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State, Space, and the Rhetoric of Development

Developments of the Political Economy of Mumbai city

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Abstract

A historical assessment of the Political economy of India, through imperialism and the brief period of colonialism, puts the Indian state and its development apparatus into perspective. Spatial formations that emerge out of an economic doctrine are better understood when thought of as abstractions rather than physical spaces. Yet, the state engages in a rhetoric of development that centres on administrative categories, often without attention to the logic of their formations. The state further creates a space from which it removes itself and leave the ideological production to its other.

This paper takes an historical overview the political economy through a case study of the development of Bombay/Mumbai city from the 17th century till the period of liberalisation of the Indian economy in 1991. Through this overview it aims to produce a picture of recurring logics of development that contain within them predefined movements for that which it subordinates. It argues that in the development of Mumbai through the periods of colonial power created a basis for regional development in Maharashtra, which the state had no way to reverse or affect.

The study concludes that the discourse on development is rhetorical, in that it only exists to satisfy a desire for inquiry and is not given a political motive force to achieve what it elaborates.

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1. Introduction

The context of this study is the city of Mumbai located in the Indian state of Maharashtra. Mumbai is a natural port which is a part of the western coastline of India. The city, its Municipal corporation, and its metropolitan region share a border with Palghar, Thane, and Raigad districts. The city and its Municipal suburbs constitute a district of its own. The state of Maharashtra shares a border with the state of Gujrat, and Madhya Pradesh to the north, the state of Chhattisgarh to the east, and the states of Telangana (erstwhile undivided Andhra Pradesh¹), Karnataka, and Goa to the south. The Municipal corporation of Mumbai is identified as the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM). The metropolitan region is identified as the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR), with the Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (MMRDA) as its planning authority. The state of Maharashtra is governed by the Government of Maharashtra which is a sub-national body of governance. The population of BMC is 12.4 million people of MMR is 20.9 million, and that of the state of Maharashtra is 124.9 million people.

¹ The State of Andhra Pradesh was divided into Telangana and Andhra Pradesh (which is a part of old undivided Andhra). This note was added since the change is relatively recent and the naming convention might prove confusing.



Fig 1: Location: India, Maharashtra, Mumbai

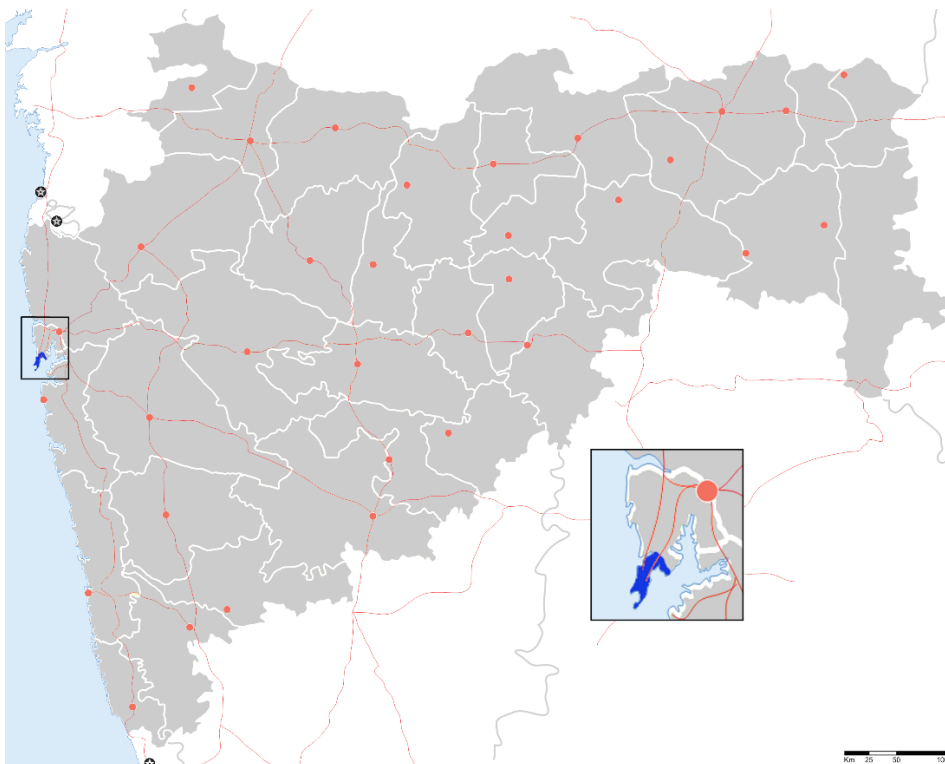


Fig 2: Location Maharashtra, Mumbai

1.1. Mumbai and Maharashtra: Conceptualising the city and the region

To study a category, it is necessary to create an outline within which the category will be situated, and thus understood. Situating the category in a context of theory or history will help create a guideline for articulating it. The context will help to avoid engaging in contradictory approaches or ideas. The context is history, but it is understood through theory. The articulation of history is untenable without an understanding of theory. Thus, it is necessary to conceptualise categories that abide by theory through the aid of which history has been read. Conceptualising categories in this manner will provide a clarity to work as the category can be contrasted with other conceptualisations of the same category. The contrast will help evaluate the usefulness of the theoretical framework within which the category was conceptualised. Contrasting different conceptualisations can help us contrast the frameworks within which they are conceived. Conceiving categories in this manner enhances how history is understood and will help shed light on why it is understood differently by different observers. In this manner, we can evaluate an account of history, through a category, of having understood in a particular theoretical framework. This elaboration is necessary preface since it speaks directly to the method applied in this work to read history.

To conceptualise the city as a category in this case is to locate it, firstly, in history. That is to delineate the historical context within which we want to conceptualise the city. The amount of information required to articulate the category will indicate its significance. Can the city be understood through the history of the state formation within which it exists? Or does it require a larger, global historical understanding? It will be argued that understanding Mumbai requires an understanding of historical developments in India, China, Europe, and the United States of America. Secondly, it will be necessary to place the reading of history in a theoretical framework. What components of the social product² are required for an understanding of the city, the historical development of which will be

² Sum total of all production

studied? If Mumbai is to be understood through the forms of production, and circulation or it is to be understood through cultural developments? Which production phenomena are considered and over what time? The answer to these questions will require justification which will be the theoretical framework, as it will help provide coherence and consistency for the evaluation of this work.

As with contrasting different conceptualisations of the same category between different frameworks, the category also requires contrasting with other categories within the confines of the same framework. The contrast, or contradiction, helps to better understand the boundary conditions of a category over another such that their similarities and differences be clearly articulated. This is how we must understand the category of region. The *other* category. The region, in framework within which this study is situated, is contrasted with the city, and is understood as the cities' othering. The city is understood as being in contradiction with the region, as their relation is an antagonistic one. The antagonism is of an economic nature, and yet it is necessary to articulate both the categories, within this logic, for either of them to make sense. The city cannot be understood without understanding the region, and the region cannot be conceived without that specific conception of the city.

1.1.1. Research interest:

Through the presentation of historical particulars having to do with production, various forms of production, the mechanism of their circulation, and the relations and means required for the genesis of production, this study will articulate a history of Mumbai and Maharashtra state in India through the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. The reason for this articulation is to demonstrate a relation between spatial formation and economic developments in the city and the region which can be understood as a pattern of development. Lastly, the articulation provides us an opportunity to evaluate the contemporary understanding of this history, and the framework in which it is located.

1.2. Mumbai city: A brief outline of the Political economy

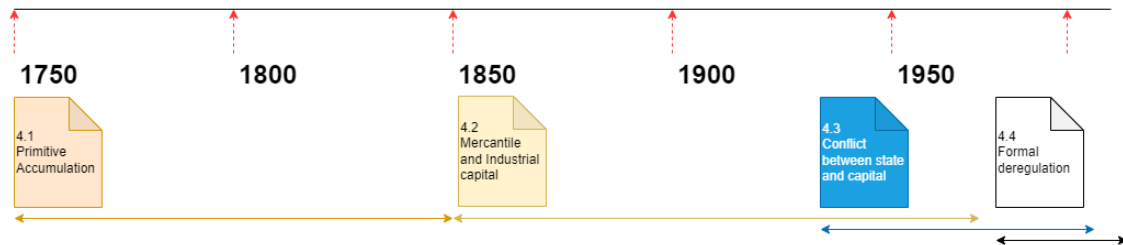


Fig 3: Timeline and case study alignment

“Political economy studies production relations in their interaction with the productive forces. The productive forces and the production relations as a unity constitute the mode of production” (Institut ekonomiki (Akademiiã` nauk SSSR) Dutt C. P. & Rothstein A. (1957), Introduction)

Before elaborating upon the theoretical and historical material mentioned previously, it is necessary to be acquainted with a hierarchy of concepts used frequently in this articulation, and to be acquainted with the concepts themselves. While a visual representation has been provided at the end of chapter 3, it is necessary to explain what is meant by political economy. To begin with the scheme of production, capital, and state needs to be understood.

Production here is used to describe two things. One is production in general, as a category which describes all production in totality. While specific forms of production like agricultural production, or industrial production describe a specific activity, production in general is description of productive activity that is conceptually common to all forms. The reason it occupies the top spot in the hierarchy is due to its necessity to understand capital, and state as results of productive activity. In the framework used in this thesis, it is understood that without productive activity, there would be no capital (or accumulation of capital), and no state framework that regulates capital. (Grundrisse)

Capital is understood as a form of money, as money by itself is not capital. The conditions of exchange, and basis of value define the difference between money and capital. The condition of exchange is an inquiry into the purpose of exchange. Money becomes capital

where the purpose of exchange is for further circulation and not consumption. The basis of value is two things. One is how value is created? And second, if value changes between instances of exchange. State is understood to have emerged from capital because it is an instrument through which capital is reproduced. State as a disciplinary structure reproduces the conditions that are essential for production which is capitalist in nature. (Marx, 1867)

Having understood the relation between production, capital, and state the political economy of Mumbai can be understood as follows.

- A historical conception of the city by the East India company
- Instituting a concept of property³, and creating a basis for commercial activity
- Establishment of instruments of state to regulate and grow commercial activity
- In the subsequent growth of commercial capital, through the instruments of state, provisioning the resources required for the development and expansion of capital (resulting in industrialisation of Mumbai)
- Development of industrial capital creating conditions for the subsumption of regional economies in that of the city
- “de-industrialisation” of the city as a narrative indicating change in the dominant form of production in the city from real production to fictitious production

1.3. City and region: Relating spatial formation and Political economy

From the previous elaboration it is understood that capital is a means of production. While forms of production, in forms of commodity, are necessary for the formation of capital, the relation goes back where capital is necessary for production to be possible. As capital is a means of production, the state is a relation of production. The state has capacity to

³ To understand if property is understood as commodity

ensure production. Another such relation of production is land. Land is considered as such because it is a crucial component of society. All forms of society have land as a component of social relations because it is necessary for production to take place. Farming, mining, building, and all sorts of activities require the conditioning of land by labour to enable that productive activity. This conditioning of land is understood here as a spatial formation. How does production result in spatial phenomena? A patch of land requires levelling, ploughing, physical analysis, and nurturing for it to be suitable for agricultural production. Thus, a farm is a spatial phenomenon. Similarly, the produce of a farm to be exchanged requires a marketplace, which needs to be conceptualised to account for that exchange to be possible. Thus, market is a spatial phenomenon. As state is an instrument of capital, it is necessary for the state to regulate land. This it does so through the conditioning of the relation of labor with land. Thus, a farm or a market conditioned by the state acquire politico-economic characteristics which produces another relation like the one between production and capital, and capital and the state. Capital, through the state, affects spatial production.

In reference to the study area, this can be understood in the form of systems of land assessment through different state frameworks. This is a way for the state to appropriate surplus production, and rent, consequently, extract labour power, for the purpose of exchange. Land assessment systems consider different factors in their design. They could be based off the factors mentioned above in relation to the farm. Where the payment of tax is proportional to the conditions of land and climate. While not explicitly of that nature, the *Khoti*⁴ system prevalent in Konkan region (coastal areas of Maharashtra state) did adjust tax payments for farms based on socio-economic conditions and suspend payments in times of crisis. In Mumbai, system of assessment was based on the monetary value of land as assessed by EIC⁵ officials. In Mumbai, the relation between production and space can be understood through development of port facilities and other infrastructure that could facilitate trade.

⁴ Name of revenue farming system

⁵ EIC: East India Company

1.4. Chapter summary

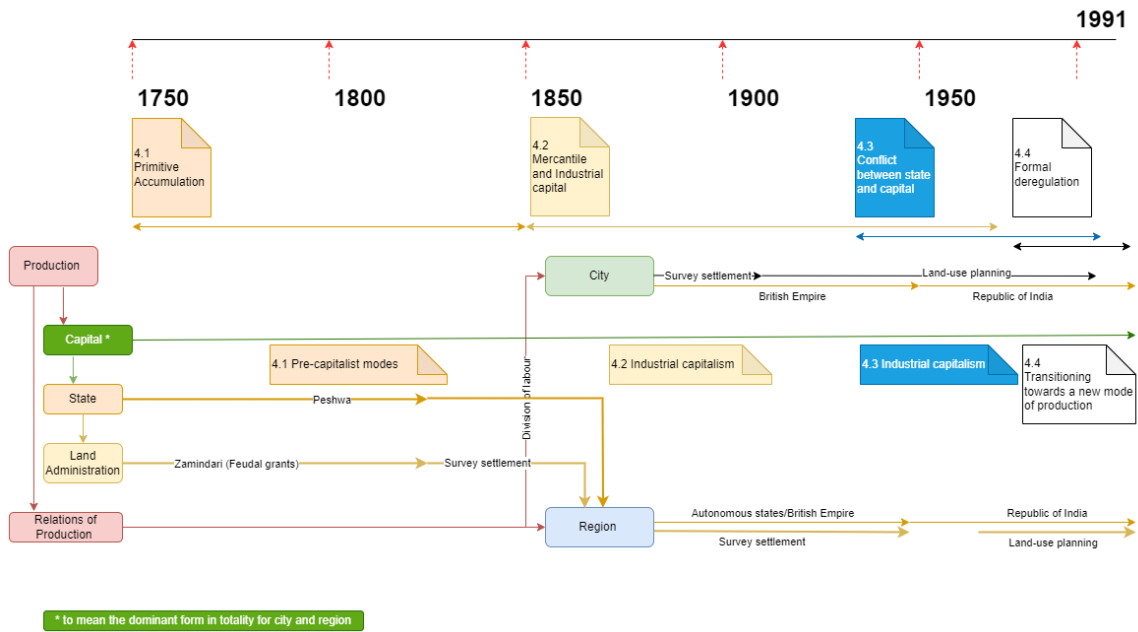


Fig 4: Chapter scheme and contents

2. Research Methodology

2.1. Research conception

The approach to study is broadly divided in four parts. The first two are the research concern and the research area. To explain the study, it is necessary to elaborate upon the reason it was conceived, before its implementation. The conception of the study is explained through the concern and area. The area is secondary to the concern since the concern can be studied in different contexts. The concern is broadly divided into two parts. One is the critique of political economy as understood in the Marxist conception, elaborated by Marx in the first volume of *Das Kapital* (1867). Second is the problematic of space which is understood through Henri Lefebvre's work in *Writings on the city* (1968) and *Production of Space* (1974). Lefebvre's work on space is significant because of how he presents it as a problematisation of Marx's work in three volumes of capital.

While Marx's study was conducted with data available to him in the 19th century, and largely concerns the context of England and the British empire, Lefebvre's work emerges out of a history of Paris, and May 1968 events therein. The commonality between the two is that both the studies concerned the immediate context of the author's living conditions. Marx lived in Britain and Lefebvre in Paris. Other commonality is Paris, or broadly the French revolution, which are integral to the theoretical developments of Marx and Lefebvre. Thus, it was thought a suitable context for study should be Mumbai, considering its relation to the author is this study. The choice of works, broadly showing fidelity to the work of Marx, put together a common history that originates in the principals of the French revolution, the developments in political economy in the post-industrialisation world, and concerns Britain and India.

The other two parts are theory and history. For this part, assuming Marx's work as a focal point, a guiding work was that of Jairus Banaji titled "Theory as History". This book is a collection of essays that were written since the 1970s, primarily originating from the time

of the national emergency⁶ invoked by Indira Gandhi in 1975. Apart from being located in a similar historical and locational context, the book provided a guiding principle in being able to locate the four parts in a chronology. It, along with the works of Marx, shapes the research as thought, giving an understanding that while the research area precedes the research concern, theoretical understanding precedes history. Being able to understand and articulate this logic, it was easier to read history for the purpose of this study.

2.2. Data collection

In this manner, it was easier to collect the necessary data and conceive a chapter scheme. The chapters are conceived as firstly providing a theoretical framework, and secondly, the historical description which is understood through the theoretical framework. Thus, work was collected to augment further the theoretical framework described previously. This now comprising of the works of Karl Marx, which additionally to Volume 1 of *The Capital*, include the volume 3 of *Das Kapital* which was necessary to understand Marx's conception of "fictitious capital", which was referred to by Lefebvre in *Production of Space* and by Cedric Durand in his work titled *Fictitious capital*. These provide an understanding for what is meant by fictitious capital and help in elaborating and contextualising Lefebvre's notion of illusory space. David Harvey's works *Urban processes under capitalism (1987)*, *New Imperialism (2003)*, *Rebel cities (2012)* which derive from Lefebvre's work in *writings on the city* and provide an analysis of global events that precede the 2008 crash. Harvey does not locate the causes of the crisis in the immediate American housing market but illustrates the history of cyclical events of a similar nature in the world since the 1970s. It was influential in drawing an elongated picture of Mumbai since the 18th century as the intention was to locate the cause of contemporary crisis as continuous historic development. The intent was based on Harvey's work doing the same for Paris, and New

⁶ National emergency was a constitutional prerogative through which regular parliamentary and constitutional procedure could be suspended

York (to an extent), and from Durand's work which traces a genealogy of the concept of fictitious capital in his work.

Regarding history, the data collection involved looking at works that deal with history in different periods. While the theoretical works help define the periods (not directly mapped on a timeline) history is read through authors that do not necessarily situate their works in the Marxist theory. Thus, the periods concern the dominant form of production which are as follows

2.2.3. Primitive accumulation and Pre-capitalist modes of production

This chapter provides a historical understanding of production mechanisms in Maharashtra during the era of Maratha empire. It is (for most part) a description of land reform and administration in that era through which production is understood. The works referred here broadly conform to Marx's method, but some like those of Arjun Appadurai, Nicholas Dirks, and Richard Eaton, fall into the post-modern school of thought which deviates from Marx's work. The deviation is a result of their own critique of Marx's work which they consider to be centring economics above all.

2.2.4. Mercantile and Industrial production and capital

The concern here is to explain how capital accumulation in the previous period, which is an ongoing process, is subordinated into networks of trade, as production itself becomes subservient to trade. The merchant's capital transitions into (as investment) industrialisation of Mumbai in a process that can be described as voluntary. Here the works of Morris D. Morris, Kitani, and Rajnarayan Chandavarkar take a slightly different version of history specially to do with the word 'voluntary'. These differences, among others, are used to construct the history of this period, which starts in the 1840s and goes on as a dominant form of production in the city till the 1970s.

2.2.5. Conflict between state and capital

This chapter discusses the period in which the independence of India is negotiated and then implemented, providing an understanding of the motivations of national, regional, and urban actors and the role they play in the conception of the nation state. While Vivek Chibber's work is key to understanding urban situation, the work of authors like Pallavi

Chavan, Mala Lalvani, Francine Frankel, Gail Omvedt provides national and regional context, especially to with the relations of production.

2.2.6. Prelude to formal deregulation

Here the impetus is to elaborate on the concept of illusory space and illusory production in the form of theory which was necessary for political actors to chart a course towards the liberalisation of the national economy. The work of Vivkek Chibber, Jairus Banaji, and Rohini Hensman are used as primary references, with the theoretical background from Lefebvre, to illustrate this period

2.3. Analytical Framework

To conclude the work in discussing the findings of the case study, another body of work is used, which concerns a discourse on development of the study area. This is used to contrast the work done in chapter 3 and chapter 4 to articulate the differing notions of history which shape contemporary politics and policy.

2.4. Limitations

Since the scope of the case study lasts over a period of over 200 years, two relations of production which are land administration and land as property have been prioritised over others. Thus cultural, religious, and political specificities in all four eras are relegated to the background and are only referenced to the primary concerns. The work Dr B R Ambedkar⁷ has been referred to at various points, as an important relation of production, but it has not been centred. While these exclusions limit a fuller understanding of spatial and economic phenomena, the prioritisation of land as the principal relation of production, was considered necessary to be able to give a picture of history within the research concern.

