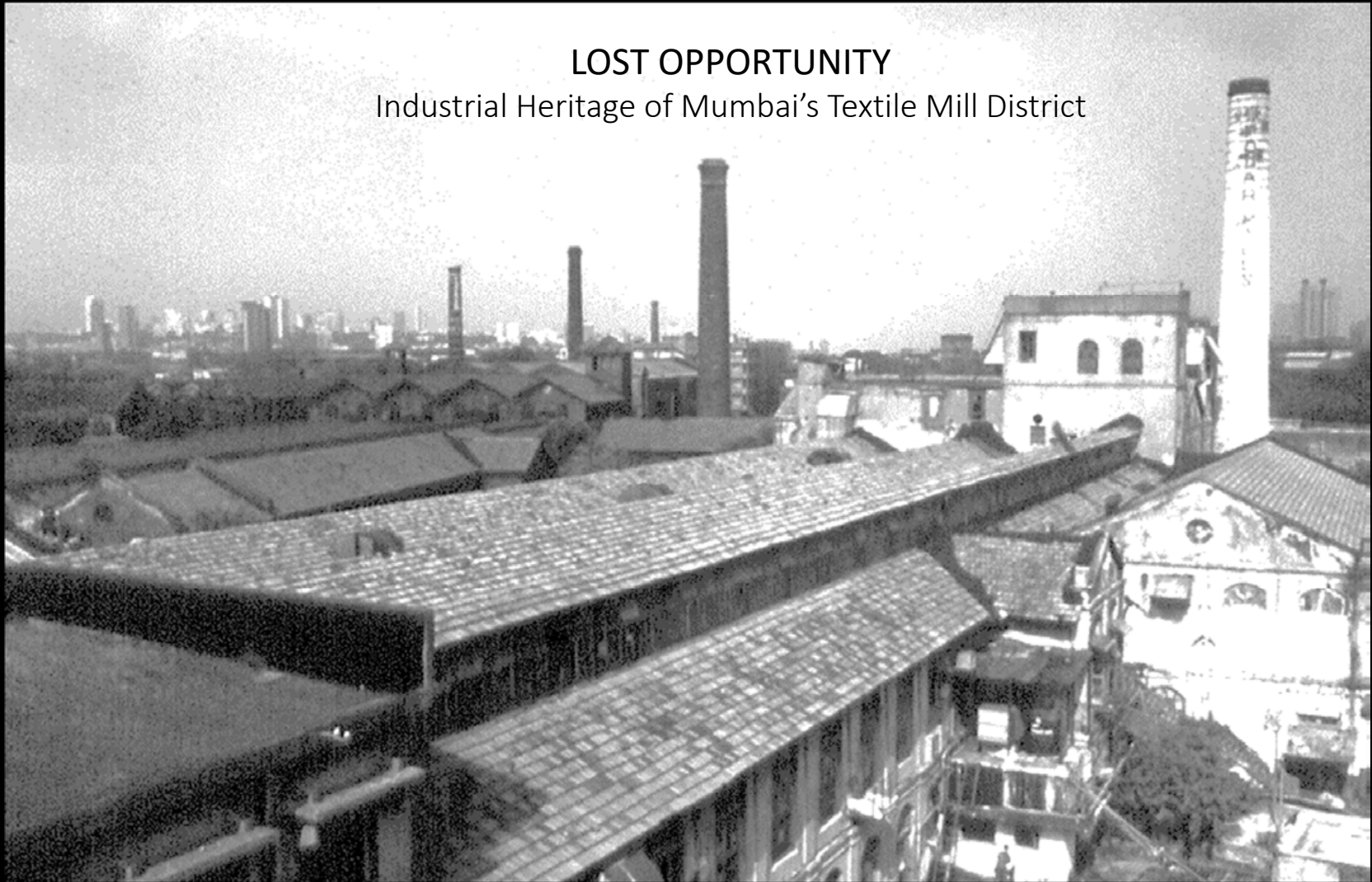


LOST OPPORTUNITY

Industrial Heritage of Mumbai's Textile Mill District



Cities and Historic Textile Complexes
Typology, Good Practice, and Global Perspectives for Conservation
Berlin, April 24, 2020

