

Photo by Charlotte Adelina

Tenorial Density : *Everyday “immigrant” in Transnational Territorial Complexity*

Solomon J Benjamin

EARCAG Feb 2025 panel with Tammy Wong and based on presentation at the ISGS Global Seminar, Nov. 2024 at Kyushu University Fukuoka Japan

'Tenurial Density' as an analytic

Rethinking Territory shaped via varied realms:

1. **Transnational connects** complicate Ethnicity
2. **Refurbishing & Repair Economy** of everyday products extends economic embedded social connects; (see Refurbishing Times web space)
3. **In Physical Form** – complex leases! Leases reflecting 'Mixed Land Use' (contesting North American-European zoned planning – reflecting Japanese and Korean (?) logics)

SUBSTANTIALLY STATE SPACED via Street-level bureaucrats customisation of public infrastructure via 'the Porous Bureacracy'



**‘Tenorial
Thickness’**
framed via
Relational
Connections and as
Spatiality
(Kobayashi 2017)
Varied Logics &
Entanglements

On the way to being middle class: The practices of emergence in Jakarta

AbdouMalig Simone & Achmad Uzair Fauzan

Published online: 25 Jun 2013.

attainment should concretely look like.

Our intent is not to establish specific causal connections—that is, identifying clear-cut empirical relationships between specific practices and changed livelihoods. Rather, we work within a milieu of associations where residents who report capacities to improve their life situations discuss the inter-linkages among their households, social networks, local relations and the materiality of their surrounds that they conclude have been important in nurturing and extending these capacities. Additionally we make no claims that particular practices and orientations ‘belong’ to an emerging middle class, as these same practices and orientations will be at work elsewhere in both similar and dissimilar ways.

We are interested in the possible multiplicities entailed in becoming middle class. Foucault (1995) diagrammed the exposures and folds, stretches and pulls that produce resonance and coordination among the efforts and transactions of different actors. Amidst the

jumbles of interstices, enclosures and openings that ensue from the interaction of materials and metabolisms, power is mobilized through efforts to posit architectures of possibilities—that is, specific lines of association and distancing; gathering up things as mutually implicated and affected, while separating off other possibilities and matters viewed as disallowed and irrelevant. The density of the city was not just that of human bodies but of the multiplicity of possible associations among bodies and various materials. While these associations have been subject to various political technologies of governance and control, there has always been something that slips through, leaks out, overflows or generates long shadows. This is what Foucault (2009) has called the problem of multiplicities.

A wide range of skills and inclinations

As Bahwani, a 61-year-old small-time land broker, professes:

'Around here something is always going wrong; we all think we can fix things, and sometimes we can, but sometimes we get ourselves into more trouble, so people have to step in; still, you have to show that you are not afraid of letting things be what they are. This place is never going to be the Promised Land; it has been comfortable to us because we didn't have to break our backs trying to keep things going. Look at this street, look at how many new things are being built up, but none of them are hi-so (high society) type things; people are doing things that are just enough for them now; but they can do them because this is a not place where things are now set in stone; all of these people, they made their connections, they put their money together, and they can do things, even I know for a fact that they don't have certificates and formal permission. You see, there is a lot things going on in a place like this; it might not seem that way, but there are a lot of different interests and goals, so it would never be easy even when the big money people bring in suitcases full of cash.'



Spatiality

Audrey Kobayashi

Queen's University, Canada

The conceptual transit from space to spatiality is one of the most significant developments in recent geographical thought. Both space and spatiality are historical concepts that refer to the relationship between people and things, including other people, on the Earth's surface. While spatiality is relatively recent, space is a historical concept. Like all human inventions, it has been subject to many interpretations. Space is one of the most – if not *the* most – important concepts in the discipline of geography. It is also the most difficult to define and possibly the most contested. For students of the subject it is



ONE useful WAY:
wearing 'tenure
shaded spectacles to
reveal histories of
land tenure that
underpins 'Ordinary
and Everyday city
terrains (but also other
ones too...)

Helps rereading extensions
as layers of tenures blurs the
boundaries between the
Street and the City Embedded
& State Spaced entangled with
Everyday Practices (EP) too





Causeway Bay
Bridge Hong Kong
<https://hongkongfp.com/2018/02/16/pictures-virtuous-villain-hitters-causeway-bay-mistresses-bad-bosses-no-politicians-please/>

Getting Petty People
out of you life!

