?

If one analyses as to where and why the old guards of urban leadership with impeccable character and integrity went out of business, the causes are not far to seek. Like elsewhere, ideas are no more valued in a society where every citizen has become a customer. When every field of human activity is engulfed in politics of the worst order intellectuals find themselves out of place, time and job. Tomorrow could be a different day but Mumbai today is seen just struggling to survive. In such a situation ideologies that temper politics, bring in social reforms, enrich civic life, maintain social

peace, are redundant and out of use.

When after the freedom was won, newspapers suddenly, overnight found their purpose of existence missing, intellectual leaders perhaps experienced some kind of diffidence at the prospect of running the official machinery on their own and rebuilding the new nation. Winning popular vote was not their forte, they thought. Their liberal ideas were no longer acceptable by their followers who were in a hurry to get their grievances redressed under the garb of social justice. If only these liberal, educated leadership would have stayed on at the helm of affairs, Mumbai would not have ill-developed as it has today. But, the popular vote was an anathema to these liberal-minded educated intelligentsia who, either willingly or unwillingly prepared to steer clear of the rough and tough politics and remained contented with running pilot projects in some remote corners of the country, or they quit politics, by building cocoons around them, only coming out when an opportunity came their way to encash their contribution to the struggle for freedom. The failure of writers, journalists, educationists, artists including other members of the liberal profession such as legal, and medical to grapple with the post Independence situation has no doubt brought Mumbai to this state of affairs. Was the fact that their roots in Western liberal thought an impediment in their not gaining confidence to continue to lead? The fact is that the advent of universal education and popular sovereignty made them restless and they slowly lost interest in the socio-political happenings in India and over the years became insensitive and indifferent to the worsening of the situation around them. They might have been successful in containing the lowering of standards, they might have opposed the forces that have led to the de-intellectualizing of society at large. They might have taken the baton ahead in the race towards social justice. Mumbai would have continued to be the conscience-keeper of the entire nation. However, that was not to be. History will record that these members of the intelligentsia lacked courage, they fumbled at the nick of time, they were not ready to pay the price of their forthright opinions, they ultimately lost their leadership. As a consequence, Mumbai lost the

lead given by the intellectuals of the 19th century and, though it continues to be successful in financial matters, it has failed to further strengthen the democratic institutions. Mumbai has ceased to symbolize the national conscience.

What is the remedy, one may ask? The only remedy that can be thought of, is to start all over again by collecting the remaining bits and pieces of social reform. The ground covered earlier can serve as a starting point. A comprehensive Cultural Policy document delineating the problems in each of social activity such as the Culture policy, the Heritage policy, the Language and Literature policy, the Book policy, the Performing and the Fine arts policy and so on. Changes in Paradigms, altering of the framework of inquiry, raising of new set of questions, seeking answers for them and implementing them against odds and opposition... this could be the only method. Intellectual leadership has to come forward to discharge their social obligation. Unless that is done, the society and its culture will deteriorate speedily. A de-intellectualized society is prone to spend its time on non-issues as is done today but that leads us nowhere.

THE END

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CHANGING GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT OF BRHAN MUMBAI

E. ARUNACHALAM

Emerging from humble origins as a double cluster of islands inhabited by groups of fishing and farming communities, Brhan Mumbai has risen to the status of a primate city and ever-expanding metropolis transforming into a megalopolis. Pushing suburbs without end and drawing in commuter traffic from ever-increasing distances this quaintly cosmopolitan city is not bereft of its Oriental moorings. Though the embryo of a Colonial port city was established by the Portuguese in the mid-17th century, real urban growth commenced after the Great Fire of AD 1803, that ravaged a good part of the fortified town, and the demolition of the fort walls, decades later. But Mumbai was not without its history for centuries earlier. The port function and romance with the sea dates back to the first millennium BC, and many ports like Sopara and Thane have had their hey-days of sea-trade and commerce. Port sites have continuously shifted within the hinterland, known to Ptolemy as Heptenesia and as Kavadi dweep in classical Indian traditions. Mediaeval days saw the rise and fall of Mahim as a prosperous moor trade centre that flourished even after the arrival of the Portuguese colonial power. The choice of a 'boa-vida', named after the ruling goddess Mumbadevi in a southern island of the cluster for a fortified factory site with its cove to its south to become the early Harbour Bay appears to be deliberate, to lie outside the conflict-ridden Konkan and yet be at a stone's throw to attract its commerce.

Land reclamation of the silting inland seas and lagoons set in motion the first phase of urban development. The seven islands of what was initially known as the 'Mumbai' group were welded together between 1750 and 1860, the last of the links being developed with the southernmost Kolabhat (Colaba). Post 1860, reclamations continued on the eastern waterfront, by pushing the sea out to create the harbour and its docks along a stretch of about 20 km. This was the true beginning of the Mumbai port on the western seaboard of India

with growing sea-trade from the West converging on it. Reclamation did not stop at this stage. It continued on the western, Back Bay front and very nearly collapsed, with Reclamation Companies collapsing, with a share mania. Efforts were renewed to initiate reclamation again in the Marine Drive-Nariman Point-Cuffe Parade area. The partially completed reclamations are still in the mental vision of the city builders!

The 20th century witnessed reclamations extending further beyond the city island in suburban Salsette, and the impetus has not yet died down. The entire Salsette-Trombay group of islands have been welded together, and the 'city island' has become a mere peninsular appendage to Salsette with the building of Sion and Mahim Causeways, and transforming the shrinking Mahim Bay into a vast sewerage gutter. The Thane Creek in the last 100 years has shrunk to one-third its size, volume and depth, and very soon it may be rendered a ditch, as mangroves are eaten into and built-up area smothering it on both sides.

Reclamations have resulted in land area in the 'city-island' increasing by 40% and in Salsette-Trombay Zone by about 25%. Apart from a vital increase in land area, the configuration and topography has undergone radical changes. A central bowl of a linear depression is a concomitant result of the reclamations in the city group, generating a chronically flooding zone during the monsoons. Concretization of roads, increasing built-up area, the main sewerage lines at a depth well below high tide level have all aggravated the misery! Ironically the main north-south rail corridors and parallel roads occupy the keel of the depression towards which rainwater gravitates from the relatively higher rims.

Quarrying to provide plinth and road metal has levelled many hills, and hillsides have been steepened to promote landslips. The radical drainage system of Salsette has become totally derelict, often becoming a carrier of domestic and industrial waste. The devastation of mangrove lands for more land has stripped the shores of a natural

protective cover. Long short drift along the shore is steadily eating into the already meagre beaches of Brhan Mumbai. The 'green' too in the urban environment is on the wane, more so on the seaside.

The physical landscape of the urban environment has been totally transformed, and it is regrettably mostly a human creation, posing dormant threats for the survival of the city, with global warming and rising sea-level on the one hand, and possibility of earth-shaking tremors on the other.

The urban environment, as it is evolving, also reveals an ugly face that cannot be cosmetically changed. It only shows yet another dimension of human action without vision for short-term gains.

Brhan Mumbai is a creature of its sea-commerce and industry, Administration and services have added further strength. The port functions constitute the soul and spirit of the metropolis. Nearly 40% of the sea-trade of the nation passes through the port that is getting increasingly over-congested. The metropolis has also become the financial capital of the country, with a large share of revenue income through a variety of taxes.

This primacy of the metropolis was laid in mid-19th century on the foundation of a prosperous textile industry, drawing its labour from Konkan and Maval and entrepreneurship from Gujarat. Unfortunately, today the textile industry is decimated and is in total shambles with little scope for revival. Coincidence of a set of rail terminals, connecting upcountry in all directions generated a vast hinterland of industrial raw materials and mineral ore supplies to the city outlets to the external world. Post-independence era and the megalomaniacal state policies led to a further accretion of industrial products in chemicals, pharmaceuticals, electrical and consumer goods. The more recent past has witnessed an alarmingly rapid growth of electronics, telecommunications and IT industry. The ruin of the textiles on the one hand and the rise of sophisticated

technology-based industries on the other have brought about a shift in the quality and skills of labour employment.

Continuous and continuing dynamism of the functional base of the city, notwithstanding its internal structural changes has provided tremendous job opportunities that has attracted huge streams of in-migrant labour population from all over the country. The early immigrants were the Konkan labour and Gujarati, Parsi traders and entrepreneurs. Even within the initial city, Muslim traders shifted south from Mahim to occupy areas just outside the port and the fort. Early 20th century witnessed migrants at the middle class level from the Southern States like Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra. In 1951, the city population had a larger population of sex-selective migrant population than long-settled natural objects. In the subsequent decades, the migrant stream has been stemmed to an extent and natural increase is of a larger percentage. But the in-migration has not yet totally stopped, and it is undergoing directional and quality change. Instead of the South, it is the North that contributes most of the new immigrants. Uttarbhariyas and to a lesser extent Punjabis constitute the main component. The share of the South is reduced to a trickle, and Gujarati, Parsi newcomers are practically nil. Qualitatively, the sex ratio is getting more evenly balanced, though still in favour of males, primarily because in the recent decades in-migration has been of families. Also, the labour immigrants are skilled workers and technocrats.

The resultant demographic scenario also presents interesting facets that are relevant to development schemes. The population that was just over 1.1 million in 1901, has risen to 12 millions in 2001. The rise has been phenomenal post independence due to an all-round growth of industries, commerce and business, finance and administration, all as adjuncts to the port function. While till about 1980, the original municipal administration zone south of Mahim and Sion accounted for the bulk of the increase, in later decades, the city wards (A to G) have slowed down, with the core even showing decadence, while the wards beyond the Mahim creek in Salsette and

Trombay have been growing in leaps and bounds. The median line of population distribution runs along a line north of Vile Parle to the south of Ghatkopar, and the centre of density in 2001 was east of Vile Parle in Chakala-Marol. This means half the people of Brihan Mumbai live north of Vile Parle and Ghatkopar. This is partly due to the younger generations moving out from the inner city to Salsette-Chembur and partly due to the newer migrants from outside, often with families, settling in the northern parts. This northward movement of population is accompanied by spatial changes.

In the mid-19th century, Parel was a suburb, with the Governor resident. The setting up of the mill industry post 1850 in central Mumbai (Byculla to Dadar), to the accompaniment of labour chawls, outside and to the north of the then city led to the development of suburbs in Matunga-Dadar-Mahim in the early decades of the 20th century. The 1940s saw the rise of new dormitory suburbs from Bandra to Vile Parle along the Western Railway and around Ghatkopar and Chembur along the Central Railway. Soon after, these so-called 'inner suburbs' lost their dormitory character, with each developing a semi-independent township, with its own services, shopping and even industrial employment opportunities. In the last two to three decades, the suburbs have been pushed out further, northwards along the rail cum road corridors and away from them toward the coast and the hills. An inevitable intrusion into the mangroves was a necessary outcome. Today, notwithstanding the sticking to the nomenclature of the city, inner and outer suburbs, there are no suburbs within Brihan Mumbai. All suburbs lie beyond the municipal limits in the Vasai-Virar Zone, Thane to Ambernath and along Panvel road. High land costs and inability of building activity, especially of low income residential areas has resulted in the proliferation of slum areas to an extent that today 70% of the urban population is forced into slum dwelling.

The demographic explosion, still continuing, coupled with internal population shifts has had its impacts on the functional zonation of Mumbai. The initial Central Business District was in the

Ballard Pier-Fort Area, with a commercial core in B and C wards. The textile industrial core occupied central Mumbai and beyond were the residential areas, with the upper class sticking to the western seaboard. The urban sprawl, constrained by topographic configuration was northwards along the rail cum road arteries, newer suburbs being progressively developed towards the northern periphery of the municipal limits. The creation of the Vashi-Navi Mumbai complex across the Thane creek to develop an alternative urban magnet through a Satellite City as a measure to stem long-distance commuter movement has lost its purpose; instead, commuter traffic east-west has added a new dimension and Vashi-Navi Mumbai is turning into a new set of suburbs.

Urban renewal in the city area through replacement of old structures by multi-storeyed skyscrapers and through development of built-up area in Nariman Point, Cuffe Parade areas has naturally evolved a new business district, i.e. a second CBD that only aggravated the south-flowing commuter traffic congestion. In the last decade, the transformation of the original mill area of Parel is bringing about a shift in business houses as well as modern shopping malls. The constraint of parking space in the Nariman Point business district on the one hand and availability of parking space in the new business district are bringing about remarkable spatial changes of functional use of the urban land.

By the first half of the 20th century, a clearly distinguishable functional structure had evolved, with business, administration, finance and bulk commerce in the south, industrial landscape in central Mumbai, port functions among the eastern waterfront and residential use in the north, and western seaface of the original city complex; post independence, a second major industrial concentration evolved centred around electronics, IT and consumer products along the Andheri-Kurla link road in Powai, Sakinaka and Marol. This zone has outstripped the old industrial core that has at the same time declined and is being replaced by an evolving third CBD. Newer industrial areas are spreading along the outer suburban arterial roads.

Functional distinctions are fast disappearing, and mixed urban land-uses have come to stay. Even differentiation among the residential areas is getting lost, with slums in niches as an inevitable and necessary accompaniment of residential buildings. Mumbai cannot survive without the coexistence of slums.

The abnormal urban explosion is gradually leading to shortages in civic amenities. The days when Mumbai could boast of an assured water supply are over; summer water cuts and shortages are presenting a grim picture for the future. Though Brhan Mumbai consumes nearly 60% of the power generated in the State and borrowed from the neighbours, the gluttonous consumption of Mumbai wants more. Educational, medical, shopping facilities are unevenly distributed, but the new trends are for decentralization, with newer centres emerging in the north and east. Chronic monsoon flooding is still a monsoon menace and certain waterborne diseases have become endemic all through the year, with an ever-ready potential for epidemic outbursts.

Over 60% of the commuter movement, is handled by the six corridors of suburban rail system but it is already showing signs of bursting at its seams. In spite of the construction of many flyovers, the arterial roads and those leading to them are in woefully bad shape and the roads are choked to the brim, immaterial of the hour of the day or night. The Municipal Corporation does not appear to be aware of the pedestrian movement on the roads and has literally done away with pedestrian walks as if there is no common on the street. The road network is on the verge of a total collapse. The commuter movement, which about four decades back used to be one-way is today both ways in the rail movement and in all directions along the roads, thanks to the increasing employment in the north and east of Brhan Mumbai.

The port too is excessively congested. The creation of the new port, JNPT, across the Harbour Bay has only added to the woes. Without the development of the necessary independent road and rail infrastructure, the new container port is facing major hurdles.

The need to deepen the navigation channels, common to the old docks and the new port to a depth of at least 15 m to permit international container traffic is no mean task!

On the whole, Brhan Mumbai has become a super-giant, a monster that moves its way according to the market faces. It is under siege and in the throes of a major crisis. The administrators and urban planners are unable to cope up with the fast changing setup. Their short-term remedies are boomeranging! Slum clearance and slum rehabilitation are just wishful thinking in a context in which Mumbai is still the main attraction for employment seekers.

What is necessary is visionary thinking for long-term projections and measures, accompanied by radical surgical action that appears to be beyond the capacity of party politics and vested interests like the powerful builders lobby. Brhan Mumbai needs urgent decongestion. This can be brought about through shifting of the bulk of the administration to central Maharashtra or elsewhere. The lack of a balanced urban development in the State in the past is the basic cause. This can be rectified even at this stage with a strong political will. So too many of the foot-loose industries can be taken out of Mumbai, as they do not need the city's infrastructure. A long-term housing policy, linked with employment and new entrants, is yet another need! The Municipal Corporation needs to be split, with an independent Corporation for Salsette, Trombay areas, so that the replacement of amenities and facilities in the newer developed North can be better and more efficiently served. It is not too late to stop tapping and straining the water resources of the adjoining North Konkan; it is unwise to seek to bill the goose that lays the golden eggs!

The million dollar question is whether the men and women that are behind the ruling power will see the ray of light in the darkness that is weeping Brhan Mumbai and which threatens to swallow it

sooner or later.

**CHANGING LANDSCAPES OF MUMBAI:
ARVIND ADARKAR, Session Chair**

The topic today is changing landscapes of Mumbai and when we talk about changing landscape in clear said manner, we are normally reminded of the images as a lay person imagines Hongkong, Singapore and Shanghai. These are generally the images. But the ground realities are not really so and to prove thus, we have two eminent personalities, and I am sure, all of us here are generally enlightened but they will further enlighten us on the issues of the changing landscape of Mumbai. Mr. Phatak will talk about the changing economy and response of Mumbai to the spatial planning, 'Revitalizing and restructuring the landuse' is Mr. Pantbalekundri's topic. Mr. Pantbalekundri has made a difference to the city and he is one of the very few who has influenced urban planning. He has been the Deputy Secretary of the Urban Development Dept. for 10 years. He has been member of the Kanga Committee for adopting heritage regulations. He was the member of the Correa Committee on Cotton Textile Mills and he was appointed as the One Man Committee for hearing D.C. Regulations for Greater Mumbai, 1991, Heritage Conservation Regulations, 1995 and Tourism Development Regulations. After retirement, he was the Secretary, MMR - HCS and many of us know that he did a fantastic job. I am sure that he will touch upon many of the important issues, which concern the city right now.

COTTON MILLWORKERS OF MUMBAI

NEERA ADARKAR

The Textile District of Mumbai is popularly known as Girangaon, which means village of the mills. However the textile industry was one of the first modern industries of India and the mill workers were among the pioneers of Trade Unions. It can be said that the history of the Mumbai as a modern metropolis is linked to the history of the textile industry and its neighbourhood. The working class belt in Central Mumbai covering Mahalaxmi to Sewri and from Byculla to Dadar is known as Girangaon. The case study of the textile mill industry and the working class neighbourhood, addresses many of the important urban issues related to the city, pertaining to housing, employment, physical and social infrastructure. Two-thirds of the city's labour in 1931 was employed in the textile mills. Till 1982 the industry employed 2,50,000 workers. The 2.5 sq.km. of neighbourhood of Girangaon consists of industrial housing and a well knit infrastructure like major railway lines, seven suburban railway stations, play grounds, markets, public health and education facilities and social and cultural institutions. Along with the growth of the industry the labour movements also flourished. The mill workers fought great political battles, participated fully in the freedom struggle, in the linguistic struggle of Sanyukta Maharashtra and actively supported the Naval mutiny. They entertained the city with their theatre, music and festivals. Today the textile industry is on the verge of total closure, the mill lands are developed into luxury housing, commercial and entertainment centers. As a result most of the mill workers are jobless. There is a history here that is in the danger of being forgotten and rewritten in the name of Globalisation. Studying this history of Mumbai's textile industry is not nostalgia but an exercise that could lead to a sustainable future planning.

History:

Girangaon began to take shape in the late nineteenth century. Between 1840 and 1880, Bombay city grew rapidly and first acquired

the character of a major metropolitan centre. By the early twentieth century, its claim to be an industrial centre was based entirely on the textile industry. Although the first mills were built in the 1850s, the industry expanded substantially only in the 1870s and 1880s. The average number of workers employed daily in the mills increased from 13,500 in 1875 to nearly 76,000 in 1895 and then doubled again by the early 1920s.

The impoverished districts of Maharashtra fed cheap labour in plenty to the city. The mill owners sent supervisor-contractors (called jobbers) into the hinterland, to procure workers for the mills. Incentives were required to attract them, as a result of which Industrial housing in the typology of chawls (4/5 storey single room tenements with common access corridors and common toilets) were built by the mill owners as well as by the British government (Bombay Improvement Trust) to accommodate them.

Neighbourhood space Social and political movements

Between 30 and 40 per cent of the population in Girangaon lived in single room tenements (chawls) housing six or more people. Others lived in thatched huts and several were forced to sleep in the corridors and on the streets due to overcrowding. A survey conducted by the Labour Office in 1925 revealed the 90 percent of the mill workers lived within a 15 minute walk from their place of employment. The social and political life and the struggles at the work place often overlapped. The chawl corridors, the courtyards, the streets, the squares, all these spaces contributed to the evolution of the community institutions and trade unions. Village committees (*gaonkari mandals*) sprang up in order to compensate for family support and ties. They also maintained continuous contact with the village and family. As the community took root, they started to think about improving their lives in the city and became more conscious of the injustices that they had to face. With the absence of trade unions, the *mandals* and other local organizations played an important part. These cultural organizations not only provided the recreation which was badly needed, but also provided platforms for their creative

expression. Every chawl had a committee and every locality had its gymnasiums (vyayamshalas), Ganeshotsav mandals, gaonkari mandals and bhajani mandals. The Trade Union to which the workers were affiliated was led by the Communist Party of India. As a result the social and cultural life of the community was a mixture of the marathi culture and that of the cosmopolitan progressive culture.

Participation of women

The proximity of the place of work and place of residence was one of the important reasons for a large percentage of women employed in the textile industry. Although Bombay was predominantly a city of male migrants, Women constituted about 20-25% of the total textile work force until 1931 when, with the introduction of the night shift (which was forbidden for women) and maternity benefits, the numbers declined. There is a record as early as 1894 of women textile workers belonging to 'Jacob Mill, near Supari bagh' where 400 women stopped work they felt that they were not being paid what they should be for an increased workload. During the 1908 strike against Tilak's arrest, the very first protest meetings was organised by women. Women workers participated in the freedom struggle used the tool of satyagraha to force the closure of Naigaum mills during 1942 Quit India movement. The evolution of the neighbourhood as an integrated community encouraged the women to participate in the labour force in large numbers as well as to participate militantly in the working class struggles.

Trade Unions:

The textile workers built the unity and consciousness that led to the creation of one of the most militant and conscious trade unions in the history of the working class in India.