POST INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE

DECLINE AND CLOSURE

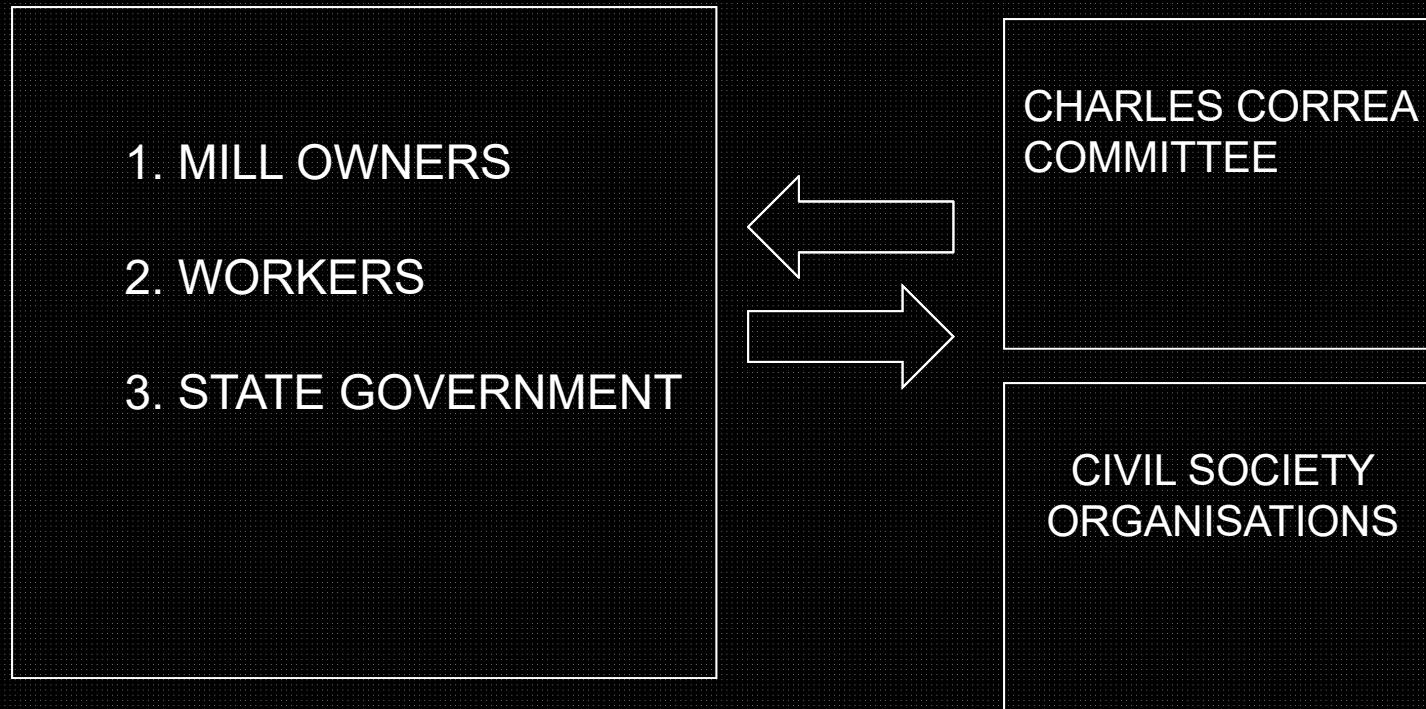
1. Instead of modernizing the mills.
Profits were diversified
2. After strike of 1982
Owners outsourced production
3. Owners wanted to
exploit Real Estate market
instead of running the mills



1990 – 2000

MILLS AS BATTLEGROUND

URBAN TRANSFORMATION



MILL OWNERS' DEMANDS from THE GOVERNMENT

1. CHANGE IN LAND USE : Industrial to Commercial
2. INCREASE IN BUILDABLE RATIO (FSI): 0.5 TO 1.33
3. CLOSURE OF MILLS

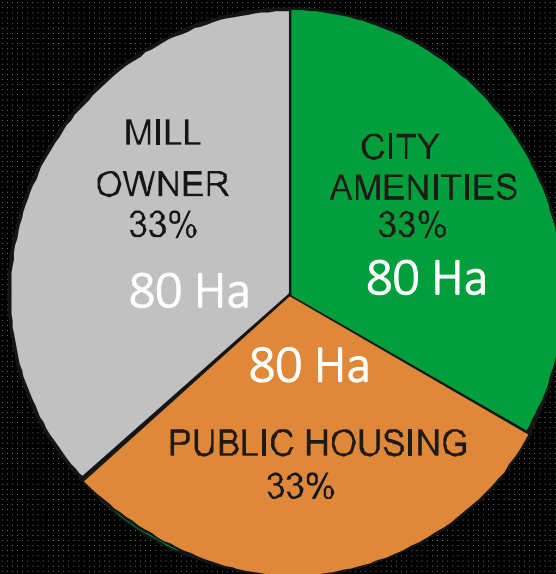
GOVERNMENT OBLIGED : BUT WITH A CONDITION

If Mill Owner wants to close the mill

Each mill will divide into three parts

Development Control Regulation for 58 Mill Lands , 1991

Original 58 (1991)



Total land under 58 mills 240 ha

Alternative II :

If Mill Owner wants to run mill fully or partially

- No need to surrender land for public purpose
- No demolition
- Sale can be only 15% at a time

As a result

The Mill Owners converted the exiting structures into high end commercial outlets

Phoenix was the first mill first to convert into an elite entertainment centre

Phoenix Mill converted into entertainment Complex

CULTURAL RESISTANCE to GENTRIFICATION of Neighbourhood



MEDIA RESPONSE

MONDAY, 13 JUNE 1994

Independent

METROPOLITAN

A bid to save Girangaon's cultural ethos

Suhas Phadke

Bombay

THE CULTURAL conference planned tomorrow by the Band Girni Kamgar Sangh is another attempt of the Sangh to highlight the woes of millworkers and to create awareness among Marathi-speaking people of their reducing number in the metropolis.

Bombay, where textiles was the main industry around which every activity revolved, has seen in last decade or so mills either closing down or reducing their workforce. This has naturally affected the social and cultural life in the Girangaon area.