**HONG KONG'S
VILLAIN HITTING
VOODOO**

GRANDMAS! ||

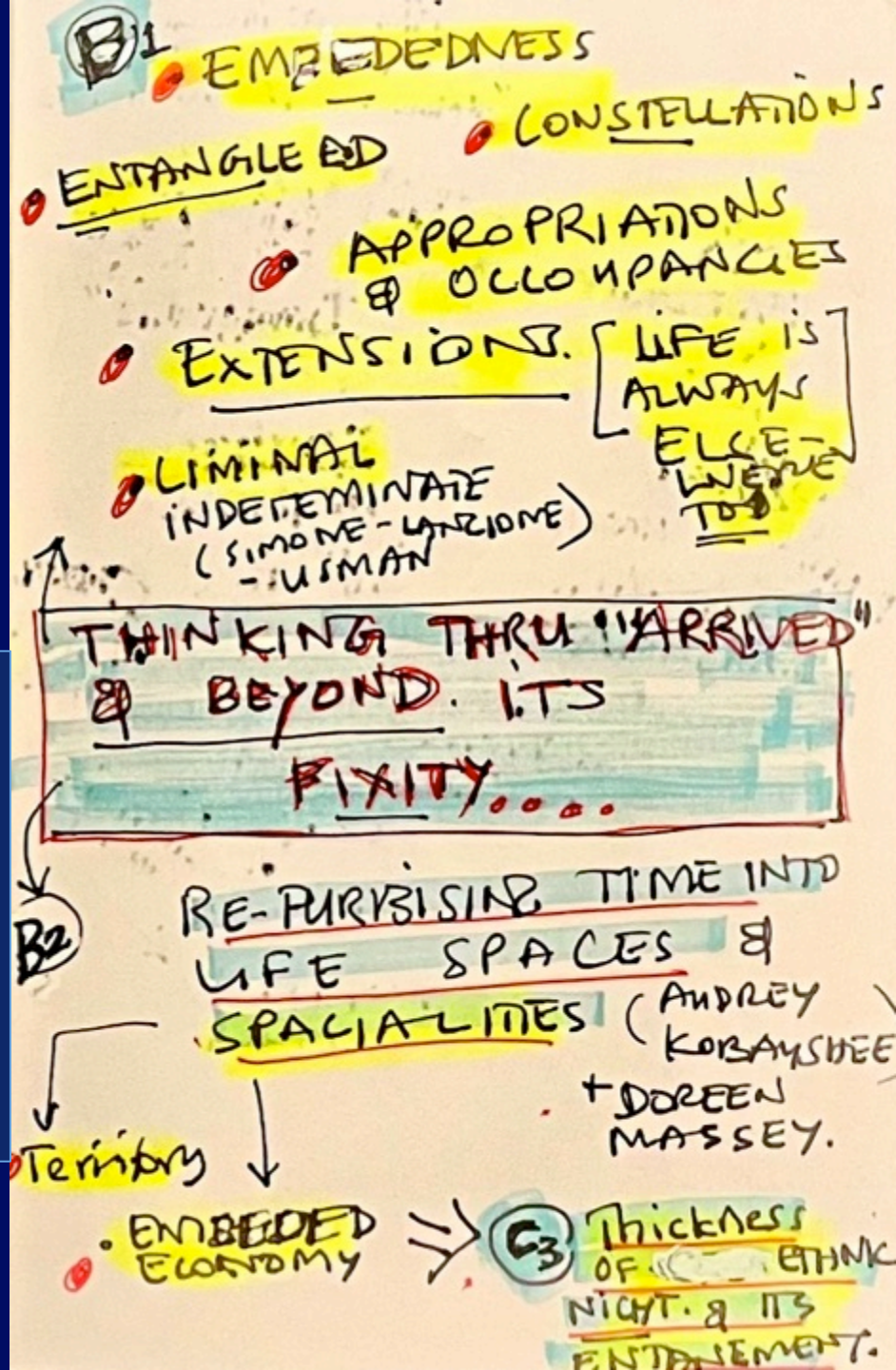
Hong Kong Series ||

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xTHHGHZqzoA>

THE SITUATED HISTORIES
OF THESE PLACES
CONSTITUTE PARTICULARIZES
SPACIALITIES

TERRITORIAL('s) multi-
Layered porosity

City Spaces & Spatialities
that have a administrative
connect (not informal)



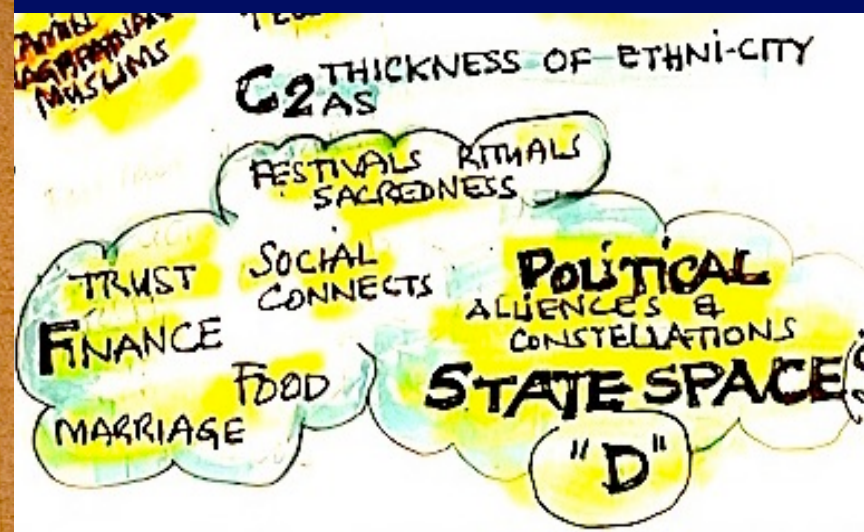
The theoretical exploration

Land, Mutual Embeddedness as Property Relations and Territory: Towards a *Tongbian* Understanding

Journal:	<i>Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers</i>
Manuscript ID	Draft
Manuscript Type:	Regular Paper
Keywords:	Land, Property Relations and Territory, <i>Tongbian</i> Philosophy, Spatial Story, Sham Shui Po, Malad
Abstract:	<p>Land, when understood as a spatial story enriched with intertwining social and political elements via the <i>tongbian</i> philosophy, disrupts commonplace conceptualisations such as gentrification. <i>Tongbian</i> philosophy sees everything as consisting of two mutually embedded, opposite poles in a ceaseless interaction, as processes of becoming, continuity and change. The concept of focus-field relationship is proposed to decipher the complexities of these processes. Mobilising the <i>tongbian</i> philosophy via two sites, Hong Kong's Sham Shui Po and Mumbai's Malad, this formulation is elaborated by emphasising subtleties of historical aspects that shape contemporary forces. More specifically, it is the complexity of institutional entanglements of both diachronic and synchronic interactions wherein the dynamics of control, shifts in power, growth, or decline in prominence in time and space across both land as territory and land as property. It is in this life of land that questions are raised about ideas of its transformation as being contingent on archaic ideas of the Westphalian state and unipolar framings of capital moving from the North to the South, which fundamentally miss out the complexity of the politics of land in shaping territorial transformation. The paper ends with a proposal to study land dynamics using the concept of land occupancy via the spatial story approach.</p>


ETHNIC as a "CITY" EFFECT:

MULTIPLE & ENTANGLED LIFE LOGICS.



Thickness of Ethnicity are also Histories Shaping Complex Overlaid Tenorial Occupancies Such spatialities have distinctive State Spaced administrative connect (not informal)

**Decolonising territory:
Dialogues with Latin American
knowledges and grassroots strategies**

Sam Halvorsen 

Queen Mary University of London, UK

Very particular, or rather universal? Gentrification
through the lenses of Ghertner and López-Morales

Matthias Bernt

**Enter
Space &
Spaciality
via field
theorization**

**Subversive Property:
Reshaping Malleable
Spaces of Belonging**

Sarah Keenan

University of Kent, UK

For real: land as capital and commodity

Brett Christophers

**Primitive Accumulation, New Enclosures, and Global Land
Grabs: A Theoretical Intervention***

*Onur Ulas Ince
Department of Government
Cornell University*

**Spatial dialectics and the geography of social
movements: the case of Occupy London**

Sam Halvorsen



Life Stories
Refurbishing Times

Refurbishing Times

ECONOMY AS LIFE SPACES



Life Stories of Shekar, Rajkumar, and Rahul

How the Politics of the Popular Extends life into Economy
refurbishes, reinvents, and recreates



Materializing the Political of the Popular



Reflection: Cellphone Doctor at Ritchie Street



Reflection: “Beyond Repair”, Or, “Just Falling Apart”?