⁷ Indian politician, political philosopher, and an author of works tracing the genealogy of the concept of caste

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. The problematic of the city and the region



Fig 5: Map of the Bombay presidency in 1909, indicative of Maharashtra state (region)

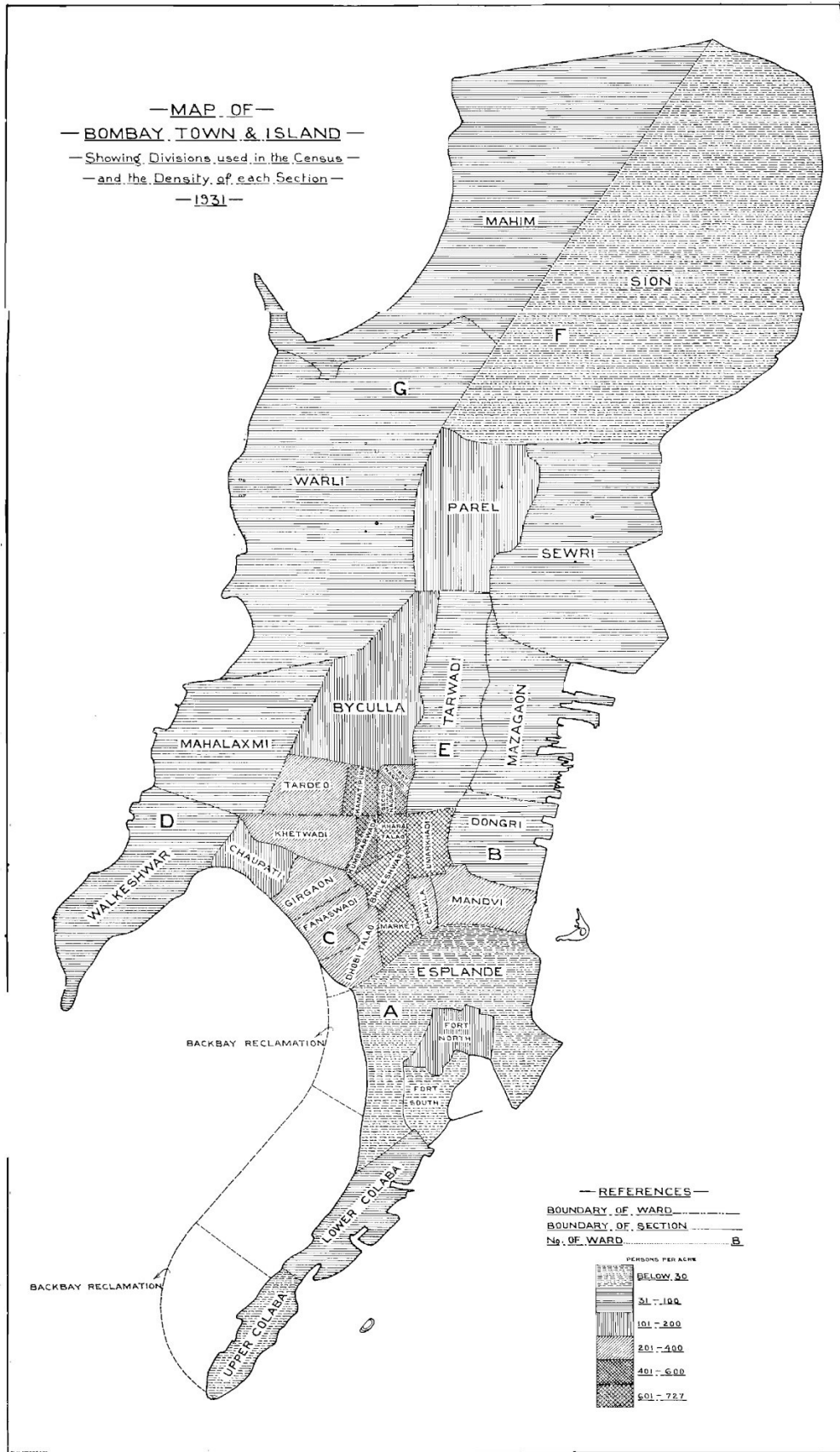


Fig 6: Map of the Bombay city in 1931

In the introduction, the city and the region were understood as a contradiction. Here it is necessary to understand the specificity of the contradiction. It will be understood as division of labour, which separates the city from the region. That is the condition of the subordination of the region in the city. Division of labour is literal in the space and is the logic of production of space. It is literal in space in the form of specific productive activities like agriculture, artisanship, and husbandry (among other things) being conformed to the region (as dominant forms of production). Industry, and financial services being (again, dominant forms) productive activities in the city. While the category of rural is generally associated to spaces that have agriculture as a dominant activity, that category is considered untenable. The idea of rural/pastoral is not considered since the production precedes the state in the framework used for this study. "Rural" is a category of the state, which requires elaboration of concepts like "urbanisation" which, here, can be explained as a form of speculative valorisation⁸ within the state framework.

Division of labour is a condition of production. A condition, among others, that is necessary for the logic of production (in general) to be possible. Division of labour facilitates the activity of production in its various forms, like the labour of winnowing and husbandry need different skill and knowledge sets to be performed and are thus performed by those who possesses the skill. That is a form of division of labour. Another form is found in the factory, where different tasks require people to complete them, and thus labour is divided. Labour, thus, can be divided on the basis of skill, trade, knowledge, or for the performance of task. The latter is categorized as the spending of labour power⁹, while the former three are categorized as spending of labour¹⁰. Labour itself is a means of production, while division of labour (or labour power) is a condition of production. Together, they can provide understanding of the mode of production.

The mode of production is understood as the dominant mode of production in a given context. While these formulations are to be understood in totality, in other words in the global context, they could be used to understand local context, as any difference between

⁸ Having value the basis of which is rooted in speculation

⁹ Physical capacity to do work

¹⁰ Work as such

the local and the global is an internal¹¹ contradiction. Thus, a within a context, guided by the division of labour, dominant mode of production is different for the city and the region. This much is true in case of Mumbai (the city), and Maharashtra (region), where the dominant form of production in the city is different to that in rest of the state. The reason to conceptualise the city and the state, is to articulate the history of Mumbai and Maharashtra in these terms. Lefebvre articulates this logic in the context of western Europe and further states, “... the town was conceptualised ...”, indicating fact and need in the same sentence (Lefebvre H., 1991, pg. 269). The fact was the conception of town that he documents in the context of western Europe, and the need is the one he indicates as a task to be done for other contexts.

The mode of production is different for the city. The East India Company, which was allowed operations in the island, had set up minor factory operations there. These operations were modest, and in effort to increase these operations they enabled migration of commercial activity from other ports of the subcontinent to Bombay. Eventually this expanded from being a port, to a market, towards industrialisation of the city. The dominant mode of production here was first mercantile (or commercial), and then industrial capitalism. In the regional context, the dominant form was agricultural production, but capital was being accumulated in the form of money lending and banking activity. Accumulation is another condition for production, and specifically capitalist production. Capitalist here is not the form of production, but the mode. Accumulation, along with division of labour, is a necessary condition for capitalism production. Accumulation of capital, yes, but really the accumulation of capital through the appropriation of labour power. Since it is an appropriation of a relation (or condition) of production it must be understood that, in the appropriation of labour power, the relation of production itself has been altered.

Another factor in this scheme to understand production is the state framework. State frameworks are secondary to capital, in that they emerge as a result of accumulation of capital. State exists as a means for capital to be reproduced, meaning the conditions of production which facilitate the formation and accumulation of capital, to be reproduced

¹¹ Which is inherent to the object

(Althusser L. 2014). A feudal state or a corporatist state¹², or the liberalised contemporary nation-state does not govern what mode of production will be dominant within it. While states enter into antagonistic relations with capital, i.e., alter the conditions of production through policy and legislation, they remain subservient to capital. They remain subservient to the dominant form of production. The Peshwa¹³ era state (or those that came before it) had instituted multiple frameworks of revenue farming, and yet they did not facilitate accumulation of capital. Yet, the same revenue farming systems, a century later, facilitate capital accumulation. What changed in the interregnum is the protagonist of the state. The state framework itself remains feudal (Banaji J., 2010). What accounts for the accumulation of capital? One explanation offered is the interregnum itself, where the transition between state protagonist create instability in the system of revenue collection, which produce a space for accumulation to be possible (Banaji J., 2010).

Thus, we arrive at a scheme for understanding production

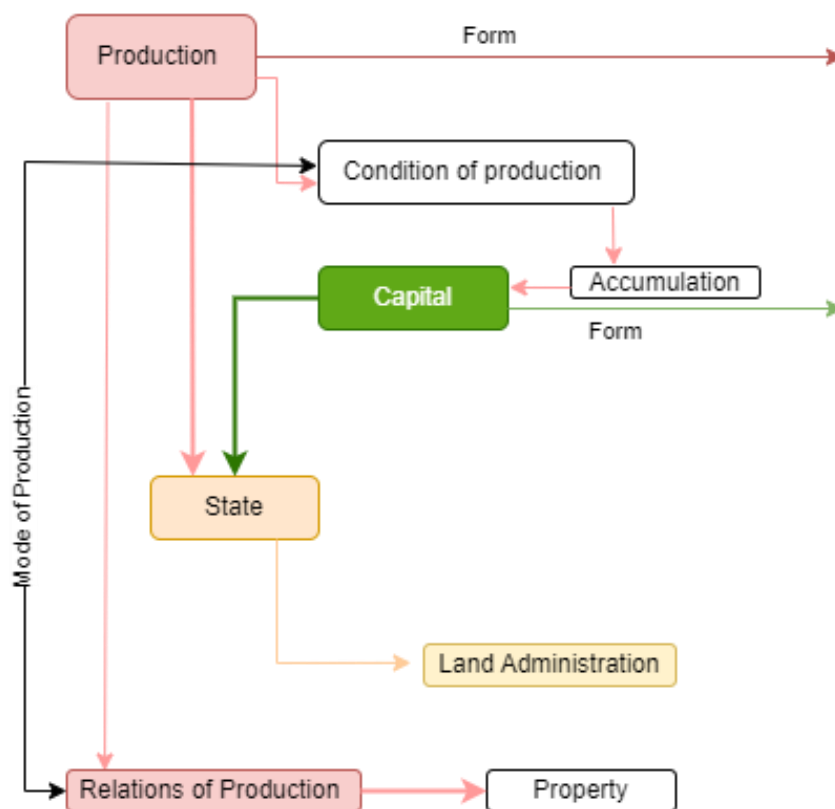


Fig 7: Hierarchy of concepts

¹² To describe the authority of the East India Company (a private corporation) to form a state mechanism

¹³ Prime ministers of Maratha monarchs, who acquired de facto authority from 18th century onwards

It was necessary to understand production (and the hierarchy of concepts) to be able to understand production in the city

3.2. Real and illusory production in the city

In fig 7., the two arrows that lead out from Production into empty space have the descriptor 'form' above them. In this chapter the term 'form(s) of production' will be given further qualification. Since the capital falls in that place in the hierarchy, the forms of production will appear as forms of capital as well. The significant qualification that this chapter will apply is to two different descriptions of the word 'form'. While in the previous chapter forms of production was resolved as it being the description of the productive activity itself, another qualification can be added to understand the nature of productive activity. Forms of production can be understood as real or fictitious. This is because capital is understood to be real or fictitious (Marx K. 1894).

To accommodate this matter into the hierarchy of concepts, production preceding capital does not limit it from acquiring qualities from capital. But it is to be understood that capital being fictitious does not necessarily indicate fictitious production. This goes the other way round as well; fictitious production does not indicate fictitious capital. To clarify, it is necessary to understand what is meant by the word fictitious. In the third volume of Capital, Marx elaborates that financial instruments exist that assure money in the future. That capital can be spent when the return on the investment is not immediate. These kinds of instruments are neither new (as Marx notes of their existence in 19th century, and Banaji in the 16th century) nor restricted to a particular form of production. They exist to facilitate production in numerous forms. What constitutes fictitious production is its existence in the form of commodity as its own form of production (Durand, 2014). Thus, there is fictitious capital and fictitious production.

The one form of fictitious production we are concerned with in this study, is that of space. The production of fictitious space. Lefebvre calls it "illusory space" and attributes to it "objective falseness of space" (Lefebvre, 1991, pg. 298). Lefebvre makes a critique of disciplinary practices which facilitate the creation of such spaces. The contention is that

production through these practices, which Lefebvre calls “specular”, to infer speculative, leads to speculative valorisation of the contents of that space as well as the product of that space (Lefebvre, 1991, pg. 300). This conception has a lasting impact on our world that has most prominently been understood through the fall out of the 2008 financial crisis (Durand, 2014). But that doesn't mean that it cannot be understood in other contexts as Harvey demonstrates through his elaboration on the “urban roots for capitalist crisis” comparing the events of property market crash in 1973, U.S. credit crisis in 1980s, Banking crisis in Sweden in 1992, and the crisis in south-Asia in 1997 (Harvey, 2012, pg. 30-31).

Another form of illusory production that concerns us is that of knowledge, which tends to be the product of illusory spaces. Spaces, due to being illusory, do not prepare their inhabitants of material consequences of their work (Lefebvre, 1992). The illusory nature of these spaces, free of a material or geometrical basis, tends to insulate their inhabitants from the effects of the consequences of state action as well (Lefebvre, 1992). In plainer terms, what is being referred to here is the thought-spaces created by practices that are academic or “consultative” in nature, and in the confines of the academy, are sheltered from, material reality of state action (Goodman, 1971). This will be discussed in the context of deregulation of liberalisation of the Indian economy in 1991. The discussion will pertain not to the aftermath of liberalisation which has been considered primary the cause of the 2008 global financial crash (Harvey, 2012; Durand 2014). The discussion will pertain to productive activity in illusory spaces, that conceptualised and saw through the legal legitimisation of the reforms of 1991.

A market, or the idea of market, a space where exchange is possible, or things can be parted/divided to be taken away, is the basic unit of trade. The word continues to be used irrespective of having any physical equivalent or having to do with the trade of tangible items. The disassociation from the tangible, from being a physical space which can be seen and inhabited by people, is opportune. Markets can be set up, as money was, on paper, where the things being exchanged are exceedingly subtracted from reality (Marx K. & Engels F. 1967). The idea of obscuring capital through distribution holds here because the effort is directed, it would seem, from transactions or exchanges becoming increasingly incomprehensible, not only intellectually, but sensorially. What cannot be felt, cannot be

understood and that which is not understood cannot be thought to affect.

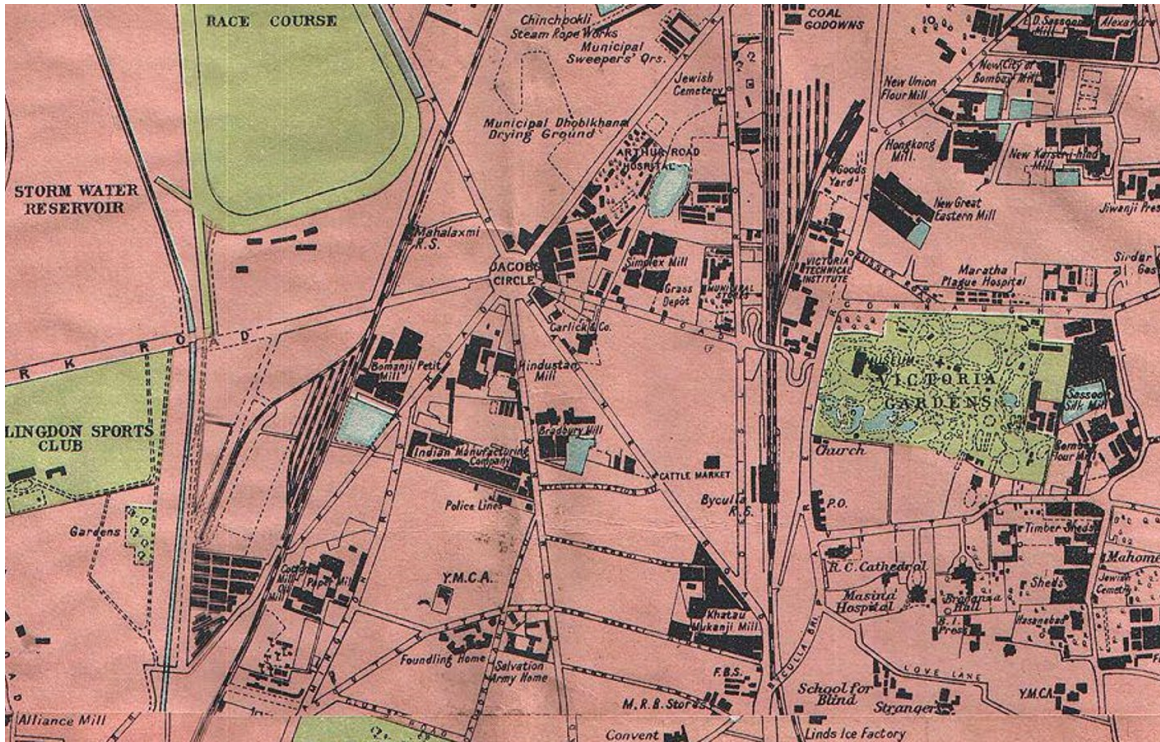


Fig 8: Indicative land-use map of Bombay in 1895 (detail)

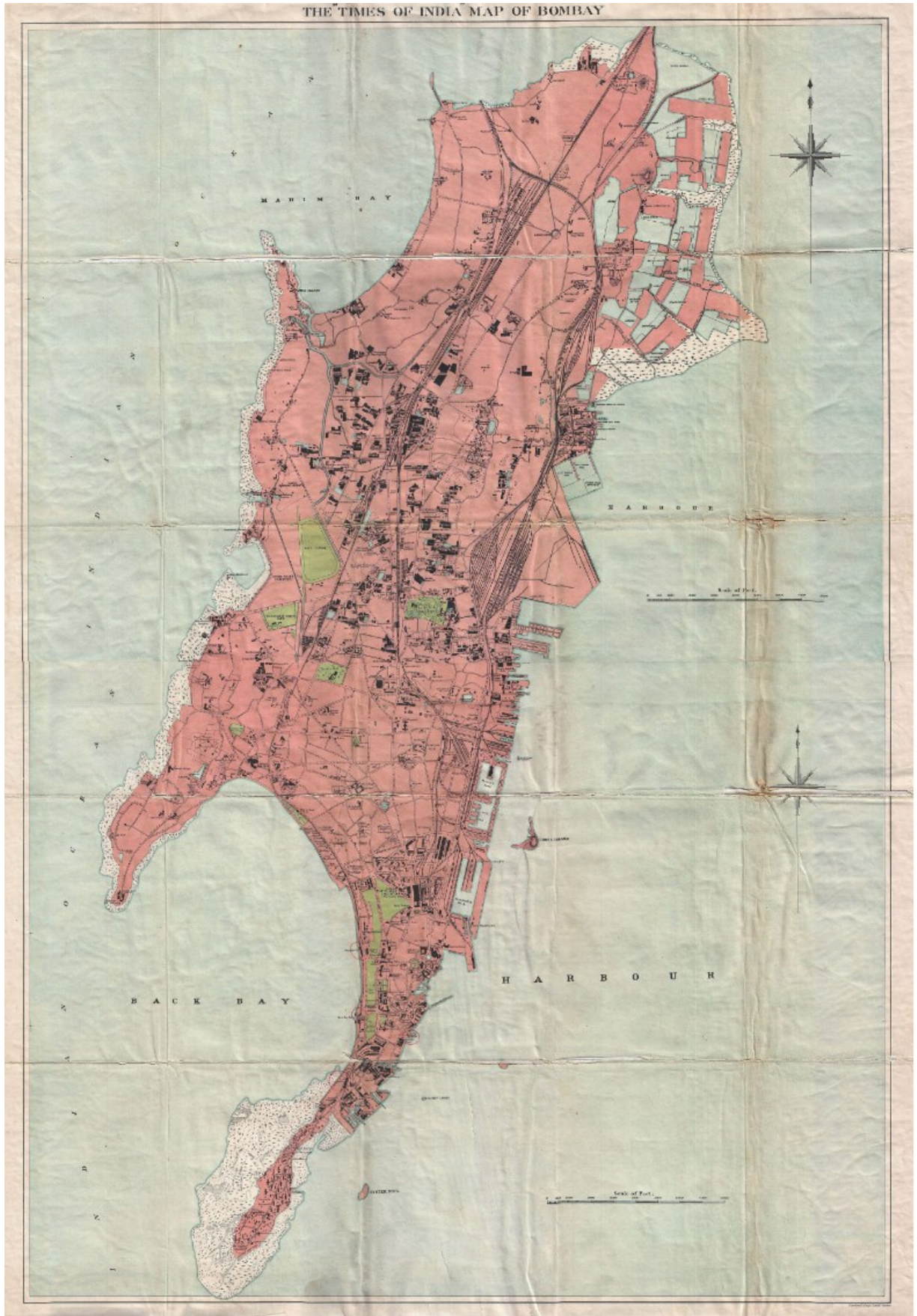


Fig 9: Indicative land-use map of Bombay in 1895

3.3. Impact of accumulation of capital on space and people

3.3.1. Land reform

In fig 7., another relation of production has been mentioned, i.e., property. Property is not the same as land since land has not always been understood as a commodity which can be bought and sold. Land in revenue administrations of Maharashtra*¹⁴ was transferred from person to person through different social relations like that of state bureaucracy, religion, and caste (Banaji, 2010). Land conceptualised as property did exist in some of these administrations, as land was compartmentalised into state, personal, and institutional property, but it wasn't conceptualised as commodity. It was passed through contracts to aid administration and was regulated by the state. The conceptualisation of land as commodity changes impacts both state and capital, since it is in this conception of private property, that can be bought and sold without state permit, is what facilitates accumulation. Accumulation of land, and thus agricultural production, and capital is a condition of production in the region. It is necessary for accumulation to occur for it affects all aspects of trade that is carried out through the city. While the contextual reasons for this lie in how land was valued, and thus taxed, it is a condition of production that becomes the basis for future land reform measures (Chibber 2003; Banaji, 2010).

¹⁴ Maharashtra is the name of the state, parts of which were part of the Bombay state. Maharashtra is used, like Mumbai (which had different name as well) to maintain continuity with present geography

3.3.2. Displacement and dispossession: impact on labour in changing conditions of production

The issue of financial speculators, or simple those who engage in speculation as a means of, or in the hope of, expanding their wealth is key to this chapter. While in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis general acknowledgement of their presence in the society, and their critique as the people largely responsible for it may have increased, they have been around for a long time. Since the 16th century, financial speculators have found ways of expanding capital with the aid of various instruments like stocks, bonds, loans, mortgage, options contracts, futures contracts, derivative contracts, some of which have predate the time of Elizabeth I. The development of paper money, where economies transitioned from forms of fiat currency, was considered as a risk to financial stability of British empire. Durand, while charting the genealogy of the concept of fictitious capital, mentions the public mention of concern from aristocracy over this transition (Durand, 2017).

Conservative economist Friedrich Hayek found himself in the position to consider that excess of credit, which led to inability to conceive use and allocation for it, led to an economic crisis. Marx refers to speculation highlighting, at first, the disassociation it facilitates from reality. In the aftermath of the introduction of the idea of paper money, which the British aristocracy distrusted for its potential to encourage risky behaviour, financial speculation was not absent from their concerns. The disassociation of commodity (a raw material in this instance) from its physical, i.e., material form, could result in it being lost for production of capital, intermediate, and consumer goods in the economy from which it was extracted (Durand, 2017).