It is interesting to study the emergence of Trade Unions and its relationship with the workers inside and outside the place of work. It is also interesting to see how this relationship has changed over the years as the influence of the Left ideology decreased, due to the political strategies of Congress and the right wing chauvinist party, Shivsena. Girangaon was the site for many political movements and

the people of the area were leading participants in the independence movement and later the Sanyukta Maharashtra Movement for the separate linguistic State of Maharashtra with Bombay city as its capital. Since Girangaon consists of 6 assembly constituencies, making up of one Parliamentary constituency, it was a politically crucial area for all political parties. The sheer size of the community, that was integrated and well organized through their Trade Unions and multi-layered institutions turned the area into a battleground for many political parties. This led to many political and cultural clashes finally resulting into a fractured / divided identity of the textile workers that was revealed during the communal riots in the 90s.

During the freedom struggle and later during the struggle for the formation of Maharashtra the workers affiliated to the communist led Girni Kamgar Union, established in 1928, the most powerful militant and conscious trade union of the country. The Textile Mill district therefore was a showcase for the Indian Communists. Trade Union consciousness amongst the workers consolidated through the innumerable strikes waged for basic rights while working in the textile mills.

Political consciousness of the workers

The workers gained many benefits through the Girni Kamgar Union. At the same time, because of their sharpened political consciousness, they did not hesitate to retaliate against the union whenever they felt necessary to do so. This is a unique characteristic of the textile workers which was displayed several times during the history of their struggles. This is seen during the World War II, the Quit India Movement of 1942, during the declaration of emergency in 1975 and during the historic strike led by Datta Samant in 1982. There were subcommittees in the chawls and the mill committees in the mills which democratically participated in the decision making process regarding any industrial action or a political struggle.

The communists had initially opposed the Second World War, condemning it as an imperialist war, but when Hitler invaded Russia, and when the Soviet Party appealed to all communist parties to build

a united front to defeat Hitler, the Communist Party of India followed the same line and supported the war by calling it the 'People's war'. This move of CPI was supportive of the British Government and its fallout was not to participate in the Quit India Movement that had engulfed the entire country. The mill workers could not comprehend Girni Kamgar Union's strategy and in defiance to they joined the Quit India Struggle in large numbers. This was the beginning of the erosion of the Left base in Girangaon. Some of the mill committees began drifting towards the Congress affiliated Union Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh which was established in 1947.

In 1975 when Indira Gandhi declared Emergency and the communist leader S.A. Dange supported the Congress, the workers went against him. The whole bonus struggle was conducted under the Communist's leadership. When Indira Gandhi declared that the maximum bonus would be 8.33 per cent and not more, workers were shocked that Dange supported it. The workers, specially the dalit workers were also hurt during Dange's decision to defeat Dr. Ambedkar in the 1952 elections. The Dalit workers had supported the trade union although they faced discrimination in terms of allotment of duties in the mills. They were not allowed to work in the department where the worker had to take the thread in his mouth. Ambedkar felt that Brahminism has to be fought along with Capitalism and he felt that the communist party ignored the caste issues. Dange called upon the voters to scratch out the second vote they had for constituencies reserved for scheduled castes to ensure that Ambedkar lost. The Dalits workers never forgave the Communists for this betrayal.

Sanyukta Maharashtra movement.

It was during the linguistic struggle for State of Maharashtra and the city of Mumbai as its capital, in the 50s, that the entire working class belt of Girangaon and the middle class belt of Girgaon and Dadar whole heartedly supported the communist and socialist led Sanyukta Maharashtra Samiti. The cultural expressions of people's sentiments

in the form of theatre and songs was the highlight of Sanyukta Maharashtra movement. The leadership of the left and their working class base attributed 'class' dimension to the linguistic struggle movement, which would have otherwise been limited to the cultural movement. It was in this movement that the communists and socialists coming together on the same platform and later challenging the authority of Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh as the sole authorized trade union under the Bombay Industrial Regulation Act.

Maharashtra State was born in 1960, however an expectation created by the movement to get better job opportunities for the Maharashtrians, was not fulfilled. The left leaders of the movement who stayed together through the movement suddenly decided to split as soon their goal of retaining the city of Bombay for the State of Maharashtra was achieved. They failed to keep the political power of the new state in their hands due to their internal differences. This was a major disappointment for the working class of Girangaon, as it came from the left with whom they had tied their loyalties.

Shivsena and divided identities of the workers

Ironically, in the late sixties the Shivsena arrived with a chauvinist agenda to address the crucial issue of unemployment. It exploited the frustration generated amongst the Marathi youths of the working class and the middle class. Bal Thackeray mobilized the youths from the Girangaon through the existing networks of the local youth clubs to build a network of cadre for his new party. These shakhas (local branches) took up local issues ranging from family disputes to employment generation. This created a rift between the two generations of the working class. While the parents supported the left trade union, their children were attracted to Sena's aggressive policy and promises for employments. Slowly the parents also faced an identity crises. Sena soon captured the religious and cultural space that was largely ignored by the left. The chauvinist sentiments resulted in the riots of 1969 – against the South Indians and later in 1992/93 against the Muslims. The workers divided their identities. While supporting the communists in their place of work, they

supported the communal sentiments flared by the Sena in the neighbourhood. The Congress made use of Shiv Sena to combat the communists.

Datta Samant and the strike of 1982

In 1981, just before the famous 1982 strike, the mill workers earnestly wanted Thackeray to lead them in the strike for wage hike and for demanding a ballot for challenging the status of Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh as the official union to voice mill workers under the BIR act (Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946 established a single union as an approved union. Congress led Rashtriya Mill Mazdur Sangh became the 'representative' union under the BIR Act). But Thackeray backed out last minute choosing to associate with the Congress. The disappointed workers immediately approached Dr. Datta Samant, a leader who had by then established a reputation as the most militant leader. Although initially extremely reluctant to enter the unfamiliar textile industry, he succumbed to the mounting pressure by the textile workers and finally led 2,50,000 workers from 60 mills in the historical strike.

There are many events during the strike that are contrary to many general perceptions about this longest strike. The decentralized structure of the mill committees in different mills helped and some times forced Dr Samant to choose a certain course of action. As the pressure to continue the strike became intense and the state government refused to negotiate, Samant got trapped due to the state level politics within the Congress leaders and Congress led union, Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh which finally demolished all his efforts to end the strike with the intervention from the central government..

It was an unprecedented strike of not only the affected 2,50,000 workers and their families but shopkeepers, traders, small businessmen of that area. Zonal committees were set up in Girangaon who worked for the distribution of food grains obtained through the support from rural areas of Ghat (Deccan). On the other hand the mill owners, on their part, in alliance with the

Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh used all means to break the strike. The use of local gangsters to terrorize the workers by the recognized union Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh led to the rise of an organized Mafia in the area.

The strike did succeed beyond one year. It ended in a defeat. 1,00,000 workers lost their jobs, they were never taken back. The mill owners regulated the entry to the permanent workforce, by creating an informal sector in which there is no legal protection, low wages and no job security. In short the defeat became a catalyst in the process of the decline of Girangaon .

It was after nearly six years that in 1980 a Group of workers of the ten mills, which were still closed after the strike, organized themselves to set up an independent organization called Bandh Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti (Closed Mills Workers Action Committee). The objective was to see that the mills are restarted. Bandh Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti used many innovative ways for that. (For example, they scaled a 20 feet high wall of New Great Eastern Mill at midnight to symbolically take over the mill and run it). A sustained agitation made the government exact a legislation to revive the old mills. In return for starting the mills, the Mill owners were given permission to sell the land. Although the BIFR (Board for Industrial and Finance Regulation) was supposed to check the proposal for sale of land against the plan for revival of the mills, the revival was haphazard.

Decline of Textile Industry:

The decline of the industry is spread over last two decades. Although the long drawn strike of 1982 is sited as the main reason for the decline, the reasons for the decline are complex. Past twenty years have seen a systematic closure of the textile industry. The problems of the textile industry have its roots in a complex set of factors, including government policy of favouring handloom over composite mills, lack of modernisation, diversification of company funds by the mill owners into other industries, the growth of the power loom sector. Modernisation in the textile industry was very slow. The

profits were not used for replacing old and worn out machinery. The main advantage that the Indian Industry had was the low cost of labour and the industry never tried to complement this with capital inputs even where it may have been profitable. The newer generation of mill owners had diverted funds indiscriminately from the textile mills into other industry like pharmaceutical, engineering and chemical leading to sickness and later closures of the mills. The Multi fiber Arrangement resulted in export-import quotas in favour of the developed countries. The export quota of the less developed countries was restricted. Finally in the late 80s the real estate potential of the mill lands lured the mill owners to move towards total closures.

The Real Estate factor:

The mill owners realized that they can make a killing by exploiting the land potential in the real estate market that was booming. The government obliged by bringing in the legislation in 1991 in the form of DCR (Development Control Rule) allowed the mill owners to close the mills, to change the user of the lands, which were leased to mill owners only to run textile industry, to commercial and residential; and increased the FSI to 1.33. The mill owners were supposed to retain 1/3 of land and share the remaining two thirds equally between Municipal Corporation for public open space and MHADA for public housing. However the owner was to benefit by way of TDR (Transfer of developmental rights) in lieu of the two thirds on one hand. This resulted in the closure of the mills and handing over the land to BMC & MHADA. However many mills leased out existing built areas for commercial purpose to escape the 'one third formula' of the 1991 DCR.

Despite the advantages, the mill owners looked for loop holes to gain the land. Many of the leases had already expired but the government and the local authorities ignored this very important fact while giving the permissions. The mill owners stopped the production, did not pay the wages due to the workers and followed the 'exit policy' by persuading and often terrorizing the workers to accept the VRS

(Voluntary Retirement Scheme). At the same time, the mill owners lobbied with the government to amend the 1991 DCR in order to avoid sharing of the land with the public bodies. The Urban Development Ministry proposed an amendment in the name of 'minor modifications' under the MRTP act, to benefit the alliance of the mill owners and the real estate developers. On one hand the amendment included the some protectionist measures to workers like creating an escrow account for depositing workers dues and recognizing the rights of the tenants living on the mill lands but on the other hand the division of land into 3 parts was made applicable only to the open space 'before demolition' of the structures. Therefore, the one third of the land each for MHADA and MCGM (public housing and open spaces) had to be calculated on the land on which there were no structure even if the structures were proposed to be demolished. This drastically brought down the share of the city for open spaces and public housing to less than 10% of the share which was granted by 1991 DCR.

It took 3 years for the concerned citizens to get prepared for the battle. A public interest litigation was filed by the environmentalists against the 2001 Amendment, which was also supported by Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti (GKSS, an independent union of textile workers established in 1989 after the mill owners refused to restart the mills post 1982 strike). However, the 'authorised' union of textile workers Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh publicly took a stand supporting the mill owners. The state government, the owners and the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh defended the 2001 amendment on the ground of the payment of workers dues. However, GKSS argued in the court that going by the sale of lands and from the proposals of National Textile Corporation before the Board of Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR), the amount due to the workers in the 5 mills sold in the later half of 2005 (namely Jupiter, Apollo, Elphinston, Mumbai Textile and Kohinoor) is verified as 10% to 14% of what will accrue from the sale of land. This defeated the plea of the owners that more land is needed to be sold, for the owners to

pay the workers dues. The PIL also demanded a comprehensive and holistic plan for the development of the mill lands to benefit the neighbourhood and the city at large.

In October 2005 a landmark judgement was delivered by the Mumbai High Court. It gave back to the city the share of the land as per 1991 division of land. However the Supreme Court in March 2006 accepted the 2001 amendment of DCR which allowed the mill owners to retain maximum share of land without sharing the two thirds for public purposes. As a result the mill lands in central Mumbai's working class district are converting into islands of opulence with glittering shopping malls, commercial centres and multistory luxury apartment, with no development planned for any productive activity for the workers or for public amenities. As the real estate prices reaching all time high, the private mill owners as well as the government (which owns the NTC mills) amply supported by the urban development policies compete to 'exploit the potential of land', while the fear of displacement looms large not only over the workers of Girangaon but over the working classes of the city at large.

Neera Adarkar
July 2006

NOTE TO APPEAR BELOW THE ARTICLE.

This paper by Neera Adarkar is based on the book, One Hundred Years One Hundred Voices, the Millworkers of Girangaon: An Oral History, written by Meena Menon and Neera Adarkar, published by Seagull Books, 2004.

CHANGING ECONOMY AND SPATIAL PLANNING RESPONSE: VIDYADHAR K. PHATAK

Introduction

The present controversy about use of mills' land in Mumbai raises a generic of fundamental problems of the changing economy of Mumbai and the spatial planning response to such changes. In this paper therefore I intend

- to briefly recount how the economy of Mumbai has reflected spatial planning, particularly since 1970.
- to review the ability of spatial planning to anticipate the changing structure of the economy for long-term plans, and
- to propose the change in spatial planning practices that would improve the response mechanism.

What happened during 1970-91?

Regional Pan 1973

I begin by the first statutory Regional Plan for Bombay Metropolitan Region sanctioned by the state government in 1973. Though the plan was sanctioned in 1973 the draft had been published in 1970 while its preparation had begun in 1967 under the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966. The Regional Planning Board had access to the 1961 census and employment data over a short period of 1960-61 to 1964-65. The plan therefore used trend projections to estimate the employment and economy for 1991, the horizon year of the plan. Let us look at the Plan proposals for industry and tertiary or office sectors.

Manufacturing

For factory sector employment the Plan assumed that the share of Maharashtra in India would continue to be 20% and that of Mumbai in Maharashtra would continue to be 70%. The forecast of factory sector employment based on these assumptions, for Greater Mumbai was 9.62 lakhs in 1981 and 10.6 lakhs in 1991. Corresponding estimates for MMR were 12 lakhs and 14 lakhs.

The Plan however did not want the trends of spatial concentration to continue. It is, therefore, recommended that

- Areas zoned for Industries in Greater Mumbai be reduced by 800 ha.
- Create new industrial zones for relocation of existing industries and accommodating future growth at

Nhava-Sheva for port based industries – 1500 ha.

Bhiwandi Tehsil – 200 ha.

Vasai tehsil – 200 ha.

Apte-Turade (near Rasayani) – 100 ha.

- In Greater Mumbai only consumer industries and ancillaries of existing industries be allowed.
- No new industrial units be allowed in the Thane-Kalyan Complex.

In the Development Plan of Navi Mumbai sanctioned by the State government in 1973 CIDCO went a step further and based on the study commissioned by it recommended that

- Manufacturing employment in Greater Mumbai be frozen at its 1969 level.
- Employment in TTC and Taloja should not be allowed to increase by more than 2000 during between 1974-80.

(Today such definitive and deterministic recommendations may appear to be very strange.)

The recommendations of the Regional Plan were translated into the Industrial Location Policy for MMR in 1974 by the Industries Department of the State government and continued through various amendments until 1992. In Greater Mumbai and Thane the policy initially prescribed “no new industries”. It allowed modernization without increase in production – a stipulation that may appear weird in today’s macro economic framework.

The Outcome

On this background it would be interesting to note the outcome in terms of employment. Against the estimates of 9.62 and 12 lakh factory jobs in Greater Mumbai and MMR respectively the actual jobs in 1981 were only 6.04 and 7.36 lakhs. The picture worsened (or dramatically improved depending upon how you look at it) in 1991. Factory jobs in Greater Mumbai declined to 4.47 lakhs and in MMR to 5.99 lakhs. Clearly the notion of suppressing growth at one place to divert it to another place did not work. None of the new locations recommended by the plan developed during that period.

But this was not the result of spatial planning alone. In fact it could be argued that it was a result of license and permit raj and labour policies. In fact, the employment in manufacturing (other than household industries), as reported in the primary census, increased from 11.12 lakhs in 1981 to 12.12 lakhs in 1991

indicating a substantial shift toward unregistered manufacturing units not easily amenable to policy control.

Office Sector

We may now turn to the other "white collar" or office sector. The Regional Plan, 1973 diagnosed continued concentration of office activities on the southern tip of the Island as the key spatial planning problem. It is, therefore, recommended that

- Not to perpetuate the north-south development trend that aggravates structural imbalance in the city. Restrict commercial area to 20% in the Backbay Reclamation scheme.
- Establish control on the location of new offices that require more than 250 sq.m. or employment potential of more than 50.
- Plan for eventual location of all offices not connected with Mumbai, in Navi Mumbai and to shift as many such offices to New Bombay as possible.
- To develop Bandra Kurla as an alternative commercial complex to give immediate relief and to relocate the offices that must essentially exist in Mumbai to this centre.

The MMRDA translated some of these recommendations into policy in 1977 that disallowed any new development for office purpose or wholesale trade in the Island City without the explicit permission of the MMRDA. This continued for some time even after the provisions were incorporated in the DCRs of 1991.

It is very difficult to track the growth of office employment because of the definitional problems. However, there are indications that the

office sector employment too slowed down in the 1980s. Moreover, the growth in employment took place more by way of new smaller establishments than new large establishments. Growth in large establishments was by way of expansion of existing establishment. Such growth was less amenable to the policy of decentralization. Neither Bandra Kurla nor Navi Mumbai saw any significant new office growth during this period.

As the economic forecast both in terms of manufacturing and office sector did not materialize, demographic targets of Navi Mumbai attaining population of two million by 1991 and thereby limiting growth of Greater Mumbai could not be realized.

The Post 1991 Scene

In 1991, the horizon year of the first Regional Plan, significant changes in the macro economic policies occurred. The industrial policy underwent a substantial change. The licensing policy that had been pernicious for manufacturing growth was almost disbanded. New avenues opened for private sector growth in financial services and IT services. The draft Regional Plan for 1991-2011 consequently pleaded for change in the industrial location policy. Such a policy was adopted in 1993. The policy emphasized the environmental characteristics of the industries. It allowed non-polluting, high-tech industries even in the Island City; confined polluting and hazardous cities to MIDC areas outside the Mumbai-Thane zone. However, the Development Control regulations of Greater Mumbai approved in 1991 permitted alternative uses of industrial lands. In case of cotton textile mills a condition of sharing two-thirds of vacant land with BMC and MHADA for open spaces and public housing was imposed. Despite the policy attempts to attract manufacturing or at least facilitate its transformation, many industrial units converted to residences, offices, ITES and retail trade. Creating a new centre of offices along Andheri Kurla Road not proposed in any "Plans".

Navi Mumbai too suffered from decline in manufacturing and also the absence of office sector growth, the main plank of Regional Plan. Navi Mumbai now seems to have pinned its hope for economic revival and growth on the SEZ near Nhava Sheva Port.

In the liberalization of Indian economy MMRDA saw an opportunity of expanding financial services and recommended a new Office Location Policy in its Regional Plan. The important features of this policy were:

- Equipping Mumbai to host international finance and business operations and for that purpose developing BKC as international business and finance centre (and not as a place to relocate offices from CBD for decongestion).
- Existing industrial and commercial zones in the Island City may be allowed to have office development making manufacturing and offices to compete for the limited space.
- Recycling of land of textile mills or cotton warehouses in BPT may be promoted through integrated planning and development for office use.
- However, for these changes in policy to be brought about Rent Control and Property Tax reforms have to be treated as pre-conditions.

The policy changes were adopted without of course any action on the property tax front and no integrated planning was ever undertaken for the textile mills district prior to allowing conversion to commercial or residential use. In fact the rules of change of use that were introduced in the Development Control Regulations while sanctioning the Development Plan that was essentially prepared in 1987 set a trail of "planning by rules alone". First in 1995, the Slum Rehabilitation regulations were introduced, then in 1999 rules

promoting reconstruction of cessed buildings were introduced and in 2001 rules related to redevelopment of mills' land were also amended. In none of these any spatial content was present or the impacts of development assessed.

The left-outs

Throughout the planning period from 1973, significant growth occurred due to small business service establishments, unregistered factories and workshops, informal trade and services and also perhaps therefore by way of slums. They found crevices in the plan for their operations as the plan had neither recognized nor anticipated their growth for making spatial planning provisions. As a result such large informal economy came to be labelled as illegal. Consequently, private investment in improving the operations too remained restrained or was made with the support of the corrupt system.

Long-term economic forecasts

This brief review highlights the hazards of long-term economic forecasts.

- In the late sixties the planners apprehended continued growth of manufacturing and continued concentration of office employment in the CBD as the key problems and proposed a decentralization and control strategy.
- In fact during the plan period the manufacturing sector declined losing employment in absolute number and office sector stagnated.
- By the time these trends were revealed and corrective steps were mooted it was too late.

Mumbai now faces new opportunities for growth.

- In the emerging WTO regime textile and garment industries seem to have significant opportunities for growth. Tax incentives are also proposed in the budget. Will Mumbai's economics take advantage of this? And if yes how can that be facilitated from the spatial planning point of view?
- What will be the spatial requirements of Mumbai becoming a Regional Financial Centre? Will it require a distinct zone? If so where should it be – a group of NTC Mills, BKC or SEZ in Navi Mumbai?
- The question that then comes up is can we have improved, more reliable economic and employment forecasts for a 20-year horizon at the city level? Despite elaborate economic forecasting methodologies the answer will be NO.
- If a 20-year spatial plan in terms of broad land use allocation, arterial road network, public transport network etc. is considered necessary (and not in terms of where a primary school will be and where a small garden would be) then we should be satisfied with very broad estimates of economic growth and employment.

New Style Planning

It also brings out the limitations of planning by rules alone.

- Mumbai's Development Plan though approved in 1991 was prepared in the mid-80s. Some of the economic changes that were not anticipated at the time of plan preparation had begun to surface at the time of its approval almost a decade later. The tendency has been to accommodate these emerging needs by

changing the DCRs alone without carrying out necessary spatial planning changes. For example,

- Although the Regional Plan talked about textile mills' land being recycled through integrated planning and development, no such effort has been made. Only land sharing rule was introduced. This did not take care of any of the impacts of the resultant development – such as road network capacities, parking requirement, additional requirement of open spaces and social infrastructure depending upon the new development being offices, residences or retail trade.

It is obvious that the present spatial planning practices are inadequate to meet the challenges of growth being experienced by Mumbai. This therefore brings me to the last point that I set out in the beginning – the need for new style planning. I present a few important features of such planning.