Field Notes: The Story of a Recorder

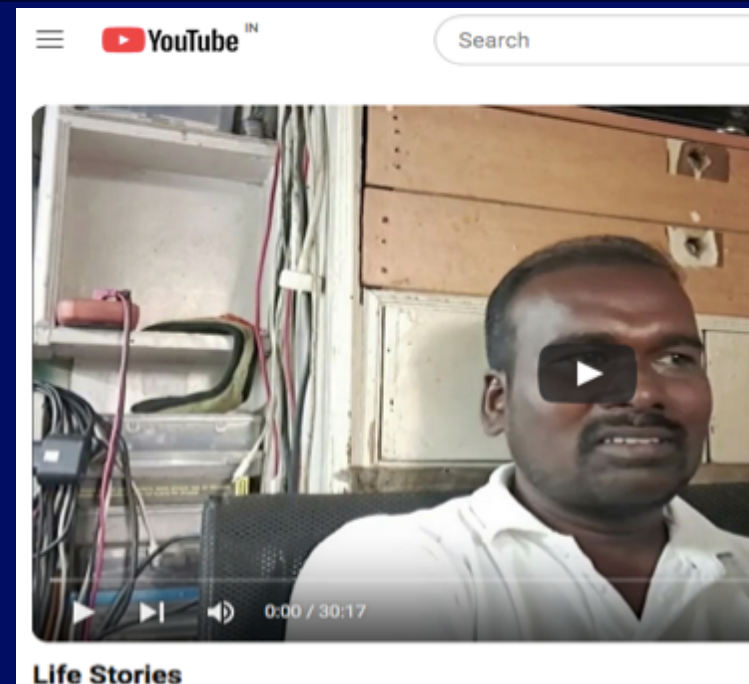
STATE SPACES & SPATIALITIES

- Whose Afraid of AkramaSakrama
- Rethinking Dalit Territorialities beyond the Margin
- Contested Production of Knowledge(s)

‘Immigrant’ ECONOMY as TENURIAL Density

revealing Interconnected
Life Stories

<https://refurbishingtime.in/>



ARRIVAL CITY

HOW THE LARGEST MIGRATION IN
HISTORY IS RESHAPING OUR WORLD

DOUG SAUNDERS



Earlier frames treating 'migrant ghettos' as ethnically concentrated neighborhoods:

- Toronto's Scarbourogh / Brampton;
- East London;
- Bangalore-India: 'Bangladeshi 'illigal' migrants

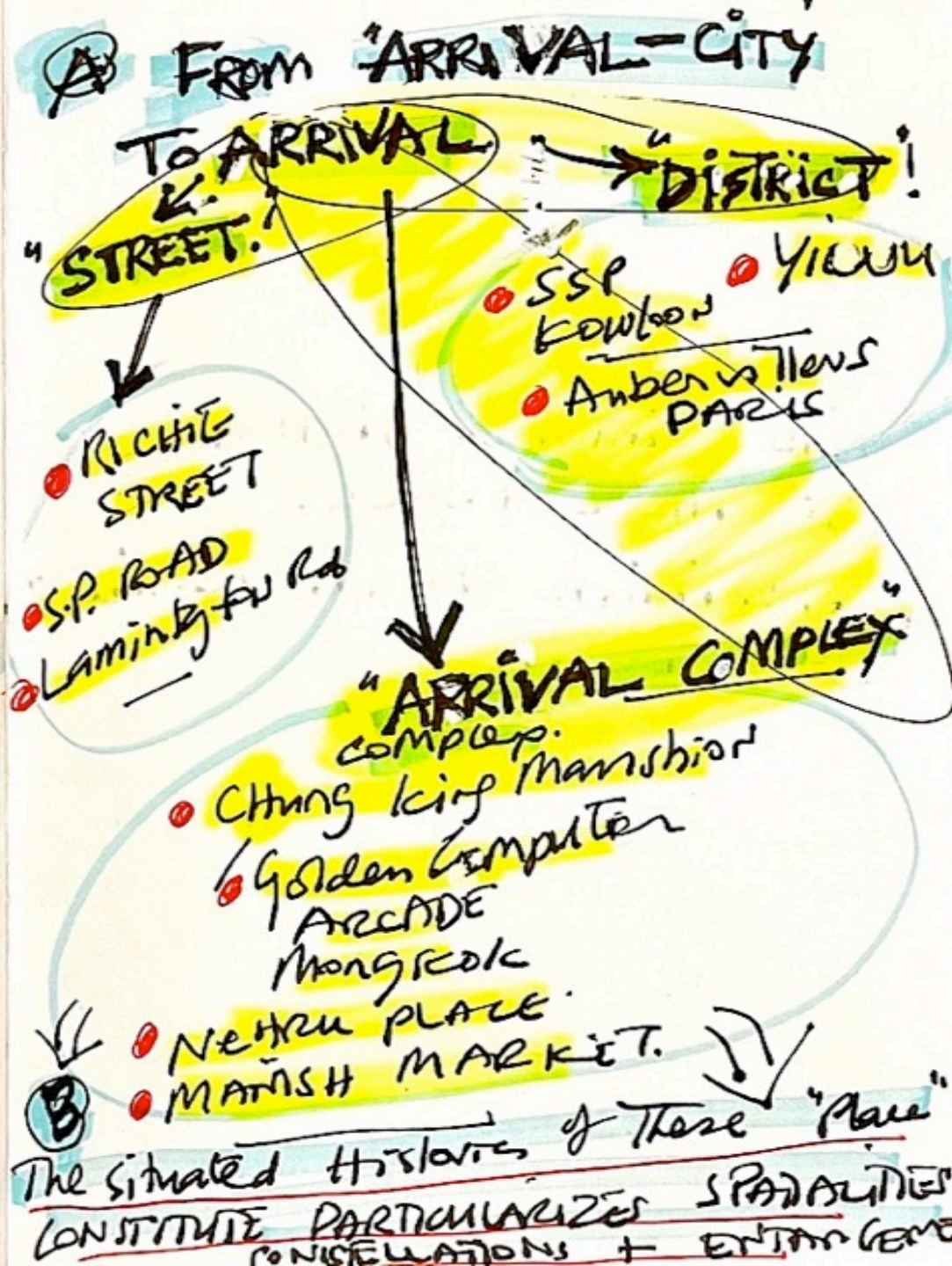
Tends to fall into a: “..a sort of ‘global problem’ with ‘local manifestations

