Alexander Follmann

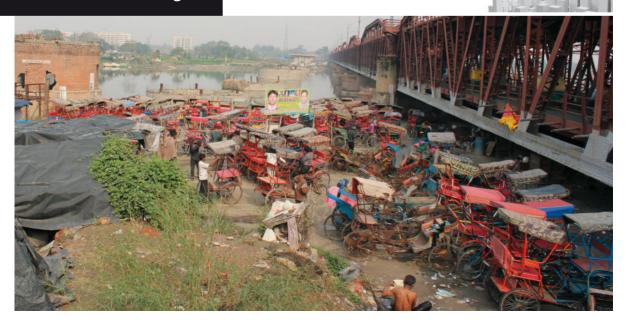
Governing Riverscapes

Urban Environmental Change along the River Yamuna in Delhi, India

Geographie

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Megacities and Global Change Megastädte und globaler Wandel Band 20



Alexander Follmann Governing Riverscapes

MEGACITIES AND GLOBAL CHANGE MEGASTÄDTE UND GLOBALER WANDEL

herausgegeben von
Frauke Kraas, Martin Coy, Peter Herrle und Volker Kreibich
Band 20

Alexander Follmann

Governing Riverscapes

Urban Environmental Change along the River Yamuna in Delhi, India



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GLOSSARY

akhada a traditional wrestling ground and training center on

the riverbank

bāngar older alluvial soils along rivers, generally safe from

floods

bhag garden, orchard crore ten million washerman

ghat riverside area with a series of steps leading down to

the river

headworks barrage

jamuna par Trans-Yamuna, East Delhi

jheel lake

jhuggi jhopdi huts of the poor, slum (also JJ cluster)

jhuggies huts of the poor in a slum

khadar / khādir fertile soils of the low-lying, flood-prone areas along

the river

kuccha / kacha houses houses made of wood, mud and other organic

materials

lakh one hundred thousand

mahābhārata major Sanskrit epics of ancient India

nadī river

nallah / nala stream or drain

Panchayat local (village) governing body, elected council in ru-

ral areas

pandit / panda Hindu religious scholar and teacher (pundit)

pooja prayer, worship

pucca houses solid and permanent houses made of brick, stone and

concrete

pushta bund or embankment, also referred to as riverbank

samādhi shrine, memorial site

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANT actor-network theory
ASL above sea level

BAPS Bochasanwasi Shri Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan

BBMB Bhakra-Beas Management Board

BCM billion cubic meter

CGWA Central Groundwater Authority CGWB Central Groundwater Board

CNG compressed natural gas

CPCB Central Pollution Control Board CPWD Central Public Works Department

CRZ Coastal Regulation Zone

CSE Centre for Science and Environment

cusec cubic feet per second cubic meter per second cumec **CWC** Central Water Commission **CWGs** Commonwealth Games **DBU** designated best use **DCB** Delhi Cantonment Board **DDA** Delhi Development Authority DIT Delhi Improvement Trust

DJB Delhi Jal Board

DMRC Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (in short: Delhi Metro)

DND Delhi-Noida-Delhi

DPCC Delhi Pollution Control Committee

DTTDC Delhi Tourism and Transportation Development Corporation

DUAC Delhi Urban Arts Commission

DUSIB Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board
EAC Environmental Appraisal Committee
EIA Environmental Impact Assessment

FDI foreign direct investment GAP Ganga Action Plan GDP Gross Domestic Product

GNCTD Government of the National Capital Territory

GoI Government of India HFL High Flood Level HLC High Level Committee

IAS Indian Administrative Service

ICT information communication technology
IFCD Irrigation and Flood Control Department

INTACH Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage

IPCC Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

ITO Income Tax Office

JJ Jhuggi jhopdi (JJ-cluster = 'slum')

JNNURM Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

JNU Jawaharlal Nehru University L&DO Land and Development Office

LG Lieutenant Governor

LIFE Legal Initiative for Forests and Environment

MCD Municipal Corporation of Delhi MoEF Ministry of Environment and Forests

MoHuPA Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation

MoU Memorandum of Understanding MoUD Ministry of Urban Development

MoUEPA Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Allevation

MoWR Ministry of Water Resources

MPD Master Plan for Delhi

NCRPB National Capital Region Planning Board

NCT National Capital Territory
NDA National Democratic Alliance
NDMC New Delhi Municipal Corporation