- As the national economy gets integrated with global economy, growth and character of city economy will become more uncertain. What will be required are data systems that track the city economy to quickly reveal changes in trends. Domestic Product of the city and its sectoral composition, savings and capital formation need to be tracked annually through national accounts. City-specific data systems covering employment in formal and informal sectors would also be necessary. Additional floor space constructed in various parts of the city for different uses including change of use of existing buildings represents data available with local government in the course of exercise of its powers and responsibilities under the Town Planning Act. Such data needs to be converted into information that helps monitor growth of the city on an annual basis. A systematic analysis of data is necessary to discern the trends. Such information (as distinct from raw data which could be obtained through

Right to Information) also needs to be placed in public domain for citizens' use.

- It will be important to understand the activities that are difficult to be monitored through formal data systems, and make room for them in the spatial plan in a way that does not compel such activities to seek space meant for other public uses.
- Based on these trends and the nature of growth expected over the next five years, the 20-year Development Plan needs to be reviewed every five years not only in terms of DCRs but also in terms of detailed local plans and the other infrastructure requirements. With a good database the process of review and change should be quick.
- Corresponding to the five-year cycle of Development Plan review, there should also be Capital Improvement Plan. The luxury of stalling growth for securing breathing time for infrastructure strengthening was not available and will never be available as cities become more competitive. How infrastructure investment will be made to augment capacities required by the changes in spatial plans will also have to be a transparent and participatory exercise.
- Besides a 20-year plan and its five-yearly review, there will be a need to have comprehensive local plans. Rules alone cannot guide development.

Hopefully, such changes in planning practices would make spatial planning more responsive to changing the economic profile of Mumbai, particularly when the pace of change is going to increase in next few decades.

**RESTRUCTURING AND REVITALISING LANDUSE IN
MUMBAI:
G.S. PANTBALEKUNDRI**

The landuse within the city plays an important role in the development and decay of the city. Normally, lands are put to different uses, such as residential, commercial, industrial and agricultural, in addition to infrastructural uses. City Planning is in existence since ancient times. The main aim behind planning the city is to have proper landuse and its control. It more or less aims at facilitating and promoting life, minimizing adverse environmental impacts that may occur in the process of economic growth, improving the efficiency of existing methods of resource mobilization and adopting innovative methods for urban renewal of blighted areas.

In case of Greater Mumbai, the first such attempt of preparation of landuse plan under the provision of MR&TP Act, 1966 was made in the year 1967, and thereafter, it has been revised in the year 1987. As on today the Revised Development Plan (RDP) of Greater Mumbai is in existence and the use of lands within the city is controlled on the basis of these plans. It is a known fact that due to failure of the housing policy in Mumbai, 60% of its population stays in slums. Any number of attempts made to improve or redevelop the areas occupied by the slums have been found to be inadequate. Unfortunately, the slums are increasing day-by-day. Spreading of slums eats out areas earmarked for all purposes, inclusive of areas earmarked for infrastructural and social facilities, such as roads, open spaces, parks, railway lines and other such amenities. Serious problems are being faced by the metropolis in removing the hutments occupying areas required for infrastructural facilities of roads and railways, etc. Attempts are being made to obtain funds for such purposes from the World Bank levels.

Different landuses are implemented with the help of Development Control Regulations. This is one of the important tools to control the development of the city as per the prescribed landuse.

The lands earmarked for different zones can be of two types – (i) developed areas and (ii) undeveloped areas. In case of undeveloped areas, it becomes necessary to plan the development through new techniques of urban development and in case of overdeveloped or blighted areas, the redevelopment needs to be undertaken in such a manner that in addition to reconstruction of the existing buildings, the layout for basic facilities is improved and proper recycling of the landuse is done. While undertaking redevelopment, it becomes necessary to have an independent approach where some kind of incentives would be necessary. Incentive may be in the form of relaxations in the development control, or by increase in FSI.

Major landowners in Mumbai are the Government of Maharashtra (GOM), Government of India (GOI), Bombay Port Trust (BPT), BEST, MCGM, etc. The landuse plan prepared by MCGM has taken stock of them, but has not examined whether the potential of these lands is used to the optimum extent, or otherwise. For example, the Central Railway (CR) and the Western Railway (WR) occupy large chunks of land both in the island city and suburbs of Mumbai. It is not known or it is not properly brought out in the landuse plan, as to whether, the optimum use of the lands owned by the railways has been achieved or otherwise. Similar is the situation for all other organizations/institutions which are holding large chunks of land. Unfortunately, the present landuse plan merely shows the existence of their use.

In case of railways, the Central Railway has large lands under use for loading and unloading of cargo near CST. This area is known as 'Wadi Bunder'. Due to shifting of major economic activities from the island city of Mumbai, such as steel market, grain market, vegetable market to Navi Mumbai, use of Wadi Bunder has been reduced to a considerable extent. However, recycling the use of

these lands has not been considered either by the railways or by the MCGM while drafting the Plan. In case these lands are not required for the purpose for which they were utilized earlier, it is either necessary for the railways to utilize them for some other suitable purposes or allow the city to utilize them for public amenities, which are badly needed in the island city. Similarly, near Dadar, Matunga and Kurla railway stations, large areas are under utilization of railway workshops and sidings. Such an activity needs to be shifted from this place. Considering the present trend of development of the island city, such an activity of the railway workshop can be relocated somewhere outside Municipal limits within the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR), so that such activities can be replanned in a proper manner considering the need of the situation. For the purposes of railway goods handling two separate railway goods yards can be developed outside municipal limits, one for CR and one for WR. The existing areas under workshops and goods parking users can be utilized for other users considering the demand. Benefit of lucrative land values of the areas can help the railway to create more funds for their own development. Similar is the situation in WR, where the chunk of land at Mahalakshmi and Bandra, are kept unused. Part areas are occupied by slums too. These lands can be reused for some better economic purposes. On the whole, it would be desirable that both the railway authorities take a stock of their lands, examine whether they are put to their optimum potential use or otherwise recycle them for better uses considering their own demand. Fortunately, the Railways very recently have decided to establish an independent Board for the development of railways within the MMR and this Board can initiate such action of taking stock of lands within its jurisdiction and then decide about the plan to recycle the use considering the need of the situation and optimum use to which they can put. In doing so, the Board can get more funds for development and redevelopment of its own activities. This will also improve the city landuse.

Both the MCGM and BEST are also having large area within their possession. The lands are put to different uses. But it would be

desirable to examine whether they are used for optimum capacity. In many places, even the admissible FSI is not consumed and thus these lands have remained unused. In addition to this, the MCGM is the owner of improvement trust lands and has in its possession large areas either used for its colonies or for other residential purposes. The realistic use of these lands has never been thought of. It becomes necessary to study the existing landuse of these lands in detail and replan them in a proper manner considering the need of both the administrative and other municipal purposes. It may be true that the redevelopment of such lands would pose problems because they are occupied. But it is always advisable to consider their re-use. Perhaps, some areas may be available which can be put to a better use. Recycling of uses is a necessity. In doing so, the MCGM may itself create stock of lands. The BEST has also a large area under its depots and bus stations, the FSI of these lands is never consumed to the full extent. Use of these lands in a proper manner can be considered to revitalize and rationalize the landuse and creation of more funds for its own developments.

In case of the BPT lands, the situation is similar. Moreover, since the BPT is a part of Mumbai, it cannot remain an independent entity without getting merged in the landuse of the island city of Mumbai. The present use of BPT lands needs to be examined in detail. Approximately one-third of the land can be allowed to be utilized for city development such as parks, playground and other public amenities. Moreover, there are two important rail and road connections available in the port which reach up to the Indira Dock right from Wadala. If these links are made available for the city development, there will be lesser burden on growing traffic coming to South Mumbai everyday. Thus, it is absolutely essential to study the existing landuse of BPT area and restructure it, considering the present and future needs of the Port Trust itself and also the needs of the city.

The GOM and GOI also have large areas available in the island city as well as in the suburbs. The open lands owned by Governments

are getting encroached fast. Some of the lands owned by the GOM/GOI have been earmarked for various public purposes and infrastructural facilities in the Sanctioned Revised Development Plan (SRDP). If these lands are not encroached, Governments can hand them over to MCGM and ask for the TDR of these lands and create its own land TDR Bank for itself. The government can, thereafter, use the TDR as per the demand for lands.

Mumbai has bought 56 Textile Mills who own large areas. It is a known fact that the textile mills are closing down day-by-day. Once upon a time, the city was known as the Textile City. As on today, this trade is dying. Mill lands are lying unused. The GOM had in the year 1994-95 appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Charles Correa, to prepare an integrated DP of the textile market mill lands on the basis of certain principles. The study group, after detailed study of NTC lands has recommended that (i) There is necessity of proper landuse pattern within the mills as well as in the adjoining areas, (ii) In the Mumbai city there is dearth of basic urban infrastructure. Additional urban facilities are therefore recommended to be provided, (iii) The relevant architectural and urban form of mill areas merged with the surrounding areas needs to be evolved, (iv) Environmental and heritage aspects of existing mills need be maintained.

These textile mills are mostly located in South Mumbai in Lower Parel and in Lalbaug area. This is the central part of the island city of Mumbai. The Committee is of the opinion that if a proper thought is given to replan the entire part of Central Mumbai with justified allocation of landuse, it would be possible to create a harmonious and aesthetic landuse between south part of island city and north part of Island city of Mumbai.

It would thus be seen that the landlords who are holding major lands in the island city of Mumbai and who have not given thought to the best use of their lands in planning of RDP of Mumbai should reconsider about their landuse and think of recycling the use for

better purposes, so that a proper aesthetic landuse can be created giving topmost care to the economic value of lands of Greater Mumbai.

The landuse plan cannot be independently considered without urban infrastructure plan, Traffic and Transportation plan, social amenity plan, educational and recreational amenity plan. Unfortunately, the landuse plans prepared in the past have not taken all these aspects into consideration at one time and consequently there is no coordination. Unfortunately, for metropolitan cities both such plans are dealt with separately. As on today, all the office user activities are located in South Mumbai, mostly in 'A', 'B', and 'C' Wards and the flow of traffic both by public and private transport leads to southern side creating total imbalance in traffic pattern. Improvement in this situation cannot be visualized unless a rational thinking is done regarding relocation of landuses. The Revised Regional Plan of MMR reintroduces office user activity in the island city of Mumbai which was banned earlier. The revised plan, however, gives emphasis on small sizes of offices having strength of five to 10 persons. If this is to come into existence, it is necessary to examine whether the present organizations who are having employment of more than 200 persons need to be shifted to north to divert the flow of traffic. For example, Mantralaya, GOM/GOI Offices, LIC, the headquarters of both CR and WR, major banks who have their headquarters situated or Navi Mumbai so that the southbound traffic can be diverted to the west and east. The areas outside Mumbai such as Vasai and Virar regions, Thane, Kalyan and Karjat regions are growing fast. Unfortunately, these areas are being developed as dormitory areas. It is absolutely essential to see that this situation is changed in future and all the metropolitan areas have uniform traffic pattern. For this purpose, it would be essential that the administrative authorities should seriously think of diverting some of their offices either to suburbs or to Navi Mumbai or further north so that the traffic gets diverted. The GOM has already shifted the steel market, grain market, vegetable market to Navi Mumbai, consequently major truck traffic is diverted outside the island city of Mumbai. It is now time to

think diversion of major office user activity to different locations so that the traffic pattern gets equally divided within the MMR region.

MUMBAI'S ENVIRONMENT: SUNJOY MONGA

I have been fascinated by the urban habitat. First, let me clarify I am neither an activist nor really an environmentalist, in a true sense, I am actually a naturalist. And that is very confusing; when I was doing a telephone interview with a lady reporter, I was telling her that I am a naturalist and she could not figure out what exactly is being a naturalist. She quoted me in the newspaper that I was an industrialist. I am an industrialist writer. Well, so much for the novelty of the word naturalist. Well, the urban habitat fascinates me for the simple reason that it is our own creation. It is the only habitat that we have created, complete as a package deal, with all the pollution and everything else associated with it. And that is why it is very interesting from a naturalist's point of view. You may have read of or heard of the lapazine island where scientists have discovered an entire evaluation of species and this has resulted in great theory. I just look at the urban habitat as the lapazine island, almost equivalent of that, because here in a limited space the changes are very rapid, changes we have enforced upon on every urban habitat. After all creation of original habitat, which could be marshy land, the mangrove, grassland, forest, just anything. The original land would be one of these habitats and on that people started building towns and cities. Today, it is confirmed that we have become a predominantly

urban species, which means that more than half of humanity must be living in urban centres of the world. It is the most rapidly increasing habitat on earth, next to desert-like conditions, which are again the result of human indifference and human abuse of environment. Desert-like conditions and semi-desert-like conditions or what is also called as degraded and also referred as wastelands are rapidly increasing. Now within the limited confines of human range, the urban habitat sought that spirit because no urban city or urban centre can really be claimed to be complete, and to be able to say that oh, this is a complete city. Mumbai, of course, probably will never be a complete city. It is always dug up, there is always feinting activities, the construction never stops, the road digging never stops. Obviously all that goes on all the time, throughout the year, so much so that in Mumbai there are only two seasons, there is a digging season and a non-digging season. Before monsoon digging authorities promptly start filling up, but during the remaining eight months, there is a lot of digging done continuously. But beyond the urban habitat, which lies in a geographical sphere, bio-geography a very rich region. I have been asked to speak on nature of the Mumbai region, which is not so much a great environmental issue, but about nature itself; what it really means to have nature amidst us and how the planning process can really take care of this and indeed help improve it in as many different habitats that the region has. Mumbai lies in the Malabar coast biogeographic zone, which is one of the bio-diversity hotspots of Southeast Asia, and in India is one of the four major bio-diversity hotspots, which means, the region where the number of species is originally iambically very high. You might think of Mumbai as a concrete jungle, which is the phrase applied to it, but there are about 1500 varieties of flowering plants here, which is almost equivalent to the number of plants found in Great Britain and we already have more than 200 books written on plants of Great Britain. There are almost 375 plus species of birds in Mumbai region. In fact, we had organized a unique event last year, the first Mumbai bird race. On that one single day in Mumbai region we recorded 277 species of birds while the total that we have recorded is about 375. There are about 36 species of mammals, which includes an elusive

tiger which nobody has seen. There are of course, many leopards, and the number continues to be a major issue. Besides there are an estimated 8000-1000 species of insects and about 50 species of reptiles including about 35 kinds of snakes. So Mumbai region is biologically for its biodiversity is immensely gifted than any other city in the world, I would imagine. Such is the wonderful richness of biodiversity that is there within and around Mumbai and that is primarily because of its location, not because what we have done. It has nothing to do with us. It's all because of the original location of the city itself. The monsoon climate is reasonably warm not cold and that is conducive. So we hear of this continuous clamouring of development and the recent budget has obviously again brought Mumbai into focus once again with lots of promises. We have been hearing these promises from a very long time indeed. Ever since I was a child, I have been told that Mumbai would be comfortable, it will be nice, conditions will be improved, etc. It goes on and on, and you will keep on hearing this all the time. Unfortunately, that is not the case. I mean if you want to look at it from the point of view of what you were doing 15 years ago, just the travelling time from Borivali to here, or from wherever to wherever in Mumbai, you will find that we are spending far more time than we were 150 years ago, when the first railway train checked out of Victoria Terminus to Thane. I believe it took 52 minutes, it doesn't take any less today, after 150 years. So whichever way you look at it, conditions are not so conducive for very comfortable, very relaxed human survival. I have reached a conclusion that Mumbai is an excellent city for house-crow, cockroaches, rats and mice and street dogs. These species are doing phenomenally well in Mumbai. They are mushrooming for everything is conducive for them. But for the vast majority of Mumbai's people, major problems continue to bother them and I hope with all these new projects being planned and promised, things would improve, hopefully. However, I think many of these new projects are consciously ignoring and overlooking the environmental aspect, the natural history aspect of the city. A very important case in point is the Nhava Sheva Sea-link project, which is now being termed as the ultimate antidote for all our problems. I think we already have

such antidotes in recent times, none of which have really delivered what they have promised, none actually. And this one, can be something we have discussed with MSRDC, for instance, to just realign to just a half km. south of its present site because I think any city in the world, any city with self respect the planners would look at the issue involved is the flamingos. We have about 15,000 to 20,000 flamingos congregating here since the 1990s. No site like this exists on earth. No site at all. And yet, we have the bridge beginning just at the very spot, the very 200 m. to 300 m. spot, where the flamingos congregate, a decision to drive them away forever from Mumbai. The reason is that the Sewri Bay, where they congregate is a sheltered bay as it does not have waves lashing out as on a normal open coastline. Ironically, pollution itself, industrial discharge itself has resulted probably in biological richness of the bay, which attracts these flamingos and countless 1000 other birds which all come from central Asia and some of them from the Artic Tundra as well. So, here is an opportunity for the city planners, project planners and every department concerned to ensure that one of the greatest sites on earth is preserved, if the bridge can be realigned to just a few 100 m. south. We have already initiated talks with Mumbai Port Trust. They were looking for an alternative site for this. However, the last few weeks' development every major meeting at MSRDC goes to prove that everything, it seems has fruitfully washed away this whole issue. We are just promising that the flamingos will not run away and they will come back. With just that one statement, I think we are ready to now face a situation where we might just lose this great site from Mumbai for all time. That brings to point one thing, that there is a conscious lack of planning when looking at the environmental and the natural history aspect, when we look at development. When you look at the Veera Desai Road and the issue of 120 trees, I visited that site and even if you want to widen it, you don't get really much on that road at all, yet you get 120 huge trees which are growing. But we would clamour and all the tree lovers would come to save two trees, which are in the middle of Cadel Road, which have probably taken five human lives so far, including the side hero of Rangeela, who died there I was told, banging his car on the tree. What I mean

is that we tend to overlook the more important and critical matters which are there and come to just think of a small issue for which everybody comes together and it often tends to negate the entire issue of environment and conservation aspects. You look at mangroves all over the city and you find that no city in India has such a wealth of mangroves and yet the recent estimate proves that we have probably lost about 50% of mangroves in very recent times. We are now in a position that probably the only mangroves that will survive in Mumbai would be the Thane creek mangroves and that too would be largely because of Godrej Company, which has a huge chunk under its protection. But I think the bulk of Mumbai's mangroves will vanish because of development of salt pan land reclamation and everything else is going to completely wipe out Mumbai's mangroves also. Another very important issue is the National Park issue and the leopard issue thereof about which you have been reading and hearing and witnessing the television coverage. I have been looking at this issue very closely from the very beginning in the late 70s and early 80s. I live outside the National Park and there was no slum outside the National Park in the 70s and in the late 70s and early 80s slums started coming up and the entire problem of the leopard began after that. The first recorded official kill was in 1985, which was in the park. Till then, there was perhaps never an incident of leopard attacks on people and today we have got I think of 105 people that have been killed by Leopards within the municipal limits of Mumbai city. I don't think there is statistics of this nature for any city in the world. This problem finds its beginning in the encroachment of land and the slums which started coming up in the late 70s and early 80s. Several others have pointed out that it is very directly related to slums and another important issue, which I think conveniently, we don't forget them, we have more lovers for them, which is street dogs. We have more sympathisers for street dogs in the city than we have for wild leopards living inside the National Park, a protected area. Yet, we officially literally allowed a leopard to be trapped, caught and killed within the National Park while you have thousands of people clamouring to protect street dogs on city streets, and they number about 1.4 million. The street dogs are a very

critical link in this and in any urban planning process. What I mean is why should you have probably 1000 people having pet dogs with licenses and you allow 1.4 million roaming free and which has resulted in 104-105 human deaths. There are many issues like flora and the trees in Mumbai that have lot of problems involved in it. We have literally become a cult forum city, ever since the MCGM started under its Green Bombay they went on a spree of planting one tree in the city or 2 trees which are maximum. A tree town that had been planned some years ago, disclose that Mumbai's tree population is approximately six lakhs within the urban area in Mumbai excluding the area of the National Park. Out of these six lakhs, almost half consist of two kinds of trees, which are practically useless for local conditions and for local wildlife and for generally anything. One of them is Phantaforum, which is called copper cord, which is a very common tree in Mumbai, you can see it anywhere and the second is the Ashoka tree. These two trees are planted everywhere because they are fast growing and I suppose for any officer to boast that during his tenure greenery was created because he was in charge. This is a pity because this indicates lack of conscious planning of urban flora and what it means to have the right kind of flora in any city and here are two things. In fact if I look at the urban wildlife, it fascinates me, because Island species here have little time to adapt to changing circumstances and changes occur every day in any urban area and more so, in Mumbai. So for species to be able to adapt to such changes so rapidly and come up with their own survival strategies are a remarkable feat of revolution. Therefore, you have certain species which make the most of the conditions we have provided. On the one hand as I have already pointed out, Phantaforum is the wrong tree for Mumbai for its native wildlife, but it is good for some birds and species, which make the most of it and one of them is the house crow. Phantaforum is a very soft-wooded tree, the wood breaks very easily, it snaps whenever there is little breeze, as happens invariably during March and April. Crows get a lot of little wood to make the nest. The other bird is the coppersmith, a very colourful bird, whose voice sounds like the All India Radio pips and it makes a nest inside this tree because it is a

