

ACADEMY AND THE CITY

RECLAIMING ACADEMIC SPACE

In the contexts of the new economic reconfigurations, the paper makes three arguments on the academia. The first is towards establishing the new necessity of the academic space and reclaiming it towards its participation in the development of the city. The second is towards reformulating the agenda of such a space oriented towards planning for Opportunity. And the third is towards re-imagining the academy much beyond the boundaries of the school as a network of people practising in the city.

THE GLOBAL CITY¹

Post 90's urban landscapes, in the countries of developing economies experienced an immense pressure to dismantle and reorganise the conventional formal control mechanisms of the cities to make way for something called "economic growth". This dubious driving concept seemed to reconfigure most of the systems in the cities. Liberalising of the markets and decentralisation of authority and responsibility became key instruments for these reconfigurations. The effort was to reorganise the systems of resource management so as to accelerate and steer the processes of "economic growth".

Liberalisation policies in India in the beginning of the 90's opened up the financial institutions and large public sector units for multinational investment and administration. This meant multinationals would be taking over most production systems and all productions would become globalised or more appropriately – branded. Overlapped with these Liberalisation policies was the new industrial policy that implied large-scale, manufacturing industries being moved out of the city and housed in the hinterland where huge benefits were available including unorganised labour. As a result the existing industries were either closed completely or partially or in other cases shifted outside the city. The cadaver of the earlier production units including the labour was left in the city to decay. These spaces previously occupied by them are currently being hurriedly co-opted by the manifestations of the new economy. With these changes, the city no longer allows protected labour organization; rather informal industry and informal labour took over the city.

The conceptualisation of the much-sought "economic growth" promoted the transformation of the city into a service economy². This city was expected to provide several opportunities that the floating capital would make available to be grabbed by the fittest. These existed largely amongst the informal sectors that were getting strengthened after the dismantling of the formal industry. Though prone to excessive labour exploitation with labour having no bargaining power as well as extreme appropriations of resources, the new city provided opportunities creating new work patterns and developing new institutions in the city. These ranged from sub-contracting of secretarial work to the popular "housewife" or outsourcing of laborious data feeding jobs to the currently educated unemployed, or the mushrooming of telephone booths, fax centres, photocopying places and even computer training institutes have become an important and a large part of this Global City. While the city seems to be fit to grab the floating capital, also the floating capital seems to have found an ideal breeding ground. With newer centralities and processes of productions being established and all goods getting branded, indigenous smaller enterprises in production got terminated. Local manufacturers of soap, toys, food products and other goods had no market to sell their wares. Also work cultures showed transformations. For example the neighbourhood automobile repair garage disappeared. In the place of these new service centres were erected.

Along with de-formalizing labour, the economy created a new middle class in the city. This new middle class has to be distinguished from the earlier middle class because of its affording and consuming capabilities. This has become the most powerful group in the city where all productions are aimed towards luring its aspirations. The lowering of interest rates for housing loans, the building of new flyovers etc showed the state's support in this. Along with the new middle class was the other polarised group that became very evident in city. They exist simultaneously in the interstitials of the city. These may be the hawkers, the household maid or any kind of service labour who do not enjoy the infrastructure but serves the new consumer group. The polarisation between these two sets, the new-middle class and the informal labour is considerably increasing and sometimes shows violent consequences like the riots in the early 90s. It is here that the questions of citizenship are raised and quite often get lost in ethnic and communal difference whereas the class differences do not surface.

Along with these two distinct groups, there exist many other interlinked layers of interest groups in the city like the state machinery, the NGO, the political parties and the large corporate. The metropolis could be seen as a contested domain of these actors and agencies.