GLOBALISATION 1.0: Earlier 'one-way' linearity underpins : constituent narrative built around 'marginality induced temporariltity', fixed ethnicity, trans-national but one way..



**MOVING
BEYOND: -
SCALE,
MAGNITUDE but
also
conceptions?**

Post 2005 huge
increase in small
traders and
'service- engineers'
moving South-
South (trading into
the North too)



TENURIAL DENSITY

Street as Arrival

version 2.0 or 3 (?)

Substantiating The Street to think the POLITICAL substance of Contemporary Globalization

Building on Doug Saunders! His complexity importantly moves more than just a surfacial viscosity of vibrancy!

Need to take tenorial territoriality seriously, and as political spatiality that's Systemic

Constellations spurred agency
Everyday Incrementality
palimpsest forms..

Version 2.1 + 3 ? 'Arrival Street'

TWO CRITICAL ASPECTS:

- Critical Importance of Local Administration: health workers/ police – street as the specificity of district management.
- Taking Seriously the formative Idea of 'HOME' – complex forms of belonging via Sacredness – **Street Side Temples**



Asja Lacis & Walter Benjamin's The Porous City

<https://www.mediapolisjournal.com/2020/02/introduction-porous-city/>

“...Naples in such a short space, their essay includes several aspects worth remembering: porosity connects the built environment with the social as well as with nature; its impermanence suggests a tension with order and planning; it plays an important role in questions of social inequality, for the poor mobilize the porous so that “opportunity be at any price preserved...”



Almost a century ago, philosopher Walter Benjamin defined Naples as a "porous city", referring to the great qualities of the city's messy urbanism that are still present today. There's always room for change: the physical and organizational structures are constantly at the intersection between the formal/informal, building/action, order/disorder, static/unfixed - leaving things open for renegotiation and improvisation based on the daily transactions between local actors.

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RECONSIDERING INFORMALITY

Perspectives from Urban Africa

Edited by

Karen Tranberg Hansen and Mariken Vaa

Of relevance, Ch. 4: Who Rules the Streets

for sleeping and eating. ... This sleep, which the men and women also snatch in shady corners, is therefore not the protected Northern sleep. Here, too, there is interpenetration of day and night, noise and peace, outer light and inner darkness, street and home."
(WB& AL p.172)

The intensive physical changes come about via intensive local negotiations and political resolution using municipal councillors to influence various levels of government – initially via the refugee rehabilitation board and the relevant Minister, and later, via the municipal council. Planners like to see these changes as "informal, or acts of desperation". This urbanism is a mainstream political process deeply implicated in self-organizing urbanisms.

[https://www.academia.edu/90649812/
The_nomadic_city_appropriates_the_street_dots
and_disrupts_its_grid](https://www.academia.edu/90649812/The_nomadic_city_appropriates_the_street_dots_and_disrupts_its_grid)
And a wonderful general archive
<https://ouci.dntb.gov.ua/en/works/4rznNRJ4/>

Benjamin, S. 2010. The nomadic city appropriates the street... .. and disrupts its grid. Cluster, pp 1–43. Retrieved from <http://www.cluster.eu/the-nomadic-city-appropriates-the-street/>.

Films on the Life
Trajectory of 3
"Small Electronic USTADs"



Immigrants

Immigrants

EARLIER
HISTORIES

AMITAVA
GHOSH

CHENNAI
BURMA
BAZZAR

CHETTIAIRS
HINDU

HONG KONG
MACAU

SINGAPORE

PENANG

UNDIVIDED
BENGAL

JOHOR

CHITTAGONG

LASCAR

MADRAS

SYHET

90%

EAST LONDON

"ARRIVAL
CITY"

C. THICKNESS OF
1 ETHNICITY

(NOT "FIXED" BUT OF
ENTANGLED SPECIALITIES)



C2 THICKNESS OF ETHNICITY
AS



Thickness of Ethnicity
and their Histories

Films on the Life
Trajectory of 3
"Small Electronic USTADs"



"ARRIVAL CITY"
LONDON

C. THICKNESS OF
1 ETHNICITY
(NOT "FIXED" BUT OF
ENTANGLED SPECIALITIES)

MUMBAI

SHENZHEN'S

SEG

NICOLAS NOVA & ANAIS BLOCH

dr. SMART- Phone: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF MOBILE PHONE REPAIR SHOPS

R. (GENEVA): I had become my own buying centre, in Annemasse and Geneva, and I thought, why not sell the supplies to other stores? So I opened the store in Lyon. Why Lyon? And why this district? Simply because there are more than 35 stores spread over 200 square meters there. With the idea of opening a regular shop in Lyon was in the works, I decided to take advantage of this synergy without being seen as a competitor to the others.

A. (LYON): Our main business, I would say 80%, comes from the sale of spare parts to professionals and individuals, and this means selling batteries, screens, charge connectors, loudspeaker, connectors, mats, and so on. We have all the tools for professionals, but we sell them to individuals as well. Plus for everything that needs handling, glue for screens. This is the ultimate kit, with all the tools and small components. It costs ten euros. We also do some repairs. I don't do them, I subcontract them, because I don't have a repairman here, so it's a side-activity. We are supporting the Geneva store which makes 90% of repairs. This is B's idea. He's spent years travelling around China, meeting suppliers and working to create a complete chain, from spare part sales to repair.