Datta Iswalkar, the firebrand leader of the Sangh, has come out with a novel idea of bringing people together for the cause. In the last 10 years, he has led many agitations of millworkers, including a morcha of unemployed workers wearing just shorts and banians to highlight their problems. The morcha unfortunately ended with the workers subjected to lathicharge. Iswalkar and the millworkers also forcibly entered the closed mills and even went on a prolonged hunger strike.

A freedom fighter, Iswalkar is now fighting another battle which seems to be a losing one. However, for the meeting tomorrow, he and his comrades like Meena Menon and Gayatri Singh, have chalked out an elaborate programme in

which leading writers, poets, bankers, ballad singers, sculptors, sportspersons, artistes among others will participate and also discuss various ways of saving the cultural and social ethos of the Girangaon area.

Among those participating in the meet are Shahir Sable, Shahir Shekh Janujan, Narayan Surve, Narayan Pednekar, Ratnakar Matkari, Daya Pawar, Pushpa Bhavve, Dinoo Randive, Kamlakar Sarang, Raghuvir Talashikar, Vijay Khatu, Chandrakant Kadam, Waman Khopkar, Madhukar Nairale, Gunwant Manjrekar, Charusheela Sable-Vacchani, Ravindra Sarmalkar. Noted actor Nilu Phule will inaugurate the meet.

It must be noted that Shahir Sable, a famous ballad singer, played a crucial role during a movement for the demand for a separate state for Maharashtra. In fact, many of these invitees had a history of doing their bit for society. Sable had much before the birth of the Shiv Sena had written and sung a song depicting the plight of Marathi-speaking people in their own state due to the callous attitude of the government.

The day-long meet will have discussions, rendering of songs and bhajans, poetry-reading, speeches etc.

Till the early '80s, the Girangaon area was the centre of cultural and social activities in the city. The Ganesh festival organised there brought all artistes together. Lecture series, drama festivals, sports competitions and other cultural

activities entertained residents of the area throughout the year. Rangoli artist Gunwant Manjrekar, whose skill at making huge rangolis of famous personalities and scenes won accolades not only from local people but from outsiders. The area also gave sportsmen like Eknath Solkar, Padmakar Shivalkar and bhajan singers, the Kadam and the Khopkars, used to keep devotees spell-bound throughout the night.

But slowly all vanished. The indefinite strike of millworkers called by Dr Datta Samant changed the entire scenario. Thousands of workers became pauper almost overnight. They sold their belongings and migrated to faraway suburbs or returned to their native places. Mill-owners found selling off their land much more lucrative than running the mills. The number of millhands in the city reduced from about 2.50 lakh in '82 to about 1.20 lakh in a decade.

Naturally, the rapid changes adversely affected the social, cultural and economic fabric of the society of the area. Due to the government's lethargic attitude, the underworld started calling the shots and unemployed youths took to crime in the hope of instant wealth and clout. In the area where for long names of political leaders, social activists, sportsmen and artistes were uttered with reverence, names such as Gavlis, Dawoods and Naiks were mentioned with ease. The charm of the old world had gone. Residents too had sold their accommodations

for money and gone to the suburbs. Skyscrapers has replaced the chawls and mills chimneys were dwarfed by the new, posh apartments.

Now Iswalkar and others are trying to bring back the glory of Girangaon, realising that the successive Congress governments had taken the millhands for a ride. But the task seems formidable because the movement does not have a sound financial backing. Marathi-speaking people are basically unwilling to take risks which is the hallmark of business or trading. They prefer jobs than doing searching avenues to earn more money by indulging in business. And for those handful of entrepreneurs willing to take risks, the government's red tapism has made their task impossible.

The Shiv Sena has talked of the rights of the local people, but it has mainly concentrated on launching a tirade against non-Marathi-speaking people and in demanding 80 per cent jobs in the private and government sectors. It was a justified demand and to some extent the party succeeded in its mission, but such kind of employment does not give a financial clout which business or trading gives.

Tomorrow's meet should not be just a nostalgia trip to the past glory of the area, but will serve its purpose better if it makes planned efforts to awaken the Marathi youths to the importance of earning money through business, industry or trading.

Rejected
by mill owners

Mill Owners rejected Tripartite Formula.

DEADLOCK FOR 5 YEARS

- Only 3 mills surrendered land for Public Good
- Around 5 converted the structures for commercial use

STAGE 2

In 1996

To resolve the deadlock,

Government appointed a COMMITTEE

Under Urban Planner

CHARLES CORREA

To make an INTEGRATED PLAN for all the mills

Private Mill Owners denied entry to the Committee

Only Public Mills were documented.