PLANNING THE GLOBAL CITY

Planning for the new city is launched from the critique of the earlier methods of planning. The first and the most popular argument is the failure of the positivist master plan. This is evident in two examples in city planning: Planning of New Bombay and planning instrument of the "Development Plan". The conventional

problem of over densification and infrastructure deficiency were already recognized by the state much earlier. This has been the concern of most of the Indian cities after independence and reinstated very aggressively by Charles Correa in his *New Landscape* (1985), which clarifies the conceptual framework for the development of the twin city of New Bombay. New Bombay was built across the harbour essentially to realise the density problems of Mumbai. But the city never grew as it was planned. Large infrastructure remains abandoned leaving the city as a ghost town. The existence of the myth of the Bombay city kept New Bombay as an experimental centre for state investment to be exploited with no significant affects. The other example is the concept of having a Development Plan, which was adopted after independence to intervene in the highly developed and unplanned areas where small modifications could be made simply to sustain the existing settlement. Though the concept seems noble it suffers from extreme positivism of the planning community, which is solely responsible for the preparation of the same. The problem of positivism could be described through the illustration of the planner's "planning manual" that becomes the backbone of these interventions. The planning manual depends on the scientific rationality of the west where it was developed with ideas of comfort, good living and social life being quite different. Hence one could find in the development plan of Mumbai small open spaces sprinkled over existing settlements with large number of people. The rationale for this is purely the "planner's manual" that suggests a certain percentage of open space for a certain number of people. The Development plan does not seem to consider however who owns that piece of land, or what happens in that land or even whether people actually require it. In other instances one could see elaborate zones being demarcated for residential, commercial and industrial purposes with roads and streets of appropriate width over lands presently occupied by either a pre-industrial village or a large slum. The development plan does not seem to have any data on "informal settlements" of the city.

The second important argument in the critique of conventional planning is that it is reactive. Three policies prior to the 90's become examples to suggest the reactive planning condition in the city. The Rent Control Act (1948) froze rents at the 1940 rates till date. The consequences were that the landlord community which was producing rented houses in the city disappeared and this was replaced by the Builder. Further, there was no incentive to look after the buildings and so a number of the buildings became dilapidated over the period of time. The Rule of Floor Space Index (1964), in its efforts to regulate development the City Authority made a carpet regulation for the city in terms of the Floor Space Index. This Rule limited development and hence the amount of commodity and hence increased land prices. The Urban Land Ceiling Act (1976) was instituted for limiting private land holding in the city and acquiring land for mass housing. This rule however limited land available in the open market and hence raised the land value. These examples suggest that planning often reacted to the existing conditions with no pre-attempt to gauge trajectories of such reactions.

The third argument in the critique of planning is that it is controlled by a single agency without acknowledging the interests of the other groups. And even within the state machinery the planning process is not coordinated and integrated. The popular example of the same road being dug by several agencies to put services in them is a good example of such sectoral planning.

The fourth argument in the critique is of resource creation rather than resource management. In addressing the problem of informal settlements (over 60% of the population of the city lives in informal settlements occupying just above 7% of the land area), the government shifted its earlier role of either bulldozing or building new houses for them to a more facilitating role. This was done through the Slum Redevelopment Policy, which sought to gather private participation by giving incentives to Private Developers in terms of additional development rights for providing free housing for the slum dwellers. A number of these schemes were built with relaxed Development control regulations. To state an example, four seven storied buildings would come up next to each other with 1.5 m space between them making living conditions in these houses worse than in the slum itself. Moreover, the new schemes never considered the aspect of "work-space" that gets integrated in the informal house, hence invariably one could find instances where people would sell their houses and return to the slums. In other instances fifty-five flyovers were built in the city over two years after spending crores of rupees to solve the transportation problems in the city. While the poor continued to crowd in the local trains and the rich bought more cars. The planners undertook both projects after rigorous mapping activity. The reports thus made produced defences of these projects. The above instances foreground certain fundamental problems of the city. The problem of the slum is that of the living conditions being poor with high densities. They are in no manner inefficient; every inch of space is highly overused. The other way of looking at the problem is that over 90% of the city is occupied by 40% of its people and the 60% are squeezed into 6% of the land. Similarly in the case of the transportation problem, the problem is that a large population uses very small corridors of MRT and very few people use the large infrastructure of the roads with their cars. These are clearly the problems of resource allocation that the government is not able to handle, and when it tries to handle it through resource creation, invariably these get appropriated.