NEERI National Environmental Engineering Research Institute

NGO Non-Government Organisation NGT National Green Tribunal NH National highway

NH National highway NHF Natural Heritage First

NOIDA New Okhla Industrial Development Authority

NRCD National River Conservation Directory

PIL Public Interest Litigations
RRZ River Regulation Zone
PWD Public Works Department
RTI Right to Information

SANDRP South Asia Network for Dams, Rivers and People SKAD Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse

SPA School of Planning and Architecture

STP Sewage Treatment Plan
TAG Technical Advisory Group

UN United Nations U. P. Uttar Pradesh

UPE Urban Political Ecology UYRB Upper Yamuna River Board

Rs. Indian Rupees

WWF World Wide Fund for Nature
WYC Western Yamuna Canal
YAP Yamuna Action Plan
YJA Yamuna Jiye Abhiyaan

YRDA Yamuna River Development Authority

YREMC Yamuna Removal of Encroachments Monitoring Committee

YSC Yamuna Standing Committee ZDP Zonal Development Plan

SUMMARY

The inherent complexity of environmental change along urban rivers in the megacities of the Global South requires a change of perspective going beyond the riverfront. In order to overcome the binary conceptualizations of nature/culture and river/city, this study uses the notion of *riverscapes* as a single terminology referring to the riverine landscape formed by the natural forces of the river and human interventions. By linking a discourse analytical approach with theoretical concepts from governance research and urban political ecology, this study develops the theoretical framework of *riverscapes* to study environmental change along urban rivers.

Interlinked with the opening and liberalization of the Indian economy, the vision to make Delhi a 'world-class' city has transformed the urban landscape of the megacity in manifold ways. The river Yamuna, which divides the city into two parts, was historically degraded to a foul-smelling drain by the city's untreated sewage and was the neglected 'backyard' of the megacity for a long time. The reclamation of the floodplain areas for the planned development of the city has been discussed in Delhi since the late 1970s. For decades, models of European riverfronts dominated the discourses around the river and the urban imaginaries of the planners.

Ecological risks and opposition from environmental groups have prevented large-scale channelization of the river. However, the perception of the river's floodplain as 'wasted land' has transformed it into a pivotal space in the remaking of the city in the twenty-first century. The large-scale slum demolitions and development of urban mega-projects along the banks of the Yamuna are characteristic for dynamic land-use changes in post-liberalization urban India.

The research presented in this book focuses on the multiple city-river relationships and current processes of urban environmental change. The results highlight that dynamic land-use changes and the reclamation of ecologically sensitive spaces are deeply connected to changing discursive framings of the role and function of these socio-ecological hybrids in the remaking of cities. Through analysis of the discourses surrounding Delhi's riverscapes, the study shows how dominant discourses and their associated story-lines have remained persistent over long periods of time and how these discourses have influenced the current processes of urban environmental change and governance.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Für ein besseres Verständnis der Komplexität von urbanen Landnutzungsveränderungen und Umweltproblemen entlang von Flüssen in den Megastädten des Globalen Südens bedarf es empirischer Untersuchungen, die über eine enge räumliche Fokussierung auf die *riverfront* hinausgehen. Hierzu ist es notwendig, die moderne Dichotomie von Natur und Kultur sowie Fluss und Stadt aufzubrechen, um das Fluss-Stadt-Verhältnis neu zu definieren. Diese Studie entwickelt in diesem Kontext ein neues Verständnis für die Erforschung von urbanen Flusslandschaften als sogenannte *riverscapes*. Das theoretische Konzept der *riverscapes* basiert auf einer Verknüpfung von Governance-Forschung und Ansätzen der Urban Political Ecology mit diskursanalytischen Ansätzen.

Im Zuge wirtschaftlicher Liberalisierung sowie fortschreitender Globalisierungsprozesse ist es das Ziel der Stadtentwicklungspolitik, die indische Hauptstadt Delhi in eine "Weltklasse-Stadt" zu verwandeln. Diese ambitionierte Zielsetzung der Stadtentwicklungspolitik verschärft die urbanen Landnutzungskonflikte innerhalb der Megastadt. Ein räumlicher Fokus der Stadterneuerungsmaßnahmen liegt hierbei insbesondere auf der Flussaue der Yamuna, die in der Vergangenheit auf Grund der monsunalen Überschwemmungen sowie der starken Verschmutzung des Flusses städtebaulich unberücksichtigt blieb und im Zuge dessen Raum für Marginalsiedlungen bot. Eine städtebauliche Entwicklung der Uferbereiche nach dem Vorbild westlicher Flüsse wurde bereits seit den späten 1970er Jahren diskutiert, jedoch auf Grund ökologischer Risiken nicht umgesetzt. Eine Eindeichung und Entwicklung von ausgewählten Arealen der Flussaue erfolgte erst im Zuge städtebaulicher Großprojekte nach der Jahrtausendwende. Zusammen mit großflächigen Slumräumungen sind diese Entwicklungen charakteristisch für aktuelle Landnutzungsveränderungen und -konflikte in den indischen Megastädten.