CHARLES CORREA COMMITTEE

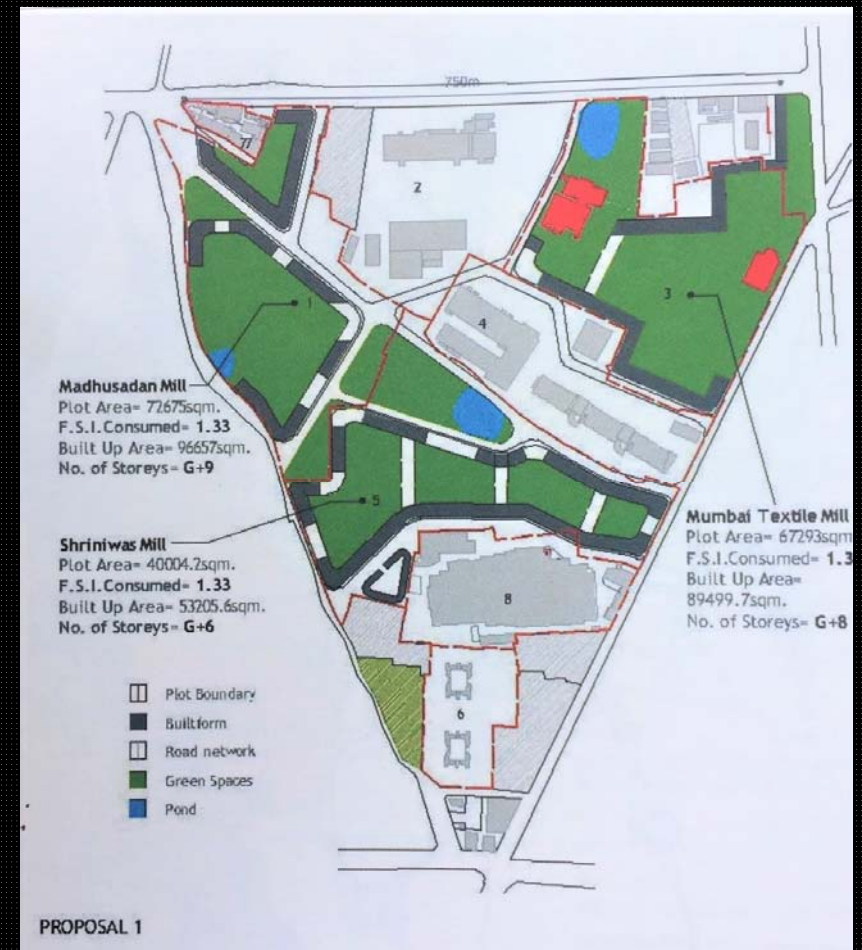
Addressed two main Issues:

1. URBAN PLANNING : By Pooling Mill Lands
2. INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE. : For Adaptive Reuse

CORREA COMMITTEE REPORT

POOLING MILL LANDS:

- One Third formula by pooling the land of different mills (instead of individual mill land)
- A large continuous land for Open Space and Amenities