Going back to Hayek, and his understanding on excess credit, the question of excess creates difficulties because it cannot be allowed to stagnate. Excess is then put into circulation, becoming capital, producing, what Marx calls “illusory”, lines of credit (Marx K. 1894, pg. 334). These can be extended to create new ventures, or since they are now commodity itself, can also be traded in a marketplace. The thing to note here, is that the excess exists, and without any room for it to be circulated, will create multiple problematics for its holder (or hoarder). These problematics are answered through various instruments of circulation, where capital (“money as means of production and

labour power”) or codified forms of wealth, which help capitalists distribute it, thereby obscuring its existence (Marx, 1867, pg.124). The instruments of circulation, like the means of production and the modes of production, are subject to evolve with productive forces.

What is to be exchanged in the market is as intangible as the market is or came to be so. While the Elizabethan era markets of speculative products may have contained some equivalents of the financial instruments exchanged in the present, they were being traded in a marketplace that ran on the resources present in the 17th century. What facilitates circulation changes. The EIC had to create infrastructure in the hopes of attracting merchants to its port over trading from Mughal or Maratha ports. To be able to profit from this exercise, they had to resort to methods that would not conform with common law with respect to labour or private property in Britain (Ambedkar, 2007). Without infrastructure trade would not have been possible.

But what makes the investment possible to begin with? Surplus value is created with the unfair compensation and means of intimidation, but for that value to be created there must be a reserve to begin with. The possibility of threat used to extract labour out of Indian people, or trading contracts from local aristocracy could not be extended to the European industrialist from whom necessary knowledge and “skilled labour” would have to be bought.

Colonisation as a framework to assess exploitation is helpful, but it tends to attract attention to the aspect of race, religion, social relations, and domination, rather than allowing for an elaboration of the political economies of the colonial power, and the colonised power. The capacity of the state to use violence against its subjects, for reasons that fall in the domain of cultural production, is not unique to that period. Nor is it unique that particular form of accumulation. State capacity to do direct physical violence is one tool among others, which it is provided to by the capital that holds the state together.

Violence becomes real, that is it is not real in its capacity to be performed by the state through whatever tools capital provides it with, it only becomes real when it produces the effect of it being thought or having been performed. Violence is only real as long as it is able to affect change to the relations of production, and in that case, a allusion to what

harm could be, is sufficient (Teltumbde, 2010; Banaji, 2010). The ability to fight exploitation or forces of accumulation are not possessed without organisation. The cultivators in Deccan who were being disposed of their lands, and place in a developed mode of production, did not lead to peasant revolts, as the disposed were being absorbed into another network of circulation. They were also unable to organise due to the social relations into which they were born. While the usurer's capital could dispossess hereditary cultivators, this dispossession was limited to its material dimension, in that the peasant was disposed of the ability to produce and exchange commodity (Banaji, 2010). The immaterial, the transcendental¹⁵ dimension of man's location in the relations of production, his caste, he was not dispossessed of. There was no way, juridical or ideological to be free of caste.

Violence in such cases becomes systemic, that is it becomes apparent, like capital, at both ends of the cycle of circulation. In Deccan, this can be understood in the development of usurer's capital. The usurer is not inserted into the situation and does not shift from larger or agglomerated spatial configurations into smaller but emerges from within the conditions which he subordinates. The dispossession from land of the cultivator creates a disruption in the dynamics of production. The cultivator, ordinarily having an independent assignment, or right to farm in the changing state formations and systems of administrations, is destitute and thus must choose between indentured servitude to the usurer in his place of origin or resign to other means through which the debt can be paid. The form through which debt is commoditised changes depending upon the complexity of market conditions, but the debt obligation in the case of 19th century peasantry was fulfilled by region-wide dispossession from land and sense of property.

As with the 'doctrine of lapse' the system of credit in the domain of agricultural production was able to use the various market instruments to dispossess cultivators from their lands and assignments, creating large agglomerations of land and capital (Sen, 2006) (Banaji, 2010). The challenge this creates for capital is the absorption of the proletariat into a network of circulation, where a new logic of division of labour can be activated. The dispossessed cultivators who were absorbed into the farming system, were bound to their

¹⁵ Refers to its place in Hindu religious texts.

debt, but the nature of that accumulation did not leave a necessity for so many to be absorbed. The merchant's capital on the other hand, was unable to produce a space within its logic of production since it was confined to the finite idea of trade. The merchant's profits had no correlation to how many people it needed to employ for the growth of the profit. Since the merchant was merely appropriating the agricultural production, it had no need to go about deploying forms of violence to achieve those goals. That systemic violence was already being performed by the financial services industry in the region.

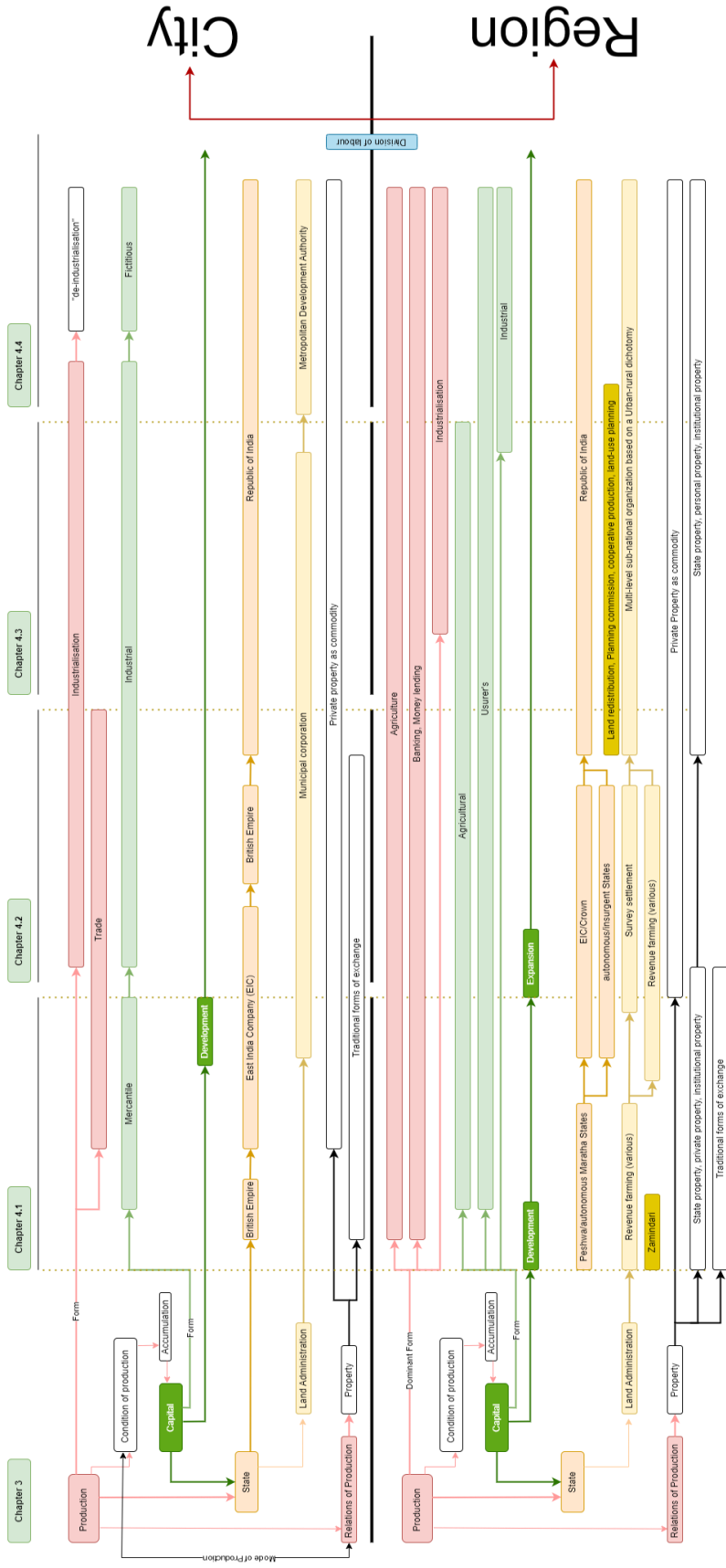


Fig 10: scheme for chapter 3 and 4 (Refer to Appendix 1)

4. Case Study

4.0. Scheme for sub-chapters

The case study is presented following the scheme in fig 9. This is a categorisation of historical information to illustrate how concepts of hierarchy implied in the diagram are realised in the study.

Thus, every chapter will have the following common structure:

1. The nature of production
2. Forms of production
3. Form of capital
4. Resulting state-formation
5. The relation of production that are operational underneath

While these concepts have been elaborated upon in chapter 3, reading them in history should provide a more comprehensive picture of what they mean, and why they fall in that hierarchy.

4.1. Primitive Accumulation and pre-capitalist modes of production in the region: Maharashtra between 18th and 19th centuries

Nature of production

In Grundrisse, Marx says “No production possible without an instrument of production, even if this instrument is only the hand. No production without stored-up, past labour ...” These are the conditions for production which are necessary for the market to be populated by items for trade. Without production there will be no trade. Agricultural production requires implements for ploughing, harvesting, irrigation, and so on. Creation of value is based upon the one who *labours* being able to labour (Marx, 1857, pg. 19).

In the period before the third Anglo-Maratha War¹⁶ of 1818, the productive activities in the Maratha country were agriculture, and trade. Trade was in import and export, between the Maratha empire¹⁷ and the East India Company. The trade included exchange of processed as well as unprocessed goods. To infer from that, a factory¹⁸ production environment was present in major urban centres like Pune (Mahajan, 1982).

Production is understood to be governed by state, and religion. These manifested as the revenue administration, and societal framework which provided rules for production and social behaviour. This is the case in Maratha country. Production then is understood to be real, that is an illusory form of capital or finance is neither essential nor dominant in this era, and in this area of study (Mahajan, 1982; Washbrook, 1988). Production appears in forms which restrict financial activity to the domain of state bureaucracy (Eaton, 2005).

In the city, production is in the domain of ideology, as the city as a *thought-object* is being conceived. In simple terms, The East India Company, having acquired relevant contracts from the British Empire to conduct business on the empire’s behalf, proceeds to develop

¹⁶ Three wars were fought this being the third and the last one

¹⁷ While the name of the empire is Maratha, its supreme authority was Peshwa. The Peshwa were a family belonging to caste Brahmin. Feudatories like Gaikwad, Shinde, were not Brahmin and ranked lower in social hierarchy. This was a cause of antagonism between the Peshwa and the feudatories.

¹⁸ Pre-industrial production

trading ports on the eastern and western coasts of India. The reference to the city as a thought-object comes from it being a category for the East India company. The company developed multiple ports, not just one, and all these developments served the same purpose. The purpose being helping the Company have a political base through which it should be able to conduct trade as well as issue currency (Washbrook, 1988). Bombay is developed later than Calcutta and Madras, with industrialisation and mechanisation of production having already been attempted in Kolkata in 1830s (Morris, 1983). The point being, here the city is produced—as a concept—in a predetermined conceptualisation.

Land administration and conception of property are governed by the state and religious institutions as a collective political coalition. This refers to the office of Peshwa, the de facto central authority, advancing an orthodox modality of Hinduism through which the division of labour is conceived and implemented (Omvedt, 1982).

There are certain areas of overlap in categorisations like caste, which could be understood in two ways: as a relation of production which creates a juridical code to assign (hereditary) profession to labour (facilitating the ‘division of labour’), acting as a binding social force; and also a means of production since it directly facilitates production and exploitation whereby labour power is extracted with no monetary compensation (Ambedkar B R & Teltumbde, 2017).

Forms of Production

An Indigenous fishing community inhabited Bombay before the East India Company occupied it. Having given significant description of the industrial and pre-industrial workers, discussion on the fishing community was scarce in the sources availed for this study. The fishing community identifying as *Koli* retains coastal land in the contemporary city, but its livelihoods has always been at risk by large infrastructure projects. These infrastructure projects range from the initial ship building factories, land reclamation, to more recent projects marketed by the state as efforts to decongest the city (Indorewala et al, 2017). The Company’s city building efforts were in a nascent stage of development compared to regional economy of Maratha country. This is not to indicate that complex

building projects were not taken up (Chopra, 2012). Company found success in its efforts in city building after the demise of the Maratha empire (Chandavarkar, 1994).

This is set in parallel to regional developments where the process of expansion of capital is not yet located in the city. Regional markets of Khandesh, and Marathwada¹⁹ have independent trajectories which are in line with the imperial hold on those areas. The later subordination of these relations, especially with respect to cotton production in Khandesh informs the range of influence that industrialisation by the Company will command (Mahajan 1989; Banaji 2010).

In addition to agriculture, these economies had robust banking and financial services frameworks. Apart from that, the changing nature of the Maratha Empire, due to the conflict of the Maratha nobles, and the Peshwa caused multiple market uncertainties. War, between the Maratha and the Company as well as the Company's commercial provocations, resulted in migration (Guha A., 1981) The market certainties along with communal²⁰ migration led to evolving nature of trade activity. To mean that the conception of trade changed as communities broke and were re-built (Washbrook, 1988).

Form of Capital

In the Mumbai the treatment of Indigenous peoples who were the historical owners and tillers of those areas produced a development pattern. Similar treatment was reserved for those that belonged to non-capitalist classes. People belonging to non-capitalist classes tended to be moved around and resettled for the convenience of capital (Rao, 2013). Commodity expansion occurred at varying rate because of the difficulties faced by colonial officials in conducting land surveys. The factors affecting subsumption of labour into capital depend, as Marx indicated, on the relations of production in totality, thus, here they manifest in the initial struggle by Company officials to settle Mumbai (Chandavarkar, 1994; Marx K. & Engels F. 1967). Colonial officers faced difficulty in

¹⁹ Khandesh is a region in northern Maharashtra comprising of Jalgaon, Nandurbar, and Dhule districts. Marathwada is the part of Maharashtra state appropriated from the erstwhile Hyderabad state with a separate historical and cultural development.

²⁰ Related to religion. Here it indicates the migration of traders from Gujrat belonging to different religious and caste groups (as well as commercial guilds) and settling together as a class formation in Mumbai as well as other Maharashtra ports (Guha A., 1983)

conducting land surveys in areas occupied by Indigenous peoples due to open hostilities, and terrain which delayed the subordination of that land and peoples (Calman, 1987). The categorisation of the Indigenous peoples (or the plains farmers) as serfs or slaves changes the way the region of production is understood as being subordinated to interests of capitalists trading in the port of Mumbai (Calman, 1987). The characterisation is of consequence when examining the relations that would change as Company surveyors were able to subjugate the Warli*²¹ population and create tenancy to govern production. The development of the city and region appears in conjunction to each other, as the development of the city as a commercial centre changes the subsequent history of the region.

Commercial activities comprising of trading and financial services co-exist with revenue farming practices in northern Maharashtra through the 18 to 19th centuries. The latter is used as reasoning for calling these areas as being in a pre-capitalist mode of production, but that classification is only applicable in relative comparison to the city. Using usury capital, the exploitative credit systems, farms were consolidated as was the income from those farms to grow the usury and commercial capital in regional economies. Although it is becoming a dominant form of capital, accumulation occurs in the period of transition between the Peshwa and Company administrations. The decay of authority, and the time taken in its replacement allows for the relations of production to be augmented and the mode of production and, thus, the form of capital to transition (Morris, 1983). This is the same instability which allows for large scale migration and sociological changes in the first half of the 19th century. While these processes begin in the end of the 18th century, they acquire a class character in the period of transition (Morris, 1983). It must be noted that capital can enable changes to be made to orthodox religious and ideological forces in this context, where merchant communities undergo “reform” (Guha A. 1983; Banaji, 2020).

The pre-capitalist methods of accumulation remained active and gained maturity in the latter half of the 19th century, and in some cases even later in the 20th century. The aspect of transition is key to this study because it is instrumental in highlighting how regional development is shaped within that economic space. The formation of regions

²¹ Name of Adivasi community

corresponding to a central authority, results from this process of expansion of capital over the region (Sanyal, 2011).

In northern Maharashtra and in the “suburban” region (spread out over three districts) of Mumbai through the latter half of the 19th century, the colonial administration oversaw a change in land administration which changed the revenue receipts being calculated on the basis of feudal grants of “gift” or “*jagir*” to the price of land calculated on the basis of the pattern of production, facilitating a process of accumulation (Dirks, 1986; Banaji, 2010). This accumulation benefitted both the Indian capitalist farmer, the usurer and the banking class, along with the Company who was to be the primary beneficiary (Chandavarkar R. 1994). The account of this process, in colonial documentation, has a character of mere observation, but it also reveals a logic of surveillance and disciplining (Banaji, 2010; Appadurai, 1996). It also draws a parallel with the disciplinary²² planning framework instituted through the planning commission in post-independence India (Chibber, 2008; Appadurai, 1996) This process of primitive accumulation, which would eventually transition into industrial capital in the 1960s, is key to understanding of the regional development

Markets exist in all manner of administrative areas since trade is a fundamental social relation. Markets also make its constitutive instruments thinkable and operable at all levels of the state’s framework. Instruments like debt, credit, rent, mortgage, loans are necessary for a market to grow in complexity. Debt is referenced in the case of 16th century poet-philosopher Tuka²³, where his being in debt loses social standing, as well as family members to starvation or fall outs of the market mechanism (Eaton, 2005). A juridical record from that time documents the effect of debt on administrative (political) appointments, where a village headman loses his position due to a trial bought upon him by a moneylender (Eaton, 2005). Credit was bestowed, as is the contemporary practice, through the authority of bankers and the state. Appointment of bankers was guided by the caste practices (religious practices), so also the extension of credit depending on the

²² Economic planning which sets up development controls to regulate or “discipline” market entities

²³ Mentioned here as a chronicler as well as early materialist philosopher. Commonly referred to as Tukaram. Accounts like these are useful to historical understanding of daily life as well as popular discourses in the 17th century

social station of the feudal lord. A king could be subordinated by bankers or lawyers (traditional caste-professions belonging to “upper castes”) in matters of extension of credit and the social status that is derived from it (Ambedkar, 1946).

“It first creates for itself the form required by subordinating agriculture to capital. It, thus, transforms feudal landed property, clan property, small peasant property in mark communes—no matter how divergent their juristic forms may be ...” Marx elaborates upon a scheme for capitalist accumulation which explains how it need not be hindered by the pre-existing social relations and forms of production (Marx, vol 3 chp. 32, pg. 461). To extract the exact economic character of colonialism from its cultural articulation, and to disallow any space for essentialist or nationalist claims, it will be suitable to analyse the initial activity of the English merchants working in Indian territory (Chibber, 2012). To analyse these claims purely as a matter of culture or direct armed violence creates a space for the economic purpose of that action, a space in which that information can be accumulated and then, for the purposes of simplicity or for the reproduction of that cultural logic, be forgotten (Chibber, 2012). Such spaces (or capital, or, in the hierarchical order, production) whether they are created by intent or out of neglect, will keep reappearing in recurring fashion across this discussion in their function in the reproduction of conditions of production (Lefebvre, 1990).

State formation

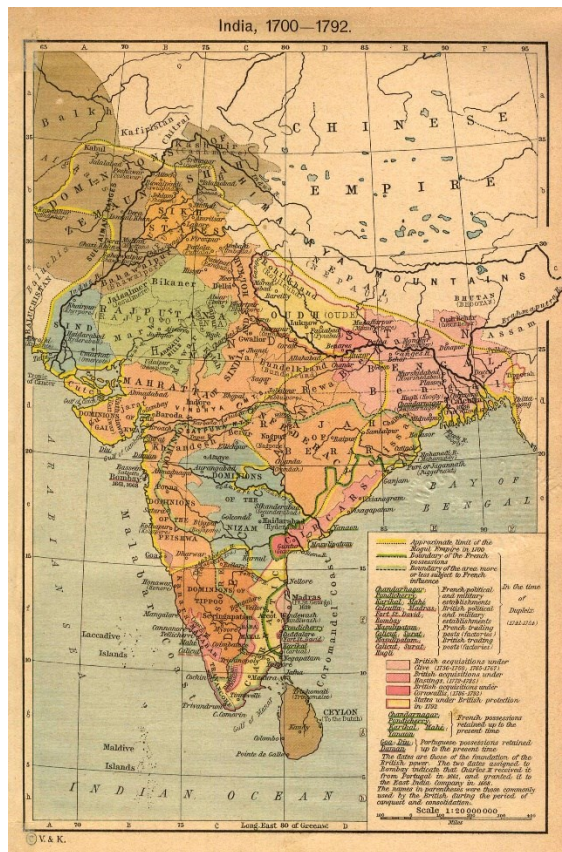


Fig 11: Maratha empire (1792)



Fig 12: British India (1871)

Urban history of the city of Bombay can be conceived from 1660 onwards. It became a British possession and was later administered by the British East India company (BEIC). After all company holdings were transferred to the crown, Bombay followed suite (Indorewala et al, 2017). In this time, it has changed various names given to it by the Portuguese, the English, the Indian state, indigenous population, and finally by the state of Maharashtra. Today it is identified as Mumbai. Regional cities like Nasik, Aurangabad, Jalgaon, Dhule, among others have a history of being urban centres even before the urban history of Mumbai begins. Immediately before becoming British possessions, these were a part of the Maratha confederacy, which was the de facto national power.

The decay of centralised authority in European empires and its relation to urban theory takes various turns. The consequences of the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries had far reaching impact on the development of modern thought. In the chronology of the French revolution, decaying authority of the lower strung of bureaucracy was at a maturity (Tocqueville, 2011). Feudal structures had long fallen apart, and pastoral political imaginaries were in the last stages of dying. The aftermath of the French revolution in the

19th century alongside similar developments in Germany and Britain, produced a political space which transitioned between centralised and decentralised authority (Marx K. 1963). Despite this, as historical turns go, the city was reimagined as a political project that was disassociated from its imperial garb.

This is a stage in history where a new line of thought emerged and the ways in which politics was thinkable, changed. Although such a thing is not unique to history, the transfer of this thought, in this instance, is intriguing. Knowledge not only transfers, but it grows, and in its materialist conception, it grows from experience. It grows from it being practiced as politics (Banaji, 1977). The decay of central authority has a historical parallel in India, and revolutionary imaginations emerged out of that decay. While they did not assume the form of the French revolution or produce urban imaginaries of the *city of London*, there is a kernel of those developments in the materialist discourses of Kabir, Tuka, and latterly of Phule²⁴ (Omvedt, 2008).