very soft-wooded tree. Ironically, therefore, while phantaforum may be bad for lot of other wildlife, there are a couple of species, which would take advantage of it. Similarly, with other species, the Mass Ashoka is a useless tree for wildlife. They are good for butterflies and the big bat. The world's biggest bat which is to be found in Mumbai, the flying fox, feeds on the fruits of this tree. There is practically nothing else which they would be feeding on and the caterpillar of tail or butterfly, that feeds on mass Ashoka. This means that these two species are doing very well. They are thriving because these trees are aplenty. But it leads a lot of other issues, which five years ago I pointed out based on my personal observation. I had found that the population of many species of birds in the Mumbai region were actually dropping and this is a fact, a lot of birds of song whom you heard often say 10 years ago are heard no more. Over the seven to 10 years of continuous and rapid concretization of a decade and more has driven away some of the species or their numbers have really slid. That is something that has been observed in several parts of the world as well. Several species of birds are actually dropping in numbers, whether it is due to fungal infection or some pollution, nobody is sure. Frogs used to give me sleepless nights with their chorus of croaks in the suburbs where I used to stay. Today they have vanished not only from this country but probably from many parts of this planet as well. There are reports that from many parts of the world common frogs have vanished due to not only changing circumstances, but there could be some other ecological or some other reasons. So when you look at the entire urban scenario, you will see that under developments planned for Mumbai – construction of new roads and reclamation of all salt pans huge creek side, which would come up under housing will invariably happen sooner or later. The new airport that is coming up will soon take away the last of our wild and semi-wild area from the Mumbai region and except for the National Park and a little of Maharashtra Nature Park, almost all the other open spaces meaning the semi-wilds. The semi-wilds are different from those handkerchief-size gardens, which builders give as amenities today in Mumbai city. Having a bit of nature doesn't mean having city parks and garden in a little corner, they help some

species, which is good. But having a bit of nature in an area which is so rich biologically and to make extra efforts to ensure that some exotic species come in is just really common sense. This is the reason why I think bits and pieces of semi-wilds need to be protected. When the mangrove issue started in 1998 there were many reports in the media. The very first column written on the subject was that Mumbai's mangroves would not be saved unless some areas were declared as National Park or bird sanctuary. There is ambiguity in terms of ownership here and there – combined with disregard for trees and a general perception that semi-wilds are wastelands is another thing which in a way tends to drive away most people from looking at mangroves seriously enough. Therefore, we might end up losing most of the mangroves. There is an exception however, the Godrej Mangroves and unless some of the stretches in the western suburbs of Mumbai are brought under a protected area network. Then again, there are issues involved within the Forest Department and problems of land transfer. The Forest Department is not very seriously looking at that because, as it is understaffed and to get an additional habitat with not much staff on location is not something which any department would like to look at, so we might end up looking only at a very critical habitat. When Tsunami and cyclones struck some years ago, there were reports in the media that where there were good stands of mangroves, devastation was minimal. This is the critical fact actually, mangroves are like big walls and protect land from the effect of the sea and when there is rush of water and wind, mangroves serve as natural barriers. I think no city probably was so wonderfully cocooned in nature's web of security from all sides than Mumbai. If you look at it carefully, on the east are the mountains of Sahyadri and the associated ranges and the National Park to the north and northwest. On the west is the sea and on the south and north are the Konkan stretches again protected by hill ranges. Mumbai is wonderfully located and just protected by nature from all sides. It would be suicidal therefore, if we do not rise to the occasion now and ensure that common sense prevails in protecting some of the wild and semi-wild of the Mumbai region besides the National Park. As a matter of fact the National Park itself faces all

kinds of serious problems and encroachments in the National Park has been a serious issue and if this is not controlled and checked, in time to come like cancer it would spread completely on the hillside and wipe away probably 20-30% of the area. And that is the reason that while looking at the urban scenario it is important for us to know it as a fact that all of us who love nature are urbanized. We have not heard of a gaonwala who is a birdwatcher nor any gaonwala who is a wildlife photographer. Ironically, he or she may be living right there with the birds and animals in the backyards, but his love, fascination and interest in environment and wildlife, is our prerogative. We in the urban area, at the end of the week want to get away, go to a forest for a walk. This urban habitat, our own creation, is also a failure because of its power, magnificence, hectic activity and chaos. We ourselves are the creators of this habitat and yet we want to get away from it every once in a while. I would get away from it every hour if I could and I am sure there are many others who would like to do that. For this purpose then, we need nature, because we can't get away from one urban area to another. I would not go for relaxation from Mumbai to Pune, but would go to Karnala, Bhimashankar, or around these places. This is the reason why we need to have nature and need to ensure that while the developmental activities go on, safeguarding of original nature also is not ignored. The urban habitat is one habitat where information about the effect of pollution or problems of environment can be reached out to millions of people but because nowhere can people for themselves feel what it means by good environment. It is in the urban habitat right here, that you know what it means to have bad air quality. You know living here, what it means when your children cannot have a park in the corner or a little nice patch of green to walk through. Therefore, here we can reach out to people and create environmental awareness and build support for conservation faster than perhaps anywhere else, and that's the reason, I love to work with children as I can catch them young. I give most of my time for these conservation projects because I strongly feel that our generation has completely lost our link with environment and nature, systematic. When I was young, I had nobody to talk to and nobody would talk in our school

about nature or environment. We had no programme, no outing, but children today have lots of such activities. We need to stress on imparting nature education, environment education at urban centres on a very strong footing. I would probably even recommend that we do away with history and we do away with a couple of languages and add in our curriculum teaching about good environment and nature education as an important and integral part of child learning process because nothing really influences a child more than nature. The process of development which has begun now is to convert Mumbai first into Shanghai and then into Singapore and probably next would be some other city. Let us take steps to first make Mumbai into a liveable good green clean city. That is all that environmentalists ask for. I am not clamouring for not cutting a tree here or there or putting restrictions of other kinds. All that I say is let us try to make Mumbai into a city worth living. That is what is important.

**CITY CULTURES IN MUMBAI:
SHYAM BENEKAL, Chairperson**

Mumbai has contributed enormously to many different arts in the country. I would like to talk only of Cinema because the film industry began in Mumbai. Hindi Cinema originated in Mumbai and it has developed a form which is very specific to what we today call south Asian Centre of the cinema. It is one of the few industries which continue to grow and thrive. It started about 92 years ago, has done extremely well and it has spun off into television in terms of value that comes into cinema and is extended to Television. Mumbai has become the centre of entertainment in Television, although for current affairs and news programmes, the centre is Delhi. Entertainment television takes most number of hours on our television through the day and that work is done in Mumbai. There is of course, theatre and music in Mumbai aplenty. I have with me Ashok Ranade, who is a very well-known musicologist. He has held various key positions, such as, Director, University of Bombay, Music Centre, Deputy Director, Theatre, Research and Techno Musicology at NCPA 1994. He has lectured at several prestigious national and international universities and held a chair at the University of Baroda. He has published several books on music and theatre in English and Marathi and has a book forthcoming on techno musicality. He has composed and edited music, which included the prestigious Discovery of India programmes from the Nehru Centre as well as several dramatic competitions. He has won several awards for his contribution to theatre music. Mr. Ranade will make a presentation on 'Theatre and Music in Mumbai'.

(Boxes deleted)

MUMBAI AND CINEMA: Amrit Gangar, Film Critic, Curator,
Researcher

I would like to shift the subject of my presentation a bit – from the given “Cinema in Mumbai” to “Mumbai and Cinema” in order to make the relationships more exciting with some film clips (one of them in the ‘prologue’ is very rare as you will see). For my presentation I have made a 24-minute capsule with some text embedded in it – in order to make the context more clear and connected.

The question is that of representation i.e. how the cinema represents the city, in our case, the city of Bombay, Bumbai or Mumbai and vice versa.

The cinema is all-pervasive as the city is and it performs films and to my mind Mumbai is one of the most ‘cinematic’ cities. Also, as John R. Gold and Stephen V. Ward suggest, “Cinematic film has had a long and many-sided relationship with the metropolitan city leaving aside the economic factors that drew the commercial cinema to major centers of population and the growing appreciation of cinema buildings as important built forms in their own right, the most important aspects of that relationship are reflected in film content” (Gold and Ward in *Place, Power, Situation and Spectacle: A Geography of Film*).

The cinema also builds tension alongside the city – spatial, hierarchical, geographical, physical and mental. Many Indian films in their *mise-en-scenes* have covertly or overtly suggested the rural-urban divide, picturing the city as corrupt, cruel and ugly though not always one-sided. Hugely utopian and illusionary. Mumbai, for example, is often called Mayapuri, the city of *maya* – of illusion. Essentially, it is a generic city that exists everywhere in India in various forms, in minds

and matter, within or without the municipal limits. I should argue that the representative value of this city arises largely from the films it produces. And by reading between the frames of these films, we get some insights into how the city survives, how it sustains itself. I have always wondered as to what is that mysterious element that unites this continent-sized country called India? Is it poverty? Or cricket? Or the pan-Indian Hindu film song? The last seems to me to be a plausible answer among others (someone said it could be masala Hinglish). There are many such songs that evoke and invoke the characteristics of Mumbai; most of these sound tongue-in-cheek or self-mocking. And now over to the 24-minute *manoranjan*, the entertainment of the mind that we are going to re-vision Bombay in this conference organized by the city's Asiatic Society.

The first clip is interesting as it presumably takes us back to the Mumbai of early 20th century or so it seems. Perhaps its date can be established from the car that it tucked away by a bullock cart. The water logged (obviously due to heavy rains) area could be low-lying Grant Road or Nana Chowk. Nothing much seems to have changed from then to now – except perhaps the dress people wear and the cars. The cart and the bullocks look the same. So does the *mayapuri* that gets flooded in every monsoon. And then a close-up of a beautiful buffalo's face – the *tabelas* are an organic part of the city. The voiceover announces: WELCOME TO BOMBAY. The buffalo city? This is by way of Prologue.

We go on to an excerpt from *Shree 420* (Dir: Raj Kapoor, 1955). Though you all must have seen this film, in our present context, it might signify the connection more sharply and deeply. We see Raj Kapoor, the Chaplinesque tramp, looking at a milepost on the road leading to Mumbai: Shajapur – 16, Dewas – 21 and Bombay – 420. The tramp murmurs the last one aloud as he looks at his tattered

Japani shoes and walks on with a song. After which, he enters the teeming city – Mumbai – bustling with double-decker buses, the bazaar buzz, uncaring people and a beggar whom he asks about the city and whether he could get any job. The way the beggar describes the city is not something that Aai (Mother) Mumba will like, but that was the migrant's very first encounter. In yet another scene, which you will see a little later, the film, in its own romantic way, polemicalises the spatial hierarchies akin to any urban environment.

And then in the film *Hulchul* (Dir. S.K. Ojha, 1951), we see one more migrant (Dilip Kumar) entering the city. In audible monologues, we hear him saying, "I came to the city. I saw a very big building and started climbing its stairs thinking that I might get some job there. But a *babu*, a gentleman, came out and whisked me away..." (The building he is talking about and we see in the film is the Asiatic Society of Mumbai, 54 years ago). Here again, the city doesn't greet him warmly, the first encounter with *mayapuri* is rather hostile!

And then in *Gaman* (Dir. Muzaffar Ali, 1978), yet another migrant Ghulam Hussain (Faroukh Sheikh) comes to Mumbai in search of a job. Initially, his cabby buddy (Jalal Agha) from his native village in Uttar Pradesh takes him around in his taxi on a sort of guided tour. The inaugural halt is the Gateway of India ("the phatak that Government built to welcome Pancham George / George V"); and "Taj Mahal No.3, Bambaiwalla, where the emperors, the kings, the rich and the rogues all are at par; it's all the *kehl* of *paisa phenk tamasha dekh!*", and as they reach the Kala Ghoda precincts, the cabby buddy explains, "once upon a time here stood a big statue of a black horse, the Kala Ghoda, that belonged to a local king, it was like Rana Pratap's Chetak; and then looking at the 'building with stairs' the young newcomer asks his friend, "Yeh, sidi walla makan kya hai?" (What is this building with stairs?). The cabby buddy says with all the knowledge at his command, "*Yeh hai Center Library, yahan bahut bade bade vidhwan naukri karta hai*". (This is Central Library where leading scholars are employed.) 'What job do they do?' asks the young entrant and the cabby buddy explains, '*Yehi likha padhi ka kam, matha*

pachi aur ka? (The job of reading and writing, brain taxing, what else?) The entire 'taxi tour' looks at the city with a sense of wonder and awe, and finally the city in the film symbolically becomes a prison for the migrant worker!

And then enters Satya (Dir. Ram Gopal Varma, 1998). The voiceover narrates: 'Bambai! The city that never sleeps! The city that dreams while awake! The city has dazzling heights! The city that has hushed lower depths! The city that has created a different world amidst human beings – the Mumbai Underworld! [...] in such environs, from somewhere a man came, this is his story – Satya.' And there he walks about from the Victoria Terminus railway station. Earlier, the cabby buddy in *Gaman* had told his friend while passing through this city icon, 'this is the place where you had first entered the city.' Like any other urban habitat, Mumbai is also the space of strangers.

Once again *Shree 420*. The tramp tries to find a space to sleep at night on a footpath but is rudely told by an already established 'occupant' that it was a 'reserved' space. He asks the newcomer to pay a *pugree*, a fee. The tramp is unable to understand this Mumbai idiom. He couldn't understand how someone could demand money even for sleeping on a footpath and whose father's property it was? The already-established occupant asks him to share 50 per cent of Rs.3/- that he pays by way of *pugree* for that prime space in the city because, "the footpath is so soft and it's right in front of Seth Sonachand Dharmanand's house; when he dines and the wind blows this way, the atmosphere gets filled with pleasant aroma of his delicious food!" As the tramp insists upon staying put without the *pugree*, there ensues a scuffle, and the kind Lady Kelewali (the street banana seller woman, yet another Mumbai icon) whom he had known earlier intervenes. Her argument was that the footpath was nobody's father's property; it rather belonged to their *maai baap sarkar*, the parental government. This was Mumbai of 1955, the nation building Nehruvian era.

Piya ka Ghar (Dir. Basu Chatterjee, 1971). Young Malati (Jaya Bhaduri) is married to Ram (Anil Dhawan), neither she nor her parents have seen their dream city Mumbai before. The brokering priest describes to them: "Bambai is Bambai. It's like a big fair there – all 24 hours – cars, trains, cinema, theatre all around. Our dear daughter will rule the home like a queen. The boy lives in a five-storey building. As the kings and emperors have their palaces, people in Bambai have chawls. And what lovely breeze that blows from the sea! And what magnificent *haveli*, the mansion! It's called Bharat Mahal. Our dear daughter will be a queen in that *mahal*, the palace," Cut to Bharat Mahal, a sprawling chawl in the centre of the city. The groom's parents and their neighbours in the chawl welcome Malati, the bride amidst filmy music and rituals. The honeymoon night falls, followed by the 'palatial pain'. In the *kholi*, the one-room tenement, the newly wed struggle to find a piece of privacy but all in vain. Outside, the neighbours are all around talking, gossiping and some even peeping into the window that the groom tries to close with his shirt. In the meanwhile, through an advertisement, the radio announces the 'effectiveness of the contraceptive Nirodh, only 15 paise for a set of three.' And as the couple tries to sleep, there is a loud knock on the door. The bride's sister-in-law hurriedly enters with an empty bucket. The municipality has released water at the unusual hour of the night since there was fire somewhere in the city. Well, the city lives on, and on, sans the precious privacy that the social animal needs.

Haadsa (Dir. Akbar Khan, 1983). The song: *Yeh Bambai shahar haadson ka shahar hai...!* 'Mumbai is the city of accidents, where life is a journey of accidents, where everyday, at every turn, some accident takes place...'

And then in front of the Taj Mahal Hotel, betel-chewing Amitabh Bachhan, wearing Bihari lungi and shirt, surrounded by a huge crowd

of people, dances and sketches a word-montage about the city where one can turn his fate to his or her favour. The film: *Don* (Dir. Chandra Barot, 1978).

Saeed Mirza once said that he is the most regional filmmaker in the country because all his films deal with Mumbai. It is he who has so persistently evoked 'Mumbainess' in the whole of his oeuvre – the city's neighbourhoods, its lifestyle, its street language, its hybridity, its oddities, its aspirations, its agonies and ecstasies. The title song of his film *Mohan Joshi Hazir Hol* (1984) implores in Hindi-Marathi cocktail: *Aamchi Bambai, Tumchi Mumbai, jiyo majhese karu naka ghai; ye dekho ye Bambai ki shaan, Bambai hai sabse mahan, Bambai hai sabki jaan* (it's our Bombay, your Mumbai, live happily without any haste...) Mirza creates a sarcastic but robust and hopeful contrapuntal audio-visual atmosphere around Mumbai, the place where human beings and animals can live with all their grit and gumption without grumbling.

The film *CID*'s song *Ai dil mushkil jina yahan, zara hatke, zara bachke, ye hai Bambai meri jaan* (My heart, it is difficult to live here, move over a little, take care of yourself, this is Mumbai, my love) has become melodically iconic for half a century now (*CID*, Dir. Raj Khosla, 1956).

Bandra, a suburb on Mumbai's Western Railways known for their local punctuality. In the film *Baaton Baaton Mein* (Dir. Basu Chatterjee, 1979), Uncle Tom (David) and Nancy Pereira (Tina Munim) travel together every morning by the 9:10 Churchgate-bound train. It's their daily routine to go to office. The daily commuters in the second-class local train compartments form a family-like camaraderie. Sometime even love affairs develop as Tony Braganza (Amol Palekar) falls in love with Nancy on the way. In fact, he has changed his regular 8:50 train to 9:10. Inside the compartment, he sketches Nancy in his note-pad, encouraged by Uncle Tom and helped by the fellow commuters as the need arose.

The city's lifeline, the local trains _____ temples inside the compartments and sing *bhajans*, devotional songs, in their new linguistic idioms of Bambahia Hindi get concocted every moment. Here lives miniscule Bharat, the India of our dream. Mumbai is the city of survivors who find ways to sustain themselves along with their *shabar*, the tinsel city.

Lastly, we hear a peculiar Bambahia Hindi as the Mumbai mulga / Bombay boy Sanjay Dutt and the Madrasi mulgi (Madras girl) Anuradha indulge in a wordy duel over Mumbai in *Jaan ki Baazi* (Dir. Ajay Kashyap, 1985). The girl tells the boy, "*Aiyo re, aiyo, amma, hum khali fukat ka Madras se Bombay aye re? Tumhare jaisa lataka ke zapata mein fas gaye re! Arre ye salla, tumara Bombay kharab hai, idhar ka pani kharab hai, idhar ka chhokra, idhar ka admi kharab hai, tumara Bombay kharab hai*" ("Oh! Mother, what a blunder I made by coming to Bombay from Madras! A useless fellow like you trapped me. You rascal, your Bombay is bad, the water here is bad, its boys, its men are bad, your Bombay is bad," the girl tells the boy. To which the Mumbai mulga responds, "*Arre, arre idli dosa, apun ka Bombay ko gali mat dena kya? Ye Bombay apna maa hai, ye Bombay apna baap hai, ye Bombay apna sab kuchh hai, kya?*" ("Hey, idli dosa, don't abuse my Bombay, understand? Bombay is my Mom, Bombay is my Dad, Bombay is everything to me, understand?")

Mumbai attracts very strong responses from people unlike most other Indian cities. And the popular cinema keeps on reflecting this aspect. They do provide some insights into the city psyche and how Mumbai could sustain herself on a re-envisioned Manifesto. I can go on and on for a couple of more hours about aamchi Mumbai, tumchi Mumbai, apli Mumbai and the fillums, But my time is up.. So, *aavjo..*

THE END

Cultural Potpourri

Vimal N. Shah

Mumbai city is unique and the uniqueness is all its own. Mumbai is one of the few cities in the world that can boast of a history of 500 years and over and weave in the process an extraordinary saga of transformation from an idyllic green pastoral island city into an ever pulsating mega metro holding aloft the "urbs prima in Indus" crown. During the last five centuries the city has witnessed streams of culture flow and intermingle, and enrich it along the way, simultaneously bringing that rare universal touch to the city and its culture.

The Greeks called the island city Heptanesia (seven islands) and the Sidis brought that robust African touch. Armenians, French, Germans, Spanish, Egyptians, Chinese, Japanese and their neighbouring partners established firm trade links with India – via Mumbai. The Portuguese took charge of the island city and established their rule and thereafter made over the seven islands as dowry to the British Crown when Portuguese Princess Catherine married British Prince Charles II. From the Crown, the city came under the authority of the East India Company and they unerringly noticed the distinct advantages the city provided. Surrounded by

water from all sides, and nature's gift of fair weather throughout the year, the port city promised a booming trade and soon a changeover from Surat, which was then being used as the Port, to Mumbai was only a natural fallout. Mumbai became the single most important trade centre. The Suez Canal opened for trade in 1869 and established a direct trading route between Europe and India. The fact that the Suez Canal treaty was signed by 10 European countries reflects the importance given to trade with India and to Mumbai Port its well-deserved prime position.

Native traders came in direct contact with foreign traders which enabled them to peep into other countries and they could not remain untouched or unaffected by what they saw and felt. Attitudinal change emerged slowly and the shackles of orthodoxy loosened, bringing in fresh ideas. Western lifestyle, clothing, eating and planning leisure time impacted the natives. The East-West dialogue started by traders strengthened further with the introduction of English education, which came to be accepted as a new culture and a confidence-building exercise. English medium schools and colleges came to be set up and visits of foreign teachers, professors and scholars, facilitated free exchange of thoughts and ideas and further strengthened the cultural bond.

The Asiatic Society of Mumbai started as literary society in 1804, became the fountainhead of scholarship and learning. The Society conducted enquiries into the many facets of multicultural India and placed them before the people. The University of Mumbai was established in 1856, which opened up new vistas for young men and women and changed their mindset. The concept of a new culture flowed from here. The city and its people took on new challenges, absorbed new culture shocks and kept changing themselves as the situation warranted from time to time. The city's culture evolved itself around the dynamics of change brought about by foreign influences and as a result of education and the impact of multi-regional and multilingual associations and contacts. Not surprisingly, the city has been seen as an "emporium for cultural exchange" because most important contacts with India and within India have been made in this very city giving the prime position Mumbai has all along deserved and enjoyed.