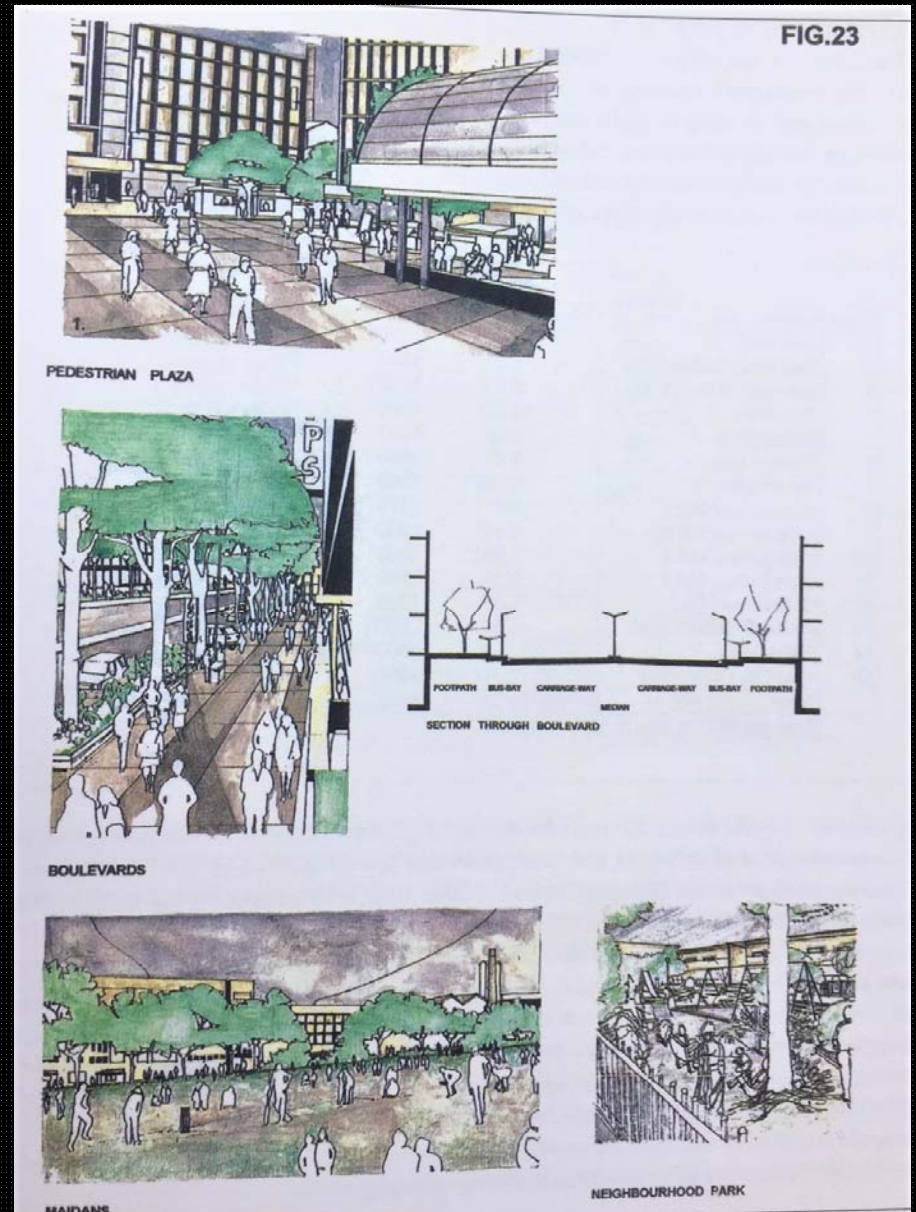


CORREA COMMITTEE REPORT

POOLING MILL LANDS: AMENITIES

Public amenities of Shopping arcades,
Pedestrian plazas,
near Railway Stations and Arterial Roads

Source
Correa Committee Report



CORREA COMMITTEE REPORT

2. RECYCLING INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE. The team identified 170 structures in 3 Types

A. For adaptive reuse:

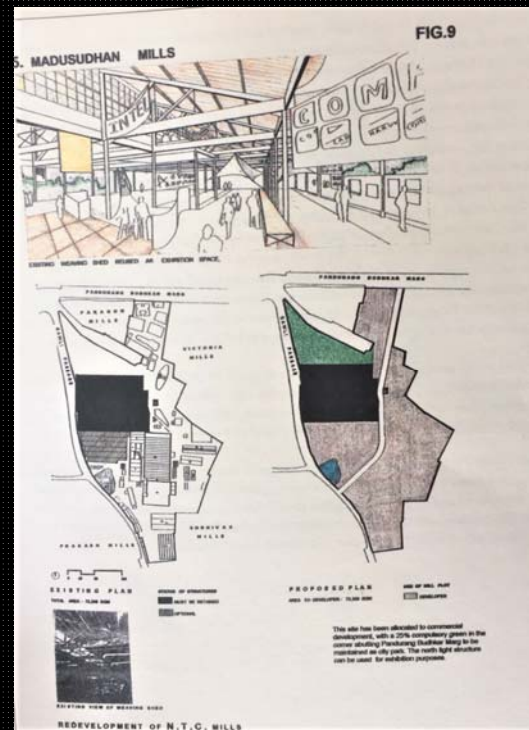
'robust' structures for offices,
high tech industries,
artists' studios

B. For ensemble value

contributing to the character
of the place.

C. For demolition.

Commercial



Workers' Response to Correa Committee

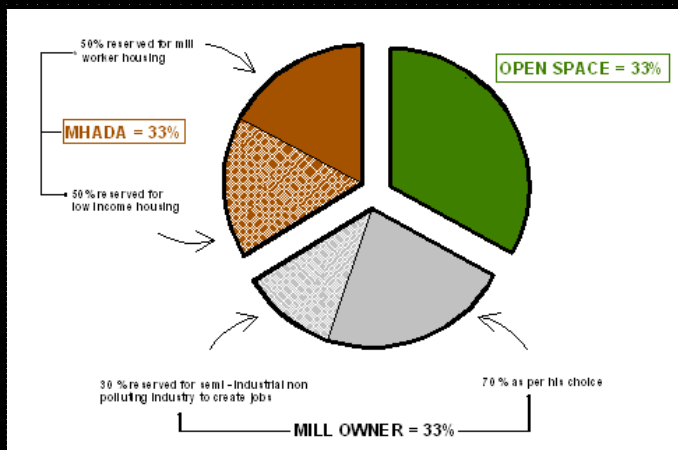
Plan was seen as Gentrification of Working Class
Neighbourhood

But the Union also gave constructive suggestions

Workers' Response to Correa Committee

A CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE with consultations with architects, workers

- A. 30% share of the mill owner should be for small industries to create jobs
- B. 50% of public housing should be for workers.



For the first time in history of Trade Unions that workers had claimed their share on the land of their work place

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Architects draft revival of mills

□ Devise one-fourth principle to give workers equitable share of land; moot a monitoring body

NANDINI RAMNATH
APRIL 16

A blueprint for the development of mill land which has been devised with a view to resolving the impasse surrounding these loss-making units while also ensuring equitable distribution of resources.

The draft plan, which covers the 600 acres of mill land on which the city's 58 mills (25 run by the National Textile Corporation and one by the Maharashtra State Textile Corporation) stand, suggests that it is possible to develop existing mill land while protecting workers' rights, mill owners' interests and benefiting the city. Housing and post-retirement benefits for the 50,000 mill workers on the industry's rolls have also been included in the plan, prepared by architects Neera Adarkar, Arvind Adarkar and P.K. Das.

Copies have been submitted to Industries Minister Leelaiah Dadas, Urban Development Secretary K. Naliniakshai, MP Mohan Rawle, former municipal commissioners D. M. Sukhsankar and Jamshed

Raaga while the blueprint has also been discussed with concerned groups like trade unions and elected representatives.

