

INDEX

Adani, Ratubhai, 41 constitution of, 52n6 Advani, L. K., 48, 118 cooperative housing scheme, 182 Ahmad, Nur, 85 demolition of unauthorised Ahmedabad constructions, 250, 264n47 British influence over, 32 elections, 50-51 conceptualisation as 'shock city', 13 grounds for appropriating property, 195 Congress Party's dominance in, 37 'participatory' process of urban differentiation of workers, 15 planning, 263n41 fable about, 1 policy on rehabilitation and hegemonic domination, 13 resettlement, 176n5 historiography of, 12-18 slum networking project, 136 incidence of communal violence, 16-18 Ahmedabad Parivartan (Slum labour-capital relations, 14 Networking Project), 137 mapping practices in, 10 Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad morphology, 3 (ABVP), 58n81 municipal limits, 7-8 Akhil Gujarat Navrachna Samiti, 216 notions of 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' areas, Ala, Chhagan, 100 alcohol/hooch poisoning, 98, 101, 214, 225, 228-229, 238 population of, 3 103, 124n1. See also bootlegging/ property transfers, legislation, 220-233 bootlegger proportion of textile workers in, 4 hooch deaths, 98-101 textile mill industry, 3-4 alcohol/hooch prohibition, 85, 97, 99, 101 worker neighbourhoods, 6 Ali, Manjur, 121 Ahmedabad Millowners Association All Gujarat Educational Reform Action (AMA), 5, 13, 33, 44-45, 52n11, 72 Committee (AGERAC), 216 Ahmedabad Municipal Commission, 32 Aman Chowk camp, 220 Aman Chowk relief camp, 220 Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC), 37, 49–50, 59n92, 63, 107, 112, Ambica group, 246 Ameen Society, 63 community development, 137 Amraiwadi, 6, 63, 83, 214, 216



> 298 INDEX

Amruta Mills Tenement Occupier Association, 200 Anti-Goondas Act, 96, 113-115, 129n90. See also Prevention of Anti-Social Activities Act (PASA) Calcutta Goondas Act of 1923, 113 anti-reservation agitation, 44, 46 anti-social elements/goondas, 18, 58n81, 69111, 70, 77, 79, 82, 86, 96-98, 101, 103, 105, 113–114, 116, 120, 1321133, 134, 163 Arvind Mills, 136 Asarwa, 44, 76, 168n54 B. J. Medical College, 44 Babri Masjid demolition, 48-49, 248 badli, 15 Banias, 42 Banker, Shankarlal, 4, 24n12, 32, 73 Bapunagar, 6, 222, 228, 254 riot, 215-220, 235n22 workers' housing and slums, 136, 192, Barot, Navinchandra, 105 Barot, Sameer, 158 Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP), 173-174, 176n5, 233 Basu, Amrita, 161 Bauddha Sampradaya, 46 Bavchas, 5 Berenschot, 18 Berenschot, Ward, 68n10 Bhagat, Kacharabhai, 31, 33 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 17, 43, 45-46, 116, 147, 217, 227, 233 anti-reservation protests, 46, 58n81 'Ashok-Harin' era, 119 campaign rhetoric, 51 electoral campaigns, 122 electoral success, 47-48, 51, 117 hard-line Hindu image, 48

internal conflicts within, 49 Muslim supporters, 611130 polarised local politics, 116-123 politics of 'inclusion', 45-48 socio-political activities, 118 violence against minorities, 50-51 Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD), 57n69 Bhartiya Dalit Vargha Sangh, 46 Bhatt, Ashok, 45, 57n61, 117, 120, 122, 227 Bhoot, Manga, 100 Bibi Talab, 141, 242, 246, 259, 265n57 Bollywood films, 71 Bombay Improvement Trust, 89n16 Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, 1938, 73 Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946, 28n61, 38 Bombay Presidency, 24n23 Bombay Rent Control Act of 1947, 186, 190, 193, 195, 199, 226, 269 Bombay textile industry, 12 bootlegging/bootlegger, 40, 67, 79, 82, 87, 97-105, 107, 114-116, 120-121, 129n86, 134, 157-159, 162 Brahmins, 42 Breman, Jan, 14-16, 74 Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS), 202

caste

based occupational groupings, 5 BJP's politics of 'inclusion', 45-48 political significance of, 42-45 caste violence, 44, 46-47 anti-Christian attacks, 50 Chandavarkar, 67 Chatterjee, Partha, 21, 135, 138, 161-162 Chaudhary, Amarsinh, 45, 103, 114-115 Chavda, Harisinh, 101 Chawl owners, 110 chawls, 187, 190-191, 193 distinctions between slums and, 188-193 ownership of, 191