Der Fokus der Untersuchungen liegt auf den vielfältigen Fluss-Stadt Beziehungen und dynamischen Veränderungen in der Flussaue der Yamuna. Die Studie zeigt, dass aktuelle Stadtentwicklungsprojekte eng verknüpft sind mit sich verändernden Stadtentwicklungs- und Umweltschutzdiskursen.

PREFACE

This study was submitted as a doctoral thesis to the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences of the University of Cologne and was defended on 17th June 2015. Prof. Dr. Boris Braun and Prof. Dr. Frauke Kraas were the reviewers.

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I INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH CONTEXT

1 INTRODUCTION

The megacities of the Global South have emerged as hot spots of global environmental change; both as drivers of this change, as well as experiencing the intense adverse effects (Kraas 2003, 2007, Kraas & Mertins 2014, Parnell et al. 2007, Singh 2015, Sorensen & Okata 2011). Due to their scale, dynamics and complexity, the largest cities of the world face multiple socio-environmental challenges and their future development is at the center of public debate and scientific research (Davis 2006, Kraas et al. 2014, Parnell & Oldfield 2014, Sorensen 2011, UN Habitat 2010).

The dynamic processes of urbanization and associated land-use changes in the megacities of the Global South are driven by a multiplicity of actors embedded in complex global-local relations (HEINRICHS et al. 2012, HOMM 2014). In many cases the governance of megacities in the Global South is characterized by sectoral approaches lacking integrated planning and inter-sectoral coordination (BAUD & DHANALAKSHMI 2007, FARIA et al. 2009, KRAAS & MERTINS 2014, MITTAL et al. 2015). An omnipresent urban informality adds to the multiple challenges for urban governance in many cities of the Global South (ALSAYYAD & ROY 2004, MCFARLANE 2012, MCFARLANE & WAIBEL 2012, ROY 2005, 2009b).

In light of climate change, urban transformations in the megacities of the Global South are intimately linked to the challenge of making cities less vulnerable and more resilient (AßHEUER 2014, AßHEUER & BRAUN 2011, BIRKMANN et al. 2010, GARSCHAGEN 2014, HANSJÜRGENS & HEINRICHS 2014, HORDIJK & BAUD 2011, OTTO-ZIMMERMANN 2011, 2012). Along with specific local challenges of resource overexploitation, environmental degradation and associated health problems ongoing processes of mega-urbanization raise multiple questions of sustainability and socio-environmental justice (AGGARWAL & BUTSCH 2011, RADEMACHER & SIVARAMAKRISHNAN 2013b).

The environmental question is "generally often circumscribed to either rural or threatened 'natural' environments or to 'global' problems", but the central role of the global urbanization process is still under-represented in the environmental debate (Swyngedouw 2004: 9). This neglect of urban nature has been connected to the modern separation of nature and society through which 'the city' has for a long time been considered to be the very antithesis to nature (see among others Angelo & Wachsmuth 2014, Chilla 2005b, Harvey 1996b, Heynen et al. 2006b, Keil 2003, Keil & Graham 1998, Trepl 1996). The city, seemingly entirely created by humans, was not considered as a natural ecosystem. As a result, environmental problems in the cities of the Global South have long been largely ignored (Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1991). Only since the turn of the millennium

have urban environmental problems in the Global South, especially air and water pollution, come into increasing focus of both state and non-state actors. As a result, a growing 'urban environmentalism' has resulted in new forms of urban environmental governance (Benton-Short & Short 2013, Brand & Thomas 2005, Faria et al. 2009, Shutkin 2001, Véron 2006, Whitehead 2013).

Within this evolution, the modern city/nature dichotomy is challenged. 'Nature' is to some extent brought back into the city, yet this 'reintroduction of nature' into the urban realm does not follow any consistent narrative, but is rather fragmented in space and time, and often emerges as contradictory and highly politicized. Furthermore, despite a growing recognition of the importance of the urban environment, "a paradoxical form of inaction is the norm when it comes to implementing urban environmental solutions" (SHEPPARD 2006: 299). With regard to environmental conflicts in the cities of the Global South, numerous authors have argued that priority has often been given to ecological issues linked to larger questions of intergenerational equity, climate change and natural resource depletion ('green agenda') over the basic needs of the poor and the multiple challenges of the poverty-environment nexus ('brown agenda') (BARTONE et al. 1994, MCGRANAHAN & SATTERTHWAITE 2000, WATSON 2009).