The draft proposes that the 600 acres, which should be clubbed and developed as a composite whole, should be divided into four quarters - with one quarter each going to the mill owner, the workers, the BMC (as per Development Control Rules, 1991) and the government. No TDR should be conferred. Of the state government's share, 10 lakh sq m can be developed on a gross FSI of 0.41. Of this, the proceeds from developing 4.5 lakh sq m (which works out to Rs 1,250 crore) can be used to cover workers' liabilities. The remaining Rs 5.5 lakh sq m should be developed by financial housing agencies to provide funds for workers' housing.

The DC Rules peg FSI potential for mill owners at 1.33, which leaves 27.13 lakh sq m as total potential area for development. Of this, 10 lakh sq m should be given to the government to pay off workers' financial liabilities while the rest can be left to the mill owners. However, to safeguard as well as generate employment, 50 per cent of this land should be developed to set up industry,

while the rest can be commercially exploited to enable mill owners to modernise as well as raise finances for developing the mill.

Of the workers' share, ownership of 25 sq m (worth Rs 4.5 lakh) should be handed over to each worker. This should be pledged with housing finance corporations.

These proposals, in particular the division of 600 acres into four parts as opposed to the one-third principle under the existing DC rules, would require a rewriting of sorts in both the DC rules as well as the BMC's Development Plan. The draft also suggests that a planning authority on the lines of the Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority be appointed for this purpose; and that the BMC be made the approving authority for any changes. It also suggests that a committee be appointed to ensure approval of schemes as per the blueprint. As of today, there is no monitoring body to ensure that mill owners plough back the proceeds of surplus land sale into modernisation of the mill.

Says Neera Adarkar, "We have kept in mind the workers' contribution to development of the industry. In that sense, they def-

nately have a right over the land."

Comments Sukhsankar: "The proposal to give one-fourth of the land to workers will set a bad precedent in all industries." Workers, he adds, had absolutely no right to land. "What they do have is a right to post-retirement or retrenchment dues." But, he agreed, there should be a monitoring body to ensure that mill owners don't spend the money meant for modernisation as they like.

Counters P.K. Das: "Mumbai's textile industry cannot be compared to any other industry. It was one of the first industries in the city. Also, mills and the workers constitute Central Mumbai, or Girgaon, which is now history. Thus, it cannot be compared to any other industry."

When a chemical or electrical industry shuts down, he points out, VRS runs into lakhs of rupees, but textile workers get just Rs 1.5-2 lakh. Mill workers should be adequately compensated as well, he says.

The draft proposal will be presented at a public meeting on 'FSI and Mumbai's Development' at Max Mueller Bhawan on Sat. After it is thrashed out, it will be formally submitted to the government.

Mill Owners' Response to Correa Committee Plan

Created nexus with State Government
to change Development Control Regulations

through

Surreptitious Manipulation

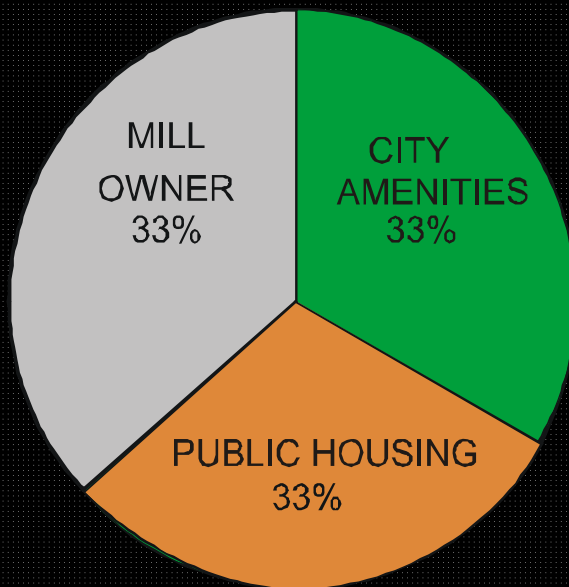
Executed by Urban Development Bureaucrats

2003

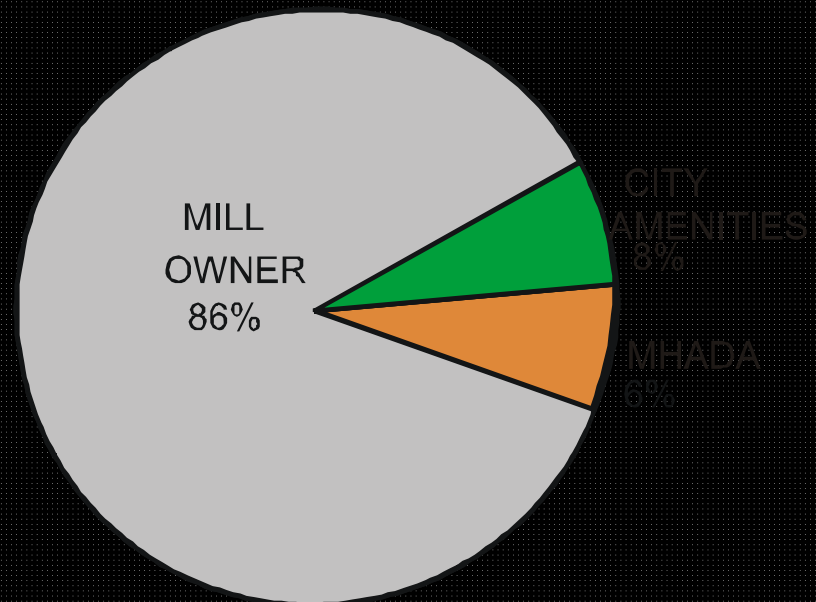
Modification in the Rules :