A significant stage of urban development in India comes between the passing of the 18th century and the early parts of the 19th century. Central authority was fading in Delhi, and within the Maratha empire. While this long process had its upheavals like those in France, as well as its ideological protagonists, it ends in the subordination of centralised authority of indigenous empires being replaced with a corporatist state in the commission of the British crown (Wink, A. 1983). In between this subjugation lies a period of transformation of relations of production prevalent within these dying empires. It precedes the time, creating a foundation for a new urban thought would emerge (Morris, 1983).

Safeguards that would include legal protection from harassment by feudatories or landlords, as well as provisions for relief are conceptualised in the erstwhile state (De Penha, 2020). The relief provisions were structural, in that they would be granted based on occurrence of famine, or a loss of crop from causes outside of peasant control. While this does not mean that the empires were progressive and absent of exploitation, only legal provisions and precedent for them having been deployed exists (De Penha, 2020; Banaji, 2010). Security (assurance from being harmed) was provided in forms of direct

²⁴ Social reformer in the 19th century

cash transfers, exemptions from land revenue, and the protection and construction of food reserves. These would act as financial security for the empire and its functionaries, for in the absence of labour, production is impossible. Labour is not required merely for subsistence (their own, and of the state entire) but also for surplus production. This excess is converted into capital for the functioning of the empire as empire. Excess can be circulated, in various ways, and used later to serve to provide security in times of crisis (Washbrook, 1963; Mahajan, 1986). The dialectical relation between its *being* and *becoming* is that of the assurance provided, and then through the practices by which it is possible for assurance to be provided.

Relations of production

The Maratha confederacy succeeded the Mughal empire as the national power, never officially appropriating all Mughal holdings, choosing to control over territories using a modified land revenue system. Land administration changed over time as the state apparatus changed with each successive administration making modifications, or, in the case of British, a complete overhaul of the system (Chandavarkar, 1994).

The introduction of the village headman, identified as *Patil*, points to another crucial relation of production, which was a system of land administration. This is the primary planning principle for centralised authorities to assess a particular administrative unit. Land administration systems kept changing within different state formations, where they were guided by the ideological force of religion (Brahminism in the later Maratha empire, and Islam in the late-Mughal empire), as well as temporary conditions of territorial control. While there was a planning framework for the state as such, evolving events at edge conditions would change how these administrations would function. For instance, both the Peshwa, and Nizam administrations would account for farms on their borders, as state revenue. Any change on those border conditions would reflect in the end of the year accounts (Wink, 1983). This is an elaborate administrative system where the *Patil* is one of the many functionaries. The previously mentioned bankers (*Kulkarnis*), accountants (*Deshpandes*), state assigned revenue farmer (*Deshmukhs*), all formed a hierarchy which would be responsible to the centralised administrations. These systems

of land administration were anchored in the process of revenue farming, where they were (changed from region to region) a revenue assignment as an obligation to the central authority (Wink, 1983).

Brecht's 'Leben des Galilei' has a scene in which Galileo is being castigated by a venetian "market regulator" for fooling venetian merchants into thinking that he had invented something, but, had only improved upon the invention of Dutch lens makers. Similarly, artisans being enamoured by regional circuits of trade would end up binding themselves to merchant's capital (Washbrook) in effective self-entrapment.

The Peshwa state combined smaller administrative divisions into a larger administrative unit, or understood in another way, assigned subservient economic units to enlarge reproduction in the core (Wink, 1983). In Maratha town planning, multiple *wadi* or a *Majara*²⁵ as rural administrative units would be absorbed into a larger *Mauje*. The economies of the smaller units grow till a point where they are large enough to be absorbed into the large unit (Mahajan, 1983). Such a system, adversely impacts the potential for development and relations of production in economies that are eventually subdued, produces a precedent for their reproduction, solidifies the instruments to facilitate the consolidation, and creates bureaucracies to whom the contradictions involved in such accumulation is invisible.

The reason to acquire an understanding of *production in general* from the 18th century onwards, is rooted in the tricky conception of primitive accumulation and the framework of colonialism. The state framework in northern Maharashtra in the 18th century was the Maratha empire. The central authority was the office of the Peshwa, who ruled in the name of the king. The Peshwa was formerly the prime minister of the king but due to familial factions arising in the royal family, the office holders were able to assume de facto power above that of the sovereign. This loss of power later resulted in fractionalisation of power of the Peshwa as well, but for most of the 18th century, feudatories appointed by the Peshwa formally recognised this power centre. As with the period preceding the French revolution, we see a breaking down of feudal social contract in this time. With the

²⁵ Names for provincial administrative units in the Maratha town planning scheme

negative outcomes of the third battle of Panipat and the later Anglo-Maratha wars, the empire collapsed. The decaying feudal relationships allowed some of the aristocracy to survive the collapse of the empire and hold on to some notion of borrowed power (Washbrook).

The Marathas had already subjugated the Mughal empire in the first half of the 18th century, due to which they were the dominant imperial authority in the subcontinent. The nature of Maratha conquest of Mughal domains led to the intermarriage of systems of land administration as well as the creation of instruments of taxation like *Chauth* which would facilitate absorption of vassal states without formal subsumption into the empire (Wink, 1983). The decaying feudal relations were informed by forces that were both ideological as well as pragmatic. Caste politics deployed by the Peshwa stood at odds with the feudatories. Apart from this the presence of multiple royal houses produced fractured loyalties. Despite the state of these relationships, fracturing increasingly after the third battle of Panipat, feudatories and the Peshwa created multiple urban centres with specific revenue and production assignments. Pune was developed as an urban centre hosting multiple factories, and the ability to attract merchants and bankers from northern India. As the chief commercial centre in the empire, it controlled the trading of goods produced throughout the empire (Mahajan, 1983). Other urban centres were developed by the dominant feudal lords, most of which survived in central India.

Market spaces evolving from the increasing trade volumes, dependant on the state expansion, brought a challenge of spatial management to the early market makers of Bombay. The land assessment systems in previous frameworks had already developed conceptions of property ownership. The Maratha administration distinguished private property from state property and understood tenancy relations between landowners, farmers, tenants, and so on, accommodating petty agricultural labour through the framework of caste. In Bombay, the European settlement had imported English notions that had been development in England since the “glorious revolution”. The expansion of the *fort* was a necessity, as was the necessity to expand the port activity. Thus, the settlement had to be desegregated to an extent such that mercantile elite was able to settle in the southern parts of the island. The resettlement brought forth issues of urban governance leading to the creation of land use and development control regulations

(Chopra, 2012). There had been earlier attempts to introduce these kind of planning instruments, but the rapidly changing conditions of work, and the development of capital made it necessary for them to be reassessed.

The discrepancies are further entangled when dealing with specific components of Indian society which form the relations of production. On the issue of caste, for instance, the enslavement of the people who fall outside of the varnashrama²⁶ system, has been a cause of debate. Ambedkar wrote several tracts wherein he investigates the origin of Varna and caste system (Ambedkar B. R. 2014). Ambiguities arise when differing theorist conceptualise a person being exploited by the *Balutedari*²⁷ system as being a slave or a serf. While there is no dispute about the exploitation itself, the characterization of the social relation can lead to a differing perception of the same period and same region as being a pre-capitalist or a capitalist mode of production.

The notion of private property is disputed since these lands were still liable to pay imperial taxes. It cannot be disputed where Adivasis were disposed of their land in northern Maharashtra leading to the creation of Private property. (Calman, 1978)

Institutionalized within all hierarchies of governance, caste could be discussed as relation of production or as a means of production. Its deployment in the process of production, as an economic tool, is a prerequisite to understand why certain aspects of primitive accumulation were made possible. The description of caste as a relation of production refers to its impact on the social relations which restrict an entire class of people from being able to access several necessary aspects of social existence. As a means of production, the division of labour, articulated by Marx applies here, as people are restricted from or restricted to doing only certain activities of production. Caste is operative not only in administration, but in jurisprudence as well.

²⁶ Ideological foundation of the caste system. Castes are based in varnas, while some are outside varnas (as a category of social exclusion, also understood as untouchability).

²⁷ A village would divide labour (work) and workers based on caste

4.2. Mercantile and Industrial Capital: Mumbai and Maharashtra through the 19th and 20th centuries

Nature of production

The city did not form around industrialisation. It birthed new forms of urbanity, but the city pre-existed that mode of production. Social phenomena, that accompany industrial activity also pre-exist it. Baroda, Indore, Gwalior²⁸, among others would emerge as regional capitals and retain autonomy after the Company was able to subjugate the Peshwa. These were led by Maratha aristocracy which had been in a politico-ideological conflict with the Peshwa (Eaton, 2005). In contemporary India these cities hold lesser socio-economic significance, and yet these cities are an important chapter in the development of urban centres (Geddes, 1915). Calcutta (now Kolkata), and Madras (now Chennai) were the early British cities in India developed in the same category as Bombay. These cities had undergone regimes and reforms in land revenue, by the time early drafts of similar instruments were made for Mumbai. The need for urban administration of Mumbai was led by similar developments in Madras (Indorewala, 2007). Delhi, the ancient capital, emerged again on the national scene in the early 20th century, but only after a significant decline in the aftermath of the mutiny of 1857.

Mumbai on the other hand was manufactured by extensive land reclamation projects. The development of Mumbai as an urban centre began in the 18th century where the cities like Baroda, Satara, or Pune²⁹ had reached a stage of closure of a cycle of development. Unlike those cities, Mumbai had no history of being a feudal holding with dependencies and institutions of power. The city was conceived out of that ambition, and yet the mode in which the city acquired dependencies was through the mode of capital accumulation (Chandavarkar, 1994). It had no socio-cultural relevance on a regional level or national level (Mahajan, 1986). Yet in the first half of the 20th century, it had emerged as *urbs prima* in Indis (Albuquerque, 1986). It retains that position contemporarily. The most recent

²⁸ These cities are mentioned since they occupied an important position in the Maratha confederacy and later became capitals of autonomous empires of erstwhile Maratha empire feudatories

²⁹ These are mentioned since they were Maratha imperial capitals since there were multiple royal houses and Pune was the city of Peshwa authority

attempt to divest the city of the scale of influence it has accumulated over the last two centuries is the development of a new financial services hub in Gandhinagar Gujrat (Karthikeyan, 2022).

Feudal grants, of control over territory, produce, arms, the means of production in other words, created regional configurations. Since the older land revenue systems differed from region to region, they did not produce urban centres by feudal grants. The cities of Kolhapur, Satara, Pune, and Sangli all had different function in the circuit of commodity circulation including the once mentioned here previously. These cities were important urban centres in the complicated Maratha empire state framework. The antagonism between the Peshwa (orthodox Hindu) and the 'Maratha' aristocracy provided impetus for the development of these cities as urban centres (Eaton, 2005; Mahajan, 1988). While all of them were imperial footholds, not all were market cities. Pune was the city through which grain was circulated in the region. It was also an industrial centre of the Peshwa regime. Similar centres grew in northern Maharashtra. Cities like Nashik, Aurangabad, Jalgaon, Dhule³⁰ were important nodes on the produce circulation chain (Banaji, 2010; Mahajan, 1982). The development of railways to enable extraction and circulation was planned around these cities such that produce found its way from the place of production to the various nodes of the global market (Banaji, 2010).

The relevance of Mumbai comes from the absence of these power structures. Military domination resulted in legal and social contracts as well as obligations of the feudatory (Puntambekar, 1941). On the promise of providing security to agricultural production, the feudatory is able to enable and appropriate surplus production. They are also able to use the surplus to exchange it for influence or other forms of financial securities, as the Peshwa did in times of war with offers of resettlement, tax write-offs, and tenancies (De Penha, 2020). This worked out in the revenue farming system, as the empire had lands and villages that were entirely unoccupied and could be farmed for increased revenue (Wink, 1983). The chain of authority and bureaucracy is explicit and is communicated to those who are subject to it in efforts to shape socio-economic relations, i.e., the relations of production. Class character of the subjects, across the nation, in all its varieties could

³⁰ These cities were historic centers of agricultural production

be held within this structure of power. In articulating its own notion of state formation, Mumbai becomes extracted from the region in which it is geographically placed.

Forms of Production

Industrialization was a radical change to the way things were imagined, produced, a change to the mode of production, and exchange (Lefebvre, 1968). Industrialisation required for the absorption of mercantile capital for it to be invested in large scale industry and create a new cycle of profits and accumulation of capital (Banaji, 2010). Industrialization is another such movement in history which has replaced another mode of production with which society, polity, and the economy as was understood, changed (Marx K. & Nicolaus M. 1973).

Trade describes a form of commodity circulation. The Company's intention behind building trade infrastructure in Bombay was shaped by a long-term desire to develop capital in India. Mercantile activity, in Bombay and northern Maharashtra respectively, through incentives and securitisation mechanisms by the Company, subordinated production (and thus agricultural and usurer's capital) in the primary sector (Chandavarkar, 1994; Banaji, 2010).

The Industrialisation of the city indicates the disparity in capitalist development, but in that progression, it articulates spatial formations that arise out of this development. While both regional economies and the city had spaces and relations of production that seem identical, they are different in their operation. An example of this is a market. While spatial formations that can be described as 'market' exist in Bombay, Thana, Nasik, Dhulia, etc. in the 19th century, they did not perform the same activity in all those places (Banaji, 2010). The complexity of activities that could be initiated at a specific market changed depending on capitalist development. Thus, operations like buying, selling, lending, mortgaging could be performed at a different rate of complexity. While things that can be bought and sold change, it is not the object that is being exchanged but the description of the transaction that is of import (Washbrook, D. 1988). For instance, the regional markets

were performing historical functions where north Maharashtra cities produced cash crops for international exports, south (or *Paschim*) Maharashtra cities produced subsistence crops that was the Maratha empire's food supply as well as commodities for the national market (Wink, 1983; Washbrook, 1988; Banaji, 2010). Mumbai on the other hand was exporting locally produced cotton (the form in which it was exported changed with respect to geopolitical scenario, for instance the American civil war produced a cotton boom in Bombay, which was followed by a bust in the post-bellum age) to Lancashire, Opium from China, and at a point the Parsi merchants were who had grown rich on the cotton and opium trade, also dealt in slaves (Morris, 1983; Kitani, 2011).

Another way to conceive region is to understand developments in areas that are yet to be properly consolidated into the network of circulation of the city. The contention that this is a retrospective analysis, which was not intended to be the case is untenable since the historical position of cities in the region and Bombay as marketplaces has been established. These economies were integrated into the industrial economy of cotton yarn production through investments in infrastructure that intensified the scale of subordination. It was a matter of time before capital became available for investment into these projects while the project itself was conceptualised before the availability of capital. The consolidation of areas not directly in the ambit of the city, being connected to it as its immediate periphery, was already in place, in a manner, since the merchant's capital that moved from Surat to Bombay was already active in this trade in the preceding century (Morris, 1983). The query is related to the point in time at which, production became subservient to the merchant's capital. Thus, there are economies that have their own regional articulation which, as a whole are subsumed into the economy of the city.

Bombay city in 1947 was a mature industrial centre. Apart from creating town planning and industrial governance regulatory framework, there had been, at that point, a century long period of uninterrupted industrial activity in Bombay. While the past had not been a period of upward growth alone, where multiple periods of contraction had led to shuttering of plants, industrialists in Bombay had done well for themselves (Chandavarkar, 1994). Industrialists had also grown across the communal divide with cotton mills operated by Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, and English entrepreneurs surviving into the period of independence (Kitani, 2011). The inter religious firms employed a diverse

workforce which included the employment of European professionals in cotton mills run by Indian capitalists (Kitani, 2011). This diversity did not overcome caste, as was the case in housing, and other social spaces. The Industrialists were at this point united in class formations the first act of which was the Bombay plan which was unveiled to coincide with independence. The class consciousness of the industrialists is best understood in underhanded lobbying tools like this where an implicit attempt is made to affect state policy

Form of Capital

Histories of the region which do not link these historical processes together, encapsulating the contradictory or anachronistic social modes of production, and capitalist developments and their turns during the period of independence present a partial picture of how industrial development was able to appropriate the commercial capitalist developments in the second half of the 19th century. This separation inhibits us from performing the task Lefebvre takes up in 'Industrialisation and Urbanisation'.

Mumbai city was populated, as people with political power, by capitalist who could facilitate creation and maintenance of a market and a professional sector that could facilitate the expansion of capital (Chopra, 2002). To understand how this came to be, it is necessary to study the historical developments mentioned above. These developments concern the changes in urban spaces as well as the processes of accumulation which, while not mirroring those mentioned in the capital, but were oriented in a manner that took the city of Bombay to a similar destination.

The early development models employed in Bombay were explicitly capitalist. That is, they were formulated for development of capital, and enrichment of merchant capitalists (Chandavarkar, 1994). Accumulation in order to reproduce the social and political conditions within the city. This accumulation, as an economic process was already underway by its protagonists, the Company officials, their armed forces, migrating merchants and their business practices and capital, etc. Merchants, capitalist farmers, money lenders, bankers were all willingly relocated to the company's port considering the advantages it offered, which were beyond economic ones (Chandavarkar R. 1994). The

ability to leave their places of origin, offered merchants a chance to trade outside the barriers of caste and religion and fulfil their entrepreneurial desires (Guha A, 1983). The development of commercial capitalism through the 19th century was the process of expansion of capital, and in this process, Mumbai acquired its post-feudal dependencies (Banaji, 2020). Whereas Baroda, or Gwalior would have authority over a geographical area through direct violence³¹ and its exploitative nature, the influence of Mumbai broke across old and new territorial as well as political configurations. Through industrialisation, this capital accumulation was diversified which continued till the 1970s.

the region was formally subsumed to the urban needs of Bombay. This subsumption is economical where production in the region is oriented to industrial needs. This is the phase where the city becomes the core, and it becomes necessary for it to have peripheries under its direct control. Economic activities tend to create spatial formation that service the activity or help its growth and development. Since this study has and will problematise economic activity itself, this process of creation should not be considered as chronological or teleological³². Economic phenomenon led to emerging of spaces depending upon how the economic activity itself has been composed. A market, for instance arises in response to the need to trade, and the limitations in the fundamental aspects of production. Trade is essential since an individual cannot produce everything they might require for subsistence and will be willing to exchange the product of their labour for another's. But a market that sells commodities as opposed to a market that sells the ability to perform labour itself are resulting from differently composed economic phenomena (Marx K. & Engels F. 1967).

Caste directly affects several key public services in the domain of agricultural production, where maintenance and reproduction of the commons is dependent upon the "lower castes", agricultural labour and landownership being a domain of "upper castes" with the later sometimes being hybrid. In the context of industrial housing, castes determine housing conditions, availability, scarcity, location, and so on. Another factor that affects market composition is knowledge or know-how of trade itself. This cultural parameter can

³¹ In the form of a penal code, and methods of disciplining the peasantry in the feudal era

³² That is while the chapter is set in a chronology, internal discussion may not follow that trajectory.

be affected by factors ranging from lack of proximity to major centres of trade to lethargy (which may have been informed by caste). Development of a class consciousness among merchants or artisans which affects the way things are produced and sold will affect how the market is perceived off internally, but especially externally (Morris, 1983).

the enquiry regarding what makes cities like Mumbai possible. What is the economic basis from which large investments of money can be justified to commence large infrastructure projects to build another port on a coast which already has several? Where does the money, or to be precise, capital, come from? Under what conditions does trade commence at this port and gradually grow into handling 70% of all naval trade in India? And so on. Thus, at first it is necessary to answer the question regarding money, capital, and its origin. Marx elaborates “In themselves money and commodities are no more capital than are the means of production and of subsistence. They want transforming into capital. But this transformation itself can only take place under certain circumstances” giving us the components to conceptualise the origin of capitalist accumulation (Marx, vol 1, 1867)

The expansion of capital and territorial expansion for the company go hand in hand, as the former process informs the later. The Port required expanding to incorporate it into larger networks of capital circulation. The market thus created, within the logic of expansion, needed expansion to increase the scale of transaction, to accommodate complex trade mechanisms. Expansion of market required the expansion of influence, and thus increasing territorial control, which was acquired through the Anglo-Maratha conflicts. Of the three wars, the British won the latter two, and in that process acquired the capital which Marx explains it will consume for “as use value, but only as use value for itself, as capital. Its consumption as use value therefore in this case falls within circulation itself, or rather it itself posits the beginning of circulation or its end ...” (Marx K. & Nicolaus M. (1973). Bombay represents the beginning, or the end, of this process of development and expansion of capital for the company. If it was able to reproduce those conditions of production, as we see it did in the 19th and 20th centuries, it would be able to reproduce capital.

To grow the scale of commercial activity in Bombay, the company incorporated Bombay into the trade network of cotton and opium. Cotton was already being produced in Maratha territory, for export as well as the handloom industry. Poona, Nagpur had industrial infrastructure to absorb the cotton production. Dismantling these forms of production was necessary for the cotton to be exported to Lancashire for cloth production (Mahajan, 1983). The outcomes of the Anglo-Maratha conflicts were not sufficient to affect these changes in acquired Maratha territory. For the formal appropriation of territory, the company had to regulate the land and the revenue farming system of the Maratha empire.

The basis of this accumulation wasn't legal until the act, but the act gave it legal standing (Marx, 1867). This accumulation was desirable for the manufacturing scenario in Europe was changing. Control over the means of production, would yield uncommon profit to European merchants, and they wanted to replicate this profit elsewhere.

Land revenue systems in India may have been variable, but the purpose of administering land had not changed by passing of political control into Company hands (Dutt, 1902; Chibber, 2008). The purpose was production of commodities. The logic of production of commodities needs to be in tandem with the logic of the market. That which cannot be sold or does not have the desired exchange value in the market must not be produced. The impact of such a logic affects not only the labourer who extracts from nature, whether it be foodgrain, metals, or wood, but by those artisans and workers who process the extraction for the purpose of trade. The desire for yarn, against cloth, from the English (desire that was backed by concentrated lobbying efforts which produced legislation to ban import) manufacturing firms dismantled weavers' enterprise in western India (Chandavarkar, 1994). Production, and trade leave space in the middle for the commodities to be put into circulation. Commodities would be carried from Japan, China, with Indian ports acting as geographical mediators, as well as participants, to English manufacturing firms. The "age of discovery" was crucial for European financial interests for it found for them not distant lands of curiosity, but markets which would help commodity-expansion (Kitani, 2011). For commodities to be put into circulation, these newly accessible markets (without intermediaries) needed to bridge that space in between trade and production. This came in the forms of building railways eventually,

especially when cotton mills popped up in various parts of the country. By 1871, there was an extensive railway network, and the British authorities were expanding it increasingly to aid the circulation process (Chandavarkar, 1994).