It is interesting to know that people from all regions of the country started flocking to the city for multiple reasons. The city was a panacea for all those who had problems. Way back in 1802-1804, famine brought in many refugees to this city from Gujarat and also the Bene Israeli community from the Konkan region. People came to the city to run away from fatal diseases in their own region. By 1853, Mumbai was connected to most other cities and the city's

transformation from a pastoral island city to an industrial centre with major commercial links was clearly visible and brought in its wake enormous capital growth and an exodus of people from all regions of the country in search of employment. It appeared as though Mumbai indeed had a job cut out for everyone according to his merit, talent and strength. Those with grit and daring came to make it big in the city of dreams and stayed on to see their dream turn into reality and became legends in their own lifetime. They inspired others to make a beeline to the city to try their luck. Mumbai presented an interesting picture of miniature India living in harmony and peace irrespective of region, religion, language and bringing to the fore a new dynamic multifaceted culture which has now evolved itself even further and has been accepted as Mumbai culture or as is fondly called Bumbaiya culture!

However, when we talk of Mumbai's multifaceted culture, a significant point needs to be noted. This versatile culture of the city is inevitably linked to the many 'firsts' that came to be bestowed on Mumbai. Each first is an important milestone providing impetus for development and growth as well as a powerful platform for interchange of culture resulting in enriching Mumbai's culture further.

The first railway was introduced in the country in Mumbai in 1853, a revolution that greatly impacted the life of the people in the city. Railway provided an opportunity for the first time for people to travel together in a shared public transport and this certainly helped them to slowly shed their regional bias and resulted in striking friendship and provided a peek into other cultures. In 1874, the first horse-driven trams were introduced into the city and electric trams replaced them in 1907. People welcomed trams, as commuting became sheer joy. Sharing seats in public transport reduced the bias of high and low and reservation based on personal factors mellowed down and tolerance for other communal groups increased.

Electricity came to Mumbai first in the country and public lighting extended the day. This enabled people to meet at dusk which added a new dimension to public life and leisure meetings brought people closer and provided an avenue for cultural exchange.

The club revolution came to Mumbai first in 1785 when Sans Suici came to be established and the Byculla Club followed in 1833. Both British exclusive clubs, however, provided an impetus to the natives to set up captive community clubs. The clubs provided the much-needed platform to meet and share ideas, discuss social and other issues and voice opinion that would be towards common good. Clubs also added a new dimension to culture. Dress code came, liquor

flowed, and western culture crept in and introduced certain sophistication and a new way of life. Soon holding the membership of a club became a status symbol and got that rare elitist aura. More clubs with Gymkhana facilities followed and created the spirit of competition and sportsmanship. Today, Mumbai city can boast of a number of period clubs, which maintain their age-old aura, charm, culture and tradition even today.

In 1874, the first city improvement Trust was formed in the country, in Mumbai and 11 years later the Mumbai Municipal Act was introduced. This was an important development as it meant that there would be collective thinking on the basic needs of the city and its people and towards all-round improvement of the city with a vision for a healthy future. Leaders of all communities came together and participated in debates and discussions.

Establishment of the Mumbai Port Trust, by an Act of 1873, the first in the country, established Mumbai as the most important port on this side of the globe and opened the gates for active world trade. Hectic commercial activities that followed brought native traders and their foreign counterparts in close contact and helped them to pick up a thread of new culture from sources across the seas and helped change their closed mindset. The first ship in the country was also built in this very city by master builders Lowji Wadia and the British

accepted them as quality ships. Seven generations of the Wadias have made this city proud by creating this lifeline and opening up a few new windows to the world providing again a platform for cultural exchange.

Horse racing came to Mumbai first in 1839 and the natural gambling instinct brought the rich and the poor of all communal groups to the racecourse with hopes and dreams of instant money flow. Later prestige came to be attached to races and important races attracted the elite, especially women who turned up in their finery making fashion statements. Racing brought a new culture with involvement of diverse communities. Two other firsts that gave the island city its commercial capital status need a special mention here. The first Reserve Bank of India came to be established in Mumbai, making the city an important economic nerve centre attracting white collared intelligentsia from all regions of the country. Working together helped people to come out of their shell.

The last and significant 'first' that gave the country's economy a major thrust and established Mumbai as the commercial capital was the establishment of the country's first Stock Exchange in 1875, which tremendously impacted the city and its people. The history of the Stock Exchange is interesting. Seventeen persons came together under a banyan tree in the Fort area and floated a Stock Exchange.

Initially, the office functioned from a modest building with only a few members. Soon trading in stocks attracted many people from all regions of the country and they all flocked to the city with or without money. Moneybags were made or lost overnight and those with grit and courage stayed on to make it big in the stock market. They even carved a niche for themselves. The Stock Exchange became a bustling centre of hectic economic activity and transformed the Fort area into the country's major financial hub.

Trading in stocks and shares has become voluminous today and the impact is felt throughout the country, so much so that the sensitive index of the Mumbai Stock Exchange has been accepted as the pulse of the Indian economy and is termed as the country's economic barometer. The entire operation has become IT-savvy and is conducted from an imposing edifice today. Culture change here is to be seen to be believed. What was once an exclusive male bastion has been broken in recent years. Women have entered with verve and courage and besides adding colour and charm have also proved their leadership qualities. The age-old tradition of operating in the ring, calling shots with fingers, pushing and shouting in excitement and tearing clothes in the process have all become things of the past. They have made way for high-tech offices, with young men and women watching the volatility of trade in stocks on the computer screen, changing every few seconds. Then again, what was once

conducted as family owned business, has acquired professional status bringing in its fold thousands of young men and women, educated and professionally trained. This has added vibrancy and sophistication as well as given a new look to the marketplace. Sartorially modern and media savvy leaders in the stock market have started to air articulately their opinions on the day's happenings.

The most important contribution, however, is that there is attitudinal change that has come to the forefront in the investing public whose mindset has changed from traditional gold and bank savings to investing in shares and stocks. Besides, this message has percolated down to the level of the general public. In the city it is common to find people discussing share market performance, its ups and downs, new public issues and the risk factors and providing exclusive tips to friends. Special courses are offered for training in the complexities of share broking. Mumbai has witnessed share market booms and crashes and has emerged stronger to take on new challenges. It would be difficult to imagine Mumbai without its important hub of the Stock Exchange and its people and their stock culture.

I have mentioned the many firsts that gave the island city a unique strength to grow and gain the solus position on the map. Each first has added vitality and new facets to the culture of Mumbai. Old educational institutions and organizations, theatre, film, performing

arts, food, festivals, heritage and heritage buildings have only made the Mumbaites proud of this city's enriched culture. Mumbai is also the most happening city and allures people even from far flung regions to make at least one visit to this city during their lifetime to experience the dream city's life in all its glory and imbibe the spirit of Mumbai. The Mumbai spirit in essence means energy and speed flowing throughout the city and enveloping everyone in the process. Life is ever on the edge with everyone keeping one eye on the watch, living from moment to moment in this 24-hour city, which never pauses, rests or sleeps. People here respect their hoary culture of keeping time during all their waking hours.

Mumbai's cultural history is as old as the city itself. The confluence of culture has worked wonders here and rewarded with many firsts from time to time. The first movie in the country was made and shown on Mumbai soil. Raja Harishchandra made by Dada Saheb Phalke, a black and white silent movie was shown in Olympia theatre, which created a mighty but pleasant stir. People thronged the theatre to experience the novelty. Soon film culture took firm root and rapid strides made in this area rapidly transformed the scenario. Talkies followed, new technology crept in, art and craft improved, foreign influence brought in sophistication as well as super specialization and Mumbai soon became the focal point of the film industry. The best among the creative film fraternity made a beeline to Mumbai and

made the city their home. They adopted Mumbai's culture while adding their own bit to it. The films have impacted city life as no other form of entertainment has. For many years now, the internationally acclaimed film directors, producers, technicians, music directors, singers, actors and actresses, who thronged the city have made Mumbai their home and enriched Mumbai with their expertise. People visiting Mumbai would covet a glance at their favourite star. It is difficult to name the thespians and others behind the camera for the space is limited, however, to mention only a few, Raj Kapoor, Dilip Kumar, Amitabh Bachhan, and Lata Mangeshkar. Big financiers and many theatres have made way for modern multiplexes. The sheer volume of films made every year has earned Mumbai city its title 'Bollywood' equating it with 'Hollywood'. Hit films run for weeks. Popular hits and tunes are on everyone's lips and no function is complete without film music, including the Navratri Garba.

Films also provide that bit of fashion culture and the styles used by the stars soon percolate to the general public. The fashion conscious Mumbai is ever hunting for designer outfits which creative couturiers are more than happy to supply. The boutiques are lined with designer clothes. They have become very popular. Clothes based on western outfits are also much sought after.

Mumbai's theatre culture has a very long history. "The greatest native entertainers were the Parsees. Hormusji gave a masque ball in 1801 and Limji Cawasjee's ball in 1826 attracted a lot of attention" points out James Douglas and further says that the "great days of the Bombay Theatre on the Green" covered the first quarter of the 19th century. Mumbai has had theatre in many languages. During the British era, many theatre companies from England made annual visits to the city and their presentations were wholly absorbed by the elite of the city. Many amateur drama companies flourished. Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, and Urdu theatre flourished here and several theatrical productions were staged in the city and people welcomed the live presentations. However, any reference to Mumbai theatre would be incomplete without mentioning the rich Parsee theatre of the past and the staging of Parsee and Urdu plays.

Active theatre in many languages has also led to development of the peripherals. Acting opportunities are aplenty and there have been many experiments in the theatre, there is the classical and traditional theatre, experimental and modern theatre, attracting various groups to stage regular shows. Theatre is an important cultural segment and Mumbai continues to absorb all that is new to enrich the theatre culture of the city.

Mumbai's fashion culture is important. It not only changes everyday but also makes fashion statements for the entire country all the time. Films and their stars have a tremendous impact on fashion and once introduced, this culture spreads across the country in no time. Many fashion shows are organized in Mumbai and that fashion spreads and becomes popular in no time. It is also seen in Mumbai that what fashion is discarded for the new returns with a vengeance a few years later. Mumbai is proud of its many fashion designers and ramp models. The culture today is not merely the clothes but the rest of the accessories that go with them, which have become equally important. As a result, many units creating these fashion junkies are thriving.

It is said that the proverbial hospitality of Mumbai made hotels unnecessary and yet there is an interesting reference by James Douglas, which may sound harsh, today. "The cooking in Mumbai had been execrable until Lord Clare arrived in 1831 with a French cook, who gave lessons to a number of Goanese Cuisenaire and disseminated the benefits of his pleasing science far and wide to successive generations and for which we bless Clare".

Be that as it may, Mumbai's food culture is old, rich and varied. Mumbai's people have got tremendous capacity to change their taste buds according to the new food that gets introduced into the city.

Eating out is not taboo. Weekends, especially evenings are best spent at popular restaurants or at the roadside junk food vendors. Potluck culture too has added in its touch of mystery by providing gourmet groups that taste of distinctive regional spices and aroma. Mumbai has gone through some important phases in popular food. Earlier Chowpatty's Bhelpuri and its family – pani puri, sev puri, etc. went down better with tender coconut or grated ice fruit served in a glass, with fruit syrup. Mumbai's Chowpatty came to be associated with the chatpata menu. Later, malai kulfi, served in kilos became an added luxury. Udipi food culture stormed the city with nutritious steaming idly, dosa and the like. Mumbaiites came to love and enjoy the South Indian dishes and it became pretty common to order for two chutney and sambar with one idli plate. The South Indian meal of sambar rice and dahi rice has become extremely popular and remains an all-time favourite of the people. The Irani restaurants at street corners, popular for their maska paav and chai were the favourite haunts of many. Unfortunately, there are only a handful of them left in the city today. However, paav has come to stay as a favourite and has found many new 'avatars'. It has attained importance in the company of the 'batata vada' and Mumbaiites have bestowed complete meal status to paav in the company of spicy mixed vegetables. Bread roll is popular at brunch time, while bread has replaced chapatti in many places and it may amuse you to know that batata poha, thalipeeth and sabudana kichdi have become part of

the five-star culture and are served for breakfast at five-star hotels. The confluence of culture has worked wonders and food from different regions is cooked, served and enjoyed in Mumbai homes. Puranpoli is a typical sweet cooked in only certain regions but it has also become a favourite of the Parsees and other communities. Parsee Dhansak has found favour in many Mumbai homes. Food festivals expose gourmet varieties from other countries as well. The city restaurants serve continental Italian, Mexican, Thai, Ceylonese, Japanese, Chinese and food from many other countries. Foodies welcome this. The Italian pizza and American hamburger mingle well with the local samosa and pattice while noodles have become a hot favourite with the young and old.

Mumbaiites reconcile to the sweltering heat of summer because the hot summer brings luscious mango varieties to the city with a bang. Eating mango, serving mango and gifting mango take priority and are a part of Mumbai's food culture. Similarly, winter becomes bearable and all the more pleasurable because the undhiyu season makes its grand entry. Winter is incomplete without undhiyu parties. The winter special vegetables specially grown in Surat, cooked with traditional spices and a lot of oil, when served with fresh green milky jowar and hot jalebi is absolutely heavenly and when downed with cool buttermilk, the experience is complete. Undhiyu parties are organized in many places and people of different cultures come

together to enjoy them. Mumbai's thali culture too has come to stay and rich regional varieties provide a welcome change from the routine menu.

Cake is important and cutting a cake has come to be accepted as the most appropriate way of celebrating any happy event, the part of Western culture that has today become part of Mumbai culture. Christmas is unimaginable without rich plum cake. Champagne and wine have come out of their five-star closets and toasting with select wines has come to be accepted as a social trend. Similarly, ice-cream varieties have flooded the city and are ever beckoning the Mumbaiites, who are constantly asking for more.

Mumbaiites truly take pride in their four, five and seven-star hotels that dot the island city and the distant suburbs. Their exclusive restaurants often provide rich fare through food festivals presenting culinary specialties of various regions and different countries to the food enthusiasts. Global tourists frequenting the city have come to enjoy rice and spinach in our five star hotels. However, the Mumbaiite loves to return to his regular fare of a square meal comprising dal, bhat, roti and shak, popularly branded as 'DBRS'. The health-conscious Mumbaiites have introduced a new culture and are increasingly in search of diet food and often exchanging notes with their ilk. Diet food combined with gyms, workout centres and yoga classes are all mushrooming in the city. Even these diet-conscious people have choices aplenty and those selling herbal and fruit juices and health foods have gone up in number over the years. The city is also a haven for those who love non-vegetarian food and large varieties, of both regional and

international cuisines can be had at any given time. Mohammad Ali Road becomes a favourite haunt for those looking for the Mughlai variety during the Ramzan fasting days.

Mumbai has a very long and rich culture and tradition of festivals and festivals of different regions are celebrated in the city. Many festivals have even become common festivals for various regional groups. The 10-day Ganesh festival creates a unique festive atmosphere. Markets get flooded with fruits, flowers and thermocol decorations. New music cassettes blare everywhere. Houses get ready to receive the God of learning and no effort is spared. Mumbai's unique culture comes to the surface when the Ganesh festival is celebrated at every street corner. This has become a unique integrating force in the city. Meticulous planning goes into the celebration for months in advance. Exquisite decoration, thematic displays, awe-inspiring size of idols make it colourful and breathes piety, joy and zeal till the final immersion. Young and old, men and women all participate with zest and devotion till the immersion on the last day. Cultural programmes at night take away the fatigue and people join in large numbers. Diwali, the festival of light, lifts the spirit of the Mumbaiites, above mundane cares and concerns. Markets dress up for the occasion. Illumination creates the atmosphere of a fairyland, sparkling jewellery beckons women, clothes and crackers attract children. There is pleasant aroma from the sweetmeat shops and home kitchens. Greetings, sweets and gifts are exchanged amongst friends and relatives in the true spirit of Mumbai. Diwali culture and the Diwali week keeps women busy with cooking and cleaning and men and children make merry.

Navratri is celebrated with verve and enthusiasm. At Durga Pooja venues, an atmosphere of serenity prevails while the nine-day celebration in South Indian homes is marked by an attractive display of artefacts and Saraswati Pooja and friends are invited to feast on

mouth-watering goodies. Gujaratis celebrate Navratri with their ritual fast and feast. When the city gets enveloped in darkness, thousands of tiny oil lamps light up in perforated earthen pots and spread their gentle amber light. This then is the time for Mumbaiites, men and women, boys and girls to dress up in colourful costumes and dance to the rhythm of their own claps or sticks and the music of a band. As the dance advances, the beats get faster, the dancers move as though in a trance and the whole atmosphere becomes charged. Mumbaiites have also changed with time and what was once a simple dance form, to thank the Almighty for a bountiful harvest, has become glitzy. This community dancing has become a major integrating force in the city and today we see that garba and mehendi have both become part of the pre-marriage ritual in many homes irrespective of the community they belong to. There are other feasts and festivals that have enriched Mumbai culture. Raksha Bandhan has become a connecting link between people of different communities in the city and to have a Rakhi sister or a Rakhi brother is a matter of pride. Mumbai's Janmashtami is famous for the formation of human pyramids in public to break the milk pot at a height and receive money purse in return. Chikki is made and distributed by every household to mark Makarsankranti. Christmas and New Year celebration is not restricted to the Christian community alone. All this festival culture that Mumbaiites have

adopted has only served to further the sense of camaraderie among people.

Mumbai is proud of its old and renowned educational institutions and organizations. During the Portuguese regime the island of Salsette had already achieved the reputation as the centre of Latin learning in India. The University of Mumbai has grown from one campus to two campuses. The SNDT Women's University provides women-centric courses. Mumbai has had a rich tradition of great scholars emerging from the university precincts. Asiatic Society, the oldest and the most revered Institution still finds many scholars climbing those majestic steps to look for some important archival material. Then there is the Alexandra school, the first one to embark on educating girls. The David Sassoon Library, the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (Museum), the Petit Library, the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay Natural History Society, the world famous Haffkine's Institute and Institute of Preventive Research in Parel which stands as "testimony to the contribution by Dr. Haffkine and Dr. Koch" and many other such important institutions of educative value have only enriched the city and its culture.

Mumbai is an Indian city, which possesses strong undercurrents of Internationalisms. Dr. Walter Leifer, German diplomat and scholar

points out in his book *Bombay and the Germans* that German scholars worked with the intention of combining classical education based on Indian tradition with Latin discipline. Indian scriptures, epics, poetics and art, Hindu philosophy and tradition attracted many European scholars and many of them have carried out studies in anthropology and the contribution made by European Jesuits in the study of natural history need to be acknowledged by the Mumbaiites.

Dr. Leifer says, "Bombay is the cosmopolitan centre of India par excellence. Sons and daughters of many nations, many races and many religions have contributed to the development of a broadminded spirit in the city. They have made Bombay the meeting point of a dialogue between India and other cultures."

Mumbai is dotted with rich heritage structures. There is the Gateway and the peripheral area up to the Crawford market which is marked by old majestic buildings. The imposing structure of the Town Hall building or that of the Victoria Terminus still gives that amazing feeling. The Rajabai Tower continues to beckon everyone with its tall structure lined with books. The convocation hall that has seen many graduates taking a leap into the new world has recently restored to its past glory. The entire district from Andheri to Vasai Virar is dotted with ancient important heritage sites.

However, the city culture has been made on the seashore and from beyond the seashore. We are indeed lucky here to have so many beautiful beaches in the city which again is a part of the city's culture.

We all take pride in the fact that the Malabar Hill, that unique part of the city stands unparalleled in the country. Sir John Malcolm had compared it with the bay of Naples, and this Italian connection brought him tremendous pleasure. He described the Hill in just one sentence, "it juts out like a beak into the Indian Ocean".

The city has many Consulate Offices located here and the officers working therein have become part of Mumbai's culture. They participate in public functions. Therefore, it is said, 'Mumbai is an Indian city which possesses strong undercurrent of Internationalism'.

Mumbai people are never afraid of experimentation and modern research. "While living in a model city, they are committed to the spirit of mind and soul and find solace and joy in visiting temples and accept the greatness of the Almighty".

Mumbai city has a heart. It thrives on philanthropy. Mumbai and its people have had their pail of trauma. Natural calamities such as floods and man-made disasters like bomb blasts have upset the city's life on a few occasions but for a very short duration because Mumbai

people have that rare capacity to take in such traumatic experiences and emerge stronger in the process. There are a large number of charities that have been doing excellent work in helping and uplifting the society and its people. People have always risen to the occasion when calamities have struck not only the city but also other regions. It stands as one citizen and rushes to the help of the unfortunate people, therefore, whether it is Andhra cyclone or Tsunami in Chennai or the famine-affected areas in parts of the country, monies and other essential requirements get collected and they reach the affected people.

Mumbai has a history of charity and philanthropy and it has become an inseparable part of Mumbai's culture. At the time of country's partition, lakhs of Sindhi people, unfortunately had flee their native land and Mumbai welcomed them, accommodated them, cared for them, ran public shelter and kitchen through relief camps and Sindhis too have acknowledged it with gratitude and have identified themselves with the city and its culture.

This then is Mumbai with its multicultural facets. The city's own identity and values have given Mumbaiites a unique culture, which has come to be accepted universally as Mumbai culture.

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Bombay, Mumbai and Music ASHOK RANADE

Of course all of us know that Bombay and Mumbai are two names of the same city! Some suggest that the two names indicate a character-change of a rather paradoxical nature. The name Mumbai was perhaps meant to resonate with two basic and seemingly contrary cultural drives, namely, nostalgia and Utopia. Motives such as revival of the early past, partial denial of the historical past, emphasis on the recent assertive past in search of 'original' identity etc, apparently resulted in the nostalgic drive. On the other hand, an equally intense inner need felt to voice a new identity and that hope for a new beginning demanded a return to the older name! It is generally marked that a craving for a new identity often begins with a hunt for new or 'not-so-much-in-use' names- maybe because this is the easiest thing to do!

The identity change I am talking of (out of compulsion) relates to a narrower sphere – that of music. But music-changes have – as ethnomusicologists would love to put it-three kinds of socio-cultural capacities: symptomatic, diagnostic and prognostic. This is the reason why decision-makers and policy-makers would in fact do well to use their ears more purposefully! However, this may be a theme for another occasion, different platform and a 'technical' exchange!