Land for Public Housing and Public Amenities were reduced drastically
From 166 Ha to 16 Ha

Original 1991 (1991)



Modified DCR 58 (2001) 2003



Politics of Land

One Third Formula was applied not for entire land

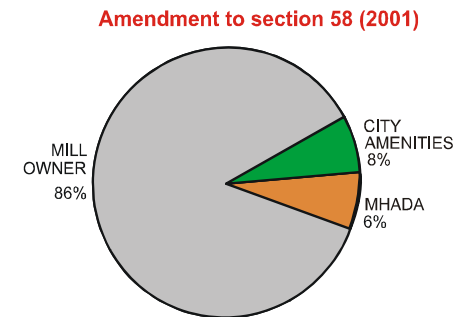
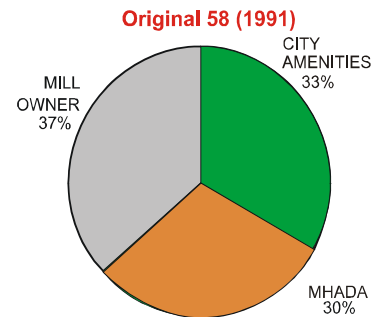
ONLY TO UNBUILT SPACE OF LAND

The implications were shocking not only to the mill workers but to the city as a whole

Source
Correa Committee Report

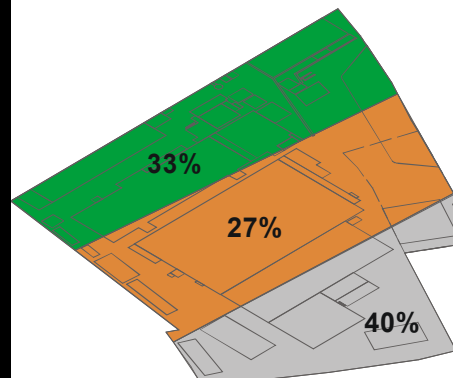
ANNEXURE NO:

IMPACT OF AMENDED RULE 58 ON MILL LANDS

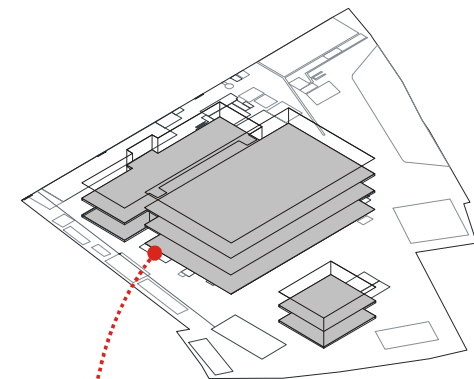


The amenity space and affordable housing available to the city reduce to 1/4th and 1/5th of the areas available under the Original 58, with mills like Kamla and Phoenix not contributing any land for open space or public housing.

DIAGRAMS EXPLAINING THE MODIFICATION MADE TO ORIGINAL 58

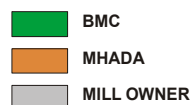


As per the Original 58, the land **after demolition** of existing structures, was distributed between the Mill Owner, MHADA (for low cost housing) and BMC (city amenities and open space) in **three more or less equal parts**.

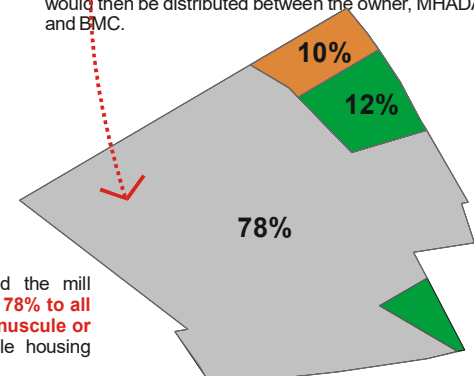


The amended 58 in 2001, introduced a "minor modification" where the Mill owner was entitled to the **existing built up** area and the **balance** vacant lands would then be distributed between the owner, MHADA and BMC.

CASE: VICTORIA MILL



This however allowed the mill owner to claim almost **78% to all** of the land leaving **minuscule or no land** for affordable housing



2005

- A Public Interest Litigation filed in Bombay High court
Jointly by the Union and Environmental Groups
- High Court scrapped government modification

Supreme Court over ruled High Court

The Union Redefined its role at City level
For larger urban participation
it initiated :