We worked on a kind of organization, established by R., with small lockers so that everyone, you and me included, can find what they are looking for. For example, let me look on my iPhone 5 computer tool, which redirects me to the drawer that corresponds to what I'm looking for. So, I will have access to the LCD screens, the charger, the charging connectors, and so on. In our business, we are constantly adapting, we have to be the first to react, with other furniture we put in place—here, here on

there—knowing that we will remove parts and references from our digital catalogue. It's quite a difficult job this referencing and organization, but it is also strategic work, in that we need to choose the right parts, sometimes we choose parts and we'll realize that it's a flop, that it doesn't sell well, so it's complicated... We have to keep up with the displays, so we work closely with S., for example, who tells me, "well, I have a reference that keeps coming back, it's the iPhone 5, the loudspeaker parts, there's a recurring breakdown." That's why we work as a team, we need to know what to buy and include in the database.

I won't hide that it's a lot of work! The average customer thinks we just sell phone cases, he doesn't realize the complexity... because the telephony market is constantly evolving, according to the different demands and the devices on the market. Samsung, for example, is developing phone models to compete with Apple, which, on their side, are increasingly restricting phones. So we have to find solutions to bring in our customers... it is a daily headache.

I came from the world of car sales and advertising. I started in repair at the end of September 2014, and by December, I was already operational. We have to be responsive to customers' needs. They have no time to waste, because it's their main ticket that needs repairing! Not all the stores you see up there can have parts in stock. This was a strategic decision by R. The business model is basic, "you go down the stairs and you have what you need in our shop." It's an additional expense to order in China or elsewhere, you have to look, is this the right reference? Now you know that you can go down the stairs and have professionals to welcome you.

"80% OF OUR SALES ARE MADE ON THE WHOLESALE MARKET" 807



<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-03106034>

MARRIAGE

"D"

3. How Tenorial Thickness remains contested

The central importance of Street State Spaces to establish, maintain, and reinforce Everyday Claims



A map of Mumbai, India, with various colored regions (green, orange, red) and black lines representing roads or boundaries. Overlaid on the map is the title 'Territorial Entanglements in Mumbai's MALAD Situated Spatial Histories' in a bold, yellow, sans-serif font. The text is arranged in five lines, with the first line being the largest and the last line being the smallest. The background map includes some faint, partially legible text such as '1223', '1221', '109 PG 3056.4', and 'MALAD'.

Territorial Entanglements in Mumbai's MALAD Situated Spatial Histories

**Taking
Bureaucratic
hop Talk
seriously
reveals
Practiced
Institutional
Spatialities**
(Tang,
Shetty,
Gupte,
Benjamin)

The materiality of ‘**land as territory**’ revealed via the ‘shop talk’ of small-time builders, bank officials certifying property documents via senior managers to local field agents, brokers, lawyer consultants, architects with numerous resident co-op societies.

- Shop talk is not a clinical law, but pointer to it’s spatiality where indeterminate gaps and ambiguity suggest possibility, but also contests with other counter moves.
- The ‘focus field’ : For the yin, it’s ‘governance’ of North American derived planning instruments like FAR morphing into other instruments to ‘fix’ property under PPPs, especially TDR by the Mumbai city corporation.
- It's overpowering Yang enjoys its power centre within that same institution: legislation of the ‘**Small Repairs Law**’ (**Scrutiny of Repairs DC regulations of 33-6**) allow lease-based occupier tenants, and landlords to ‘improve’ property. These are **bureaucratically negotiated spaces** just as the ones for chawls, opened up via **section 33(7), 33(7)A And 33(7)B of the Redevelopment of Old Buildings And Housing Societies**
- Further reinforcing this realm it’s spatiality of Yang reinforced by, ‘**tenable repairs**’ for dilapidated structures under **Section 353B** allowing occupants to ‘**renovate at will**’, opened up, via **section 342 of BMC Act, 1988** (amended till date), the following “tenantable repairs”.
- The ‘yin’ as a seed, can be thought of the D.C.R 33(14)D (Permanent Transit Tenement) are constructed in situ by giving incentive FSI, or then it’s ‘fungible FSI’ – that fuel the ‘slum redevelopment scheme’.

The corridors of
administrative
directives
evidenced as
'glimpses'

.. each with a
'opaque'
indeterminate
deep story
space

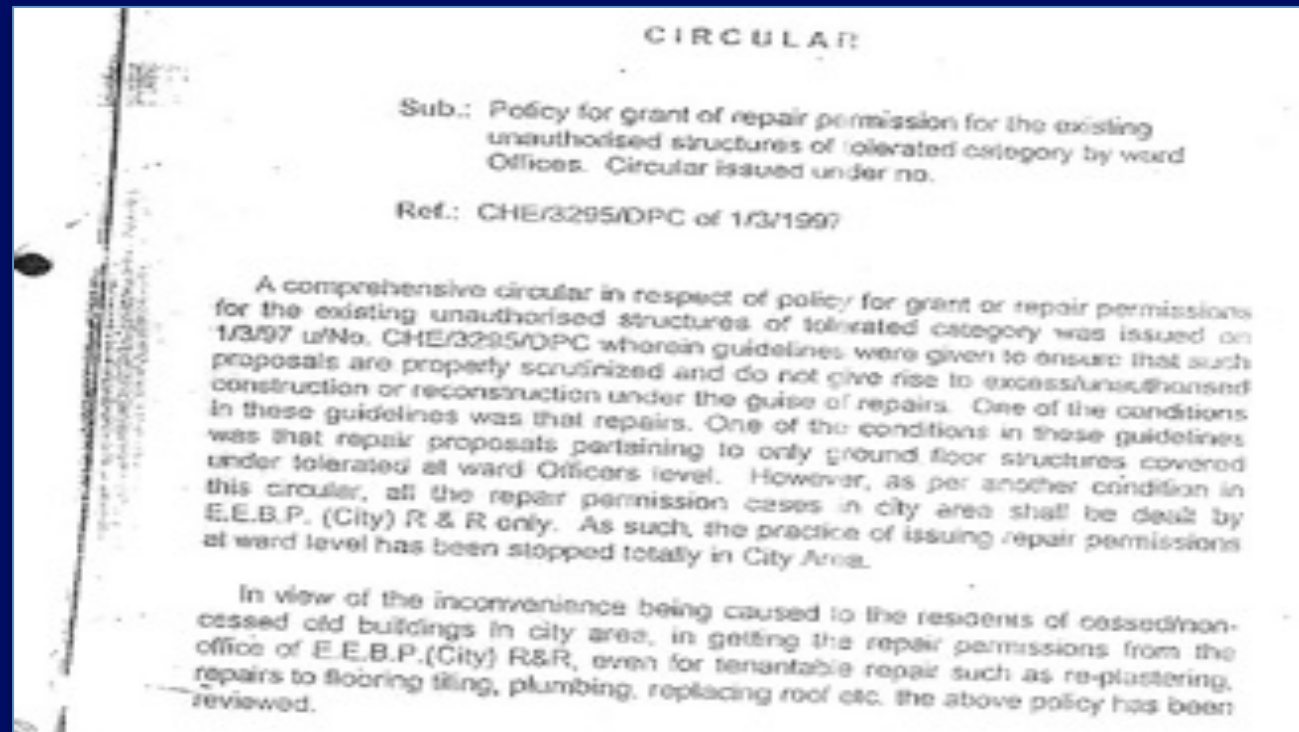
(Tang, Shetty, Gupte,
Benjamin FC-1)