Towards the Visual and Visualization

I am saying that the character-change Mumbai city underwent during the 60s and 70s saw the culmination of a tendency to wholeheartedly and near-completely prefer visualization and the visual over other sense-modalities. Whether it was information, knowledge or insight- the visual mode became the primary mode relied upon. Coleridge, in the preceding century has pithily complained about 'his' contemporary culture. He said, "We are suffering from the tyranny of the eye!" The observation surely turns out to be truer in our case. Today even music - the most auditory –

temporal of the arts is forced to express itself in terms of the visual-spatial language.

Obviously this is different from what happened when cinema had begun to occupy our imagination during the 1930s. The cinematic image was larger than life, it was projected on a distanced screen and it was also received in or along with a heterogeneous group. To an extent the cinematic image registered a less radical shift in our perception and reception because it continued the earlier, prevailing and essentially composite experience of music in theatre. We know that music – drama is almost every part of India maintained a qualitative link with Indian Cinema.

As somebody has pointed out, in order to understand cultural changes one has to go to their history because no change of this kind can take place suddenly! The changes in sensibility that I am talking of were obviously taking place over a period of time and they became noticeable through events in many different though related areas of life. I submit that a rough chronological placement of certain events would make the argument clearer. This technique was once described by Aldous Huxley as casting a secular horoscope! In fact I may claim that I am using two methods here: Secular horoscope and Polybius's procedure of Alternate Chapters.

*During the decades of 1960-80 the following musicians in the category of art music passed away: Pt. Omkarnath Thakur, Ustad Bade Gulam Ali Khan, Ustad Allauddin Khan, Ustad Hafiz Ali, Smt. Anjani Bai Malpekar, Ustad Amir Khan, Begum Akhtar, Ustad Ahmed Jan Thirakwa, Smt. Kesar Bai Kerkar and Smt. Siddeshwari Bai.

The point is that none of these music-makers resorted to visual means to convey their musical intent or content!

Turning to a wider musical scene, note the following interesting facts:

Despite claims and counterclaims about who was the first in introducing the epoch-making mode of music-making and propagation, playback singing was firmly entrenched after 1947 and by 1950.

In fact by 1949, songs began to be recorded and released before the film was premiered.

It cannot be forgotten that by 1948 fine groove records i.e. 45 and 33 rpm had become available and by 1950 stereophonic recording and magnetic tapes came on the audio scene.

In 1951 the cabaret-type use of bongo, oboe, clarinet, trumpet and saxophone by C. Ramchandra in *Albela* ("shola jo bhadke") hit the ears. This was in continuation of his nonchalant strategy to adopt whatever light western music that could easily attract, and convey pleasantness – simply and surely!

The year 1952 meant a confirmed beginning of the Industry phase of Indian Cinema. Playback singing became a regular feature, non-insistence on 'singing actors' inevitably followed, financier's increasing role affected many decisions of film-making, employment of large orchestras became a commercial imperative and arrangers entered as a music-making force. These are some of the features that distinguished the Industry phase from the earlier stage known as the studio phase.

Coming to Broadcasting in 1957, All India Radio began its *Vividh Bharati* service. This service broadcast film-songs which were approved by a screening committee. As is known, the Ministry had to go back on its policy of banning film music from its stations as Goa and Ceylon proved an enormous attraction. Indian listeners felt the need for this variety of popular music.

It is instructive to note that in 1957 there were 29 main stations of the All India Radio, by 1975 there were 71.

In 1960, 64 and 73 the percentage of different kinds of music broadcast from AIR was as follows:

1960	cl.24%	Light:18%	Film 3%
1964	cl.19%	Light 18%	Film 4%
1973	cl.16%	Light 18%	Film 6%

In 1959, experimental television was launched in Delhi.

While considering film songs it is necessary to consider at least three factors: 1) What kind of music was composed. 2) What kind of vocalization was encouraged and 3) What kind of visualization was encouraged and 3) What kind of visualization accompanied it.

In 1960 'Mughal-e-Azam' made a mark on all fronts while 'Kanoon' scored without a song! Once again Pt. Ravi Shankar composed music for a sensitive movie – Anuradha. Many liked it but it did not arouse general excitement. On the other hand 'Barsat ki raat' and 'Chaudavi ka chand' are still musically remembered by all and sundry. 'Barsat ki Raat' could be mentioned for popularizing Qawali in films. 'Kohinoor' also struck abundant escapist gold.

In 1961 a Bengali film 'Ingit' did not have a single spoken word. 'Kabuliwala' registered an artistic, minority triumph. As if to remind us of the larger Indian reality, 'Junglee' and Shammi Kapoor vaulted to trend-setting status.

In 1969 'Aradhana' and Kishore Kumar cleared the ground for a specific kind of music-making brushing aside many other modes!

'Bhuvan Shome' directed by Mrinal Sen with music by Vijay Raghav Rao marked the beginning of new Hindi Cinema. Many names such as Art-Film, Realistic Cinema, New Cinema and such other terms were slowly replaced by the term Parallel Cinema - a term reportedly coined by Arvindkumar, editor of the *Madhuri* magazine devoted to films.

By this year around 200 film societies were functioning in the country. How many discussed film music? This should be a factor in deliberating on the cinematic sensibility in India.

In 1972 Television came to Mumbai.

Now note what was happening in other cultures which were also enjoying the visual boom but still chose to be more generous to the auditory mode.

The year 1973 witnessed the staging of the longest opera in history. The work had seven acts, it took 13 hours and 25 minutes of performing time, it was staged at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on the 14th and 15th of December and the name of the work was "Life and Times of Joseph Stalin".

The year also saw the end of two illustrious careers. Annunzio Pavlo Mantovani was described as a maestro of homogenized sound. He was the first American musician whose album sold one million copies. He used to say "Twenty-five per cent like classical, 25% like modern. I am for the middle 50%".

John Culsnow, manager of the Decca during the 1950s and 60s, was a pioneer in recording as an art form. He recorded the complete version of Wagner's Ring. He was a pioneer who used echo chambers and slowing and speeding of tapes etc. to produce music with a special character.

It is clear that the march of the audio was registering important and culturally significant gains in many places – leading to an experience of qualitative richness.

Coming back to the Indian scene, 'Bobby' 'happened' in 1973 with Rishi Kapoor and Dimple. The song 'Chabi kho jaye' flew all over. It was in a way confirmation of the idiom for the romantic musicals that Raj Kapoor had perfected over the years – right from his 'Awara' days. The physicality of Sangam that Raj Kapoor stressed was softened with the accent on 'really' young "lovers".

Indicative of the dominant form of the coming years, Salim-Javed scripted Zanjeer that replaces music with violence. The film also pointed to the angry young man image of Amitabh. In many films in the coming decade rape scenes also became frequent and more detailed. It cannot be a coincidence that song-writer Gulzar also came up with his 'Achanak' – a song-less film!

1977: A well-received film 'Swami' entertained but also distorted Bade Ghulam Ali Khan's famous 'thumri' in the film. Once again this pointed to a now accepted strategy of musical dilution. Not that this had happened for the first time. The category of popular music and within the category Hindi film music believed in intra-categorical transfer of music in form as well as content.

1981: It is interesting that the year 1981 saw 'Umrao Jaan' (music by Khayyam) with its reassuring musical music and also 'Kalyug' with its firm non-reliance on music for cinematic success.

1982: Perhaps it is not realized – but the advent of the video in 1982 has proved to be an event of far-reaching consequences. The video has affected cinematic vision of directors as well as viewers. Action, violence and romance – everything came at close quarters and visual images and not the total message became more overpowering!

Return of the Composite

With the video we seem to have reached another turning point in our cultural evolution affecting every area of life. In a nutshell it signals a return to the composite sensibility. Preference is clearly for that which consists of multiple and simultaneous sensory satisfaction. But let us remember that the multisensory aspect is only one aspect of the composite.

The concept of compositeness in reality operates on two levels, on the level of the senses and secondly on the level of functioning

channels of communication. Thus approval of acts and expression conceived to engage the maximum number of senses constitute one conquest of the conquest. The second aspect points to the ancient foursome of Bharata enunciated in his *Natyashastra*. The reference is obviously to the four kinds of abhinaya: the Kayik, Vachik, Aharya and Sattvik. The composite abhinaya is thereby expected to be pressed into service – whatever might be the main, intended or selected channel of expression by the initiator of activity. Let us realize that it is incorrect and untenable to translate the term Abhinaya as acting – because the former is a much wide concept than the latter. Abhinaya is communication – taking, reaching, conveying something from one to the other. On this background it is easy to appreciate that from music-videos and mobiles – we are witnessing the hold of the composite engaged communication.

Delegated Music-Making

Finally, the increasing tendency to observe or delegate music – making is alarming. In any performing segment of behaviour, participation is the only way of reaping benefits accruing from performance. Irrespective of the category of music involved it is the direct involvement in music-making which helps. You cannot play a record of an arti, or lullaby or even a love-song for that matter if music is to be of help to the core of your personality. Music is great because music is not just music. It is a Sanskara.

Music as Sanskara

These turns in the musical behaviour of our society are thought-provoking because music is a 'sanskaraka' _____ force in the Indian environment. All communicative channels are able to convey information, knowledge or insight depending on the depth of the effort involved. But in addition music can act as a 'sanskaraka sanstha' _____ i.e., as a social institution capable of carrying out the task of influencing without the influenced party becoming aware of it. Sanskara _____ is a process which is not necessarily religious. It is a ritualistic act that enables us to reach

those levels of the human and animal mind otherwise inaccessible to us. Sanskara generates behavioural and thinking–feeling moulds that affect possible future actions, the potential of which cannot be easily predicted. In this context it is instructive to remember that human beings cannot shut their ears – hence the unimaginable power of sound. Even in case of persons unable to receive other sensory stimuli sound is able to directly reach the receiving centres in the brain. In addition we are also subjected to unheard sound which however exists as stimuli.

It is on this background that we can and should plan for the future. The Mumbai soundscape must be planned thoughtfully, comprehensively and urgently.

A Look into the Future

Mumbai is where things are thought about and acted upon – that being the prerogative of any city as a culture-shaping force. To make possible qualitative enhancement of music as an expression, to ensure the role of a musician as a responsible ‘sanskaraka’ _____ it is possible and of course desirable to take some steps.

1. In brief the action needs to be taken in the three fundamental spheres of education, propagation and distribution of music.
2. Creating curricular interest in music at various levels is admittedly debatable at least the way it is usually sought to be done! However, if education is understood as a methodical exposure to beneficial and life-shaping influences – than even curricular ameliorative action is possible – at different levels and in various ways.
3. Environments respectively describable as family, school and public are all to be explored to achieve this goal of wider education.

4. The main aims of musical activities carried out in these locations are: sensitization of children to sound, creation of awareness of musical categories among boys and girls in the 'growing-up' group and, finally informal and or formal instruction to aspirants to actual, active musicianship.
5. We need to create spaces for informal music-making. These spaces were created and exploited in earlier lifestyles, mainly through religious practices and secular components in festivals etc.
6. It needs to be specifically mentioned that Indian music is not to be equated with what is generally known as 'Indian Classical' music. Primitive, folk, religious, art, popular and confluence form the categorical sextet of Indian music for every serious and substantial cultural undertaking related to music.
7. Mumbai has a key role to play in the venture because this city has room for all music categories, it is poised to attract all kinds of new ideas and it possesses the rare capacity to assess every cultural move in multiple filters provided by varied expertise and enterprising minds interested in ideas with a capital 'I'!

MEDIA AND THE ARTS IN MUMBAI: SATISH SAHANEY

Mumbai has a long tradition in the sphere of the media and also in the field of arts. The first English Newspaper of Mumbai was printed in 1777. The oldest newspaper of India viz. *The Mumbai Samachar* was started in the 19th century and continues till date.

The tradition of art in Mumbai could be traced to the times of the Rashtrakutas i.e. ninth century, during whose rule the masterpieces of rock-cut architecture and sculpture were made at Elephanta and Ellora. The JJ School of Arts, founded in 1857, became the focal point of art activity in the 19th century. Modernism was brought to Mumbai by Amrita Sher Gill when she won a gold medal at an exhibition held in Mumbai for her oil painting 'Group of Young Girls' in 1937. The progressive Artists group was formed in 1947.

It is unfortunate that despite such a glorious tradition of Art in this city there is no Art Museum having a collection of the works of great Indian artists. Indeed there are art galleries and some of them famous throughout the country, but an art museum adds lustre to the cultural canvas of the city.

We are privileged to have a very distinguished panel to speak to us this morning. Dr. Sudhir Patwardhan is a radiologist by profession

and is also an accomplished painter. He has held several solo exhibitions over a period of 25 years and has also participated in group exhibitions in India and abroad.

Dr. Anjali Monteiro and Dr. K.P. Jayshankar teach at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Dr. Monteiro has a Master's Degree in economics and Ph.D. in sociology from Goa University. Dr. K. P. Jayshankar is M.A. in German Language and Ph.D. in humanities from IIT, Mumbai. Both are involved in media production, teaching and research. Jointly they have won 10 national awards for their videos. They have presented several papers on media and cultural studies.

PERCEIVING MUMBAI: SUDHIR PATWARDHAN

The subject given to me is Perceiving Mumbai and I add through the eyes of artists. I will be showing some slides of paintings done by artists, who have been living in Mumbai and their works are concerned in different ways with the life of the cities. I have selected five artists including myself for this purpose. I apologize that I happen to have more slides of my own work and fewer slides of other artists. This is due to the practical difficulty of getting other artists' slides. You will see my work in some details while I will be able to show you some aspect of other artists' work. At least we would be able to see a range of work. Let me start by making a few general comments about the relationship between artists and the world around them. Artists paint in order to understand what they see around them and what they experience. There is a need to understand here, in this context it means to represent what the artist himself and the viewer of the painting recreates this process within himself, when he sees this work. The visual is not just the surface of the world that you see, the visual is impregnated by social, physiological, economic and other forces. To look, to analyse, to restructure the visual is to try and make sense of these forces that are shaping the world today. So to represent what is seen is also to try and make sense of one's own relation, what one sees, what one likes, what one dislikes, what one fears and also one's and one's sympathetic to what kind of anger. Visuals are enriched by these underground feelings. They are correctives to easy formulations, about what we want and about what we do not want. Bringing these grey areas into open is one of the ways art can contribute to social dialogue. Let us now move to the slides. I will give some information about them and I would like you to enjoy looking at these paintings. We are starting with a few works by Dr. Gieve Patel. He is a senior painter in his mid-60s. A very unusual dream-like image of the Gateway. These images of Mumbai are images of some

quiet meditative moments stolen from the city's rush. So in these paintings is the Mumbai very rarely experienced by most of us and there are moments like these which one can steal from the city and make one's own. These are paintings from the 1980s, handcars, the early one was in Gateway. (next painting). Early morning local (next painting). An early guest at a wedding. I want to add here that this is one aspect gives you joy but a lot of his work is also to do with an examination of the extreme brutality that also exists within the city. We move on to other artists the late Prabhakar Barve. His work is not directly of and about the City but I include him to show that in his own personal way he has created this image called alphabets of nature. These works are of the 80s (next painting). Through personal objects like clothes hanger, the window, the clock, the city seeps through into the work. So there are different aspects of the city that enters the work of artists. (next painting) Through the personal objects like the clothes hanger, the bag, the window, the clock, the city sound sleep through. Its kind of still through into his work. There are different ways in which the city kind of enters the work of an artist. Next. This is one very different much younger artist, Jitish Kalat whose work on the city can burst upon you almost. This painting is titled 'An oak' meaning the spinal chord. Travelling early in the morning or evening on the locals. So he has a very upfront imagery which can hit you almost. (next painting) Its titled 'Kitabana', I really don't know why. But there is some sense of restricting the movement of this person with weight on his feet. There is a photograph of a railway platform (next painting)... of the land, probably people reading with flooded water, which creates a sense of people coming at you. Jitesh's work has a lot of element of the fear of the marginal, who might take over. (next painting) This one is called 'War Dance'. The element of violence comes in much more directly into Jitesh's work. He's the youngest amongst artists whose work you see in this presentation. Next I will show a few slides of Atul Dodia, he is also a relatively young artist. He has painted lots of shutters, they are actually shop fronts. This series is called 'missing one two three'. In the images you see the students of himself and brothers and sisters. Next. When the shutter is pulled

up, there is another image behind and you will see the full image that lies behind this one. Next. So we see here that Atul is dealing with the most popular culture of the city. There is nostalgia overlaid within the work itself with images of his own brothers and sisters on the top – nostalgia about time, nostalgia about influences and more complex kind of present day reality. (next) Atul has also tackled with things of violence and terror in the city. This one is a photograph. A painted photograph. This is called 'neighbours' obviously with people fleeing from a locality. (next) This one is called 'Highway'. These are from year 2001. It is actually a slide with some skulls and bones and some photographs and obviously relates to, maybe, small playfields or grounds in the neighbourhood, which became sites of violence and killing during the riots. So it changes the context of what a child plays with what the child lives and grows up with. Now we will turn to my own work. I came to Mumbai in the mid-1970s and since then the city, the suburbs, specially the Central line. Since I stay in Thane and the people of the city are the principal subject matter of my work. This was painted in 1977 and installed in ...scape. (next) Mumbai then of course was an Industrial City and it had its own character. It had its own peculiar brands like the Irani restaurant. (next) These depict the late 70s and early 80s. Next. This is called 'Kurla'. Installed over bridge (next) Of course the 80s was the period of political turmoil. Mumbai was a city of strikes, morchas etc. This is an accident on May day in 1981. (next) This one is of 1981, a street play, a group of youth, young people, staging a street play, showing obvious reference to the class, that you see on the left, mill workers. There were people speaking for them. They were middle class intellectuals, who were ready to speak for other class (next). This is a recent painting from 2001 and it relates to that reality in concrete terms. The 1982 textile strike, which led to closure of a large number of mills, we were yesterday talking about the new geography and new structures that are coming up on the mill lands. Next. Some details of closed mills. What is the status of these people today? They were a working class and they were identified as working class. (next) Now we are talking about people, searching for categories. I find that the force that the earlier categories of class

had because of the linkage, width and understanding of history has necessarily been diluted and working through. (next) An earlier painting, that one would paint individual as a member of a class and here, it is a working class figure. Next, Now on whose behalf we are speaking, when we speak about people. When we say people, are we saying people on behalf of the people at the lowest level of Society or are we speaking of immigrants labour? This one is called 'Bhaiyas'. This one is of 1996. Next. And what kind of community do these mass of people constitute. One needs an understanding of this, as an artist, because when one is looking at the city, from different perspective, and perspective that comes from looking at on behalf certain class of people or certain group of people. Therefore, the question of what kind of community these people form and what are the fault-lines of these fragile communities? This is called 'Shak'. I stay in Thane, area close to Muslim and there is always an element of shak when you are passing through areas like this. There is always in your mind, questions like is it safe? Will something erupt? Next. This is called 'riot'. This was painted in 1995. (next) A very different picture, these are the details of the painting 'The madness'. (next) The painting done in 1995, this is taking back a little to 1984-85, and that was the time I would visualize Thane, a city which was growing at a slow pace and different people with different class and religion were staying together in a congenial atmosphere to whatever extent, so a very different world it seems. Next. From 1985 onwards Thane was undergoing changes. There were pressures of space and increase in population. (next) This painting is from Pokran, where I did lot of work. I used to visit this area and show my work. So it is a kind of project about interaction with local people so that a sense of compression and the fight for space was all part of the experience in 1980 in Thane. (next) This is called 'Pokran' and I have depicted the happening then the housing boom was displacing everything else. The small-scale and the big industries were moving out, in fact were being pushed out by this boom in housing, including nature itself. We said yesterday again hills were destroyed for stone and as a result, the landscape was changing. (next) Similarly, Ulhasnagar and Ambemath also presented a very strange landscape. There were

many industries in that area. There is also a lot of vegetation, so when you move around in this area, you will see beautiful greenery. However, suddenly in between, you see an industry popping up. You look at a stream, it's purple in colour. It has this strange colour because of pollution, atmosphere. Next. This is a large painting of Ulhasnagar I did in 2001. I was visiting that area for six to seven years and the whole experience of that area was complex and weird, it had to do with watching a city change that had been endowed with vegetation and nature. There was a sense of history. What was this place like 30, 40, 50 years back? Therefore, the experience of that place includes experiences of history, urbanization and environment. I will now show a series of details. This painting is composed of four separate paintings. Going from right to left I will show the details of this work. This is at the edge, where some elements of congeniality with nature exists. (next) These are power looms but strangely even after the textile mill strike the power looms have not prospered due to problems and very often have shut down as a result. Such industries do not have power, nor workforce. That's another strange feeling. (next) This kind of housing boom everywhere, that's laid tar and cables. This is not absolutely through transcription of what actually is there, a lot of it is added and imagined, the pollutant streams and the dead animals are on the side. It's just like a nightmare. Next. Kind of moody lady and there is a certain kind of beauty in this landscape and that's the strangest part. One person as a sociologist or another from different discipline might react in different ways, but as an artist one also responds to the beauty and one has to struggle with the idea of the dream one sees and the beauty one sees. How does one come to terms with the fact that sometime something is changing, and destroying a lot of life, which might appear to be as beautiful? Next. A more recent work of 2004 Kanjurmarg in a couple of recent works what I basically try to find is a way in which to include as I said earlier, abeyances of feeling about the place and one loves many things in Mumbai and man and nature interaction. (next) As we mentioned yesterday, the foremost eysores that are there and the way in which to look at them. I find structurally they give a sense of different kind of rhythm, maybe

different kind of beat of life, that is the insight you get having lived there. Obviously one is not saying that slums are the place to live in and one is not justifying that they should continue in that way. But one responds to them in complex ways, and this is one attempt to find the way in which slums, houses and buildings are actually part of environment. One should accept this as a starting point, it is not just one will wipe out. (next) This is a bad mood, I suppose. Dying City. But there are indications of Mumbai moving towards the more 'get up' city, separate areas which have nothing to do with each other. (next) My suburban house passing in the sun, warming. Its nostalgia, an emotion that is important. Nostalgia is for something good and maybe one should retain something for the future. Next. This painting is called ... 'last painting', of which a couple of details, so future out there beyond, across the creek, within the central area. (next) Future definitely is but the question is, is it for some of us or for all of us? If it is for some of us, for how many of us?