'MUMBAI PEOPLES' ACTION COMMITTEE '
of diverse spectrum of the civil society

Future of mill lands was linked to future of the city



Rainbow coalition to protest mill land ruling

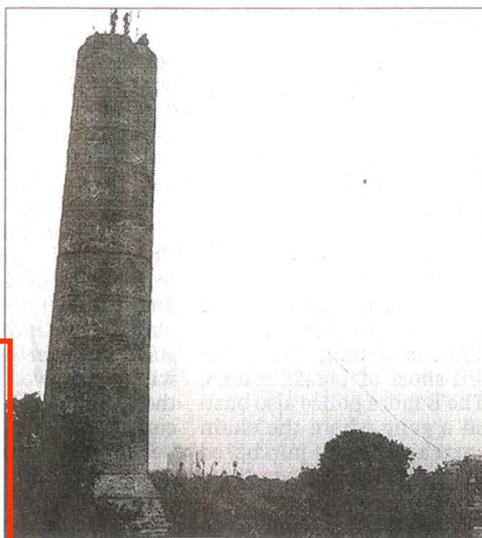
The Motley Group Will Comprise Elite Civic Activists, Unionists, Doctors, Architects

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Mumbai: It's not just the Greens who are unhappy with the supreme court's recent ruling on mill land development in Mumbai. The mill land ruling, which upheld a 2001 amendment that reduced the amount of space that would be made available to the city for open spaces and public housing, has prompted an unprecedented and unusual alliance between diverse groups, all worried about the impact of unregulated development in Mumbai.

To kickstart a campaign on the issue, these groups will assemble at the Azad Maidan at 3 pm on Tuesday. They will then hold a protest march to Mantralaya. The march will bring together a range of groups comprising elite civic activists, white and blue-collar unionists to resident doctors, architects and women's groups. Forty city groups are expected to participate. The groups include Action for good Governance and Networking in India (AGNI), mill union Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti, women's group Mailis and the All-India Bank Employees Association among others.

"The protests will cut through all classes and all sections of the society," said Neera Adarkar, architect and member of the Mumbai People's Action Committee.



The diverse groups are worried about the impact of unregulated development on the city

This just shows that those who are not part of the movement are in a minority," she added.

According to Adarkar, environmentalists and mill workers are now concerned about each other's issues: while mill workers speak of the need for open space

in a city with little space to breathe, environmentalists are demanding low-cost housing for the poor.

"Though the people taking part (in the march) come from diverse backgrounds, their interests meet somewhere along the line," said Simpreet Singh from the National Alliance of People's Movement, which has actively fought for dispossessed slum-dwellers during demolition drives. AGNI convenor Gerson da Cunha acknowledged that some of the organisations have not seen eye to eye in the past, but said they have now "buried one hatchet and raised a new one where all hands are on the handle". He added that while the city has been robbed of its lungs, the silver lining is that it has brought all the organisations together on one platform.

Datta Iswalkar, head of Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti, agreed. "It is now out of compulsion that various groups have joined hands to fight the move," he said. Iswalkar, himself once a mill worker, said that after 25,000 mill workers have been dismissed and not paid their dues for over 10 years, the state should either put the owners behind bars or take away their property. "But this is

not just a fight between mill owners and workers. The SC judgment damages the entire city."

The groups' contention is that the 2001 amendment, in changing the formula on sharing mill land between the owners and the city, has aggravated urban problems including shortage of low-income housing. Neera Punj, convenor for Citispace, a forum for protection of public spaces once perceived to be elitist, said that every citizen has the right to live with dignity in Mumbai, and low-cost housing is the need of the hour. "The land will now be used for high-income instead of low-income housing, putting further strain on the city's infrastructure and resources," she added.

Shanti Patel, president, Mumbai Port Trust and Dock Worker's Union, who had also petitioned the high court to prevent the unfettered sale of the lands two years ago, also lamented over the loss of an opportunity for planned development and improvement of infrastructure in the city. Advocate Mihir Desai, director, India Centre for Human Rights and Law, said the unplanned development that will result from the SC judgment will eventually lead to a disaster. The ruling has severely compromised housing for the poor, he added.

Heritage petition June 2005

Heritage petition

June 2005

Writ Petition filed in HC by Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural heritage (INTACH) to include 170 structures in NTC mills identified by Correa Committee.

Oct 2005 Court passed interim order to get private mills surveyed but not legal protection to the existing structures. Only “hope and Expectation” till survey done.

March 2006 Meanwhile as SC judgement endorsed 75% land for Owners, most structures in 32 private mill lands were demolished.

April 2006 HC judgement and government notification for the revised list and grading of identified heritage structures came later

City at large considered only medieval or colonial monuments as heritage. Industrial heritage never part of larger heritage discourse.

By the time the list was sanctioned and notified by the government, most of the heritage sites were no more.

By the time the list was sanctioned by High Court and notified by the Government, most of the heritage sites were no more.

In almost all such projects, developers demolished some of Mumbai's finest heritage of industrial architecture instead of integrating it in the new development.



The struggle of the workers continued for their share of housing on the mill lands mill



Rally on Azad Maidan

Silver lining in the cloud

Workers Housing on New Hind Textile Mill



At present 8000 houses are ready.

Demand is 16000 houses on all the Mill Lands .

EPILOGUE

There are 5 mills still running, structures still standing

Most of the closed mills are at different stages of redevelopment

Neighbourhood still thriving

AT THE LARGER CITY LEVEL

Provocation of the mill struggle created a larger awakening in Civil Society groups

Resulting into constructive interventions

in the making of Mumbai's Development Plan

THANK YOU