The merchant was able to subordinate this capital though. Since agricultural production, like artisanal production, needed to be commoditised and sold, the ability of merchants to exact influence by the way of inserting themselves into the networks of trade, they were able to subordinate the logic of agricultural production. In doing so, and in the expansion of that capital, the merchants capital produced a scheme for its demise. It is necessary for this to be the case, like in the former case of the moneylender, accumulation and dispossession happens internally to the subject, and is not an external action (Morris, 1983). This holds to the problematic of colonialism as well, where highly matured capitalist accumulation, the work of Indian merchants and bankers, was through the aid of violence subsumed by European settlers (Chibber, 2012). The merchant's capital "transitions" into industrial capital in the middle of the 19th century, as consumption of self, to create value for self. The merchant and the banker were not dispossessed of their accumulation, but were forced to rethink its form, due to its inability to deal with the proletarianized³³ mass it had manifested.

State formation

State action requires a clear formulation of state entity (Althusser). In the period of transition of imperial control between different empires, it is difficult to understand the nature of the state entity. What is the governing body and what is the state mechanism under which it functions.

Within the colonial era due to the nature of the BEIC, and later after the crown took possession, the administration of the city kept changing. Such histories are written for Northern Maharashtra as well, especially concentrating on the Adivasi³⁴ population in these areas (Calman, 1987). This tradition is tied to and partially kept alive with focus of

³³ Dispossessed of their means to provide subsistence for self

³⁴ Common name for indigenous peoples

the Dang district which is now in Gujrat. During the division of the Bombay state into Gujrat and Maharashtra, other than Bombay, the Dang district was an issue of contestation between the communist party functionaries leading the struggle for statehood in both Maharashtra and Gujrat (Pendse, 1962). It was crucial from their perspective for the state would later industrialise that area.

Feudal order, like that of older modes of production or forms of capital, never entirely vanished, and remained active as a social and political force till 1947. While some currents of it survive, they lost any official power at independence. Feudal social relations are perpetuated in political cadre building and creating *blocs* in states where they are active and recognised (Wink, A. 1983). These strands are especially active contemporarily in *Paschim Maharashtra*³⁵. Caste is another social relation through which invalidated aristocracies are still able to exert political influence, and same is visible throughout the history that has been considered here.

The development of capital in the region , except Mumbai, was situated in a context where agrarian production was in maturity irrespective of the ruling authority. These pre-capitalist cities and their context were interrelated, such that they could be understood as a region (Eaton, 2005). The feudatories that ruled Baroda, and Gwalior were able to extract revenue and agricultural produce from all the territory under their control. But these regions were administratively understood to be a feudal holding. The territory, that is the farmers (zamindars, and similar petty feudatories) were legally liable to pay tax and grain (Wink, A. 1983). These arrangements and their recognition helped consolidate power. It also helped communicate the existence of these power structures.

Surat, for example continued to dominate trade towards the end of the 19th century on the foundation of that accumulation. The second way to read extraction is to consider it extracted from the whole, with an independent logic of development. The Company did not develop Bombay so that it could be situated within the framework of decaying imperialism. Bombay was not to be assigned dependencies and revenue assignments to be fulfilled as an obligation to an imperial house (Washbrook, D. 1988). The city was the

³⁵ *Paschim* translates to Western in *Marathi* the state language in Maharashtra.

unit from which political and economic thought, new in a manner of speaking, would emanate and gradually encapsulate the rest.

While the Maratha feudal holdings that survived through the colonial period had their own periods of administrative and political reform, it occurred in parallel with and later to the developments in Mumbai. Gaikwad of Baroda taking consultation from Patrick Geddes³⁶ for urban development indicates an urban thinking among the aristocracy. Gaikwad, and Shahu of Kolhapur would also deploy a politics of caste reformation in urban spaces they would commission and regulate (Omvedt, 1974). In Mumbai such politics would only come via labour and later efforts by Ambedkar's party (Teltumbde, 2017). The arrival of thought would have to come later, because the people, as an organised configuration, would require time to become a people.

The development of the port into a city was necessary to create spaces for commercial activities that cannot be contained in the port infrastructure. The logic for expansion of commercial activity could not be facilitated at first by relying on European traders or trade (Harvey, 2003). It had to expand by dismantling the existing social and state apparatus. The Company had been extended contracts by the Mughal empire in the 17th century and had come into conflicts the nascent Maratha empire. These conflicts were ultimately resolved by the company subjugating both the Maratha and Mughal powers bringing their rulers under their patronage by creating contracts of vassalage and pension (Chandavarkar, 1994). This process did not come to pass in armed conflicts in the early 19th century but reached a stage of maturity by the way of a British victory in the third Anglo-Maratha war. The creation and maintenance of a port in Bombay was a necessary political act for the Company to make it feasible to grow a state infrastructure in India. The ability to mint currency and wage wars is only useful if they are able to hold unquestioned territorial authority.

In Marx's scheme, the Company would be required to displace the existing feudal logic of land administration and relations of production and reform them to suit their needs of accumulation. This can also be observed in the territorial conflicts between the Maratha

³⁶ British geographer

and the declining Mughal empire, as well as the Maratha conflicts with the Hyderabad state, which would outlast the Maratha, as well as the Company administration. Bombay city is one such instrument through which the Company was seeking to relinquish the restriction put upon their economic activity in India (Wink, 1983; Dutt, 1902). Company activity in Surat was restricted to trade and factory production of ships and advanced munitions, which the Mughals bought. The inability to start a political administration in Surat, Bombay becomes an important holding for the Company, since it was an English possession, and they would not be restricted by external political logics in administering it. The port at Bombay was used by the company as a steppingstone from which they could disturb the trade in Surat.

It was sufficient that merchants should want to move to Bombay from Surat, to indicate change and be provided security for this change to be instituted by merchants and their accumulated capital. The early market making activities in Bombay, and thus the labour of “tilling” the land for commercial activity was facilitated by Indian merchant capital. This was a necessary step because European mercantile and financial services activities would require more mature form of market to participate in (Durand, 2017). Merchant’s immigration from Surat to Bombay was facilitated by the Company in much the same way the past state would provide disaster relief, and the future state would institute a framework of import subsidised industrialisation (Chandavarkar, 1994). The state provide protection which can be understood by its various names like insurance, welfare, security, insulated securitisation chains, and so on. The company provided both financial as well physical security to merchants to commit to do business from its own holdings.

Once the Company was able to secure territorial control from the Marathas, they instituted a political administration that would affect change in the city as well as the holdings all over Maratha territory. This political control extended to the “autonomous” feudal states. The Company would grant a degree of autonomy while appointing caretaker bureaucracy and later appropriate some of these states entirely through legal contracts and violence (Sen, 2006).

Company officials who would implement land revenue reforms in India possessed the knowledge of the changes in European manufacturing and markets. The need for

implementing land revenue reforms served a dual purpose. First, it would allow them to control agricultural production, and its trade through the ports they had captured. Second, it would also signal the shift of power to the peasantry since the survey settlement system required English officials to travel in conquered territory to conduct detailed land surveys. These surveys are helpful since they show their understanding of agriculture production and peasantry. It also reveals their understanding of the cultural hegemony within Hindu society since they did little to create protections for those enslaved or exploited. They benefitted, to the extent that it was possible, from these systems. Company officials were bound to follow British law, since they were previously found to mistreat Europeans with asymmetric legal frameworks.

Relations of production

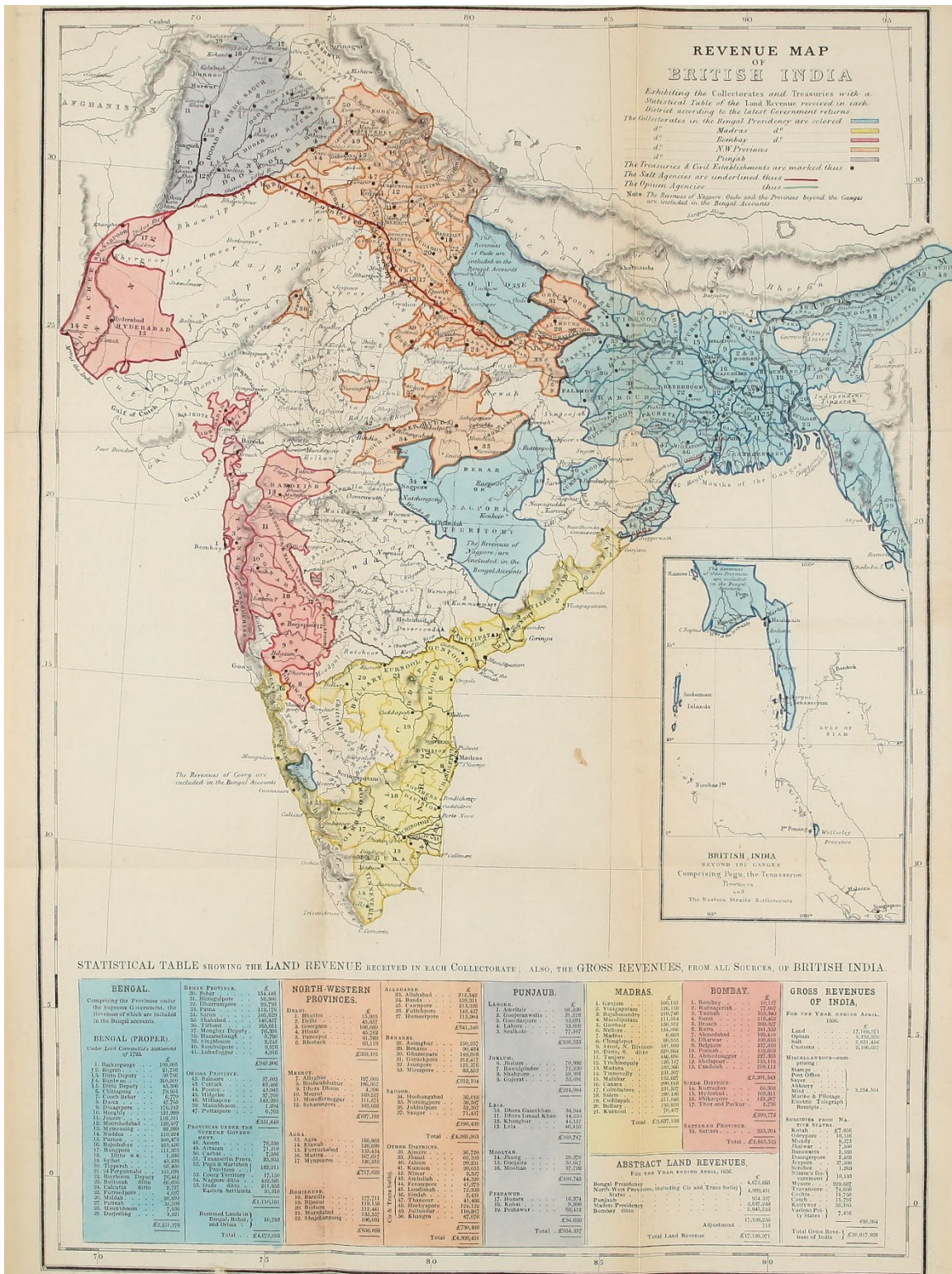


Fig: 12: Map of British India showing land revenue

The administrative setup changed according to the needs of the European settlers and the utility the city had in the trade network. The city expanded on this principle territorially

as well as demographically where the Europeans changed the residential composition of the city responding to political and sociological events

The plague towards the end of the 19th century led to a segregationist outlook where the European population isolated itself in the southernmost part of the city while Indian elite remained in areas nearby. Class location of a person would determine their geographical location in the city. The poorer residents (workers performing care related work and industrial workers) would be placed northward, and eventually a middle class of managerial workers was placed in between the two by the creation of suburbs in Dadar, and Worli.

Responding to events, the colonial administration, with the collaboration of Indian landowners, created urban planning instruments and institutions that would be contemporary to the development of the city as an industrial centre. These would manifest in creation of suburbs, housing for industrial workers, educational and cultural organisations that still exist in the contemporary city

The proximity of these social characteristics to Bombay shapes the dynamic between the city *proper* and the regional influence it would have. Bombay would later have to deal with ways to absorb copious amounts of labour for the cotton mills (Chandavarkar R. 1994). The unemployed people who migrated to the city had to do so because of the process of primitive accumulation which dismantled land tenancies and consolidated large swathes of land under few capitalist farmers. The dynamic served Bombay towards the end of the 1970s where the speculative value of the land had become a priority over continued operation of the mills (Banerjee-Guha, S. 2002).

The changing structure of land ownership, development usury capital, and dispossession of land and control over the means of production created a peasantry that would first be engaged as agricultural labour, and later migrate to the city in search for labour. This is one point of conjuncture for the two strands related to territory. The subsumption of the regional economy into the urban economy which created a fertile ground for industrialization in Bombay city would start diversification after independence

The city of Bombay is a port initially in possession of the British crown. Mercantile and industrial activity in the city progressed over a period of two hundred years, which also

required, as in the pre-capitalist modes of production enacting socio-economic changes. In that begins a long process of regional migration to the city of Bombay as a principal provider of employment (Habib, 2011). The becoming of the city is also the becoming of its other. The becoming of the core is the subordination of regional entities into becoming the periphery.

Faith, as ideology, does impact both development of capital as well as socio-spatial transformations. While the impact of this can be seen in the development of individual businesses belonging to people of several faiths, where the relation with faith can lead to embracing of strategies or models of growth. It is visible in the communities which were involved in expansionist activities in northern Maharashtra, where mercantile and usury capital flourished in Marwari community (Banaji, 2010). The Parsi³⁷ community who were rich traders and notoriously endogamous communities would restrict the access to commercial activity based on faith (Guha A, 1981).

It is necessary to delineate the political and economic process through which the city was developed. Before urban governance and town planning became a formalised idea in the city, merchant capital as well as the company officials were responsible for creation of formal as well as informal spaces in the city (Chopra, 2012). The nature of informality is more explicit through the building of fortification walls and implicit in the presence of people in servitude hidden inside the service spaces of houses and commercial establishments. While industrial capitalism is in the process of development, the city is undergoing physical changes where spaces are created to house its growing needs (Indorewala, et.al. 2017). The politics necessary for these developments is created through the development and transition of merchant's capital which culminates in the emergence of a collective class consciousness among the merchants, as well as the class antagonisms (Chandavarkar R. 1994).

Deterioration of feudal relationships did not transfer to the underlying bureaucratic infrastructure and left the social relations intact as well. It only facilitated gradual transfer

³⁷ Zoroastrian faith, originally concentrated in western parts of Gujrat, and latterly of Mumbai. More than 70% of all Parsi population lives in Mumbai *proper*. This is a result of migration in the prelude to industrialization of Bombay

of power from the Peshwa, to the East India Company and the British Empire. The relative autonomy acquired in this struggle manifested in urban development aided by British bureaucrats and urban planners. The bureaucratic frameworks left unaffected in the decline of the empire meshed with British officials to rework the land revenue system (Dutt, 1902). This historical background that spills over the 18th and the 19th centuries aids the understanding of primitive accumulation in Maharashtra. While Pune, and central Indian cities are not the concern in this study, the history of transfer of power is necessary to ground the land relations prevalent throughout the empire.

Agricultural production and land were monitored by the state where it assessed and appointed supervision of a farm. The assessment was made to determine risk to the state based upon which, the state decided the urgency to document agricultural activity on the land parcel. The state, assessing risk, chose to forgo land assignment and auditing on some farms while some it surveyed to assure production, and fiduciary obligation to the state. The division of labour produced here created internal feudal relations like those of the *zamindar*³⁸ or *khot* who would rank above village chiefs and who were responsible for the farming assignment. These titles tended to be hereditary, while lower levels of bureaucracy could be commissioned. The *zamindar* or *khot* had the station to be able to enter into arbitration related to the farming contract with the state. The commissioned roles were required to fill up vacant or newly acquired territories within a farming assignment. The Feudal lord sat above the *zamindar* in this hierarchy and was traditionally assigned fiefs from the central authority. There were separate offices for the assessment and assignment of revenue terms and contracts (Wink, 1983).

Ownership of land was classified as having belonged to the state, the feudal lord, the revenue assignees, and then the underlying tenancies. There was a differentiation between state ownership, private ownership, and tenancy, which is the primary tool to produce debt (Washbrook, 1986; Mahajan, 1982). Risk was assessed and accounted for by continuing or closing revenue contracts at the lower rungs of the farm management. Caste is important here since despite the volatile nature of contracts being assigned to parties, they were assigned in keeping with caste-based occupation. Risk of that nature

³⁸ Landlord

would be absorbed by the state rather than part with the institution of caste. A system of jurisprudence was maintained to resolve disputes within the contract or the village, where tenants, landlords, bankers, and usurers could file petitions and avail justice (Eaton).

Financial relations were dealt with in cash, where bankers played a distant role in day-to-day activity as well as state function. Financial services providers were required since farm contracts could be auctioned. Land contracts could be requested from the state in places where none existed, aiding in the creation of administrative units at the outset. The reasons for these requests could arise from the requirement of people to become part of the network of circulation (Wink, 1983)

These conditions would become even more complex once industrialisation would begin in the middle of the 19th century. Yet in the years preceding industrialisation the class divide had European soldiers living without a cantonment on the outskirts of the fort walls in hutments. The settlement had moved northward to Mahim in the late 18th century, and would also be expanded into Dadar, Sion, Worli as suburban development to house the managerial class created by the commercial activity (Shaikh, 2021). Industries would develop later in the middle ground of these settlement of European settlers, wealthy Indians, and the Middle class settled in northern suburbs. The early conception of this urban development was as the development of new towns instead of expansion of the city itself. At this point, Bombay was also the provincial capital, and needed to create spaces for political.

Ryotwari system was based on a land assessment survey carried out in the 1830s. It changed the previous systems of assessment to create longer lease periods and assigned revenue assignments based on land valuation instead of crop production. The system did not involve the village bureaucracy that was previously in charge of production in feudal grants. The assessment took into consideration geographical factors like climate, and soil conditions, which could be used to predict field outcomes. The system was made dependent on land valuations and was responsive to market conditions (Dutt, 1902). The assessment allowed the company administration to understand the patterns of cultivation in Maratha territories surrounding Bombay. This assessment also produced an understanding of banking and credit relations in the territory (Banaji, 2010).

Functionaries of the BEIC of the 19th century came from a Britain where this process was complete. Their knowledge of industrialization, revenue farming, and finance was different and, since it became the norm in India under their occupation, in the logic of chronology, advanced. It differed from the ideological apparatus of the Indian empires. This difference would become a hindrance for the company officials in their attempts to formalize and adopt English ways in the territory.

Industrialisation benefitted greatly from this process since the forfeited tenancies and debt incurring created a large pool of labour who could be employed in the cities. This pool of labour was not stolen of their means of production because of them working in the industry, but their instruments of labour were already taken from them in the process of their displacement

Survey settlement system would enact a shift in the relations of production, where a family of cultivators would be forced to become industrial labourers, changing not only the way they perform labour, but their place in society as a whole (Banaji, 2010). Cultivators were in some form of possession of land, the instruments of their labour, cattle, and so on, but they were also located in a social system that recognised them, and their caste which provided them a place in the system of production. Without those factors to assist them, the erstwhile cultivators had to do the work of having to establish those dynamics again (Dutt, 1902). These efforts were not always successful and create a possibility of exploitation or exclusion from housing, position of work, or access to healthcare and food.

Labour organisation in cities had to account for these social realities, where labour unions would differ not only by the work they did, but by their social affiliations. Labour struggles in the first half of the 20th century broke down into factions because of the unwillingness of the caste groups to organise and strike together. These struggles of organisation had been dealt with by Phuleite leaders and organisers in the later part of the 19th century. Labour housing was a part of this struggle since housing was segregated by caste, and by caste groups. While labour was able to organise despite these issues, its organisation was always prone to failure due to various factors by which union activity could be weakened. The emergence of nativist political outfits after independence only added to these tactics or was a progression of strike breaking logic.

The early industrial labour, despite social location, had to deal with housing issues because it involved them having to till the land upon which they would be able to build settlements (Bjorkman, 2006). This is mirrored in the post-independence period where, reorganisation of industrial logic brought emphasis upon the industrial wasteland sites where labour lived. The industrialists and the state were aware of the housing issues in the 19th century, and even before since similar issues were faced by British soldiers in the 18th century in their occupation of Bombay (Chopra). Infrastructure was built and invested in that concerned the functioning of the city and industry. This included providing land and planning resources for housing the industrialists, merchants, and government officials. Later this would expand into the construction of the suburbs to house the tertiary sector activities in the scope they existed in that time (Shaw, 1996).

Industrial labour housing question was seriously considered after it proposed a threat to the health and safety of the European and elite Indian population. This resulted in the creation of several government bodies that would be engaged in the building of worker housing. These roles after independence were taken up by a government organisation called Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority. MHADA differed from the BIT³⁹ or the BDD⁴⁰ in their ownership position of the land on which they were commissioned to provide housing (Indorewala et al). In both cases the state was prepared to commit to invest for the building of housing which will prevent healthcare crises in the city. The MHADA admittedly was different because it would transfer ownership of rights of the apartments they built to people, but MHADA's role to provide housing to the urban poor was never fulfilled, since most of the blocks were occupied by people in petit bourgeois professions.

Industrialists on their own were never compelled directly or through taxation to provide for urban amenities or housing facilities to its workers. They did on the other hand generously fund cultural organisations which were accessible to their class compatriots. Housing created by the BDD or the BIT, was poorly conceived and built. It was never built

³⁹ Bombay Improvements Trust

⁴⁰ Bombay Development Department (BIT and BDD were planning and development bodies created to improve housing and sanitation in the island city

to respond to the scale of the problem, since the pace of industrial expansion (and contraction) was not accounted for in the organisational deliberation.