IMAGINING MUMBAI : ANJALI MONTEIRO AND
K.P. JAYASANKAR

A Joint Presentation

(Anjali) If one looks at the way in which Mumbai has been represented in the media, one finds that there are a range of representations that creates a field that is as complex and contested as the city itself. Underlying this idea, is a perspective that the city cannot be taken as a given objective reality, something out there that is the same for everybody. It is a space that we all imagine and comprehend differently, through sound, images and stories; what we broadly call representations of the city. Every active representation is an act of power and resistance that relates to a larger relationship of power and through processes of inclusion and exclusion that depend on the city. For instance, if you look at the dominant media discourse, you would find that the poor would be represented as dirty, an eyesore, a burden on the city, unproductive, creators of law and order problems on the one hand or as helpless victims of the cruel system on the other. And we find that these stereotypes underpin the way in which the media approaches stories and says about slums demolition or hawkers' erections and they also begin to govern the way in which, civic society begins to perceive the other section of Society and begins to address their issues.

(Jayasankar) The display on the poor in the city is also tied up with the idea of migration and migrants. We know this, and we ourselves are first generation migrants in the city, so one of the key motives that we work within our film or in our ideas of documenting the imaging the city has been the idea of migrants itself. But somehow when you talk about migrants and migration, we ourselves don't

realize that we are first generation migrants, the middle class. We don't see ourselves as migrants at all, we see ourselves something that deserted the poor of the city, who have been here all along. It is that we have access to the property in the city's resources itself that makes us rightful heirs to the city, as opposed to the migrants, which we get to see all along. For this fact, these migrants have actually contributed a lot to the wealth of the city by providing labour and productive services and also contributed to the revenue of the city. Now, one has to examine the city historically. Mumbai has been conceptualized as a secular space and would attract labour force from the hinterland to work in its mills and factories. It is this secular fabric, which probably is under seize or threat so the kind of process of exclusion which is now prevalent has begun with slogans like **Me Mumbaikar**. The city belongs to a certain class and that is something that threatens others and that the very fabric of Mumbai is getting shattered we try to incorporate this change in our work in the City.

(Anjali) In this particular session, we would be focusing our work as examples by showing two films that we made on the city. One is called *Sacha*, which stars Sudhir and others and another is called *Nata*. In both these films, what we have tried to do is somehow to present the kind of dominant discourse on the poor and in the process try to re-examine our relationship in that space and the modes in which we perceive them. We like to share the first two scenes from *Nata*. *Nata* is a film set in Dharavi, and it tells several different stories of Dharavi itself as a space and its history; how it developed and we try to represent a productive space. The other is the story of two friends, one is Bhau Kode, who lives on the outskirts of Dharavi and Khar Khan, who is a resident of Dharavi and they very inspiringly work around the theme of communal amity which started after the 1992-93 riots. The third story that the film tells is the story of the two of us. First generation migrants to the city belonging to different communities and the kinds of issues of identity that we face. What we would be showing now is just two shots. The first one relates to how do people in Dharavi perhaps live and

people like us who go to intervene and second, it looks like some media work that they have been doing for communal harmony and shooting they have been doing when making a film. The residents of Dharavi got together to make a short film, promo on communal harmony which was shown on Doordharshan.

- Showed clippings -

(Anajali) As film-makers who have spent a major part of their life in the city, we feel great affection and attachment to the space and appreciate the resilience of its people. And in the past 30 years, we have been in the city, as Sudhir was reflecting, we have seen space change and we see that a part of history has been erased. We see Mill area has given space to entertain the rich and there is a pain and a sense of loss that one feels in all this. This is something that we were trying to explore among other themes through the film Sacha, which has two eminent persons, Narayan Surve, the poet and Sudhir Patwardhan the artist and our images of the city. And weaving these three together, we have tried to look at the city, over a period of time. We have tried to look at the city's veins which have changed and we have tried to reflect also on the whole idea of politics of representation.

(Jayasankar) When I came to Mumbai and started looking around, the first fruitful image was the image of workers. As I have working drawings, I was projecting myself But this confrontation with another person, who had life that was different from mine and who belongs to a class that was different from mine. I did not really know the first time, what this life was, I was looking at it, but that was not the life that I lived. Basically this is an artist's emotion. I must observe more objectively and I must draw back the projections that I am making to do that figure. This set of paintings.....

Clippings – (Jayasankar) We are trying to kind to come to terms as Sudhir puts it, in terms of images and experiences and sound. So we were trying to look desperately for the metaphor that kind would begin to make sense of and help us in adding space. Therefore, we thought that the idea of loom was very handy and was a useful metaphor to work with. A loom is of dynamic site, where upper end kind of antinomies now begin to weave unified kind of fabric of many directions, between forces, but at the same it makes possible that larger fabric. This we thought as an interesting metaphor to use and speak about its experience. Inspiringly it begins to weave together experiences both personal and public. The experiences that Sudhir as a person spent on working on images in the city and Narayan Surve with words so it kind of gave us a device to put together, the personal and public and to an extent a part of the whole and begin to understand in that sense. The other idea that this city is kind of changing and one is worried about the change that is taking place. How does one now begin to embed into one's imagination of city, this kind of change. What we did in the film, was to look at virtually the work at Ulhasnagar, divided into many different ... elements that come together. What we attempted to do was to use images, to re-visit some of the images, some of the spaces, metaphorically within the film. You saw the image of a woman selling tomatoes. Now we will show another look at that space and one realizes that the image was a business-like image that appeared in the beginning. When it recurs, it is much more an urban image, like her, the women who sell tomatoes on the street. We are also in a way trying to hang on to the memories of the city, memories which are beginning to fade away and to use a metaphor we thought of making Buddha's image out of ice, iconic representation of ice and butter which melt away. Using that as a device to look at the position from which we come and look up to the city, we represented ourselves.

ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNANCE: V. RANGANATHAN

I. Introduction:

Municipal Administration was first established for the city of Mumbai in the year 1872 by the Bombay Municipal Act. This Act was replaced in 1888 by the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act, which provided for the establishment of a Municipal Corporation for the city of Mumbai. As the city grows, the area of the Corporation was extended from time to time till 1956, when it acquired the present size. The present nomenclature of the corporation is Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM).

The Corporation covers an area of 437.7 sq. km. The population of the city as per the 2001 census is 11.9 million, making it the most populous city in India. The growth in the population of the city is often attributed to migration. In fact, the 2001 census data reveal that there is also natural growth in population. Birth rate in the city is 2.03 lakhs per year and death rate is 0.87 lakhs per year resulting in an annual population growth of 1.16 lakhs.

The activities of MCGM were also getting extended from time to time. In 1933 the activities of Bombay Improvement Trust were entrusted to MCGM. BEST was municipalized in 1948. No other Corporation in the country performs such a wide diversity of activities as the MCGM.

II. Administration setup:

The city is divided into 227 electoral wards each electing one councillor. The councillors in turn elect the Mayor. Most of the

decisions in the Corporation are taken by statutory committees, namely, Standing Committee, Education Committee, Improvement Committee and BEST Committee. Apart from these Committees, 16 Ward Committees were constituted in accordance with the 74th Amendment to the Constitution of India made in the year 1992. These Committees are intended for speedy redressal of the common grievances of the citizens regarding local and essential municipal services and for making recommendations on the expenditure proposals.

For administrative purposes, the City is divided into 24 wards, each under an Assistant Municipal Commissioner. There is wide variation in the size and population of the wards. The smallest ward, namely, B ward has a population of 1.40 lakhs. On the other hand, the largest ward, namely, the K/E ward has a population of 8.66 lakhs. The Ward Committees referred to earlier cover one or more wards.

With a workforce of 1.31 lakhs and with an annual budget of over Rs. 7000 crores, the MCGM certainly plays a major role in the day-to-day running and development of the city. However, there is a large number of other players with responsibilities, sometimes overlapping with MCGM, and working independently. There is proliferation of agencies, working in Mumbai and there is no single organization really accountable for the development of Mumbai. The various agencies working in the city include

- 1) The Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA), dealing with planning, financing and execution of development projects.
- ii) Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) dealing with the rehabilitation of slums.
- iii) Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA) dealing with Housing and Repairs and reconstruction of old buildings.

- iv) Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC) dealing with industrial estates and providing civic services therein and providing other services to industries in the city.
- v) Transport Commissioner dealing with registration of vehicles, their regulation and collection of vehicle tax.
- vi) Mumbai Police dealing with law and order and Transport Management.
- vii) Public Works Department (PWD) of the State Government dealing with Express Highways.
- viii) Maharashtra State Road Development Corporation (MSRDC) dealing with major roads, and sea-links.
- ix) Government of Maharashtra dealing with urban planning, Municipal Legislation, etc.
- x) Mumbai Port Trust (MbPT) dealing with port services and seafront land.
- xi) Indian Railways dealing with suburban and long distance rail transport.
- xii) Airport Authority of India dealing with the management of domestic and international airports.

This has resulted in the diffusion of responsibility and in the absence of coherence among the various programmes implemented for the development of the city of Mumbai. Agencies often work at cross-purposes looking to their own limited self-interest and missing the overall perspective of the development of the city. While many seek to derive benefits, none shoulders the burden of the responsibility for the city.

III. Suggestions for Reengineering Governance of Mumbai:

In the circumstances pointed out in the preceding paragraph, the need of the hour is to form a Metropolitan Government for the City of Mumbai. Our Mantra should be

Don't fix the Lights.

Fix the agencies that fix the lights.

While reengineering the city Management, an effort should be made to achieve separation between Policy Making Agencies and Agencies responsible for service delivery. This would ensure greater accountability of the service providers.

The Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai should provide the nucleus for the proposed Metropolitan Government of the city of Mumbai. Keeping this in mind, it is necessary to transfer to the MCGM a number of functions presently being performed by the Government of Maharashtra or other agencies. Such transfers should cover inter alia the following –

- i) MMRDA should function solely as a funding agency. The execution of all projects within the area of MCGM should be entrusted MCGM.
- ii) The SRA has become a parallel civic administration with powers to change land user and approve building proposals. To my mind, SRA should be abolished and Slum Rehabilitation should be done by the MCGM as part of its normal development activities.
- iii) While MHADA can play a role in increasing housing stock in the city by constructing houses, activities relating to the repairs and reconstruction of pre 1941 buildings in the city of Mumbai should appropriately be handled by MCGM. The reconstruction process has to be completed within a time frame of 10 years and should be extended in stages to cover the Mumbai Suburban District also.

- iv) After the development of industrial estates by MIDC and collection of development charges by MIDC, the maintenance problems being faced today are not being handled adequately either by MIDC or MCGM. It is necessary to transfer the estates to MCGM so that taxes can be levied and civic amenities provided in adequate measure and improvements in civic services made from time to time.
- v) The functioning of the Transport Commissioner and Road Transport Authority independently of the MCGM has added to the transport problems in the city. Over the last five years, the population of taxi cabs and auto rickshaws has increased by more than 50%. It would be appropriate to put the responsibility for licensing vehicles on MCGM. A stop should be put to the registration of new taxis and three-wheelers and their numbers reduced progressively as old vehicles are condemned. The vehicle tax on new private ownership of vehicles. Measures should also be taken to make vehicle registration conditional upon having a dedicated parking area in order to reduce the problem of vehicles getting parked on the carriageways of roads.
- vi) The Traffic Police should be put under the administrative control of MCGM so that an integrated traffic management policy for the city can be devised and implemented.
- vii) There is no rationale for the maintenance of Express Highways by the State PWD. This has resulted in poor day-to-day cleanliness and maintenance of the highways. These Highways, along with service lanes should be transferred to MCGM with appropriate funding arrangements.

- viii) While MSRDC can serve as a funding Agency, construction of roads and flyovers in the city by MSRDC appears to be unnecessary. Such construction programmes should be undertaken by MCGM. MSRDC can, however, undertake major link projects, such as, Worli-Nariman Point sea link or Sewri-Nhava-Sheva link project.
- ix) The development control rules notified by the State Government have a major impact on the development and management of the city. Since the MCGM is the planning agency for the city of Mumbai, the formulation and modification of development control rules should necessarily be vested in the Municipal Corporation.
- x) Considering the critical role of Mumbai Port Trust, Indian Railways and Airport Authority of India in the development and day-to-day management of the city, these Agencies should have representatives of the Municipal Corporation on their decision-making bodies so that their decisions are informed by the needs of the city and so that the municipal administration and these bodies can work in a coherent manner.

If there is apprehension that giving such a major role to the MCGM may result in civic politics adversely affecting the quality of the administration, I would point out that responsibility comes through power. Entrusting more powers to a body, which is close to the citizens and which is accountable to them would result in a more responsive and responsible civic administration.

IV. Improvement in the working of MCGM:

It is urgently necessary to take some measures for the improvement in the efficiency of the Municipal Administration in Mumbai. Among others, the following suggestions are made –

- i) The population of the wards varies enormously from 1.40 lakhs to 8.60 lakhs. The wards should be reorganized and their jurisdiction made co-terminus with that of the Ward Committee, of which there are 16. This will bring more coherence in the administration.
- ii) With the population of many wards going up to 9 lakhs the ward office has become too distant for meeting the day-to-day needs of the citizens. It is suggested that each ward should be divided into eight to 12 beats depending on its size and Junior/Sub Engineer appointed as beat officer for day-to-day work. Likewise, each lane or group of buildings should have an Advanced Locality Committee. In slum areas there should be Slum Committees elected by all residents. For day-to-day activities, the beat officer should interact with the Advanced Locality Management and Slum Committees in his beat and tackle the civic problems on a day-to-day basis. This would bring the administration closer to the people and ensure the speedy redressal of their grievances.
- iii) Many powers of the MCGM are centralized at the level of the HO. It is necessary to delegate powers to a large extent to the Ward Committee and to the Assistant Municipal Commissioners in charge of Wards in order to make the administration quicker and more responsive.
- iv) The water supply and sewerage department should function as a separate business centre in the same manner in which BEST functions. This would not only make the provisions of water supply and sewerage services more efficient, but also ensure that the programmes are self-sustaining.
- v) The distant suburbs, which are rapidly growing, suffer from serious inadequacy of staff. The staffing pattern of

the MCGM, such as, the number of conservancy staff and Junior Engineers allotted to each ward requires to be changed in line with the population dynamics. This applies not only to the Corporation staff but also to the Police staff. On the basis of a rational analysis of the workload, staff reorganization is required to be made immediately.

- vi) In the city of Delhi under the Bhagidari Scheme the responsibility of maintenance of some localities, such as neighbourhood parks, is given to the Resident's Associations and appropriate funds provided are by the Civic Body to the Residents' Association for the purpose. This improves the quality of maintenance and reduces the cost thereof. A similar approach can be tried in the city of Mumbai.
- vii) In many big cities in the World, the city administration has a business development unit keeping constant track of the city economy. Wherever a particular sector of economic activity declines efforts are made to revive it and wherever there is potential for expansion of an activity, efforts are made to promote it. It is necessary for the MCGM to have a business development unit. This can be usefully linked to an initiative to be taken by the State Government for skill development through public and private institutions so that technical skills in the emerging areas of economic activity can be imparted through its Polytechnics, Schools and Colleges.
- viii) The property tax administration in the city requires a fundamental change. Such a change implemented in a number of cities in India, such as Patna, Ahmedabad and Bangalore has proved beneficial both to the property owners and to the Corporation. Assessment of property should be made by the property owners on a self-assessment basis in some rational parameters. Necessary

legislative changes for this purpose should be moved by the State Government as early as possible. A system could also be devised whereby developers can be given set off in property tax against major civic infrastructural projects executed by them.

- ix) There is need for enhancement in the powers of MCGM in order to enable it to perform its responsibilities in an effective manner. For instance, under the Prevention of Adulteration Act, the Sanitary Inspectors of Corporation should have the powers of prosecution. Under the Environmental Regulations also it would be more appropriate to empower the officers of MCGM and make them responsible for implementation. They must also be given the power to fine citizens for petty offences, such as, unauthorized storage of material in a public place. This will make the administration more effective.

V. Certain Other Suggestions:

Certain other areas require urgent attention for the proper growth and development of the city. A few of them are highlighted herein below –

- i) Octroi: It is high time that octroi is abolished and replaced by an account-based tax levied from traders. This would give a boost to the development of trade and commerce and boost the business of Mumbai Port.
- ii) The provision for additional FSI for various purposes has resulted in the densification of certain areas of the city and put a strain on the infrastructure. As far as possible, an effort should be made to avoid using FSI as an incentive for slum development, rehabilitation of old buildings, conservation of heritage buildings, resettlement, Government construction, promotion of industry or any other purpose.

- iii) Even though a decision has been taken by the Central Government more than three years ago on the ownership of saltpan lands, the same has not been implemented yet. All these saltpan lands, which are not buildable should be developed into city parks. Where they are buildable they should exclusively be used for rehabilitation of families affected by development projects in the city.
- iv) In the process of development of mill lands, modification should be made in the Development Control Rules so that large contiguous chunks of lands become available to the Municipal Corporation for provision of civic amenities or for providing recreation areas.
- v) All the seafront land is managed by the Collector of Mumbai and Collector of Mumbai Suburban District. Neither of them have funds or manpower for the proper management of these lands. They should transfer these lands to the MCGM, which in turn can protect and manage these lands with the assistance of local neighbourhood groups.

VI. Conclusion:

In conclusion, I would only add that city reforms and reengineering of civil governance do not occur in isolation. They need an enabling environment. It is the responsibility of each and every one of us to provide such an environment so that the beloved city of Mumbai achieves a position of pre-eminence and provides a life of comfort and happiness to its citizens.

Intervening in Mumbai

Shirish B Patel

I

Principles First, Planning Follows

Urban Planning is not about drawing up land-use plans. It is equally not about formulating some kind of idealized vision of a dream city from which the urban poor and various other intractable problems have been wished away. It is about setting clear objectives and principles that one debates, prioritises and adopts; and thereafter it is about devising policies and programmes for implementation that are measured against those objectives and principles, and selecting the ones that best serve the chosen ends.

For example—and everything that follows here should be debated, modified, resolved and then adopted—we might say that our objective is to make Mumbai an attractive and happy place to live and work in, for all its citizens. We set this overall objective because we recognize that if we can achieve it, much that is desirable will follow. A Mumbai that is more attractive and easier to work in than other international cities will of its own become an international hub. It will of its own become an attractive place to visit, for all categories of visitors.

Here is a set of principles we might adopt:

- Provide Municipal services to all income groups in the city. Jaime Lerner, Mayor of Curitiba, Brazil, in the mid-1960s began the revolution in the way that city grew with the simple dictum:

“The poorer you are the better the services you should have.”

Charges for Municipal services should vary from locality to locality, being higher for the wealthier localities, and should be progressive, increasing per unit of floor area as the total floor area occupied increases.

- Public transport has priority over private transport: each receives funding in proportion to the number of its users. The city is primarily for the convenience and wellbeing of people, not cars. The city to learn from in this regard is Singapore, where using cars costs so much more than using public transport that most people prefer public transport, and motor traffic becomes manageable. This leads us to the following additional principle.
- Discourage the use of cars; manage traffic with a combination of improved technology, better policing, and pricing policies. This can only work if public transport is of high quality, and gets you faster to your destination than using a car. It means buses and taxis (and auto-rickshaws where plying) are given preferential treatment over private cars. In regard to how to deal with cars, we have before us two Western models to choose from: American cities, built around the primacy of the automobile, each with its vast and endless urban sprawl, and where it is impossible to get around unless you have a car; and the European cities, older, with a built heritage that is worth preserving. American cities are defined by spaghettis of flyovers over flyovers over flyovers. European cities have better managed the intrusion of cars, mainly by having excellent public transport. We should be careful in our choice of model

to follow. Once again, I would suggest Singapore as an excellent Asian model to learn from.

- Encourage preservation of the character of the city. We have in Mumbai an extraordinary heritage, and an extraordinary location in relation to the sea. These are great advantages that need to be exploited.
- Expand green spaces and make them accessible to all, within walking distance of where they live. Enrique Penelosa, former Mayor of Bogota, Colombia, says that when people's open spaces are nibbled away, they do not protest much, but when they do have them, they derive from them "creaseless satisfaction".
- Preserve mangroves and beaches and ecologically sensitive zones. After that, ensure that the seafront is for public use only, as promenades or restaurants.
- Remove all obstacles to the provision of rental housing. If it is politically impossible to repeal the Rent Act, at least make sure it does not apply to any tenancies created hereafter, whether in old buildings or new.
- Facilitate home ownership loans for all income groups. Today no housing finance agency will finance housing for the poor, because if they fail to repay they cannot be evicted and the property re-possessed. We need a simple new law, quickly enforceable, which will permit re-possession in case of default. Cruel as it may sound, the consequence will be that for each family that is evicted in this way there will be 99 others who will get a loan for home ownership which they would otherwise never have received. The same law should apply to failure to pay rent.

We can go on and on. The point is to debate these principles, make a choice, and assign priorities between them.

Here, in contrast, is an alternative set of principles—these may be concealed and undeclared, but they are nonetheless forceful for that:

- Do the maximum possible to help builders. That this has been one of the important principles in operation in recent years is self-evident to anyone living in the city. It applies not only at the highest level of law-making but equally at the operational level of granting permissions on the basis of false documents.
- Cars are more important than people. Or, to put it in another way, a small number of people who own cars are more important than the several times larger number of people who don't. A little more suffering for the many is justified by a little more comfort for the few.
- Grand projects make a great city. Too many of our current projects are driven by this notion. After all, who had ever heard of Bilbao before Frank Gehry built the Guggenheim Museum there? And what would Sydney be without the Sydney Opera House? But it is a mistake to believe such grand architectural gestures are a substitute for a well-functioning city. We need to beware of projects that grab the imagination, and pull us into a fantasy world where glitter is equated with success. We need more cold-blooded assessments of value to the citizen for money spent before embarking on grand projects.
- Copying Shanghai's glittering façade will make Mumbai a global city. This seems to be the notion driving many current projects. It is such an idiotic notion that it is not worth wasting time discussing it.