Hindutva ideology, 48, 50



INDEX 299

private, 181	social work and, 157–158
rights over, 198–199	split, 1969, 39, 105
transfer of, 191–192	Congress Party and
chawl slum, 208n85	Textile Labour Association (TLA)
chemical industry, 6	and, 31–37, 39, 87
Chhagan Ala, 100	Congress (R), 41
Chhotalal, Ranchhodlal, 32	Congress Socialists, 72, 89111
Chimanbhai, Chinubhai, 52n11, 53n28	contract workers, 15, 154
Chiranjeevi Yojana scheme, 149–150	
Chowdhury, Supriya Roy, 25n24	dadagiri, 82, 98, 106–107, 150
Citizens for Justice and Peace, 151	making of dada, 82-88
civil society, 134–138, 159–163, 170n91	Dalits, 45–47, 102, 117
forms of engagement, 152–159	Darji, Jinabhai, 41
relationship between Hindu Right and,	Dave Commission, 215–217, 220–221
161	Delhi Agreement of 1935, 72
resettlement and rehabilitation efforts	Desai, Khandubhai, 34, 77, 188
in, 150–152, 174–175	Desai, Laxman, 45, 117, 120
theorisation of, 161–162	Desai, Renu, 17
vs political society, 162–163	Desai, Thakorbhai, 56n59
communal harmony, 65	detention laws, 113–115, 129n90
communalisation of city space, 176	Development Plan of 2021, 256
communalism, 1, 17	Dhattiwala, Raheel, 18, 69110
communal polarisation, 19	Dheds, 5
communal violence, 6, 16–18, 45, 49–51,	diamond polishing, 6, 218
96–97, 103, 121–122, 146, 197, 214–215	Disturbed Areas Act of 1986, 22, 111-112,
of 1969, 39	129189, 204, 220, 222, 229, 231, 233,
Bapunagar riot, 215–220	269–270
Gujarat pogrom, 2002, 49–51, 60n105,	doffers' union, 38, 54n30
146	
pogroms, 2	Ekta Nagar, 151–152
rioting, 12, 103	Emergency period, 1975, 42
riots of 1969, 16, 39, 41, 83, 120,	Engineer, 17
160–161, 170n90, 214, 217, 221–222,	Environment and Planning Collaborative
243, 247	(EPC), 173
Communist Party of India (Marxist), 41	ethno-religious mobilisation, 48–51
Congress (O), 39, 104	
Congress Party, 31–35, 40, 52n1, 55n42,	floods of 1927, 179
64, 87, 121, 123, 153, 155, 157, 178	footloose labour, 15
alliances with caste and communities,	formal sector work, 14–15
42–46	
relationship with Kshatriya Sabha,	Gandhi, Indira, 39, 41, 105, 192
42-43	Gandhi, Mahatma, 4, 13–14, 31



300 INDEX

Gandhi, Rajiv, 130n112 Gandhian ideology of labour relations, 4, 12-14, 76-79, 99, 134 Gandhinagar, 5, 243 gentrification, 203 ghetto, 239-242 ghettoisation, 18, 22, 176, 213-214, 220, 222-223, 228, 240, 255, 270 Ghia, Kantilal, 105 Godani, Dalsukhbhai, 227 Gomtipur, 6, 8, 19-21, 64, 82-83, 86-87, 107, 112, 117–119, 144, 153–154, 163, 188-189 Gujarat Industrial Development Corporation (GIDC), 6, 138, 143, 145, 166n29, 174, 242-243, 245-246, 259 Gujarat pogrom, 2002. See under communal violence Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee (GPCC), 106 Gujarat Slum Areas Act in 1973, 192 Gujarat State Textile Corporation (GSTC), 25n24 Gujarat Vali Mahamandal (parents' association), 216

Hansen, Thomas Blom, 103 Harivallabhdas, Jaykrishna, 52, 52n11, 246 Harji Rabari, 98-100 harmony, 66 Hindu-Muslim conflict, 16, 18. See also communal violence Hindu nationalism, 17, 31 Hindu right-wing politics, 48-51 Hindutva, 2, 13, 16–17, 20, 48–51, 118–119, 123, 135, 159, 272 hooch poisoning case of 1977, 100 housing arrangements and property claims, 173 in industrial areas, 185–186 low-cost housing, 256 property ownership, 196-198

relationship between employment and residence, 183 tensions around tenancy and rents, 186–187 housing cooperative societies, 182, 197 Hussein, Ali, 213, 255