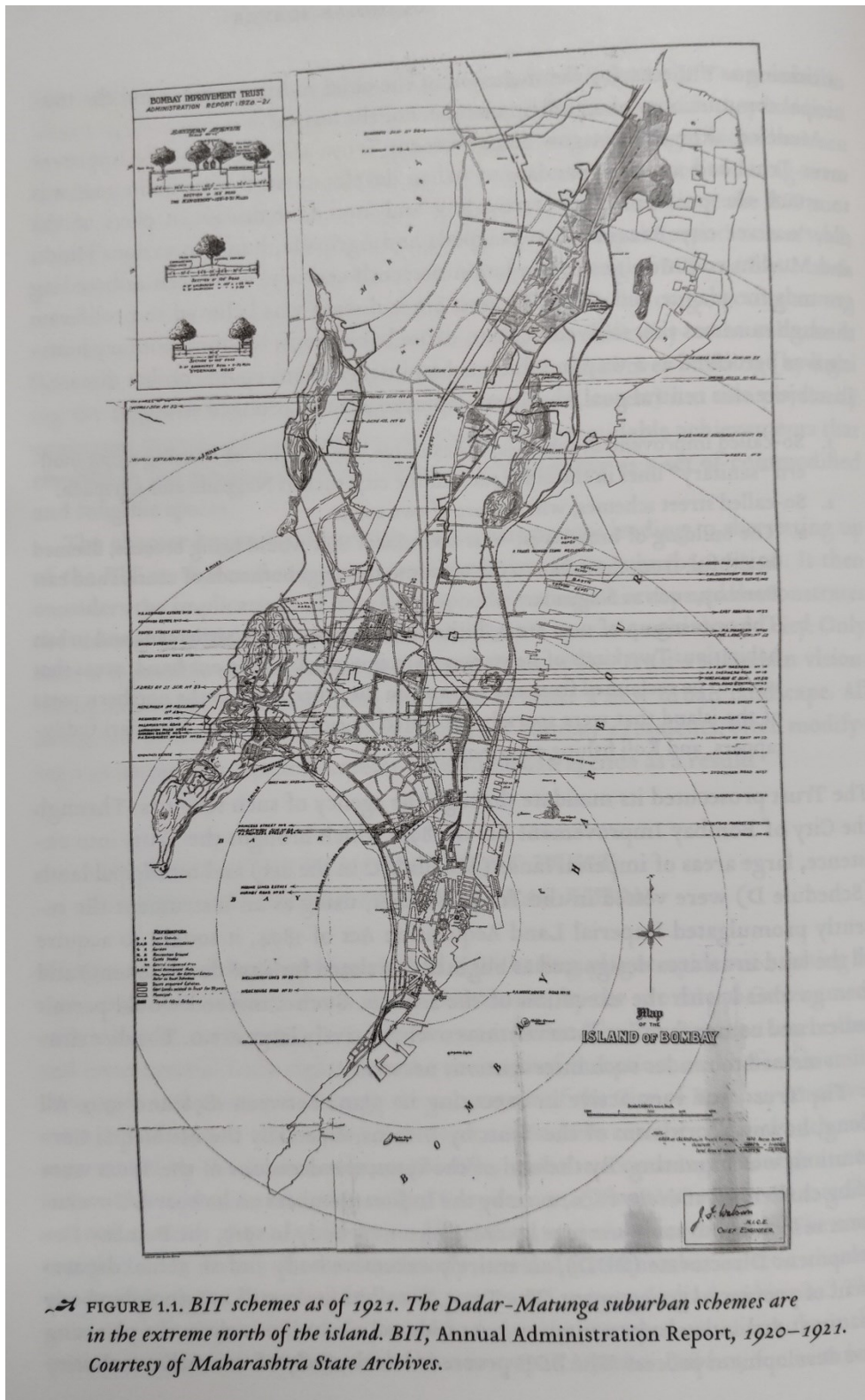


Fig 13: Map of the Bombay Improvements Trust sceme

4.3. Conflict between state and capital: understanding the nature of production in Mumbai post-independence

Nature of production

In India post-independence the nature of production undergoes a fundamental change, which sets the state and capital into conflict (Chibber, 2008). The conflict emerges in the 1930s where the Indian National Congress is in the process of formulating a state mechanism for independent India. While these efforts and imaginaries are not new, at this point they were being conducted in anticipation of their formalisation. Thus, it included consultation with the British government as well as capital. Congress party leadership, as it emerged in 19th century Bombay, was dominated by the cultural and economic elite. While this explains the logistics of negotiation with capital, it was an existential need for the party mechanism to reproduce itself (Anderson P, 2013). As with any political party, the Congress needed funds to function and continue its efforts to dislodge the British government. Since it has been demonstrated through the history of the past two centuries, the state formation results from capital, and thus, it is capital that holds leverage. As a political party it was necessary for the congress to negotiate with capital, to ensure their support (Anderson P., 2013; Chibber 2008).

Thus, the nature of production in India changed from the market composition as imagined by the British government, to what was imagined by the Congress party (Frankel, 2005). The state, for a time, made an attempt to discipline capital, in two ways. One, by creating control instrument over the expansion of capital, but creating an economic planning mechanism (Frankel, 2005; Chibber, 2008). Second, by creating a control instrument in form of industrial licensing which would ensure that industrial development was in line with what the congress (via the planning commission technocracy) imagined were national priorities (Chibber, 2008).

At this point the industrial production in Mumbai was reaching a point of saturation (Hensman, Banaji, 1990). This was a physical restriction since there was a lack of space on the island for physical expansion. While land reclamation activity went on till the 1990s, it had its limitations (Indorewala, et al, 2017). Thus, since the 1950s, production spilled

over to the suburbs (Hensman, Banaji, 1990). Spatial developments in the city emerge out of the development of capitalist mode of production, but spatial formations in the region result from the expansion of this capital (Chandavarkar R. 1994). The expansion changes the periphery as it subordinates it. This results in the modification of spatial phenomenon in the periphery. The spill over of industry into Thane district in the 1950s due to saturation in the island city is one articulation of this process. Through the 1950s-90s, the spill overextends from the immediate periphery of the city in the Thane district to two other districts in its vicinity, and eventually, this, being the nature production, subordinates the region, which is the form of capital.

The first way is to understand that the city of Mumbai was developed as an industrial centre based on the merchant's capital through the 19th and 20th centuries. In that process several dependant areas were created (through subordinating existing economies) in the present day Palghar, Raigad, and Thane district (Banaji, 1990). Palghar, which is a hilly area and was populated by Adivasi peoples as well as revenue farmers from the Maratha administration, was eventually subordinated, first taking over the revenue farmers and, through them subjugating the Adivasi people who would continue to wage conflicts in the 19th century (Calman, 1987). Palghar district was separated from Thane district recently, and historically those developments were located in Thane (Thana) district. In the present-day Thane district, Thane and Kalyan⁴¹ were ancient ports and were utilised in that manner till they were replaced by Mumbai. In the interior, industrial developments were initiated but mostly after independence. The northern areas of Raigad district now house extensive industrial operations, but were also ancient ports, significant on trade routes. Parts of these three districts are constitutive of the Metropolitan Region of Mumbai (Mahajan, 1988) (Shaw 1999).

While these processes are never "completed" given regional interiorities always produce ground for them to go on, they can be understood to have been complete in a particular territory. To have completed is to indicate are in the later stage of development, that is the merchants capital having been absorbed into industrial production such that, trade

⁴¹ Municipality in Thane district

would not be considered the dominant form of production, which is the case for Bombay in the middle of the 20th century (Chandavarkar, 1994).

Forms of Production

Here, the region is considered to have been formed from the city growing outwards subordinating production economies present in the areas mentioned above. All these economies once dominant in agricultural production now house industries. The industrialisation in these areas will be problematised in later sections of this study, and yet they follow the pattern of growth once prevalent in Mumbai. The territory that it 'others' or makes a periphery out of changes in its distance and contact with the core, but the logic of othering in its dynamics of power and exploitation remain the same. This is the region directly subordinate to the city and is understood as such in present-day state conception. The ontological framework of the planning authority conceives the city and region in this manner (MR&TP act, 1966). Planning programs consider the metropolitan area to be subservient to the core where supply and investment related to public utilities is biased in favour of the core as opposed to the periphery (Dholakia, 2003).

While industrialisation remains the dominant form of production, the changes seen here are from the perspective of the state. While the previous state operated in the logic of capital, that production is for the sake of exchange alone, the Indian state had to deal with the contradiction of capitalist production. The planning and development instruments of the Indian state were created to orient manufacturing such that it served, what it conceived as need (Frankel, 2005). The British government in India oriented production to a market that was not cohering to this logic of circulation. It gained income from the sale of commodities, and for it, that formed the principal of statecraft (Morris, 1983).

Industrialisation, in this context changed to accommodate the national needs, and thus diversified to producing items for national consumption. This forms a part of the conflict of state and capital, since on the one hand the state negotiated for forms of development controls, but capital negotiated for market protections from the state (Chibber, 2008). Industrialisation in the region concerned what can be understood as small and medium scale industries in that time. These constitute to industries engaged in the processing of

agricultural production, sugar being an important category in Maharashtra. In the immediate periphery of the city, industrialisation grew in heavy industry components, and pharmaceutical manufacturing (Hensman, Banaji, 1990; Shaw 1996). This created a chain of subservient manufacturing concerns which were dependent on the capital of larger industries, as well as state control of licensing.

Form of Capital

Spatial changes at this point were taking place outside the city more than inside, since suburban development, as a planning principle had been completed. Planning thought centred on the city was in development in legislature, but that process would come to completion in the 1960s (Shaw, 2005; Shaw, 1996). Industrial expansion was going to expand beyond the city with state plans for industrialisation in metropolitan areas as well as in other districts, including Nasik, Dhule, and Jalgaon. The pace of industrialisation in these areas varied, as the pace and allocation of state investment to that effect varied. Industrial expansion, as a function of expansion of capital required extension of credit from Bombay for new units and industries to be set up (Lalvani, 2006). Here it is possible to tie up the other end of central industrial policy which dealt with what sector or type of industry would be allowed to be operational.

To monitor and restrict industrial development in accordance with the goals of the five-year plan, a system of industrial licensing was instituted which gave the planning commission bureaucrats, in theory, an amount of control over low priority industries being avoided commissioning. This was designed to work along with the goals and development logic of other ministries, tied especially to ministry of Industry and the finance portfolio (Frankel, 2005; Chibber, 2008). The state machinery as a whole was designed to work to prioritise development which would lead to more equitable development and deprioritise vectors of insular development. The internal party mechanism was supposed to help this process go along by coordinating development goals and national priorities by intensive data gathering, and at multiple points, at Nehru's insistence, conduct intense training workshops for cadre to become instrumental in

success of plan goals. The party mechanism was supposed to build networks throughout bureaucracies spread across the body politic (Frankel, 2005).

Industrialisation required for labour to be available and located near the industry (Rao, 2013). Urban development in Bombay till this point had not accounted for the population increase from migration, which led to compounding of the housing problem in the city (Chopra, 2012; Indorewala et al, 2017). The problem compounded to a different degree in parallel with the development and expansion of capital. As the mercantile and industrial capital in the city was able to increase its area of influence, thus affecting accumulation and dispossession of peasantry, the housing problem kept growing (Indorewala et al, 2017; Hensman, 2020; Minhas, 1991; Patel 1998). Two different state assessments carried out in later years set up population limits for the city considering the rate of growth. Housing as a policy matter was taken up only after it became an issue that could not be practically neglected (Shaw, 2005). Neglect works as a policy tool since it provides the state a space to understand the effects of calamity. Or it can be deployed since that which is being neglected cannot become a risk factor for the state itself (Bjorkman, 2005). Industrialisation enabled migration like war did, only the form of migration changed from having to dislocate oneself for reasons of survival, to dislocate in search of survival. This dislocation would not have been possible without the two forms of capital expansion in the preceding centuries.

First was the mercantile influence on the networks of circulation, which changed the land ownership dynamics Mumbai and Maharashtra. Land ownership of several farms, farmed at the behest of the Maratha empire, gradually was consolidated into the hands of a single fiscal entity (Banaji, 2010). Since these processes carry on from that time to the present, their area of influence changes, but the form of influence, as capital, does not. Mercantile networks in post-independence India were employed by monopoly capitalists who used them as commodity circulation circuits for their own products. The circuits were used to penetrate regional centres of population concentrations in two ways. One, as a market for commodity itself, and secondly as potential areas for subordination by capital. Through instruments of credit, large capitalists from Mumbai could penetrate regional centres like Nasik, and Dhule. The credit would ensure that industrial growth in these places would be subordinated to capital from Mumbai. While regional capital, and capital

accumulation progressed independently, that did not prevent industrial monopoly houses in Mumbai in being able to subordinate them. (Dannhaeuser N., 1984; Ghose A., 1974).

State formation

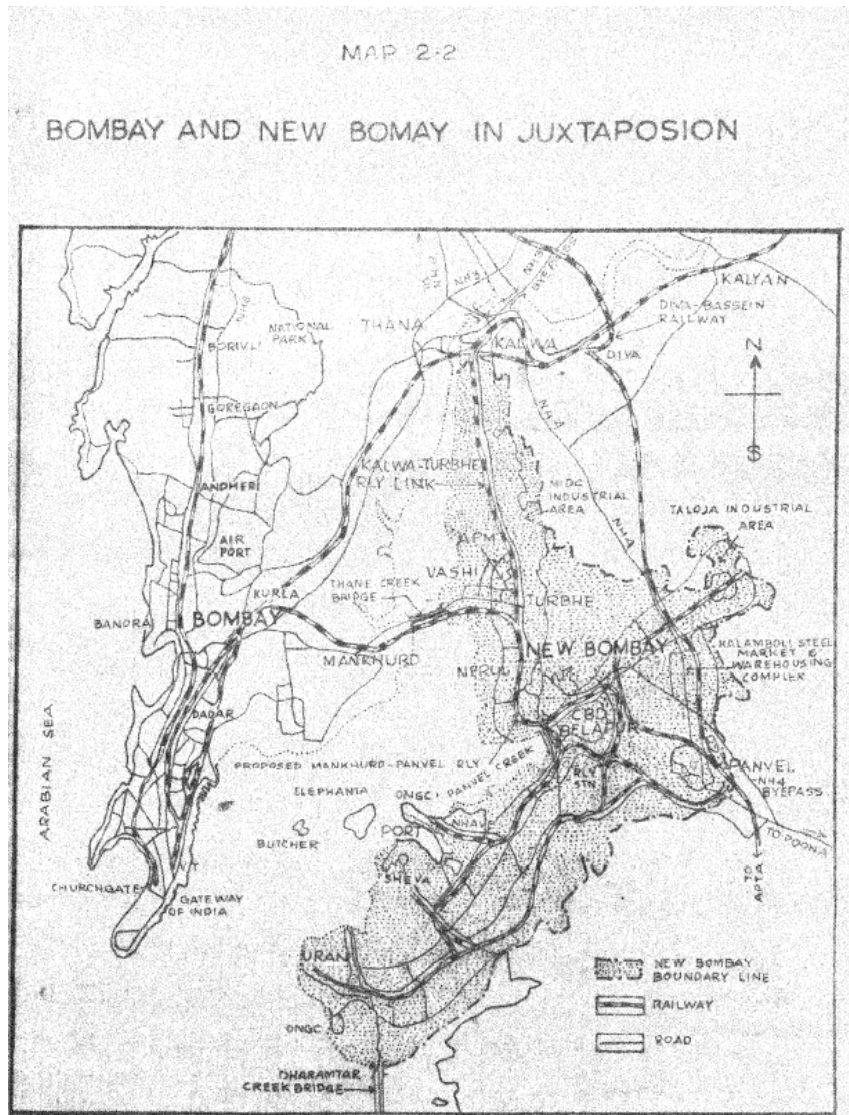


Fig 14: Map of the Bombay Metropolitan Region

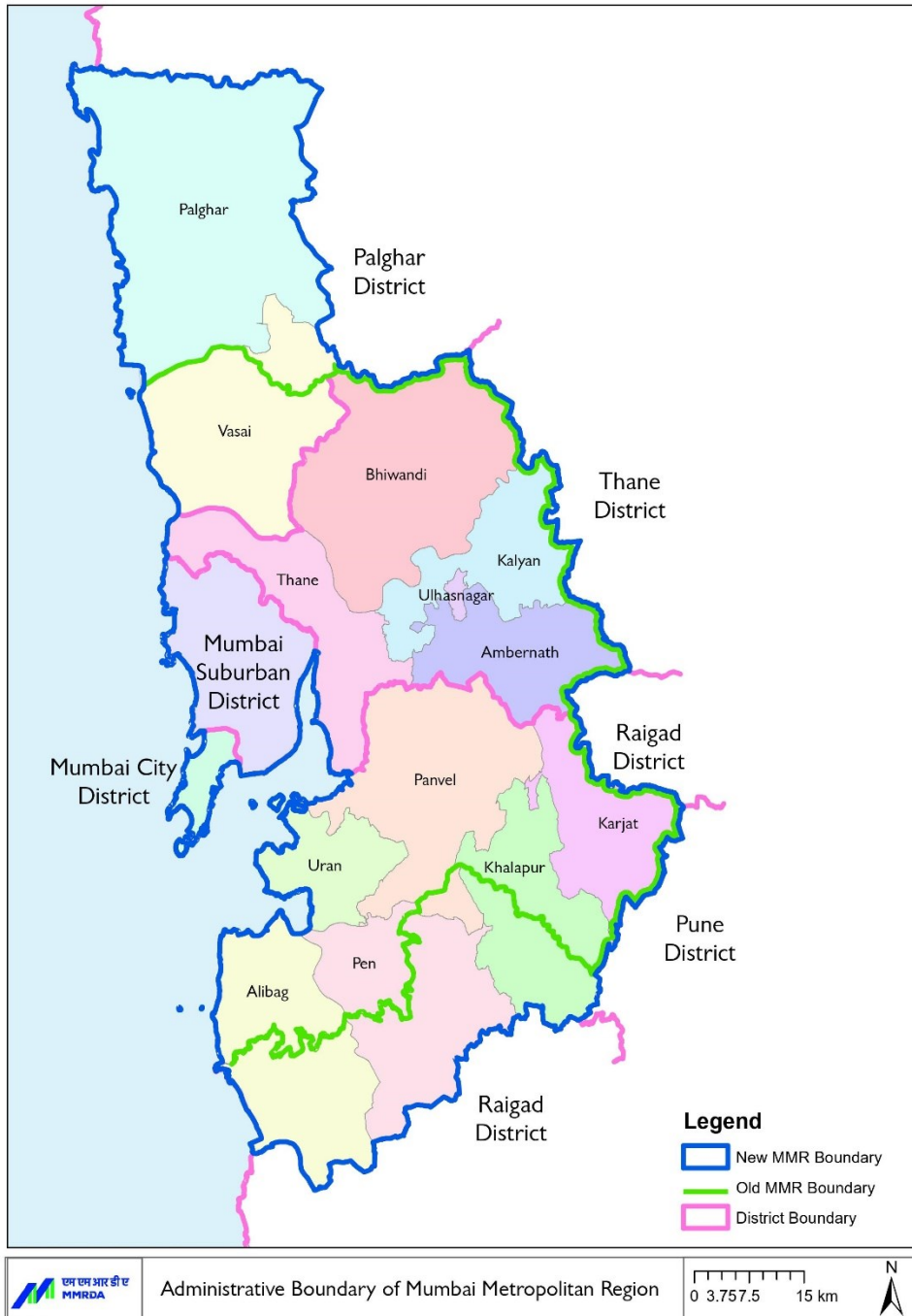


Fig 15: Map of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region

The conflict of linguistic states was resolved in 1960 through legislation remain active as ethnic conflict, in general political rhetoric, and especially the cadre of ethnonationalist parties for possession and repossession of the city. The claim is less over territory and more over the financial apparatus that has entrenched over time in the older core of the city. The name changes to Mumbai which occurred in 1996 was a partial closure of this dispute of possession. State formation has another opening in form of the linguistic

reorganization of states act. While the former was the governing state framework for national production as a whole. Sub-national frameworks were important factors in the ability of capital to keep negotiating protections from the state (Lalvani, 2006; Frankel, 2005). The city in its ability (ability of an organised capitalist class), to negotiate conditions of production with the state, is able to act as an autonomous state formation.

Post-independence Indian state choose to retain legal precedents set during the colonial administration at the onset. Overtime through various judgements and constitutional amendments the law has evolved. The evolution of the law with which we are concerned with here largely pertains to the area of land reform. The logic of land reform, as stated previously in the chapter related to primitive accumulation, remains the same i.e., to facilitate commodity production.

While the capitalist development within the city produced instruments of politics, jurisprudence, and culture, the expansion of capital altered those in regions which were subsumed by the economy of the city. While a core-periphery description is helpful to understand the nature of this development, it should be understood for the region to mean periphery and the city to mean the core. The city has a core within itself, and the region has multiple cores, which have their own periphery (Lefebvre H. 1990; Chandavarkar, 1994; Chavan, 2015; Lalvani, 2008).

The expansion of capital breaks territory into geographies that perform specific operations. To refer to regional cores or peripheries as “rural” or “hinterland” defeats the purpose of analysis, since what is subordinated is not administrative areas, but production economies which are difficult to locate within the geography (Lalvani, 2008). That is so because, while the state created framework for commodity production on a cooperative basis in the region, it was unable to provide a robust infrastructure of credit. In the instance of the sugar producing cooperatives, the state infrastructure for credit, and logistics, was unable to comprehend the growth conditions that sprung up in its aftermath, and thus were subordinated by local, and informal credit infrastructure. While the state lost a means of income, it created adverse effects in form of exploitation of the people working as formal and informal labourers in the industry. Informalisation of instruments of capital precedes the informalisation of labour. Like in this case where debt

entrapment affects labour as a condition of instruments of capital that are informal (Lalvani, 2008).

State, if it is delineated, asserts itself through policy and a bureaucracy that implements it. Depending upon the state structure being considered, policies and bureaucracies can acquire multiple dimensions based upon their allegiance whether being a state subject *proper* or belonging to a party mechanism although acting as a de facto force. The harassment by the state, whether it be structural exploitation or direct violence, it is understood here in conjunction with its relation to capital (Harvey, 2003).