Enrique Penelosa says that the choice of a public transport system using buses on reserved tracks was a political decision. Similarly, the choice of which guiding principles to adopt is a political choice. But as affected citizens I think we have a right to demand a clear statement, a clear enunciation of these principles. With that we might at least begin the process of what Arjun Appadurai called "democratic planning".

II

What can we do about slums?

I am amazed that so few people seem to have understood that it is jobs added to the city that result in added population. Fifty years ago Prof D T Lakdawala (former Head of the Department of Economics in Bombay University, and Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission during the rule of the Janata Party) calculated that for each new job in the manufacturing sector added to the city you would eventually add 13.5 residents in the city. First there is one person, taking up the manufacturing job. His family joins him, making five residents in all. They need services: schools, hospitals, restaurants, dhobis, paanwalas. People are needed to fill these jobs, and they have their families, who also need services, and that is how you finish with 13.5 residents for every manufacturing job that is added to the city. Of course, not everyone brings his family to Mumbai. But these singles share home with other singles. And now of course manufacturing jobs in the city have been replaced by jobs in IT or finance or call centres, where the customer being serviced is far beyond one's immediate surroundings. Any such job would have an impact on the city similar to a manufacturing job. It would result in adding 13.5 residents to the city. That number was calculated by Prof Lakdawala 50 years ago. Now it is likely to be much higher – we have become more consumerist, we need more services, restaurants and shopping malls of a kind that never existed earlier.

So, to put it in another way, for every job which you add to the city, if the job is of a kind which deals with people beyond the immediate surroundings, you will also need to add three homes. If homes are not provided, or not available at a price within the economic means of the job holder, he will live where he can, illegally if has no other choice, in what the city calls a slum.

Migration into the city has both a “push” and a “pull” component. The “pull” component is because new jobs are being added to the city. But we need to distinguish between the two kinds of jobs being added here. One is, for example, the jobs that are added when a shopping mall comes up. This serves the local population, indeed, provides them with even better service than they had earlier. We cannot, and indeed should not do much about controlling the growth of such jobs, at locations chosen by the owner. But for the other kind of jobs, like call centre jobs, the Government could, if it so chooses, provide incentives for being at strategically chosen locations. If, for example, call centres or IT jobs had preferential tax rates to be in Navi Mumbai rather than in Malad or elsewhere along the Western edge, the consequent population would reside in areas where land for homes can be more easily provided.

The “push” factor is harder to deal with. One policy to diminish this would be to choose as one of our principles

- *Whatever is invested in infrastructure in Mumbai should be matched by double that investment in infrastructure outside Mumbai.*

This would certainly encourage jobs to come up in more remote locations, and would reduce the “push” from those regions towards Mumbai. What would be more difficult is the “push” from Bihar or Orissa or other poor regions towards this part of the country—but hopefully that would be filtered through the attraction of the regions

surrounding Mumbai, and only some part of the pushed out population would finally make it through to the big city.

In this regard I am reminded of a visit I paid about a year ago to a relatively new holiday resort in Kashid, just down the Ratnagiri coast from Alibag. Talking to the waiters and the ladies who made up the room there, I found that they all lived in neighbouring villages. Earlier they used to work in Mumbai, but now were much happier living in their village homes, attending to their lands, and earning a wage in the hotel. Another example that illustrates that not everyone wants to come to Mumbai is Baramati, Sharad Pawar's hometown, where the investments made in infrastructure and education have ensured that many people live and work there, and have no desire to come to the big city.

Apart from "push" and "pull" there is one other force driving the growth of slums, and that is the natural increase in population. Kids born in slums outgrow their parents' dwelling spaces and need to move into slums of their own. Unless job opportunities take them elsewhere, they will continue to want to live in Mumbai. So whatever we do, we need to anticipate and cater to and provide for a rising urban population at all income levels, including the poorest.

There is another equally compelling logic that guarantees that the numbers of the poor in the city will go on increasing. This is the fact of urbanization! The urban population in Asian countries is expected to double in the next 30 years. This parallels what has been seen in Latin America in the second half of the 20th century, where the urban population vaulted from just over 40% to over 75% during a period of simultaneous rapid population growth. The 21st century will be an urban century. For the first time in the history of the world, there will be more people living in towns than in the countryside. And it is the developing countries that will be urbanizing fastest. It is also now well established that urbanization accelerates with accelerating economic growth. So if Mumbai is to

become another Shanghai in terms of economic power, it will also, inevitably, attract more than its share of urban population.

Demolishing slums is cruel. It is also futile. We need a more considered and intelligent response to the problem.

First, we need to face the fact that the city will need massive investments in infrastructure, particularly transport, water supply and sewerage. We need to plan for all that. Second, we need to harness all the economic forces we can for provision of rental housing, as well as ownership housing for the lower income groups. This means two changes in the law: one is a repeal of the Rent Act, or if that is not considered practical, an amendment that ensures that Rent control does not apply to any tenancies created hereafter, whether in new buildings or old. The second is a law that guarantees speedy eviction (within six months of defaulting) of anyone who does not pay his rent or his mortgage instalments. This will be the most effective way of opening up the market for low-income housing to housing finance.

It has been said repeatedly that slums are illegal, that they represent a "theft" of public lands. In a recent article an analogy was drawn of someone stealing bread from a baker's shop. Would anyone tolerate that? But that is not a correct parallel. A more accurate analogy would be to say, "I am the captain of this ship. You are welcome to swab the decks and polish the brass and I will pay you. But you cannot live here. You have to spend the night overboard, swimming the shark-infested seas. If you're still there tomorrow morning, make sure you report at 8 for another day's work".

I do not understand our insistence on the 1995 "cut-off" date. Have we had a corresponding "cut-off" for adding new jobs in Mumbai after that date? If we had stopped adding new jobs after that date, there we might be justified in removing residences that come up after that date. If we go on adding jobs—and Mumbai turning into Shanghai will certainly add more jobs—where are the new job-

holders supposed to live? Can you show us any available housing for the low-income job-holders? How is it we have 4,413 Police Constables and 81 Police Inspectors living in slums? When the British built their bungalows they built servants' quarters in the compound for the full range of their servants. When the textile mills were set up in Mumbai the employees were required to provide housing in the form of chawls for their workers. In the last 50 years what provision has been made by employers for housing the workers that they have added to the city?

Probably the worst policy decision in recent years started with the Shiv Sena Chief's notion that all slum dwellers in the city can be provided with free housing, financed from the profit builders could make on plots currently occupied by slums. We all know the havoc this has caused in the city. The experience has been that the scheme only works in areas where land values are high. Instead of the 8 lakh tenements which were supposed to come up in five or six years, we have 26,000, finished in seven years. The scheme is clearly unsustainable and will do nothing for the bulk of the slum population of the city. What is worse is that by permitting an FSI of 2.5 on the original slum property we have a significant densification without any corresponding improvement in infrastructure. Probably the worst example of floor area added with absolutely no regard to provision of corresponding infrastructure, particularly road capacity, is the three 60-storeyed buildings currently under construction in the Maneckji Petit Mills Compound at Tardeo.

Another damaging consequence of the provision of free housing to slum dwellers has been the response from those who live in cessed buildings. If slum dwellers can get free housing, why not old rent tenants? So we have a situation where if you are a modest-income person living in a cooperative Society, if your building falls down, or needs serious repairs, that is your problem, with construction to be financed at your cost. When any owner of a property has his building collapse, no one pays him to rebuild it. It's his problem entirely. But if you are a tenant, not only have you been gifted two-thirds of the

value of the property (pugree is now official), but you are entitled to reconstruction of your building totally free of cost. The "incentives" needed to achieve this are of course leading to monstrous towers in already heavily congested parts of the city, again with no corresponding improvement of infrastructure, particularly transport, to support the increased population.

It is this free housing that is playing havoc with our city. It is magnifying the "pull" factor of Mumbai. Rumour has it that in every gully of every town in Bihar or Orissa it is whispered that if only you move to Mumbai, and survive there long enough, you will get free housing.

So we should begin by accepting the fact that there is no way we can afford pucca free housing for half the city's population, and more as the city continues to grow. Jobs at the lower end of the economic scale are at such low wages that there is no way that those who work in those jobs can afford to live in pucca housing, even if this housing is given to them free. As a recent study carried out by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) for the Slum Redevelopment Authority (SRA) has shown, some of them cannot even afford the building's monthly charges for a lift, electricity, water and sanitation, and have to move back into a slum. Even in their jobs they are constantly under threat from others responding to the forces of urbanization and offering to do the same work at even lower wages.

For this segment of the poorest of the poor there is no option other than to identify Government-owned lands—whether by MCGM, the State or Centre, the Port Trust, or any other Government organ—demarcate this into pathways and plots and allot these to them to live on. Water supply, sanitation and solid waste disposal must be provided as essential services. Densities will be low but this cannot be helped. The occupants should be permitted to build on these plots up to Ground and one upper, over time, as and when their finances permit. The plots should be [REDACTED] like any other properties. At some future date, if the property is to taken up for redevelopment at a higher density, the

owners should be able to recoup whatever they have invested, as in any other redevelopment.

In conclusion, and as a point for immediate action, let me say that we need to recognize that the free housing programme is utterly unsustainable. Unfortunately, by providing a few free houses, the Government has captured the imagination of all slum dwellers, that they too will sooner or later get free pucca housing, despite having done nothing to deserve it. They now live in that fantasy world, like the cinema's, where a distant glitter feeds hope, and that hope sustains them through all the traumas of daily life.

The 21st Century: Asia Becomes Urban, Rakesh Mohan, Shubhagato Dasgupta, Economic & Political Weekly, January 15, 2005.

DIALOGUE WITH THE OTHER IN MUMBAI: NAVTEJ KAUR BHUTANI

I will focus on how the process of 'othering' has been created in the city with regard to the slum dwellers and Ms. Anjali and Jay Shankar have already shared with us. So who is the 'other', the 'other' is often created as antithesis, for instance slum dwellers, ethnic minorities, women and so on. It is essentially disowning a work of ourselves. In this case disowning the slum dwellers as part of Mumbai. It arises from our own needs to define some 'other' where we can see ourselves as rational and others as irrational and in fact it is the denial of reality. I would like to thank Mr. Shirish Patel for actually bringing this reality in many ways. The reality brings that the 'others' is also part of ourselves and therefore, the slums are also a part of ourselves. There are pictures of the demolition which have taken place in Mumbai. These pictures have been taken by an NGO called YUVA, 'Demolitions in Bombay'. Prior to election, the Congress party promised to regularize all the slums up to 2000 and an important reason for its winning. This electoral promise was invalidated by ongoing demolition and these figures got from the record of YUVA point out that the total number of people displaced by the demolition drive is estimated to be 35 lakhs and more than 89,999 hutments have been razed to the ground. These are not the complete figures for the hutments which have been demolished. An estimated 1,00,060 children have been rendered homeless and many of the poor households belong to SC, ST and religious minorities. The total cost of the demolition is about 389 lakhs. The demolitions were carried out in the peak winter season in Mumbai. As a result, the children were unable to continue school and the affected people were forced to live near the demolished area without food, shelter and any source of livelihood. There was increasing physical insecurity, especially for women. There were no medical facilities, and lack of basic amenities and termination of public water supply and last and important confiscation of ration cards only worsened the situation. Talking about governance, I would like to ask, is demolition a mechanism of

urban governance and planning? We need to address this question. There are other issues like removal of names of poor people from the voting list, confiscation of ration cards, denial of citizenship, denying them food, shelter, security, exclusion from decision-making processes through public dialogue and demolition of their huts essentially is non-acceptance of the presence of slum dwellers and depriving them of that basic human touch. This is how we are dealing with the 'other', the slum dwellers. The reality that we need to accept is that the 55% of the city lives in poverty and struggles to survive. The slum dwellers are workers in this city. Teachers, nurses, construction workers, engineers, architects, policemen, belong to a class who exploit and displace them. Slum dwellers pay high cost for low-grade public amenities as there is 'a completely different policy for what amenities the slum dwellers should get though they provide cheap labour and goods for the rich in our city. This also recognizes that slums settlements are not places for habitat, but community factories. Earlier pictures of Dharavi make it very clear that livelihood activities going on in the slums are immense. Money earned here is sent back to their families which help them survive. We are reducing human beings into objects as working hands, votes and labouring bodies, and yet we want to wish them away. The decision-makers wish them away, covertly we use their labour and skills and decision-makers their votes to achieve political power. The need is to recognize personal vote, which will involve recognition of human needs and rights. This recognition requires a transformation of perspective more than our efforts to understand, research or manage and control poor people. So the appeal is to what perspective we are using. What we have seen is that even though there are Ward Committees and there are members of NGOs, only one or two per cent of them are residents or slums representatives. We need to recognize that the art of economy and quality is only symbolically included and is instrumental in marginalizing them. I think we need to talk about this vision and what is this vision of that makeover Mumbai that is taking place now because we are talking about re-visioning and re-visiting hopefully the whole vision. I think it really is taking over while making over, and who are taking over?

It's critically understood that the perspective that created and managed the poor slum dwellers as others and I think the vision developed by Bombay First and McKenzie focuses on the economic growth, in spite of recognizing the fact that without social growth, economic development will remain stagnant and Mumbai would remain as a consumption centre rather than a centre of human settlement ensuring dignity of life. And its focus is set. It has no statement on equity, justice or awareness that needs to be created within the city. For instance, how this vision got translated into creating ruins in terms of the vision developed for the housing includes bringing down slums from 50-60% to 10-20% and increasing housing affordability, for instance by bringing down housing rental cost from the current 140% capital income to 50%. Currently, the agenda is translated into demolitions, therefore, people live in slums. There seem no serious efforts to regularize existing houses in slums or an increasing supply of affordable housing for the poor. There seems to be contempt in the planning and governance department and I would like to place them upfront, particularly to understand this transition of vision answers the question, who is the citizen and who is not, who defines this membership, how people in powers decide inclusion or exclusion. The state control of political space by powerful members of the Society and market, even the development process remains cloaked under the general urban well being. Cloaking of the role allows this powerful interest block assume more than the due share of collective powers and decide on Mumbai's governance by removing the less powerful. Although we have formal structures of governance that Mr. Ranganathan talked about, I think it is these informal processes which actually control governance. The government has been left entirely in the hands of the politicians who by cooperating and engaging with some middle classes and driving the poor slum dwellers away and looking after their own basic interests. I feel that there is need to transform this 'other-hood' into 'neighbourhood' and that's what we need to look at while re-visioning Mumbai. Recognize first of all that there are different stakeholders within the government and planning, contributing to making Mumbai except owning the 'other' within

ourselves accept that the slum dwellers are here to stay and are a part of Bombay..

PANEL DISCUSSION: GERSON D'CUNHA

At the outset I would like to point out that the people who have been working in this field from a very long time don't need any elaboration. By talking about the language of the manifesto, plan and the method through which we even plan that and most importantly the framework within which we put it, I believe very strongly that the language of citizenship and the language of each individual Mumbaikar somehow should be integrated into the way we articulate the manifesto. In other words it cannot only be of policies, it cannot be only about vision statement also, somehow it has to be aggressive, the language of citizenship as reflected in the constitution, so that individual rights of Mumbaikars, individuals obligations and duties as well. In addition, the idea of individual entitlement has also to be brought into bearing. Shirish Patel made observations regarding the railways. It is true that not only the railways, but many other institutions don't respond to individual needs. At one level it is absurd that any good idea will not be responded to only because those institutions don't somehow feel responsible to change and transform from the way they operate. So the Central Railways do not talk with the Western Railways and that is the reason why they are not responding to the needs of the commuters. Therefore, the manifesto in my opinion should reflect in the individual entitlement of each citizen and demand that institutions respond to individual voices. We often get lost in the language of abstraction whereas we actually have an entire vocabulary of citizenship; we have entirely the vocabulary of representing what every individual citizen of the country and not only of Mumbai needs. We have to somehow integrate that, which is very important. I was very glad to note that knowledge initiatives in different ways were very central to the concern articulate, so whether it was about transparency of information, of collecting data, of cultural policy, somehow that knowledge and getting political engagement organically connected, is something that perhaps can be re-formulated and re-articulated more clearly in the manifesto. Just to give another example of railways, PUKAR has just organized a weeklong exhibition of photographs

taken by various citizens in the City of gender and space. While the project was going on, a Member of Central Railways actually responded and said that your entire lighting project is something we would like to consider, so one of the events which we have in the coming week is with the Central Railway and an officer who will be there, will look at the study which has been curated by PUKAR but has been largely done and performed by ordinary citizens not necessarily by people who are supposedly qualified. I evoke what Prof. Appadurai was saying yesterday, that the idea of collapsing planning and participation of the ordinary citizen can become a way to move ahead because we cannot simply talk about policy, we cannot talk about formulating best ideas, unless there are institutions which respond to individual needs and unless and until the language of individual entitlement becomes part of the whole process.

When one has not attended five, sixth of the seminar and one has listen to one's great richness of summary, I at least and left with very little to say nothing certainly and nothing new to offer, except one or two small things of course. To comment on what Arun was talking about the need for cultural policy. Somebody who came from Sheffield talked about transformation of Sheffield and in the process also talked about a few things happening in London. The point he made was that the cultural industries were coming into their own and were earning the nation 15 entire lighting project is something we would like to consider, so one of the events which we have in the coming week is with the Central Railway and an officer who will be there, will look at the study which has been curated by PUKAR but has been largely done and perform by ordinary citizens not necessarily by people who are supposedly qualify. So once again to evoke with Prof. Appadurai was saying yesterday that the idea of collapsing planning and participation of ordinary citizens can some how become a way of moving ahead because we cannot simply talk about policy, we cannot talk about formulating best ideas, unless there are institutions which respond to individual needs, unless and until the language of individual entitlement becomes part of the whole process.

Cultural Policy

Aroon Tikekar

During the second half of 19th century Maharashtra obtained a leading position in the country's affairs, whether in politics or socio-cultural movements, in education or in performing and other arts. Its chief centre was Mumbai, which did not take time to become the commercial capital of the whole of India. The other major centre of activity was Pune, a seat of learning and political power; till the recent past, the two centres collected around them torch-bearing leaders in most walks of life. Maharashtra provided national leaders in almost every field of human endeavour in India and for a long time represented the 'national consciousness'. The situation perhaps was too good to last and obviously it did not last for long. During the past couple of decades, there is an apparent slide. Maharashtra lost its leadership just before independence to Bengal initially, and after independence to Delhi. There is therefore, a need to take stock of the situation and embark again on a road to progress. This can be achieved, it is felt, by formulating a Comprehensive Cultural Policy, cutting across all parties and other barriers, and strictly adhering to it to regain the rightful position that Maharashtra legitimately deserves.

Whenever there is general cultural decline, 'art forms' i.e. performing and fine arts including creative and discursive literature are supposed to flourish. The artists, writers and intellectuals of the society supposedly and silently revolt against the corrupt, decadent system. A long wait for such a change in Maharashtra has, however, not yielded the desired change. The causes perhaps are too many to reiterate. Perhaps Maharashtra has been a victim of its own success or perhaps the struggle for subsistence on one hand and complacency and self-contentedness on the other, of the members of the Maharashtrian intelligentsia are responsible for a cultural slide. The fact remains that something has to be done urgently to give a boost once again to the leadership position of Maharashtra and accelerate the socio-cultural change in all walks of

Maharashtrian life. A need is felt for a Comprehensive Cultural Policy Document (CCPD) at an official or unofficial level, which might act as a catalyst for the desired change.

The Comprehensive Cultural Policy Document (CCPD) need not be considered as something absolutely sacrosanct. It may only serve to provide pointers for socio-cultural change. It should however, try to remove the barriers that have been obstructing the onward march. Unfortunately, Maharashtra today finds itself engulfed in a web of non-issues such as whether Chhatrapati Shivaji's birth anniversary should be celebrated on the day (*tithi*) according to the Hindu calendar or according to the Gregorian (English) calendar. This is just one example. There are no strict guidelines, no updated definitions of obscenity, modernity, no modern guidelines for censorship laws that have become terribly out of date. Conventionality is confused with morality and either everything old is considered as good or everything new is considered as welcome. It is as if like King Canute, the regressive members are trying to stop the proverbial waves of modernity or also the progressive members of society trying to condemn all that was old as regressive. The fact is that the Tradition-Modernity Continuum has been the hallmark of every society and 'a change for the better by slow absorption' has been the recipe for all social progress. This has been so with the Maharashtrian society as well.

It is high time that a Comprehensive Cultural Policy Document should be made available to all the concerned like-minded citizens to show at least some pointers about what can be done or needs to be done. The task of preparing such a policy document can be taken up either by the governmental authorities or by a worthy institution enjoying a high level of credibility in the eyes of the public. Selecting representatives from all strata of society and political parties of all shades and colours, committees can be formed, which will prepare draft proposals for the consideration of inclusion in the final policy document to be prepared by the Apex Committee consisting of elected representatives of the people, senior government officials and socio-cultural and intellectual leaders. The members of the committee will be free to include any topic of their

choice and no subject will be taboo. Even the colour and the quality of government stationery, the paint of government offices, the dress code of government employees need not be excluded from discussion.

Every stage of preparation of the draft can be monitored carefully and a strict time schedule will have to be followed. Details of membership as well as the *modus operandi* can be worked out as and when required.

Comprehensive Cultural Policy Document (CCPD)

Cultural Policy Heritage policy Language & Literature policy Book Fine Arts policy

Films/Dance/Drama/Music/Fine Arts