Ibrahim, Dawood, 122
India Development and Relief Fund, 50
Indian National Trade Union Congress
(INTUC), 39, 104
Indira Garibnagar slum, 214, 217–218, 220
industrial neighbourhoods, 12
industrial restructuring, 1, 13–15, 160, 196–197, 261n4
industrial transformations, 1
informalisation, 268–269
informal sector work, 6, 14–15, 25n25
institutionalised riot systems, 29n70
investments, 6
Islami Relief Committee (IRC), 150–151

Jadeja, Pradeepsinh, 147 Jadeja, Santokben, 124n5 Jaiswal, Dhirajlal, 129n86 Jallianwala Bagh incident, 32 Janata Dal, 48 Janata Morcha, 43 Janata Parishad, 55n42 Janata Party, 43, 101, 118 Janata Samiti, 55n36 Jan Sangh, 41-42 Jan Vikas, 151 Jayprakash Narayan's movement, 42 jobber system, 74-75, 90n26 Joshi, Chitra, 84 Jwaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), 173, 202, 233

Kamdar Sangram Samiti, 38, 81 KHAM coalition, 43–44, 218



INDEX 301

Khan, Shahrukh, 115 Mahavir Nagar Co-operative Housing Khare, Harish, 104 Society, 247-248 Kisan Mazdoor Lok Parishad (KMLP), Majoor Mahajan Sangh, 4. See also Textile Labour Association (TLA) 43, 56n59, 57n61 Kolis, 5, 42 Majoor Sandesh, 75, 110, 185, 224 Koreishi, Tamizben, 243 Mandal agitation, 48 Kshatriya identity, 42 Mandal Commission, 60n101 Kshatriya Sabha, 42 Marathas, 5 masculinity, 85 labour retrenchment, 104, 184, 198 mediation, 267-268 Lakha, Salim, 12 Mehta, Chablidas, 101 Lala Dana, 75 Mehta, Dinkar, 38 Lalbhai, Kasturbhai, 32, 52n11 Mevawala flats, 230 land migration and migrant labour, 60n105, agricultural, 111 139, 223, 225, 241 ownership patterns and tenurial mill closures, 117 relationships on private lands, 109 Mill Kamdar Union (or Lal Vavta), 38, 72, redistribution policies, 110 89nii tenancy, 22, 77, 111, 176, 186-187, 191, 194, mill neighbourhoods, 12, 70 196, 198–201, 21111125, 219, 249–250, dada culture of, 82–88 overcrowding of workers' settlements, 255, 270 urban, 45, 109-111, 165n23, 166n25, 173, 183-184 property arrangements, 5 193, 215, 219, 268 vacant land, appropriation of, 65, 109, tenancy in, 196-204 tenements in, 5 land grab scandals, 103 workers' accommodation and social welfare in, 179-185 Latif, Abdul, 45, 47, 103, 116-117, 120-122, Miyan, Nur, 107 132NI4I Modi, Narendra, 47, 49, 51, 65, 119, 123, 147 latta mahajans, 73, 76, 187 Lattha Commission report, 98 Mookherjee, Surya, 29n62 Lefebvre, Henri, 11 morality, 155 Muslim League, 34 liberalisation policies of 1991, 6 liquor prohibition, 99 Muslim political leadership, 123 Lok Adhikar Sangh, 218 Muslim properties, 213 Lok Dal, 43 Lok Sabha elections of 1991, 49 nagarseth, 32 Lokswaraj Manch, 48 Nagrik Paksh (Citizens Party), 53n28 Nagrik Samiti, 41 Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad (MGJP), Nagrik Sangthan, 220, 235n30 Nanda, Gulzarilal, 33-34, 53n13, 76-77 36-37, 54n28, 81 Maha Gujarat movement, 1956, 35-41 Narmada Valley Project, 56n54 Naroda, 5, 109, 139, 150-151, 232, 242 mahajans, 4