These four arguments provide the basis for developing an alternative model for planning. One of the first characteristics of this alternative model is promoted by Ricky Burdett³, in his lecture on the development

of London who argues for a more strategic tactical approach for planning. He critiques the attempts of the master plans developed over centuries for London stating that they never responded to the socio-economic and political structures of the city and the city hence never followed them. What is evident in this contention is the rejection of the popular arguments of the master plan being capable of generating a vision that can be executed. Burdett makes a case for vision itself becoming dynamic and changing constantly responding to the changes in the society. Burdett however does not acknowledge the grand narrative the economy produces where planning just becomes a handmaiden of this economy. The case of the development plan brings about two issues, firstly, there being no real rationale to the provisions of the development plan and secondly there being no integration of various departments of the government that are responsible for the city in various sectors. As against the classical "planner's manual", a thorough understanding of the local needs would be essential towards making the development plan more relevant. The second reason in the failure of the development plan could be understood as no efforts to integrate all sectors and departments of the city authority and various other authorities to understand and plan the city⁴. These departments and agencies control various different sectors and parts of the city and there seems no clarity on who is actually responsible for development of the city apart from undertaking independent activities on their own. This brings us to the other point of institutional changes required.

The second characteristic of this model is its managerial impetus, which shifts the focus from resource creation to resource management. As a manifest of the "Global City" characteristics, we also see that the state shifting its role from being an active provider and controller to more of a facilitator and regulator. These could be seen in several policies that encourage private investment in the areas of housing and infrastructure. In the instance of the housing sector specifically for the middle-income groups these policies have promoted many financing companies and housing banks for making housing affordable in the city. In continuation of its regulator/facilitator mode, the government made some important management policies in the 1990s. The rent control act left a number of buildings dilapidated and unsafe for housing. To address this problem, the State Government came up with a new policy of CESS Rule (1991) giving incentives in terms of additional development rights to be constructed in the same property if the dilapidated building is pulled down and a new building is built in its place. The rule thus encouraged pulling down of old buildings and building new ones. The rule created havoc in the city where infrastructure was already overburdened and additional development rights meant additional density. The city was not able to handle so much of additional development rights. Hence another rule was set up in 1995, Transfer of Development Rights (TDR), which made the transfer of development rights possible to another plot and moreover the right was saleable. This meant that all areas with high land value attracted the new development burdening the infrastructure further.

The third characteristic of the alternative model is the new institutional strategy. The critique of conventional planning is addressed through making the city authority more pro-active in its endeavours. Recently, the Metropolitan Authority attempted to address certain issues of the city with a drastically new approach⁵. These were experimented in various sectors with significant success. One of the key instruments was the strategic planning approach integrated with a huge private and community participation. The international funding agencies had a lot to do with the processes adopted for these projects. One of the key shifts however was from the master plan based model to a more project oriented approach where certain projects and programmes were undertaken based on the priorities and real problems as against the directions of the "planner's manual". The Metropolitan Authority shows a movement from technocratic/bureaucratic driven visionary master plan towards participative small and medium term action and strategic planning, it also shows a change in its organisation where the organisation now behaves like a business organisation looking at projects and programmes and delivering services. A longer period is required to evaluate this universally promoted idea of such a new organisation. Scepticism however cannot be avoided where the role of the government as essentially to govern conditions where equal opportunities are provided for its citizens seems to have shifted to the providing of services and sustaining these services. These projects though showed the immense resolve of the Metropolitan Authority, described an antithesis regarding the role of the NGO. The involvement of the NGO was one of the requirements set by the World Bank who were the partial financiers of these projects. Classically NGOs developed in Mumbai as a resistance to the Government Policies that were not people friendly or they developed as trustees of the people where they undertook certain grass-root activities. Now the situation has arisen where one does not know whom is he/she talking to: is it the NGO or the government. The model has also raised several questions on participation regarding who actually participates, who is allowed to participate, the power structures within participation, the politics related to participation and the massive enclaving of groups that happen due to participation. I shall not discuss these issues in this paper, but would like to assert that the participation model is actually not as participatory as shown; it gets ruled by dominating interests.