From 1947 towards the end of the 1970s a pattern of development would emerge as a result of conflict between state and capital (Frankel, 2005). Other cities with changing, evolving political entities would attempt to adapt this model of development. The state, in the first two decades of independence, would have a difficult time with this development model. This is the first external contradiction. Capitalist development in independence had to reckon with the changing of the state formation. Nehru's ideas of state socialism were fiercely contested and eventually dismantled by Mumbai industrialists (Chibber V. 2008). Their second challenge came with the arrival of Indira Gandhi as Nehru's successor (also his daughter) which created a time of turbulence not unlike those in South America and Africa in the 1970s. The agent of turbulence was internal in the case of India. Indira's notions of socialism, even more malformed than those of her father, would have her open a flank against capital in the early stage of her career.

The third contradiction which was gestating through the developments of Nehru and Indira's times in power was that of liberalisation. While formalised in 1991, liberalisation was being argued, articulated, and contested in formal government spaces since the time of Nehru. Nehru once gambled his leadership position within the Congress party to defeat these discussions which eventually had their due during the premiership of his grandson. These events coincided with critical spatial changes in Mumbai (Banerjee-Guha, S. 2008). It is necessary to understand these events in greater detail to ascertain their chronology and causality with respect to their larger impact on urban policy in the country. In large cities like Chennai and Bangalore, industrialisation, or mercantilism pre-existed Mumbai,

but the expansion of capital in Mumbai outpaced those cities by the end of the 19th century. Larger cities would later attempt to relocate capital from Mumbai (Verma, 1982). To relocate capital would mean to relocate, the instruments of reproduction of capital from Mumbai. The financial services infrastructure in Mumbai, having been in development since the 1850s, being identified as the instrument may have been the reason of failure for these schemes.

In post-independence period, the subordination of the region produces economic effects which are subservient to capitalist desires from urban centres. The state conceptualised instruments of planning and corporate discipline are subordinated by capital, which destroys any potential for equitable development (Chavan 2016). Yet, centralised planning proposals, and some of Nehruvian ideals of cooperative development of production and credit in the “hinterlands” does come to pass. These developments are hinged upon party politics inside the Indian National Congress and the early political force of the Communist Party. In the fourth part of the case study, I develop the spatial changes on the regional and urban level where the regional is subservient to the urban. The complexity of the markets and the very initiation of industrialisation in Thane, and northern Maharashtra comes at the behest of capital concentrated in the city. As the capital needs space to expand, it subordinates territories to its commercial and productive logic.

An aspect that has not been used as an analytical lens, but requires mentioning, is the success of the politics of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh⁴². The RSS emerged from a complicated revolutionary politics that was developing in West Bengal before the October revolution. As a result of the October revolution there was a break in the armed revolutionary elements active within the Indian independence struggle (Jaffrelot C. 1996). Hedgewar, who acquired some knowledge of revolutionary politics, established the RSS in 1925. Interlinked with a politics informed by caste based Hindu jurisprudence, Hedgewar⁴³ created an institution which resulted in the formation of the Bhartiya Janata Party in the later part of the 20th century. It is the ruling party in India presently and is the

⁴² Right wing, paramilitary organization whose goal is establishment of India as a Hindu dominated ethno-state

⁴³ Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, founder of the RSS

culmination of the politics of the RSS initiated in the 1920s, and gradually expanded in northern India in the first two decades after independence. Its importance is in relation to their organisation capabilities and converting capital interest in their favour as the congress lost them over time. It is also a continuation, if in a mutated form, of Mohandas Gandhi's politics (Jaffrelot C. 1996). The RSS combined with ethno-nationalist party, the Shiv Sena⁴⁴, in Mumbai was able to capture power at the critical time during liberalisation. The RSS-BJP was also instrumental in giving a religious turn to a generally reactionary politics of the Shiv Sena. Their combined impact on the post-liberalisation Mumbai (SS being a key reason why the name was changed) is also not discussed in detail.

Althusser's use of ideology conforms to Lefebvre's use of the term rationality. In both instances it is used to describe a resolatory logic of a domain. For Althusser, ideological reproduction is the reproduction of the domain based on that logic through which problematics are resolved within it. For Lefebvre, rationality plays a similar role, where disciplinary rationality reproduces the discipline via discipline. Ideological production, or production tethered to ideology is not, like most instruments of exploitation, unique to the post-war period.

Relations of production

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Spatial changes in the periphery take form in conjunction with development of capital in the city. Development of market and production forces is enabled as the requirements of

⁴⁴ Party formed by Bal Thackrey, which played a role in the weakening of labour unions in Bombay, as well as had a ethno-nationalist politics, although confined to Maharashtra and Marathi speaking people in contrast with the RSS's national ambitions

the merchants and the industrialists in the city change, the expansion of capital requires for change in the relations and means of production in the region where agricultural production gradually is transformed into industrial production. These changes are affected through instruments of circulation of capital, where lines of credit extend from the core to the periphery and enable development (Durand, 2017). The logic, bears repeating since it requires to be reproduced, since it is the description of the conditions of production. In historical terms they can be understood as the peripheralization of the region through legislation, which concretises the othering from the core, which is Mumbai (Indorewala et al, 2017).

Alongside intensifying the complexity of the instruments of production and circulation, these changes manifest transformations in urban governance. As the city, its needs, and its output grow increasingly complex, governance tools are required to administer it. Thus, a framework of governance is applied to the framework of development (Frankel F. R. 2005). Implementation and conception of government bodies to deal with changing nature of employment, housing, ideology, and to accommodate pre-existing ideological frameworks produce a bureaucracy that failed more than it succeeded. This includes party bureaucracy like that of the congress party which could not be commandeered to negotiate from sub-national governments a favourable position for the state against capital (Frankel, 2005).

Labour harassment takes different forms throughout the history of industrialisation. The theft of wages, as a condition, is structural rather than consequence that will be seen in day-to-day action. Labour is robbed of their power to do labour, and any form of surplus is extracted such that they are unable to expend themselves anything else (Banaji, 1990; Lalvani, 2008). That union action was largely organised around better work conditions and fair pay was working within the conditions of capitalism and wasn't an assault on it. But labour organizations towards the 70s were heterogenous organisations past the ideological influence of the communist party (Patel, 1998). The competition of the early days of independence between the communist party and the Congress had entered the domain of labour organization. The congress being a party allied, through their fund-raising apparatus, with landlords and (Sathe, 1998).

The antagonism against the communist party led the congress, in conjunction with capital, extend a line of credit to political outfits ground and funds to eat into the resources and organisation of the communist party. The rise of the Shiv Sena in that time, their violent tactics, and xenophobic rhetoric was utilised by the congress to defeat the communist party and its affiliates, but also blunt the ideological grounding they had provided to labour unions. At the same time, the labour organisations were blamed for slowing growth, and inability of national industries to be able to grow and expand into exports network (Hensman, 2011). Leading up to the emergency of 1975, the state strategy was to dismantle labour laws in such a way that the definition of what constitutes labour was changed. This was to allow employers to be able to sub-contract labour needs, and not be held responsible for labour abuse or invest in workplaces and improvements. Industrial investment in housing at this point, was not discussed in any manner, especially in the regional expansion (Hensman, 2011).

4.4. Formal deregulation: illusory production, illusory space in Mumbai pre-liberalisation

Nature of production

In advanced economies of the “global north”, after the shift from manufacturing to the domination of financial services industry in major metropolises of the world, capitalist production transitioned from industrial manufacturing to increasingly intangible forms of production, relying on diverse forms of fictitious capital to keep extracting interest (Durand, 2017). It is not sufficient that new should emerge. It is necessary that as the new emerges, the old must cease to exist, as this process is of replenishing. Thus, capital accumulated in industrial enterprises was invested in the financial markets. Aside from this, the land in the city, which was previously occupied by cotton mills, was converted to capital as mills shut down gradually (Shaw, 1999; Banerjee-Guha, 2002). No new space is created, no new social or economic forms of existence are birthed in this process of development and expansion of capital, but the those existing are modified (Banerjee-Guha, 2002). In this effort, it becomes a reality that those subject to these phenomena, whether spatial or economic, are outmoded or dispossessed from their bearing, as the transformation takes place. The mill (industrial) lands in Bombay, occupying the centre of the city since the middle of the 19th century were sold and redeveloped over the decade after liberalisation reforms of 1991.

Smaller cities or cities where industrial activity emerged after state action were unable to affect such urban developments. The reason for the late emergence of urban agglomerations in Nashik, Aurangabad and elsewhere (in Maharashtra) is rooted in the process of circulation of capital from Mumbai. While Industrial development was able to extract surplus from territories far and wide, the commercial apparatus for their distribution into less urbanised areas took time (Dannhaeuser, N. 1984). The development of these circulation networks grew gradually since the 1940s and reached maturity in the 1970s. The late development is hinged in many factors to do with laxity induced by protectionist nature of the state and poor strategic know-how in industrialist firms. This would have an impact on the urban spaces in Nashik and Aurangabad, in their formation and evolution, and also on the perception of the urban character of these cities

(Dannhaeuser, 1984; Kelkar, 2013). The maturity of these networks from comprador operations in the initial stages to becoming locally operated later would feed industrial development incentivised by the state (Dannhaeuser, N. 1991). Developing of the circuit of circulation resulted in the availability of capital, as credit, which could be expanded by investing in Industry.

The limitations to development arise based upon how this circuit works and the location of individual (city, firm, institution etc.) on the circuit. Without a steady flow of capital (from the state as incentive, or from capital itself as credit) there was not sufficient basis for industrial development. While the role of industrial policy is key here, it would not be sufficient to investigate that alone for understanding the patterns of growth in cities like Nashik and Aurangabad. A comparison of these cities with Mumbai or Pune in 2013 shows the former to be at a clear disadvantage. Pune was a regional capital since the 17th century retained its status a cultural and commercial centre throughout the 18th to 20th centuries (Mahajan, 1984). Nehru's inability to affect a politics, of what he understood as socialism, in his administration of the congress party and the liberal factions within the congress led to the collapse of that thinking by the time Indira Gandhi came into power (Chibber V. 2008). The commodity circulation circuit grew at a modest rate in the regional centres in Northern Maharashtra. Before that, it was essential that the markets be modified for the transition.

What is being sold in the two differentiates them although they can be identified as 'market'. As the *thing* that is being sold acquires increasing degrees of abstraction, the complexity of the market formation can be considered to have increased (Durand, 2017). A marketplace created to buy and sell compounded debt, is not the same as the one where one can buy and sell onions or mangoes. Such phenomena require for me to discuss the "realness" or the physicality of these spatial phenomena. Spaces, like the products mentioned before, could be real or exist in the abstract. Thus, some spatial phenomena could exist only in the domain of ideas and yet be populated by real human beings. But abstract or ideas can produce material consequences to physical spaces as well. This can be seen in the unhousing of the industrial workers, after the loss of employment (Sherlock, 1989; Banaji, 2010).

Market, as a spatial phenomenon, is critical for this study since it appears to be the key component which decides the fate of an economy. The size and complexity of a market (village, city, region, etc.) decides whether it can remain independent or should be combined with several others to create a new entity (Wink, A. 1983). It could also be the reason for an economy to be neglected or be considered expendable, where territorial scores are settled through explicit violence of war or armed conflict. Depending upon the state formation, and its bureaucratic framework, these decisions could potentially translate into several possible socio-economic decisions. One such result was intensification of competition between internal organs of the state (Brenner, 1993). The antagonism between the planning ministry on hand against all others is an illustration of that conception. The planning commission was gradually delegitimised by effective non-cooperation by all other bureaucracies of central and sub-national governments (Chibber, 2008) The effects of intense competition will appear across the relations of production, since they will primarily affect the day to day lives of the people who are engaged in the activity of production. The effects of the delegitimization of the commission was a pattern of growth and development that had no space of moderation, and no culprit or cause. The planning commission itself was made a culprit of its demise (Chibber, 2008).

Market is something that is found across these periods in varying levels on complexity. The complexity does not follow a path of upward growth, but depends entirely on the productive forces, and the relations of production. It also appears both as a real and an abstract space. It shows the potential to have a physical and ideological impact on other spatial and economic phenomena. It also shows the proclivity to be affected by physical, yes, but more importantly, ideological phenomena. Religion being one such ideological force that transcends boundaries of time and production, to affect the composition of the market. To illustrate it historical parallel, the development of industrial lands in the metropolitan region and the narrative of 'deindustrialisation' of the city. While there is still large-scale manufacturing activity in Mumbai *proper*, the first two decades after liberalisation led to the production of academic and institutional studies that assert this narrative. Apart from this, as an ideological effect, the situation of labour and industry shows parallel, where both are seen to be informalized in relation to the other (Banaji, 1990; Patel, 1998; Banerjee-Guha, 2009).

Forms of Production

The categorisations do not always conform to a time span where especially in the first two modules we see overlapping in the dates, due to reasons related to state formation as well as durations for completion of economic processes. Understanding economic and spatial phenomena in this manner will highlight how regional development and development models are conceived in the present

For instance, while a pre- and post-independence period is considered a marker for separating historical study, it is considered less relevant in this case, since development of Industrial capital, a process that begins in the middle of the 19th century, goes on formally till the 1970s and is yet in process of development as informal industrialisation (Shaw, 1990).

The issue with approaching these reforms in governance would involve, at that time dismantling of the protectionist state framework that had also resulted from the pre-independence negotiations of the planning committee. Industrialists and trade bodies, as well as precedent, argument in favour of the model of Import subsidised Industrialisation (Chibber, 2008). Industrialists were squeamish of participating in foreign markets since that would involve them having to develop a know-how of a new logic of production and enter into competition in a network of circulation, from which they were currently protected from (Chibber, 2008). This is a parallel to critical description of Indian capitalist class in the 19th and early 20th century in its hesitancy and inability to take decisions related to transition from trade and money lending to industry. This risk averse behaviour is present in the capitalists negotiating with the Congress as well as in the Bombay plan (Frankel, 2005; Morris, 1983; Chibber, 2008). This was also helpful for them being able to maintain their position in the national scene as they could control the credit infrastructure and thus control the process of expansion of capital.

Import subsidised industrialisation was institutionalised on the basis of the precedent of its success, but it the precedent of its eventual failure was not accounted for, since eventually, the saturation of the market, and state policy would eventually slow down growth, which eventually happened towards the end of the 60s. At the same time

American financial and state institutions were lobbying for entry of western capital into India (Indorewala, et al, 2017). This required for state action in some form to account for unrest and failing logic of production. The way to go about this was conceived of as an “internal liberalisation” during the Indira Gandhi administration that reformed the licensing regime (Chibber, 2008).

For the state, the issue to solve should have been the high concentration of capital in small number of industrial houses. State action in this line is limited to buying or acquiring large patches of land in the outskirts of Bombay and in cities like Nasik, Jalgaon, Aurangabad and handing them over to an agency created for Industrial planning and growth. The MIDC (Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation) and the CIDCO (City and Industrial Development Corporation) began planning of these lands by creating lots to be leased for development of new industry (Shaw, 1998). This process was slowed down by the periodic auction of license contracts, as well as the lack of lines of credit created by the state. Informal credit or private credit outside of industrial capital, which had not already been subordinated to capital, was largely in rural areas where the MIDC and CIDCO were not allotted assignments (Frankel, 2005). The lots created by the MIDC development were taken up by a new entrepreneurial class that raised capital largely from the line of credit extended by already established large industry. This resulted in their ventures allying with those of the large industry and compounded inefficiencies in the licensing system as well as further damaged any remaining credibility of the Planning commission. At this point, the commission was an institution for statistical analysis and policy recommendations, which were only brought up by ministerial bureaucracy when it could blame failure on the planning commission. The cooperative credit system was only mobilised in the context of agricultural production. The inability of the state to produce a scheme for conceptualising such a system to incentivise a new class of small industrialist robbed the state of any influence or stake in their development (Chibber, 2008).

Form of Capital

The inability to produce alternative credit infrastructure went hand in hand with the failed policy infrastructure of land redistribution and land ceiling. These initiatives failed

because the party bureaucracy in New Delhi could never bring on board the sub-national party functionaries with these schemes and did not engage in long term consultative process with them to assure their support. In Maharashtra, these schemes failed because of the lobbying efforts of the industrialist as well as the background of the congress leaders in the state (Chibber, 2008). The political leadership of Maharashtra came largely from western Maharashtra, especially from *Paschim Maharashtra* region and thus favoured capital interests from western Maharashtra as opposed to holistic growth. This also led to investment that favoured that capital interest which led to industrial development in Suburban Mumbai, *Paschim Maharashtra*, Nasik, and Khandesh (Frankel, 2005).

Banking and credit infrastructure developed in two parallels, where one was the state led expansion of services to more people and other was the continued dependency on informal credit (Chavan, 2006). The dependency on informal credit was resulted from traditional relations of production as well as possibility of refinancing that the state would not provide.

State formation

Histories of Mumbai and Maharashtra have been written to document the events mentioned above although with emphasis on them being events or through the point of view of the protagonists within those events. These histories tend to, knowingly or unknowingly tend to glorify, or valorise, the events or protagonists. History of Mumbai has been written with focus on a single industry, industrial house, or a family, like the Tatas. There have been histories which chronicle the rise of various socio-cultural institutions which have, in their becoming, preserved some aspects of its past. Other histories focus on the development of political parties or ideological developments within which parties of situated themselves. The communal conflicts rising after the strengthening of the BJP-SS alliance resulted in various terrorist incidents in the city in the period after liberalisation.

The question regarding the possibility of equitable growth is raised by the state throughout the 1970s, and 80s, a time in which the scholarly and political foundations for

the neoliberal turn were maturing. Liberalism was presented as the only alternative to boost industrial growth, poverty alleviation, and reducing graft. It was also a transparent attack on the relative strength of the labour unions (Banaji, 1990). The questions raised regarding unequal development would have found answers if the state was to take a historical approach and look inwards. The failure of the cooperative development of Nehruvian imaginations was also rooted into the apathy towards the planning commission by state government operatives, and in the disconnect of national leadership of the congress party invested in that vision from local leadership (Chibber V. 2008).

Congress Party was populated by the landowner class of Bombay which was able to participate in the early governance mechanisms formulated in the city. These variables worked out in their favour, and with pliable congresspersons like Gandhi, and conservatives like Patel and Rajagopalachari⁴⁵, this class, now having acquired a consciousness, and developed tactics and capital and labour reserves to hold out against organised labour, were able to control the dominant ideological strain in the congress party. Gandhi was willing to side with capital and remonstrate labour for strike action. Patel left a lasting conservative heritage in all arenas of discourse acting as a spiritual figure for the contemporary Hindu-right wing party. Rajagopalachari created a conservative faction within the congress party and later split with the party to create the Swatantra party (Anderson P. 2013; Jaffrelot, 1996). These ideological strains of *difference* within the early congress party have a place in contemporary India with the names of people and party formulations being adopted by present day right-wing organisations.

Nehru, as party leader also led the more liberal and social democratic factions in the congress party finding allies or bipartisan support in the communist party, which at the time was the principal opposition. This faction, during and after Nehru's time, attempted to steer the congress towards large social programs to combat inequality. The problematic of these programs was side stepped in the inability of Nehru as party leader to be able to commandeer the party resources and internal bureaucracy towards these goals. Congress party programs under Nehru, with tacit support of the communist party, included land

⁴⁵ Gandhi, Patel, and Rajagopalachari were all conservative minded Hindus, and were well acquainted with the Ahmedabad mill owners. Their relations were effective for fundraising for congress.

redistribution, land ceiling, cooperative model of land administration and production, large investments in practical education to train scientists, engineers, and likewise, and in infrastructure like dams and public utilities. In this scheme was also a component of regulating the industrial sector, and industrialists themselves, through the institution of centralised economic planning.

The idea behind instituting planning was to institute within the state framework a leash on industrial excess and adventurism. State being a financial partner in industry made it practical for the state to have statutory authority to regulate the workings of industry orienting it to work towards plan goals. Since a wholesale nationalisation of all industry was not undertaken, the state, or so it was thought, should be govern and prioritise production (Chibber, 2008). Planning was conceived in the run-up to independence where, like other things, a National Planning Committee was created to deliberate upon development planning. Representatives of industry were made a part of these committees along with members of the congress party. The rejection of state ownership was facilitated in this deliberative body and capitalists were able to lobby against state control as well. But state control was instituted at least till the third five-year plan after which began the institutional decline of development planning (Shaw, 1999).

By the time of the third plan, the planning commission, its ability to regulate government policy making or regulate industry, was structurally nullified. This was less a response to a policy instrument in by a party and legislative apparatus but an ideological response from Industrialists. The planning commission was created as a way for the state to be able to monitor, regulate, and discipline private capital where interests diverged from the national interest. The conservative response from within party infrastructure at this point began formulating vision for removal of all kinds of regulation, since they saw regulation as a hindrance on freedom of market forces which in their eyes held back growth. It also involved scrapping or radical reform in the licensing apparatus. These arguments weren't forming or occurring to congress people organically, as comprador efforts from the US, was visible since the 60s.

The post-independence state created various instruments of asserting its presence upon the minds of its new subjects, and instruments to make subject those who would resist.

While the emergency itself is not unique in character and should not assume importance that cannot be gathered from events that preceded it, it gathers importance for what it enabled in its aftermath (Sherlock, 1989).

“a conscious Marxist, Gramsci already forestalled this objection in one sentence. The distinction between the public and the private is a distinction internal to bourgeois law, and valid in the (subordinate) domains in which bourgeois law exercises its ‘authority’. The domain of the State escapes it because the latter is ‘above the law’: the State, which is the State of the ruling class, is neither public nor private” (Althusser, 2014 pg. 11)

The socialist imaginations of Nehru quickly gave way exposing the internal contradiction of the congress party. The party built by landlords and cultural elites, absorbed through dying aristocracies, and petty fief lords, would oppose Nehru’s nationalisation and wealth redistribution agenda. The state acted against itself, and through collaborating with capital, dismantled the social democratic framework Nehru was attempting to build. His daughter, Indira, meanwhile took to socialism as a means to an end, the end being power. Her affair with socialism, ended in the emergency.