302 INDEX

Nath, Manek, 1
National Labour Party (NLP), 39
National Security Act of 1980, 114
National Textile Corporation (NTC),
25n24
Nav Nirman agitation, 42, 108
Nawab builders, 112
New Cotton Mills Circle, 63
New Textiles Policy, 1985, 25n24
Non-cooperation movement, 32, 113
non-governmental organisations (NGOs),
134, 136–137, 145, 151, 163
no-objection certificates (NOCs), 249–251

Odhav, 5, 139, 174, 242 Oza, Ghanshyam, 41

Padmashalis, 5
'Paksh' alliance, 43
Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Antyodaya
Slum Networking Project, 136
Parmar, Girishbhai, 106
Parmar, Jeevanbhai, 64–67, 82–83, 105,
107, 153
associates, 85–86
career as a dada-turned-politician,
83–86
Parmar, Karsandas, 38, 54n30

Parmar, Nanubhai, 105–106, 154, 228 Parmar, Sailesh, 106, 153 Parmar, Sanjaybhai, 81 Patel, Atul, 147–149 Patel, Babubhai, 48 Patel, Bimal, 173

Patel, Chimanbhai, 41–42, 48, 56n54, 96, 103, 122, 218
Patel, Himmatsinh, 50
Patel, Keshubhai, 48–49, 123

Patel, Popatlal, 114–116, 1301110 Patel, Sejalben, 147

Patel, Sujata, 13–14
Patel, Vallabhbhai, 31–33, 114–115, 178

Patel leadership in Gujarat, 48
Patels, 5, 44, 46
Pathak, Harin, 45, 57n61, 116, 118–120, 122
Patidars, 5, 42–44, 218
polarised local politics, 116–123
political leadership, 123, 124n4
political mediation, 163
political society, 162–163
pol panchs, 134
Praja Socialist Party, 55n36
pratinidhis, 79–82, 84–87, 89n7, 103–108,
110

Prevention of Anti-Social Activities Act (PASA), 113–116. *See also* Anti-Goondas Act

Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act, 116 Prohibition of Transfer of Immovable Properties in Disturbed Areas Act of

1986, 129n89, 213, 215, 220 property ownership, 22, 140, 196, 250, 267

disputes, 197–198 employment relations and tenancy rights, 198–199

property rights, 111, 151, 271 property transfers, 22, 129n89, 149, 196, 210n110, 213, 220–233, 236n45, 260, 269–270

public housing, 183 public–private partnership model, 135–138, 149

Quit India movement, 34 Qutub-e-Alam, 6

Rabari, Harji, 98–100
externment orders against, 99
Rajkot, 49, 114, 116, 1301110–111
Rajubhai v. Sabarmati Riverfront
Development Corporation Ltd., 175
Rakhiyal, 105, 222, 231
Ram Shila Pujan, 48, 118
Rana, Mahendrasinh, 45



INDEX 303

Ranchhodlal, Chhotalal, 32	seva, 76, 134, 163
Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), 18,	Sewa Bharati, 50
46–47	Shah, Amit, 147
Rathore, Suraj Singh, 247–248	Shah, Sultan Ahmad, 1, 3
rent control, 183, 186, 190–191, 193–195, 199,	SHARDA (Strategic Help Alliance for
2101113, 226, 269	Relief to Distressed Areas), 136
Bombay Rent Control Act of 1947, 186,	shared urban experience, 9
190, 193, 195, 199, 226, 269	Sheikh, Imdad, 63–66
resettlement and rehabilitation, 150–152,	Sikh Sampradaya, 46
165n18	Singh, Ajay, 82–83, 105
rights of workers, 4, 13, 82, 233	Singh, Lohre, 83
housing rights, 196–204	Singh, Megh, 128n84
rights to resettlement, 174	Slum Areas Act of 1973, 108, 193
riots networks, 1711105	Slum Clearance Act, 269
Rowlatt Acts, 32	Slum Clearance Board, 112
Royal Commission on Labour, 74	slumlord, 109, 111, 149, 219
CAARTI	as intermediaries in securing housing
SAATH, 136	and official documentation, 111
Sabarmati Nagrik Adhikar Manch,	Slum Networking Project, 194
173-174	slums, 109–110, 188, 190
Sabarmati Riverfront Development	clearance, 188, 192–193
Corporation Limited (SRFDCL),	definition, 108, 190
173	distinctions between chawls and,
Sabarmati Riverfront Development	188–193
Project, 173, 203, 232–233, 271	upgradation, 193
Salt March, 32	SNA Infraprojects, 229–230
Sangh Parivar, 45–46, 48, 50, 159	social exclusion, 17–18, 214, 269–272
social work and, 158–159	social metric, 11
Sangram Samiti, 55n41, 81–82	social space, 10–11
Sangram Samiti agitation, 39	social workers, 18, 21, 37, 78, 87, 135,
Sanjay Nagar, 136	142-143
Sanjay Nagar project, 137	political ambitions of, 152–159
Sankalit Nagar, 240	social work (samajik kaam), 102, 112,
Sarabhai, Ambalal, 32, 52n11	134–135, 143–144
Sarabhai, Anasuyaben, 4, 23111	in Vatva, 143–150
sarafs, 32	Solanki, Madhavsinh, 42–46, 103, 110,
Saraspur, 76, 111, 121, 154, 200–201, 203,	227
216, 219	KHAM strategy, 43-44
sectarian violence, 10	reservations for postgraduate medical
segregated living, 214	students, 44
Self Employed Women's Association	spaces of dependence, 10
(SEWA), 64, 68n5, 134	spaces of engagement, 10