Planning seems to have moved towards a planning of coalitions. Roles seem to have changed of all big actors. The state does not seem to have the legitimacy to decide for its people, the NGO suddenly becomes an important ally in the development and a legitimate representation of the community, the

private agency seemed to be “concerned” with the city and the international donor with all its consultants seem to be the only one who knows what is best for the city. What is however evident from all the above examples is that in both cases of conventional and the new alternative planning model, dominant interests seem to rule the game. I do not intend to elaborate the nature of this dominant interest in this paper, but would summarise that this interest controls capital and strives towards making all property: real and intellectual into a private commodity.

ROLE OF THE ACADEMY

In such a context of mammoth coalitions to plan and reallocate the resources, the academy⁶ still remains a passive supplier of specialised labour to the developmental industry. This limited role of the academy has articulated its pedagogic agenda with an impetus of productive efficiency.

The critique of planning in the earlier section revolves around two issues: firstly, the aspect of interdisciplinary/inter-sectoral conceptualisation and secondly, the aspect of resolving the interests of various actors in the city. These two will have to become the prime prerequisite for urban planning. Prof. Leo van den Berg⁷ provides a breakthrough conceptualisation of the urban as a function of the spatial behaviour of its actors. It is a unique and important conceptualisation where physical, social and economical aspects of the city are seen together within the contextual understanding of the city and not in disciplinary sectors. The essential requirement of such an understanding is the position of the negotiator of interests. When the spaces allotted by the state and the spaces occupied by the entrepreneurs are governed by the new patterns of the economy themselves, then the role of creating the alternative negotiating space which can be imagined as the trustee of the people could only come from the academic space from where Prof Berg seems to be making his powerful conceptualisation. There is a possibility of using this space actively in the areas of urban development.

One of the most important reasons to get the academy involved in the developmental process is that it seems to resolve the problem of the interests. The academic space is special because it is not private property. The issue of interests get resolved in the academic environment whose stakes are not oriented towards resource appropriation.

Secondly, the academy has the actual and intellectual infrastructure to undertake such an activity. Since it is not private property, decisions undergo substantial criticism and evolve a degree of relevance. Furthermore, within the pedagogic activities, there lie series of instruments like course-work or exams that can be oriented towards participating in the city. For example, developing an archive of the city is the easiest for the academy for a simple reason that the people in the academy come from various contexts and it is possible to orient a course in a direction so as to collect data on these various contexts. Rahul Shrivastava's Neighbourhood Project⁸ at the Wilson College is an example of such a reorientation of the academic agenda where students wrote about their own histories collecting data from their own locality. This process legitimised the existence of these students predominantly from the labour community and attempted to bring about a sense of sharing histories in the city.

The third reason for academy to participate in the developmental process is that it is the only place which is capable of undertaking critical reflective and a fundamental investigation. Though the academy cannot be seen in isolation from the contemporary economy, I would still argue that it provides space to evaluate the manifestations of the economy. Traditionally, it has been the academy activity that has substantially investigated and replaced the conventional dogmas. This is purely because the academic space enjoys the luxury of the ivory tower. It can gather resources and canalise them into a critical analysis from where a critique could be launched, Noam Chomsky⁹ articulates this as an important role of the intellectual. The research undertaken by state machinery and the private organisations oscillate between identification of the problem (that can be solved through a project or a policy) and searching for opportunities (where investments could be made). Invariable they operate to serve the demand and supply relations that the market develops. The research here is in its “tragic servant” mode. The best example of such research is the involvement of several international consultants to produce reports on development of the city. The transportation problem of the city discussed earlier was articulated as less road space and not as insufficient public transport, or the creation of the new Special Economic Zone in New Bombay saw the potential for “economic growth” but completely ignored the question of existing villages in the land or even the question: for whom is this economic growth.