The long history of those thirty years after independence, cannot be condensed into Nehru or Indira’s ideological disposition. It included a long antagonism with the Communist party on the outside, and of the congress with itself, leading to the creation of various off shoots of the congress, one of which eventually became the BJP. It is a case of the congress through its chase for the social democratic vision bifurcating and emphasizing the divide between public and private. The congress in this process antagonised, without having any means of retaliation or party notions of democratic centralism, large parts of its own organisation to conceive the private. This is a kind of ideological production. The antagonism created a philosophical plane for congress party members, as well as technocrats, to become enamoured by the lobbying effort of the United States and organisations allied with it. It led to deregulation in spatial planning, industry, and in the end all spears of public life, introducing new vectors of harassment (Indorewala, et al., 2017).

Another form of Ideological production was effective in the relations of production that facilitated other kinds of othering where the presence of “rural” and “urban” economies

and a politics of villages and the politics of cities took route through Gandhi. While Ambedkar, and Nehru had differing views on development of non-urbanised economies, their intent was a universal urbanisation, or the recognition of the state of that political economy. Gandhi and Gandhians after him had notions of rural development, which was to be disconnected from urban development somehow, ignorant of the way urban economies had subsumed regional economies over the past two hundred years. It led to the unmitigated development and preservation of the social relations of caste, and informal capital accumulation, which transitioned from one form to another, reaching, with state aid (or desperation) to formalised industrial capital towards the 1970s.

Finally, in spaces abstract and unseen, ideology produced the conditions for Nehru's grandson, with a class of academics, technocrats, bureaucrats, providing theoretical basis and statistical foundation of inserting deregulation in the domain of law. The liberalisation of the economy in 1991, was the end of the process, of ideological production, that had begun with Indira Gandhi.

Relations of production

After independence changes have been made to land administration in terms of rent control, attempts at nationalization and land redistribution, coastal area regulations, and institution of economic zones within the city through master planning, land-use planning, and development control regulations.

The Capitalist found ways for these forms of exploitation to co-exist along with its mode of production. Anand Teltumbde makes a case for the co-existence of the caste system with neoliberalism where the social forms of exploitation translate into, and are intensified in, the period of deregulation at the turn of the century (Teltumbde A. 2010).

The impact of caste, as a function of class, permeates through all aspects of the changes described in this study. It pertains to access, opportunities, social functions, and all aspects of *production in general*. The impacts described in the city are more general to class, rather than internal structures of class. Since this is a society where people of multiple faiths and sectarian divides are being accommodated in the city, the impacts of

social and spatial transformation on their lives are diverse, as their faiths are diverse (Appadurai, 1996).

As with the class consciousness within capitalist, the internal class structure and struggle within the proletarian movements in 20th century Mumbai will be mentioned only for the discursive prominence it has acquired in the “deindustrialisation” of Mumbai (Kohli, 2006). There are degrees of fiction to the prominence of labour organisations as well as the “deindustrialisation of Mumbai”. The former because labour movements and organisation in terms of political education and Marxist orientation were lost to a degree in the final stages of the struggle. Political developments as well as plant to plant realities led to a fracture in the level of control the communist political outfits had over labour (Gupta, 1982). The deindustrialisation on the other hand is a fiction because it is only the deindustrialisation of the core. Industrial activity of formal and informal variety is very much operational in Mumbai and its metropolitan area. The absence of from the core merely covers up the informatisation of the economy and the informalisation of labour (Hensman R. 2011).

After independence, Mumbai, and other concerned constituents fell within the Bombay state, which was a large administrative body although now short in comparison to the Presidency which encompassed areas in the north from Sindh to the kingdom of Mysore in the south. Bombay city now served as a financial centre par none, in the newly independent India. It was the most industrialised city in the country, and where the central bank for the country was located. The city was also contained the largest stock exchange⁴⁶ in the country, and the oldest one currently functional. The city was the capital of the Bombay state and had a now mature urban governance mechanism in the form of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The corporation had indulged in the past in schemes of public works improvements having limited success in these endeavours (Indorewala, et al). The city, unlike many others, did not possess a radial plan, as the shape of the islands dictated the process of development. The city was a major political concern for state makers and was a site of intense contestation among the political parties that were traditionally allied with capital (Indian National Congress) and those that were allied with

⁴⁶ Bombay stock exchange

labour (Communist Party of India). These conflicts would be played out on a regional level as well as urban, as would be reflected in the matter of States Reorganisation Act.

Indian National congress traditionally being a party of the landowners and industrialist, the local elite, and landed gentry (such as they were) was the party in power in the central government and was responsible for the drafting of the fundamental instruments of power that would govern the country in future (Calman, 1978) (Sathe, 1998). One such instrument is the constitution of the country which was drafted by congresspeople as the dominant party in the constituent assembly. The very framework of national and sub-national governance was conceptualised by these congresspeople, instituting important institutions like the Reserve Bank of India, undertaking numerous large infrastructure projects instrumental to agricultural development, commissioning the development of educational institutions, and the conception of the planning, and finance commissions. These institutions, along with ministerial bureaucracies (which were already functional in the imperial administration), would help expose the contradictions of the congress party, and the state framework it conceptualised.

Indian economy, as has been illustrated so far in this study, was, before the advent of British rule, was rife with inequalities emanating from the relations of production that cannot be compartmentalised in the framework of urban and rural. Caste follows a banker or a labourer wherever they may travel or work, and it hindered the later more than the former from relocating. Relocation, and migration offered chances for those belonging to the “backward classes” to bargain social relations in their favour wherever possible, which was recognised by Ambedkar in his early drafts for the constitution (Ambedkar B. R. 2014). Ambedkar was desirous of facilitating that kind of move for his people, which he was unable to bargain for in the fall-out that resulted in the Pune pact. Inequalities coded in the social fabric can be reproduced wherever desired, and so they were in the industrial centres of modernity. The inequalities of caste were reproduced in public development works envisioned by the Bombay Municipal Corporation (Shaikh, 2021).

Labour relations in Bombay were evolving in context of the continued antagonism between the communist party(s) and the National congress. The congresses’ inability to build large following in the labour unions led to dispossession of labour by other means.

The congress supported the emergence of the Shiv Sena and their nativist agenda aimed initially against non-Marathi speakers in Bombay and Maharashtra in general. This was a politics inherited from the movement for creation of Maharashtra state.

The housing built for textile mill workers in Bombay was never replicated in industrial expansion in Thana district, New Bombay. When industrial expansion was being discussed in cities like Nasik, and Aurangabad. What instead came was the rise of informality in industrial activity, which was then transferred to labour. Informalisation of the production activity produced a space for the relations of production to be informalized. State can provide services or services framework for labour, but since people ceased to be employees in an era of increasing sub-contracting, the state never felt it necessary to protect people in employment. Capital expansion worked this way in the city as well as in the regional economies. Existing heavy industries, through extending credits had evolved a network of small and medium industries on MIDC land that produced components required for their functioning. The economics of this process kept producing smaller and smaller industries with increasing forms of informality to keep cutting costs such that all layer of this system could keep functioning and the debt originally incurred be paid by the lowest rung of industries, to the highest.

5. Analysis and Discussion of results

5.1 Alternate descriptions of the city and region and comparative analysis

“All the State Apparatuses function both by repression and by ideology, with the difference that the (Repressive) State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by repression, whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly by ideology.”

Althusser's elaboration opens a space to problematise the discourse of regional planning. This is so since it points us to the origin of this discourse which arises out of organisations within and outside the state. While the emergence of the non-Governmental sector and the think tank economy is traced to specific organisations in the two “post-war” periods in the west, organisations like that exist and have existed for all of time. Their specific position is outside the current form of state formation. That is the source of their distinction. Private organisations that affect policy making and state formation itself have been around in the form of lobbying groups constituted of merchants, priests, artisans, farmers and so on. Above all they exist in academic spaces which have been around in organised form for all human history. The Public and private, as we understand them today are specific to our contemporary imagination of the state. The forces that motivate the state, as with any instance of identity, come from outside of it as well as from within.

The state, through consulting its other, reproduces and reifies it, making the presence of the notion of “private” common and normalised. It is seen as a natural course of things for organised forces outside the state to exist and inform state formation as a continuous process. This act of the state becomes the site upon which ideological production is located. The same courtesy is not accorded to organised citizenry, which is relegated to be insurrectionist or being in dissent to the state formation. Private is something that is organised, is institutional, has an influence on policy infrastructure and yet is not a party formation or an organised citizenry. The ideological production on such sites, in the past

have been described in this document before. These certainly only constitute some outputs of that production. In this chapter the impact of ideological production on planning discourse has been enumerated, as another output of that form of production.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, development, and expansion of capital from the city of Bombay subordinated regional economies in all of northern Maharashtra. The industrialisation of regional economies in the period after independence is based off the credit infrastructure from urban capital. Before industrialisation, urban firms would extend their networks of circulation in regional economies in form of comprador agents who were incentivised by a diverse payment system. While academic writing on the core-periphery duality keeps locating the core and periphery anew as time passes by, it is understood from looking at this academic output in its totality, that the core forms out of an undivided space and keeps forming a new, by othering territory, making a new core from the old.

While this phenomenon is easier to spot in cities, where they are demarcated by concentration of wealth or wealth reproducing activity, and “recreational” spaces, it is no less visible in the conception of the city as a core. Through chapters 4.1 and 4.2 it has been elaborated how a regional economy is othered overtime by creation of the notions of it being urbanised at a later time. Urban centres which had independent agricultural economies in northern Maharashtra were eventually subordinated into the industrial economy. These urban centres showed, throughout the 19th century to be potential “cores” for a regional economy to develop around them. The development of industrial capitalism in Mumbai from the middle of the 19th century however, ended those speculations.

In Bombay city itself, before industrialisation the cores changed according to the housing requirements of the European settlers. These dynamics generally made the old core around what was the city fort. In contemporary times, the core has multiplied creating multiple places in the city from which old and new capital operates and reproduces itself. In the periphery, as the dynamics of capital expansion change, farther and farther suburbs undergo an activity of gentrification, creating elite housing and recreational spaces, creating new informality of production and labour underneath.

In the wider region, new economies emerged after the policy changes in the 60s that created a discourse around regional planning, monopoly and restrictive trade, and the issue of land as capital. The industrialisation of those economies like that of Nashik, and Aurangabad created core and peripheries in and around those cities, although having different results, like the old city of Aurangabad being in a periphery condition with economic activity spread outside and around the city.

The result of these othering activities resulted in the collapse of labour power and organisations as a major political force, after the end of the Mumbai textile mills strike. While labour organisations as a whole were defeated completely much later around the time of formal liberalisation, they were a scattered and defeated force, that could not gather numbers or unity due to many interventions of the congress party, and anti-communist ideological developments. The land where they laboured and lived was converted into capital and used in the form of market instruments. This land was left to decay and later parts of were gentrified and sold off to house the finance capital infrastructure, which is now the dominant form of capitalist activity in Mumbai.

The state's efforts to reverse these trends are problematised at the end of this chapter by compiling the discourse on development of the city and the region. This discourse, emanating from academia, state and international financial institutions, and general fronts for capital, appear to be empty rhetoric. Speech, that intends no action. Language that has no meaning. But is created solely for the purpose of consuming itself. The failure of this discourse is in its framework of reading history. Or to be specific, in its failure to consider the division of labour that separates the city from the region. In the works by the organisations mentioned before, which have been referenced in this study, the division of labour is considered to be related to specific forms of production, and not based on production as a general conception. Due to this the material does not refer to capital and the state as an outcome of production. In this situation, the conditions of reproduction of conception of production are not articulated. Since the understanding of the division of labour is different, the solutions that these papers propose fail to take address that fundamental contradiction between the city and the region. That its resolution will require an reorganisation of both categories, where one of them will have to be collapsed. The policy suggestions, and proposal of economic instruments have shown a historical

tendency to fail to address structural faults. The papers, with a few exceptions, fail to communicate the intensity of violence and exploitation that rests in this geographical formulation, and thus are inadequate tools for a study of geography or planning.

5.2 Description of conditions in the region and state assessment

In instituting the planning commission, having created pre-independence working committees to bargain with capital the role it will allow the state to pursue, the Indian state indicates a logic of development it will pursue. This is an indication intended to be read by multiple parties, in which the subjects of the state do not appear prominently. No matter what the intention behind instituting that line of planning bureaucracy and disciplining framework, the state had bargained with capital for a framework through which it could satisfy the requirements of being considered a regulatory force. In bargaining the form of the planning commission, the state had not been able to withhold fiduciary control over industries, which had been retained by capital. The state's role was then to promote and regulate the manufacturing sector in order to assure production of goods and services which would be considered national priority. To what extent the state was able to fulfil its roles could be assumed from the discipline controls it elaborated to regulate industry. It can also be assumed from the statutory authority provided to the planning commission, and its role as an arbiter of policy framework.

Before elaborating upon that, it will serve us to look at one of the key functions the planning commission was designed to fulfil. That is the function of compiling national statistics and performing statistical analysis to create indicators for particulars like industrial production, sectoral production, agricultural land holding, income, among other things. The reason for compiling data was simple. The planning commission was required to prepare five-year plans to indicate the state spending and investment model for every five years. It took an overview of what the national priorities should be considering the functioning of other ministries and leadership vision within the congress party. The process was to serve the leadership to design policy that will help fulfil the objectives of the plan, and theoretically act upon national priorities from a long-term

vision perspective. While I have already elaborated so far on the fate of the planning commission, it serves us to look at the commission from the point of view of a think tank that provided the government, from within itself, an agenda for development.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the failure, or more specifically, the active sabotage of the planning commission by capital and the congress party was another indication by the state of its intent for development agenda it wanted to pursue or would be allowed to pursue. This indication, unlike the previous one was not supposed to be declared at large to anybody except capital. Since the sabotage was engineered by capital, it was not necessary to actively push the matter. The planning apparatus did not fail entirely, and some aspects of government controls or regulations survived past the bureaucratic subterfuge. On one hand it was necessary for some regulatory tools to survive since the protectionist state would not be able to provide those services to capital. The system to initiate manufacturing through government license helped early development in industrialisation of the region surrounding Bombay. While the bureaucratic framework was not as efficiently corrupt as to provide licenses to specific people at the request of capital, it was negligent, to policy or reality. In that complacency the system would award licenses to manufacturing activity that did not defer to the logic of the five-year plans and would also award them without surety of commencement of manufacturing.

This led to hoarding of licenses, and effectively of the ability to manufacture. Industrialists would hold licenses to services profitable to them in long run, or areas in which they desired to make investment, but did not want to make them now and did not want to risk competition. What this did to the “fairness” of the market aside, it produced an industrial landscape in which essential lines of manufacturing were sabotaged by the way of malfeasance or neglect. The ideological production mentioned previously is a reaction to these developments, as the conservatism within the congress party now saw these developments as a result of state planning, or worse of “socialism”. The Indian state or its state controls system was not socialist, in the Marxist sense, and it could be argued that the policy lines it took up that would be considered social democratic failed to last beyond the years of Nehru’s years as prime minister. The

ascension of Indira Gandhi within the congress party did not result in sharpening of these measures or the contradictions they would bring forth with respect to capital.

Indira Gandhi's tenure in fact was the deciding factor for the ideological state apparatus to completely shelve the socialist pretensions of the Indian state, with the annihilation of labour regulations, and outright suppression through violence of all left-leaning discourses in the time of the emergency.

In conjunction to these events, the discourse and policy environment with respect to regional planning was also changing. The third five-year plan introduced a need for a master planning bureaucracy in state and urban administrations, as well as the need for regional planning. statistics for regional disparity, in the form of increasing proletarianization of the peasantry, seen in the increasing number of agricultural labourers as opposed to landowners, as well as increase in the number of people who held smaller parcels of land were enumerated from the days of the colonial administration. The state did not have a clean slate to build upon, and could rely upon statistics from the previous administrations, even if with a critical lens. The officers of the EIC had done the same with respect to land administration records of the Peshwa's bankers and accountants. It is not understood why this did not prompt the state to prepare a land use planning administration as an urban standard from the outset.

The state did begin this process with the third plan though, and it included broad strategies for land ceiling, tax reforms, public ownership and redistribution of land, through a framework of land use planning. The state incentivised development of regional and town planning departments and bureaucracies through funds extended to the states. In the long run, it intensified the separation of the core and the periphery, that is solidified the logic of their separation, and did nothing to purge it as an ideological defect. The objectives of the regional planning bureaucracies proposed in the third plan were not intended to dismantle the pre-existing logic of regional development for cities like Bombay, which had grown by appropriating regional capital.

5.3 Rhetoric of development

Alongside state legislation interventions were being made by international organisations to affect the development of urban areas in India, and to affect policy on industrial and

urban development. While the views of these organisations on the issue of regional planning will be elaborated here, it must be made clear that the interest is less in what they say, but what is their path of entry into the national planning and ministerial bureaucracies. To look for the origins of deregulation in the administrations of Raegan or Thatcher is folly, which is the same as looking for the roots of informalisation of industry and labour in post-liberalisation India. Their views, along with those of certain academics and bureaucrats presented hereafter will constitute the discourse of regional planning.

Institutional definitions account for inequality by indicators, leaning on a models that help the decision makers or stakeholders to work on policies for income and opportunity disparity, lack of availability to health, etc. They also recommend a cohesive approach and perform cost benefit calculations to understand the pitfalls of policies that promote regional equality. They warn of potential dangers of regional disparity itself, which could be characterised as scare mongering regarding populist politics (Floerkemeier et al., 2021). Some suggest states to take up “coherent spatial framework” and to include in parameters of policy making the “totality of national space”. This includes a castigation of national governments for not implementing “effective ... planning approach”. The state is advised to take into consideration a “multi-sector approach” and include people engaged with economic activities in policy making. There is a discussion about lack of ‘synergies’ which arise because of poor investment strategies (Parvez, 2010).

Others institutional recommendations are more specific, bringing up poor health statistics and particular policy failure, especially to do with poverty and health. A common thread among these papers is the warnings issued to state regarding what would happen if their subjects should grow discontent seeing their fellow citizen’s prosperity. There are multiple euphemisms for policy failure, which are less clear regarding the reason for critique. The state is advised to not make poor financial decisions such that it incurs debt or is caught in the situation of being illiquid (world bank, 2005). Euphemisms or metaphors (this tends to depend upon the subject being discussed falling in the occident or otherwise) change if territories change, where western states are presented policy advice with more contemporary metaphors of “uploading” influences. The language that warned developing states of lacking cohesive policies changes to recommending “trial and error” approach, without taking into

consideration why these states are afforded it. Language that is alien to the discourse, although entirely normalised elsewhere, is presented in a manner in which, the reader might think the concept of suspicious origin (Rivolin, 2016).

Against this approach, when dealing with papers written concerning the region pertaining to this study. These are academic papers; thus, they are not addressed to anybody in particular, but represent academic opinion on the concept of regional development. In a critique of the licensing system impeding growth, and not being representative of socialism, a paper suggests that it would be best to abandon regulatory approach, understanding historical realities of market composition (Shourie, 1973). On a paper related to credit reform, the author traces studies that makes a case for moneylenders being community figures, being a cohesive force within the economy. It goes further to differentiate a money lender from a usurer, creating a space to think good and bad debtors. The paper emphasises upon the important role played by money lenders in regional economy (Chavan, 2003). Another paper mentions that historical data regarding regional banking practices is limited, while reaffirming the “urban-rural divide” in banking facilities being available to people. The paper concerns formal banking and discusses informal banking separately. It mentions the worsening availability of banking services after liberalisation in rural areas (Chavan, 2016). A paper on rural credit investigates the causes of failures of credit cooperatives, and the strategies to revive them (provide liquidity from state). It recognises unequal distribution of resources, but in political domain, through party actions (Chavan, 2015). In investigating the nature of rural debt, a paper does not, as most literature on political economy reviewed for this study, problematise the conception of debt beyond, the formal (to mean, written or verbal contract recognised by both parties) agreement of its existence. While the paper enumerates types and quantity of formal debt relations, it leaves space to inquire what other forms of debt could exist, as payments system described in the same paper open a space to make that query (Bardhan, 1978). The assessment of regional disparity occurs after liberalisation more frequently than before, with multiple papers interested in studying effects of policy after 1991, while most of them admitting that it took the rest of the decade for the effects to settle. The comparative statistical analysis cited in the paper, looks at data of a decade before and

after liberalisation, to understand changing patterns of growth (Kar, Sakthivel, 2007). Other papers look at patterns of migration, language of mode and administrative transition, and new intra-regional formations (Shaw, 2005).

The contrast in institutional and academic literature is visible, since the former is directed at states, and is written in collaboration with states, and the latter is written in assessment of state. The intensity of assessment, the topics dealt with differ and the level of engagement with individual topics, although nested in the same discourse. The nature of this discourse is consequential to itself most of all. In the case of institutional evaluators, the contradiction rests in the proximity to state as partner.

The academic literature while grasping the issue, and in possession of the tools and historical background to present a critique, still gets caught up in theoretical dead-ends which limit the range of the inquiry, to understand the links between state, space, and the discipline.

6. Conclusion

At the conclusion of this study some of the points discussed in detail in previous chapters must be enumerated here briefly. To begin with the paper has established a theoretical and material context for study, locating its content in the city of Mumbai in Western India. In doing so an attempt has been made to trace a genealogy of the concept of the city, the city Mumbai, the idea of urban and regional development. Further, the study has presented a historical framework through which it seeks to study the subject and attempt to answer the questions asked at the beginning of the work. In elaborating upon the historical framework of it has also clarified the broad contours of its investigation and limitations of the study.

Through the case study the claim of historical relation between development and expansion of capital, and spatial phenomena can be affirmed. The development of capital affects existing spatial phenomena and results in the creation of new ones, Expansion of capital results in the emergence of those spatial phenomena elsewhere. From this elaboration the development of the city and region can be understood to be interlinked, and without attempting to see these relations as a totality, state cannot have effect on their future development.

From an overview of literature that has been called the discourse or rhetoric of development, we see that actors producing the discourse either fail to see those relations and thus make policy recommendations to the state which amount to the status quo, and at times provoke antagonism between state and subject. On the other hand, where the relation and the logic of development emanating from it is understood is a space that already has an antagonistic relationship with that state, although this is an internal contradiction. The state's ability to control ideological production, nullifies the resolution of the contradiction.

The study in these parts points to a negative answer to the query related to the possibility of equitable development and through the historical study presents a set of reasons to explain that claim.

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