Spodek, Howard, 13, 97

304

INDEX

Swadeshi Mills, 81 Swadeshi movement, 32, 52n9 Swatantra Party, 43 tenancy rights, 21-22, 188, 190, 193-204, 269 textile industry, 1-2 decline of, 6 recruitment in, 74 women's participation, 6 Textile Labour Association (TLA), 4-5, 13-15, 21-22, 28n62, 50, 70-71, 86-87, 100, 154, 162, 184, 198, 200 Central Executive Committee, channels of patronage, 103-108 civic and political activities, 71, 77, 96-98 Congress Party and, 31-37, 39, 87 contractors and, 80-81 control over workforce and local politics, 81 distinction between model worker anti-social element, 79-80 influence of housing and urban service provision, 108-112 institutional apparatus, 72-76 involvement in rent issues, 186-187 latta khatta, 76 loss of political power, 40 membership, 93n73 neighbourhood-level associations, 73 pratinidhis, 79-82, 84-87, 89n7, 103-108, 110 primary objectives, 72 righteous struggle, 14-15, 86 worker representation, 35 Thackeray, Bal, 123 Tomar, Kishansinh, 111 Town Wall Committee, 32 trade unionism, 12

Umeed, 145-147, 149 Ummat, 213 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 137 Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA), 109-110, 193, 200, 269 urban working classes, 2 Vaghela, Jigneshbhai, 112, 224 Vaghela, Jitu, 66, 88, 159 Vaghela, Shankarsinh, 49 Vaghris, 5 Valiani, 18 Valliulah, Rauf, 122 Vankar Co-operative Housing Society, 182 Vankars, 5 Vasavada, S. P., 35, 39, 184 Vasavada, S. R., 39 Vatva, 6, 8, 12, 19-21, 135, 138-150, 228, 232, civil society organisations in, 144-145, employment options available in, 174 as industrial area and production, 243 investments in real estate in, 243-245 legislative assembly constituency, micro-credit and savings group in, 145-147 Muslim parts of, 147, 149, 175, 254-255, 257, 263n35, 271 political patronage for working-class Muslims in, 149 population clusters, 245 post-riot resettlement colonies, 243 present times, 242-254 relationship between social worker and politicians, 148-150 resettlement and rehabilitation efforts in, 150-152



INDEX 305

security in, 245
segregated living arrangements, 246
self-help groups, 145
small-time property 'magnates' of,
247–249
social work in, 144–150
spatial fixity/mobility, 254–260
town planning in, 249–254
violence in, 166n29
vulnerability in, 242
violence against Muslims, 51
Vira Bhagat ni Chaali, 193, 209n99
Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), 46–47, 231
Vivekananda Mills, 174

Wacquant, Loïc, 239–241, 260, 26118 weavers, 5, 72, 8919 women workers, 25126, 8917, 154, 184

working-class housing, 2, 176, 180,
182–184, 202
working-class neighbourhood, 8–12,
66–68, 206n33
'making' and 'unmaking' of industrial
working class, 16
micro-level politics of, 66
notion of scale, 9–11
political arrangement in, 33–34
rural ties and primordial
connections, 9
socio-spatial relations within, 10–11
workers' participation in local
governance, 33–34
working-class neighbourhoods, 193

Yagnik, Indulal, 37–38, 44, 54n31, 81, 103, 219