The last reason for the academy to participate in the development activity is that it is still a trusted agency in the city. Our own projects at the KRVI provide sufficient examples for such a trust. The academy is not seen as a threat. While the state machinery as well as private organisations were unable to access data on the volatile issues of industrial lands, slums etc, the academy was able to put together a full fledged research. But this brings forth another question: whose trustee should the academy then be? The idea of “trustee of the city” seems fairly vague, specifically because defining the “city” as a single entity has become increasingly difficult. Hence any attempt to conceptualise this new singular city with an independent interest which is overarching is only located within the concepts of sustainability of a larger civilisation. But here as well, sustainability is not an elusive unbiased idea. It is manufactured in the intellect; parts of it are marketed by the state and the private enterprises and executed by the state

policies. The best example is the removal of small industries from the city boundaries of Delhi. Environmental pollution seems to be driving concept here. This policy considers the larger good of “some citizens” within the city boundaries and drives out others in the name of the common good: that is “the environment”, which needs to be saved for “our children”. Certain activities are immediately branded “un-environment friendly” and are forced to be removed. The decision of what should be environment friendly and for whom seems arbitrary. The argument that I am trying to make is that there is no “single common good” in the city. Hence to strive for a planning that is good for “the city” is irrelevant. The above discussed coalitions are formed to serve the dominant interests. The dominant interests are not under threat of their survival. They are interested in increasing the turnover. While on the other hand there are threatened groups in the city who are threatened of their survival. I want to further argue that the academy needs to a trustee of such a threatened group. It needs to align itself with this group.

TOWARDS A REARTICULATION OF THE ACADEMIC AGENDA

In the earlier section I had hinted at the conventional pedagogic agenda of the academy. Without getting into the analysis of the education system, I would deal with two of the central problems of the system. The first problem is the problem of the methodology to understand and second is the problem of history. I want to state the much-stated fact of there being a colonial hangover in the education of an architect in the city. But beyond this I want to suggest that this hangover is actually operative in the structures of understanding the system and in representations. Conventionally the architectural education in India follows and prescribes the topographic understanding to imagine a city. This cartography, which assumes a certain distance between the researcher and the object of study, remains unquestioned. It compels the city to be seen as a set of physical patterns where problems are identified. In the contemporary city, where the resources are under a great threat of getting exhausted, the cartography, through its master plans, suggests creating and adding new resources either within or outside the city to deal with the problem of resource exhaustion. The cartography however is unable to see and deal with the problem of resource appropriation because of its physical affiliations. Also imposing in this model is a subscription to the compartmentalized nature of practice where specialists are nurtured to deal with “other” problems of the city. Overlapped with the cartographic plan is the vulgarised history that the city relies upon based on dominant classification of ancient, classical, medieval, renaissance and modern. This has led to an understanding of developments in architecture as development in styles. Understanding of contemporary architecture in India has remained as mere classifications in these terms and further elaborations of the same. The other important aspect of understanding architecture has been the idea of “Indianness”. Architectural historians have generally resorted to classifying architecture into two types of Indianness – Nostalgic Romantic and the Radical new. Some others have spoken about a more happy mixture of the two. The contextual understanding of architecture has remained as an evaluation of responses to the physical site. The cultural contexts have largely remained unacknowledged. These histories have remained inadequate in the understanding of the development of the city or the basis for it.

Along with the other changes in the landscapes of the city, one of the important aspects was the birth of new architectural schools in Mumbai. These schools sponsored and created by the business houses and construction giants started sprouting in the city almost manufacturing around 500 students every year in the city. These academies were expected to prepare the city for the big real estate development that was to take place. From being three schools of architecture in 1991, in 1992 suddenly there were 10 schools in the city. What is more interesting for our discussions is the amount of research that is promoted and undertaken by these academies on the city has surpassed all earlier records. I want to suggest at this moment without getting into details that the methodological bottleneck of education system was overcome aggressively by the contexts of the 90's and it was the academies that were in the forefront of examining the production of the urban in the city. Also included in their agenda was understanding practice and intervening there through intensive research. For the first time the city was understood in terms of the changing modes of economy and their subsequent manifestations in architecture and urban form. Almost miraculously the research deficiency was sought to be dealt with. Architecture was understood as a production in/of a particular culture and it had its own advantages, firstly it implies that architecture is a cultural product and it has a cultural context. And secondly, it de-emphasises architecture as an individual creation. The academy was already moving away from merely informing practice in all its vulgarities.