The union cabinet approval of the new Model Tenancy Act on 2 June is causing unease among the 2.5 million tenants in Mumbai, especially those who have rented flats under the Pagdi system.

A pagdi system is a legal tenancy system that flourished in the 1940s in which tenants are part owners and the tenancy can be sold after sharing a part of the proceeds with the landlord.

Unlike a regular rental property, where a tenant pays a deposit while moving in, in a Pagdi system, the tenant pays 60-75% of the market price to the property owner and hence is considered part owner of the premises. He has the right to sublet and even sell the tenancy with the consent of the owner by paying a part of the proceeds to the property owner.

The new Act could completely change the status of Pagdi tenants from part owners to mere tenants with no ownership or succession rights. The rentals, frozen since 1940s, would likely increase to match market rates.







CIRCULAR

Sub.: Policy for grant of repair permission for the existing unauthorised structures of tolerated category by ward Offices. Circular issued under no.

Ref.: CHE/3295/DPC of 1/3/1997

A comprehensive circular in respect of policy for grant or repair permissions for the existing unauthorised structures of tolerated category was issued on 1/3/97 u/No. CHE/3295/DPC wherein guidelines were given to ensure that such proposals are properly scrutinized and do not give rise to excess/unauthorised construction or reconstruction under the guise of repairs. One of the conditions in these guidelines was that repairs. One of the conditions in these guidelines was that repair proposals pertaining to only ground floor structures covered under tolerated at ward Officers level. However, as per another condition in this circular, all the repair permission cases in city area shall be dealt by E.E.B.P. (City) R & R only. As such, the practice of issuing repair permissions at ward level has been stopped totally in City Area.

In view of the inconvenience being caused to the residents of cessed/non-cessed old buildings in city area, in getting the repair permissions from the office of E.E.B.P.(City) R&R, even for tenable repair such as re-plastering, repairs to flooring tiling, plumbing, replacing roof etc. the above policy has been reviewed.

Shop Talk:

Here, the materiality of land as territory is revealed via the 'shop talk' of small-time builders, bank officials certifying property documents via senior managers to local field agents, brokers, lawyer consultants, architects with numerous resident co-op societies. Importantly, this shop talk is not a clinical law, but of it's spatiality where indeterminate gaps and ambiguity suggest possibility, but also contests with other counter moves.

Thus, the focus field involves the following: For the yin, it's 'governance' of North American derived planning instruments like FAR morphing into other instruments to 'fix' property under PPPs, especially TDR by the Mumbai city corporation. However, it's the Yang that overpower, and importantly, enjoys its power centre within that same institution: legislation of the 'Small Repairs Law' (Scrutiny of Repairs DC regulations of 33-6) allow lease-based occupier tenants, and landlords to 'improve' property.

These are bureaucratically negotiated spaces just as the ones for chawls, opened up via section 33(7), 33(7)A And 33(7)B of the Redevelopment of Old Buildings And Housing Societies connect to the further spatiality, Yang reinforcing, 'tenable repairs' for dilapidated structures under Section 353B allowing occupants to 'renovate at will', building on the spatiality opened up, via section 342 of BMC Act, 1988 (amended till date), the following "tenantable repairs". The 'yin' as a seed, can be thought of the D.C.R 33(14)D (Permanent Transit Tenement) are constructed in situ by giving incentive FSI, or then it's 'fungible FSI' – that fuel the 'slum redevelopment scheme'.

Entangled Situated Histories- ii

Encountering
the
Genealogy of
Presumptive
Land titles ?

(Tang, Shetty,
Gupte,
Benjamin FC-1)

Maharashtra: Now You Can Register Even 1 Guntha Land On Purchase, Bombay High Court Rules

<https://www.punekarnews.in/maharashtra-now-you-can-register-even-1-guntha-land-on-purchase-bombay-high-court-rules/>

Aurangabad, 7th May 2022: The Bombay High Court's Aurangabad bench has struck down Rule 44(1)(i) of the Maharashtra Registration Rules, 1961, which required a person seeking registration of sale deeds for lands of a specific size to get a No Objection Certificate (NOC) from the appropriate body for land fragmentation.