In this context, the current urban environmental politics and socioecological transformations in India's megacities appear as an especially interesting case. Due to continuing population growth and the multiple effects of economic liberalization, India's megacities have been facing dynamic transformations raising manifold questions of urban sustainability and socio-environmental justice. India's current urbanization process poses multiple challenges for urban environmental governance to balance environmental protection and economic development, and the desires of a growing and increasingly assertive middle class¹ and the basic needs of the urban poor (BAVISKAR 2003, 2011a, DE MELLO-THÉRY et al. 2013, MAWDSLEY 2009, RADEMACHER & SIVARAMAKRISHNAN 2013a, TRUELOVE & MAWDSLEY 2011, VÉRON 2006).

Taking the case study of the river Yamuna in India's capital city Delhi, this study seeks to study these multiple governance challenges by linking questions of urban land-use change and urban redevelopment strategies to questions of river pollution and environmental degradation. City-river relationships reflect larger changes in socio-natural configurations and socioecological transformations (HOLIFIELD & SCHUELKE 2015, RADEMACHER 2011). Or more broadly, as HEIK-KILA (2011: 33) frames it: "The manner in which societies interact with 'their' rivers tells us as much or more about themselves as it does about the rivers per se." By analyzing the river-city nexus, this study aims to shed light on the socioecological transformation in urban India beyond the physical space of the river Yamuna in Delhi.

Writings on the role of India's (emerging) urban middle class(es) tend to use a vague definition (Brosius 2010, Ellis 2011, Fernandes 2006, Ghertner 2011d, Mawdsley 2004, Srivastava 2009). For a more detailed discussion see among others Sridharan (2011).

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1.1 Delhi: a tale of two cities, but only one river

Delhi has experienced rapid urbanization since India's Independence in 1947. With a population of approximately 17 million India's capital is today one of the largest megacities in the world. The long history of the city has always been closely connected to the river Yamuna, which is often referred to as the lifeline and the green lung of the city (DDA 2007). The ecologically sensitive river zone is the largest remaining natural feature and a crucial life supporting ecosystem of the megacity. The river Yamuna divides the city of Delhi into two parts, referred to as West Delhi and East Delhi (see Map 1, page 385).

The two parts of the megacity are characterized by distinctly different urban morphologies. The historic cores of the city and all major institutional areas are located in West Delhi. West Delhi is a comparatively 'green' city; especially the central, planned areas of the city which feature large green and recreational spaces. In contrast, East Delhi has largely grown informally and unplanned. The area is characterized by higher densities and generally poorer residential areas (CENSUS OF INDIA 2011a, MISTELBACHER 2005: 25). East Delhi is considerably lacking in terms of infrastructure provisions and adequate open and green spaces. An increasing number of bridges and new metro lines connects both parts of the city today, but the river's remaining 'undeveloped' floodplain is between one and three kilometers wide and still forms a major physical barrier separating the 'two cities'. This dichotomy of West Delhi and East Delhi needs to be taken into account because it influences the city-river relationship and the discourses associated with the river.

The growth of the megacity on both sides of the river has come at a large social and environmental cost. The extraction of the river's freshwater for agriculture and drinking water purposes, and increasing quantities of sewage released by the ever growing city have turned the sacred river, worshipped by Hindus since time immemorial, into a "sewage canal" (CSE 2007). The degradation of the riparian zone to a foul-smelling drain expresses a state of neglect regarding its protection and socioecological importance (see Figure 50 and Figure 51, page 392). A World Bank funded study in 2003 suggested that the Yamuna in Delhi "is perhaps the most threatened riverine ecosystem in the world because of the immense anthropogenic pressures on this riparian habitat" (BABU et al. 2003: 1).

The river's ecological importance for the city is acknowledged by several environmental policies and legislations. In the city's Master Plan, the city's central planning body, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), has defined the River Zone (Zone O) as a special planning zone (see Figure 1). By using capital letters for 'River Zone' the author intends to highlight that this spatial demarcation and its associated planning regulations are defined by the DDA. The demarcation of the 'River Zone' itself is problematic and the policy-making process surrounding it is outlined in this study.