In the previous section I have already made a case for the active participation of the academy in the developmental process. So far in this section I have tried to elaborate on the problems of the existing agenda and the potential of the academy for such participation. The previous section also specifies the need of aligning with a certain group in the city. In the background of these four arguments, I would now move towards strategies of re-articulating the new agenda for the academy.

One of the clues in formulating the agenda is that education needs to reorient itself with a multi-disciplinary context oriented focus rather than seeing from water-tight compartments of the discipline. Though there is sufficient reason to believe that newer experiments are conducted in the academy to

investigate into the understanding of the city¹⁰ rather than the conventional cartography and re-look at history and humanities courses¹¹ as a context setting instruments rather than a mere information accumulator, the explorations in the interventions have still remained focus-less. They have remained in the realms of a fatal attempt in developing a “new language” through an aesthetic investigation. Euclidian space still dominates the planning exercises. I would here make two distinct propositions. First is the shift of focus from being oriented towards intervening in Euclidian space to a focus that is oriented towards intervening in behavioural patterns. And second is a focus towards proactively planning opportunities rather than reactively solving problems. The project experimented in the fourth study year (2002-3) of redeveloping slum areas of Dharavi¹² at the KRVI is probably the only experiment towards a proactive opportunity based planning. Rather than solving the problems of living conditions of the slum dwellers through architectural interventions, the project recognised the slum as a unit of production and the slum dweller as a unit enterprise. The project then focused towards using such an opportunity of the economically active slum community in creating types that acknowledged the work patterns. It was the case of not giving the fish, but rather facilitating the tools to fish. An understanding of various institutional and financial mechanisms was inherent in the project development.

PRODUCTS OF THE IMAGINATION

To execute the desire of the academy participating in the development of the city, perhaps a newer imagination of the academy is required. I'll conclude with briefly describing the ways in which KRVI has involved itself with the city through examples of three practices.

- a) The practice of the Design Cell which is actively involved with the developmental processes as the mouthpiece and the think-tank of the KRVI.
- b) The practice of Rohan Shivkumar who is an academican/urbanist working on various issues of the city and informally using the academic space.
- c) The practice of the Water Group which is a group of the KRVI alumni and working on the city where the academy provides a base of operation.

The Design Cell is the research and consultancy wing of the KRVI. It interacts with the various agencies concerned with development and explores methods of understanding and intervention in the Metropolis. It works with a team of architects and other consultants for history, economy, social geography, infrastructure and planning and has undertaken various projects on Mumbai in the areas of industrial land redevelopment, conservation of community spaces, study of city policies and archiving the developments in the city. Through the years, the Design Cell has focused its investigations into articulating the processes of mapping the city for relevant interventions. While the research of the Cell has substantially informed several courses in the school, various debates of the school has articulated the methods of investigations of the Cell. On the other hand, the Cell has become a trusted agency in the development practice of the city. The Cell involves itself with the city at three levels, firstly it undertakes real projects on the city and interacts with various agencies, secondly, it is instrumental in formulating studio projects on the city and thirdly it articulates the programmes with a city focus of certain dissemination activities like conferences, exhibition and seminars in the school.

Rohan Shivkumar is an urban designer practising in the city with a focus on urban issues. He also teaches in KRVI and is a part of the urban studies programme. His practice includes projects of working with communities and NGOs in the city so as to enter through them the urban conditions for a relevant intervention. These projects become more important for our discussions over here because of two reasons. Firstly, Rohan's practice is distinctly different due to its nature of interaction with the city. The practice does not happen within the studio walls, but strategies for urban development are formulated in community meetings. But the second and the more important reason is that students become a part of this work. Academy here provides an informal nurturing condition for an alternative practice as well indirectly participates in the city development activities.