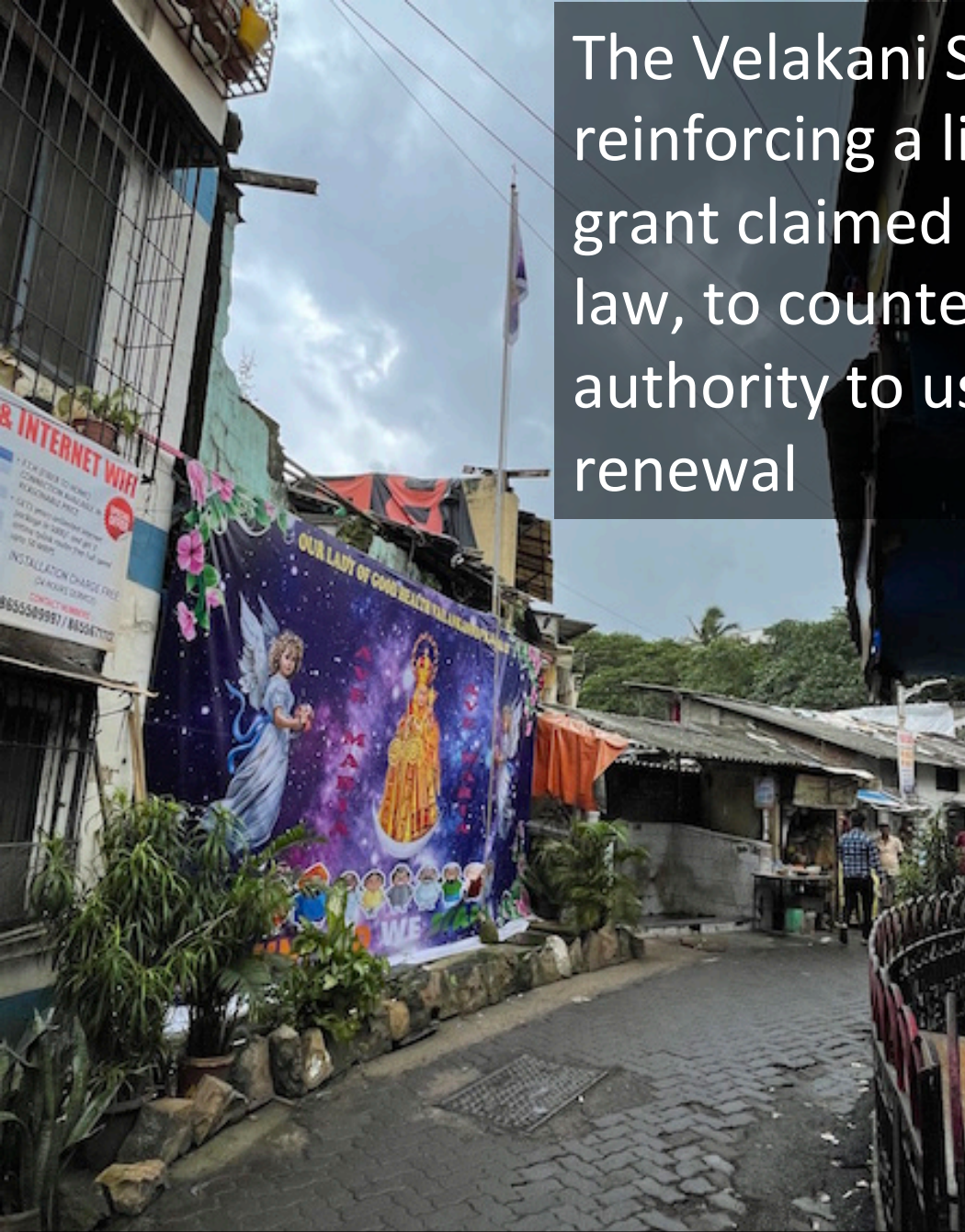
In light of section 8B of the Maharashtra Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holding (Amendment) Act, 2015, a circular issued by the Inspector General of Registration and Controller of Stamps (IGRCS) on July 12, 2021, mandated the enclosure of permission from the concerned authority based on Rule 44(1)(i). **The circular prohibited Sub-Registrars from registering any sale or transfer deed unless there was no objection from the appropriate authority. The asserted Rule was adverse to section 34 of the Registration Act, 1908, and expressly outside the powers provided under section 69 of the Registration Act, 1908.** A division bench .. ruled that, *"The rules that can be created cannot go beyond the rule-making authority granted by the Parent statute or supersede any provision for which such authority is not granted. Rule 44 (7)0 does not comply with the stipulations of sections 34 and 35 of the Indian Registration Act and cannot go beyond those provisions."* ...

the 'becoming' is of Yang dominated by overlapping tenurial terrains but also, subtle shifts in land as territory and as property. This is also shaped by legal interventions in the 1882 'Transfer of Property Act' and the 1908 Registration Act (see the revert to this, Bombay High Court Aurangabad in 7th May 2022). ..'

Solly, Rohit, DeSouza
with Lawyer Vincent
traverse Kurla Gowthan's
paths of situated
Portuguese and British
colonial situated Land
histories materializing
contemporary conflicts,
contestations



The Velakani Shrine in the Kurla Gowthan reinforcing a living memory of a land grant claimed under Portuguese Roman law, to counter the Mumbai's planning authority to use 'slums' spurred urban renewal





BUILT BY
MATHEW BARETTA
27-6-1997

BOMBAY TALKIES AND OTHER STORIES OF MALAD

PRASAD SHETTY

Aurangabad, 7th May 2022: The Bombay High Court's Aurangabad bench has struck down Rule 44(1)(i) of the Maharashtra Registration Rules, 1961, which required a person seeking registration of sale deeds for lands of a specific size to get a No Objection Certificate (NOC) from the appropriate body for land fragmentation. In light of section 8B of the Maharashtra Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holding (Amendment) Act, 2015, a circular issued by the Inspector General of Registration and Controller of Stamps (IGRCS) on July 12, 2021, mandated the enclosure of permission from the concerned authority based on Rule 44(1)(i). The circular prohibited Sub-Registrars from registering any sale or transfer deed unless there was no objection from the appropriate authority. The asserted Rule was adverse to section 34 of the Registration Act, 1908, and expressly outside the powers provided under section 69 of the Registration Act, 1908.

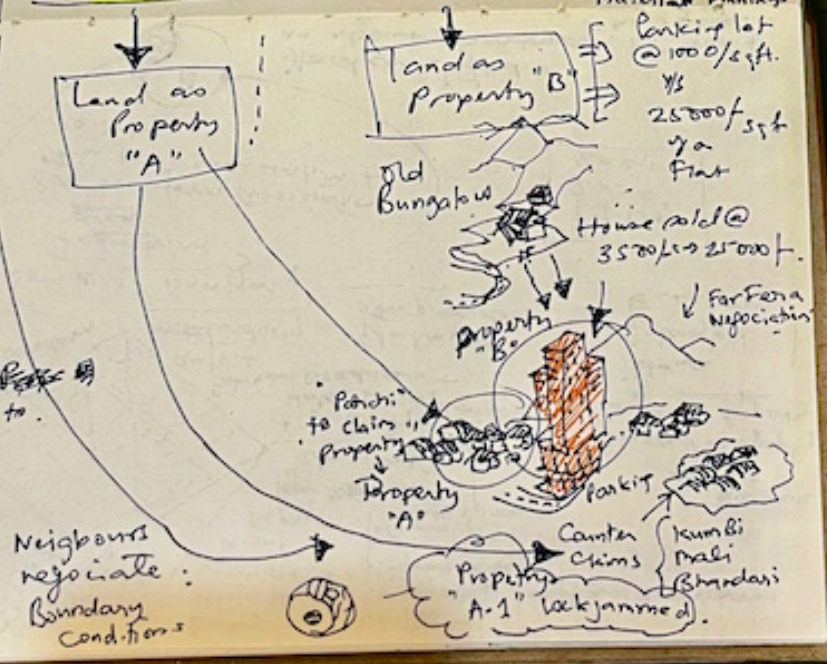
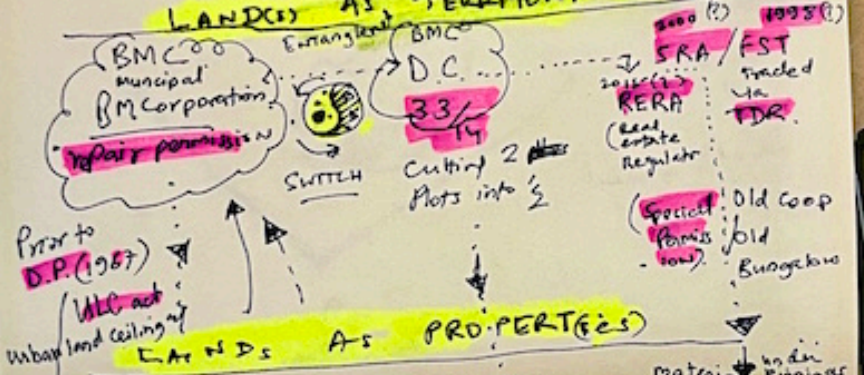


Maharashtra: Now You Can Register Even 1 Guntha Land On Purchase, Bombay High Court Rules

<https://www.puneekarnews.in/maharashtra-now-you-can-register-even-1-guntha-land-on-purchase-bombay-high-court-rules/>

"Land as Territory"
 links to specific relations of
 Jurisdictional / legislative entanglements,
 not to abstract / Normative
 Institutional "Governance"

LANDS AS TERRITORY



The Bombay ~~Taking~~ Struggle Talkies

(Salt) meet Choups
Chincholi Bazaar

malad
war f.

Future
BMC(?)

o Salt
o Fish
o dry products

Customary
land as
territory
(Edge of
Temple)
Hard
edge

1930s
"hardedge" of low
Colonial
land grant
to Parsi → Filmistan

Bombay
Taking 18 acres

Colonial
- Land interterritory

(B)

Municipal Com. 's
minor
Repair
law
Rent control
1950
acceptance

Jalan
Aaro
Talan
+ Daviki
Rani
+ Mistresses
+ actresses
Passion
love affairs
1950
↓
60s
@ Filmistan!



+ Free floating
actors +
Photographs
artist of
Changing Form of
Film Production +
Financial. changes
Prakash Milk Money of
Film Passions



Varied Landscapes held in Ontological and Epistemic Equivalence

Land's Situated Histories
disrupt binaries of Pre-
Colonial – Colonial – Post
Colonial

Other explorations of bureaucratic

excitements

Anya Bernstein *The Social Life of Regulation in Taipei City Hall: The Role of Legality in the Administrative Bureaucracy* *Law & Social Inquiry* Volume 33, Issue 4, 925–954, Fall 2008

on the books offered. Many laws having to do with land use, for instance, are put into implementational abeyance when they are passed. Implementation is suspended pending the development of associated laws and measures (*peitao cuoshi*) seen as their necessary complements. Announcing a law, the government thus effectively announces only its intention to make a set of interrelated laws. This leads to a certain amount of systemic confusion about the relationship among the announcement of the original law, the development of associated laws and measures, and the built-in grace periods for implementation—often a difference of years or even decades.

Ms. Gu pointed to the uncertainties of the law, emphasizing the gaps or discrepancies (*luocha*) in legal procedure. These gaps were not gaps between law on the books and law in action, but gaps within law on the books itself. As my co-workers' constant negotiations with city residents demonstrated, the very inflexibility of these legal strictures left capacious room for argument. Theories of bureaucratic functioning often emphasize the role of the bureaucracy in categorizing and defining the objects under its purview (cf. Handelman 2004). The administrators I worked with, in contrast, emphasized the structural impossibility of clear-cut categorization.

I find that the most meaningful parts of my material do not come from interview sessions, set apart as they were from normal life by time, place, and the presence of the microphone.

Accordingly, my primary material came not from the stories people told when asked to tell stories but from the off-hand remarks, the unreflective answers, and the commentaries on ongoing events that characterize the Department of Urban Development's lively and voluble social life.

Deep ethnographic Adventures traverses land, law & Society and new institutional inventions

Bouventura De
Sousa Santos

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The Law of the Oppressed: The Construction and Reproduction of Legality in Pasargada

Associational life in Pasargada is very intense. There are recreational clubs, soccer teams, churches (whose members often organize themselves in social clubs and charitable associations under the aegis of the catholic priest and other religious leaders), the electricity commission and the Residents' Association (hereafter RA). Because of its relevance for the analysis of Pasargada law, the RA will be described more fully. The RA was the first community-wide, community-controlled, agency in Pasargada. It was cre-

my fieldwork. I begin by studying contracts of sale.

The normative structure of Case 1 is complex, as can be seen through an analysis of the object of the transaction. Even though that object is a house, it is called a *benfeitoria* in the document. *Benfeitoria* is a technical expression used in the official legal system to refer to improvements upon material things. These improvements may or may not be transferred separately from the things to which they are attached. It is important to explain the borrowing of this technical expression, both because I predicted that legal language in Pasargada would be very close to ordinary language, and because the expression is extensively used in Pasargada.

In Pasargada law, the term *benfeitoria* does not refer to any kind of improvement, as it does in the official legal system, but mainly to houses and shacks, revealing the selective character of the linguistic borrowing.