The third case is of the Water Group. This is a group of four alumni of the KRVI, Rachna Seth, Nayan Pareikh and Sonal Shah. While also practicing as architects in the city, this group organised itself and undertook a study of water supply and consumption in the city with no sponsorship. The case is special because of the concern and motivation the academy has been able to generate in its students to look seriously into the urban conditions. While in this case, the academy did informally provide the Water Group with feeble support, it would take some time before the academy seriously rethinks its policy over creating platforms to harbour such efforts.

The case of the Water Group forces us to re-imagine the academy. To execute its desire of participation in the city activities, it has to imagine itself much beyond the conventional boundaries, perhaps more as a network of individuals and groups whose efforts would be archived, harboured and integrated. It is perhaps time to rethink of the academy after all the rethinking on the city.

¹ In describing the contexts of the city of Mumbai, I would rely largely on the research undertaken by the Design Cell, the research and consultancy wing of the Kamla Raheja Vidyaniidhi Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies. The specific project undertaken to build an archive of the city for an exhibition at the Tate Gallery is an important source of all the example described in the paper.

² The Draft Regional Plan (1995) developed by the Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority is an excellent example of such a promotion of service sector and termination of formal industry within the city.

³ Ricky Burdett is an urban designer and the director of the Cities Programme at the London School of Economics. The present reference is to his lecture (February 2003) at the Berlage Institute for Architecture, Rotterdam, titled "Urban Transformations in London". Burdett argues that London has always seen a more organic growth denying all attempts of planning and responding to the socio-economical growth of the city. In his excellent critique of the grand-narratives of the master plan approach, he suggests to use the more strategic and tactical approach for city planning.

⁴ Mumbai Municipal Corporation has more than forty departments. Along with the Municipal Corporations there are several other agencies that look after deferent sectors. There are Parastatels like the Mumbai Metropolitan Development Authority (MMRDA, which looks after regional planning and is responsible for development of the certain new areas of Mumbai city) Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA, which looks after housing issues), Slum Redevelopment Authority (SRA, which looks after the informal settlements), Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC, that looks after industrial development) and the Mumbai Port Trust (MbPT, which look after the Port Lands that come under the national Government) Then there are several corporations like the Electricity Board and the Transportation undertaking that work independently. Further there are state and national agencies under government ministries like the Maharashtra State Road Transport Development Corporation (MSRDC, which is under the State Ministry of Surface Transport), The Forest Department (Under the Forest Ministry of the National Government) and the Indian Railways that are directly under the Railway Ministry of the National Government.

⁵ Several projects were undertaken in the last decade initiated by the Metropolitan Authority in the areas of slum upgradation, improving transport infrastructure and creating alternative centres of growth. These had various components from road widening to making of airbus. They were planned and done in cooperation with international donor agencies, various local NGOs and the communities that are addressed. These projects have shown immense success in small parts, large projects however lie in pipeline as there are no examples that are implemented. The website of the Metropolitan Authority (www.mmrda.mumbai.org) describes the details of these projects.

⁶ I am specifically referring to architectural educational institutions in the city of Mumbai.

⁷ Berg, Leo, van den, (1987), *Urban Systems In A Dynamic Society*, Aldershot: Gower, Rotterdam. (pages 1-41)

⁸ Rahul's Project

⁹ Chomsky, Noam (1987), *The Role of an intellectual in Chomsky Reader*, Pantheon, New York

¹⁰ The reference is made to Rohan Shivkumar's paper in this publication which describes the shifts and agendas of the design projects in the school. and specifically the project on Dharavi.

¹¹ Amita Kanekars paper in this publication describes the shift in the history and humanities courses explored in the school.

¹² The reference is made to Rohan Shivkumar's paper in this publication which describes the design projects in the school and specifically the project on Dharavi.