

1

The Alchemy of an Unloved City

DENIS VIDAL, EMMA TARLO,
VÉRONIQUE DUPONT

Wander around the fringes of the Jama Masjid in the 'old city' or among the ancient ruins of Tughlaqabad, and you may succeed in recovering something of Delhi's romantic appeal. However, the reality of India's vast capital is at once more diverse, more anarchic and at times more intriguing than the semi-mythical Delhi of tourist-book imagination. In this volume, which brings together research from several different domains, it is on these other aspects of the city that we wish to concentrate.

There is, of course, no single way of grasping the complexity of a city like Delhi. While questionnaires, statistics, maps and photographs can no longer fool us into believing their purported objectivity, neither can intimate quotations and case studies pretend to offer unmediated access to the truth. All are mere modes of representation with different strengths and weaknesses and, rather than privilege any single one of them, we have chosen to combine a variety of methodologies in our attempts to shed fresh light on different aspects of the city. This deliberate heterogeneity of approach is reflected in the backgrounds of contributors which span not only conventional social sciences such as history, anthropology, geography, demography and political science but also the visually expressive domains of architecture and photography. Many of the contributors are citizens of Delhi who have a long and intimate relationship with the issues they address.

It would be wrong, however, to surmise that in bringing together a diversity of approaches, our aim is to present an exhaustive portrait of the city and its inhabitants. As Delhi's own history amply demonstrates, there is often only a fine line to be drawn between the desire to create a totalizing image of the city and the confusion of that image with reality—hence the various attempts made by those in power to make the capital correspond to their desired image and to suppress those aspects which do not conform. Our aim, in this book, is quite different. We would rather convince our readers that it is impossible to examine any single aspect of the city without it straightaway unearthing other elements which defy all attempts to reduce Delhi's complex reality.

THE CITY THAT NOBODY LOVES

No one can doubt the fascination that Mumbai (previously Bombay) arouses throughout India, even among those who oppose much of what the city seems to represent. Similarly Calcutta has a legendary reputation not least amongst its own inhabitants who are often ready to defend it with zealous affection. No such loyalty and affection is found amongst the inhabitants of Delhi who are usually either indifferent or actively dislike the city in which they live. With the exception of a few chasers of djinns,¹ of the writer, Khushwant Singh,² some descendants of long-established Delhi families and a smattering of others (including some of the collaborators in this book)—hardly anyone is ready to declare a passion for Delhi; not even Ashis Nandy, whose taste and opinion usually flows against the general tide!³

Admittedly Mumbai has its film industry to keep its exciting contemporary image alive and throbbing. Similarly, Calcutta's reputation is the product of continuous creative effort on the part of its cultural elites who, for more than a century, have expressed appreciation of their city, aided by the enthusiasm of the general populace. Things are very different in Delhi. Despite the new status it acquired as India's capital in 1911-12 and the sweeping changes which have transformed the city since independence, Delhi has somehow got stuck with an image based on stereotypes built as early as the fourteenth century and elaborated during the colonial era.

Take, for example, the image of Delhi as a city characterized by fragmentation. Most works on the capital cannot resist reiterating the claim that Delhi cannot really be considered a city in the true sense owing to the heterogeneity of its urban fabric. And so a consensus has been perpetuated since medieval times in which Delhi is defined as a 'city of cities'—an urban patchwork made up of various components, each of which is thought to bear the imprint of a distinct social, cultural and architectural identity.⁴

This insistence on the fundamental heterogeneity of the urban space is echoed by the insistence by most historians that it is also discontinuity that characterizes the history of the city. In what today certainly remains one of the best collective volumes on the city, the pioneering historian of Delhi, Percival Spear, depicts the city's development as a perpetual 'stop-go' movement, narrowly obedient to the political history of the moment.⁵ Somewhat audaciously for an historian, Spear concludes his study by prophesying, 'it is then, with no positive case for continuance, that we may find that the glory of Delhi will depart almost as suddenly as it was thrust upon her in 1912'.⁶ These words seem to echo Clémenceau's earlier pronouncement. Visiting New Delhi shortly after its creation, he declared, 'it will make handsome ruins'.

It is tempting to ask what lies behind this endless emphasis on Delhi's absence of spatial and historical continuity in recent times. Is it perhaps just an extension of the recurrent claim made in much colonial literature that South Asia did not have any genuine cultural, social or historical continuity until the arrival of the British? With its mythical reputation as the ultimate urban emblem of the power and decline of the various dynasties which ruled

north India, Delhi does indeed seem the very incarnation of such a history. And it is this representation that the literature on the capital continues to convey. However, one of the most important advances made in recent sociological and historiographical writing about India is the questioning of this perspective. Such new research highlights the continuities that have been just as decisive as the fractures in the history of the subcontinent. Delhi is no exception to this rule, and we are today witnessing the beginnings of a historical revision of the city's past.⁷ Yet most works on the capital continue to perpetuate outdated categories of analysis and perception.

The impoverished image of Delhi, that reduces it to the status of a hall of mirrors, each reflecting the power of the moment, may be colonial in origin, but it is not without contemporary relevance. For it is this idea that continues to inspire many of Delhi's bureaucrats and politicians even today. One only has to read A.G. Krishna Menon's contribution to this volume to realize the extent to which administrative powers continue to play an essential role in the urbanism of the city. No such equivalent is found in other Indian metropolis. And though it is true that since Independence, there have not been any urban or architectural creations as imposing as Tughlaqabad, Shahjahanabad and Lutyens' New Delhi, this is not for lack of political will. Politicians, administrators, architects and town planners have on the contrary dreamed of building 'a ninth Delhi'⁸ or of 'reconstructing Shahjahanabad'.⁹ And it would be wrong to think that these projects failed to come to fruition because they were considered too authoritarian for the demands of a new democratic India. A reading of Emma Tarlo's description of how Delhi's poor have been treated in various urban development projects since Independence, dispels any illusions on that score.

Thus political power remains undeniably central to the functioning of Delhi today. And this actually strengthens the need to break loose from the systems of representations which successive powers have tended to impose on the city and its inhabitants. Satish Sharma's contribution to this volume offers a striking visual demonstration. Meditating on his experience as a professional photographer in Delhi, he suggests that the visual imagery of India's capital is restricted and constrained partly by political and administrative controls. At the same time we should not underestimate the equally constricting demands of the marketplace with its tendency to perpetuate a colonially inspired 'exotic' or 'picturesque' imagery of the city and its populace. Satish Sharma explains how he has tried to elude these demands in his own work both by presenting the elite in a different light and by drawing attention to alternative popular photographic images of the city and its people. Such images challenge elite aesthetics and pre-occupations although they are not entirely uninfluenced by them.

Most of the contributions to this volume display a similar concern with challenging conventional images of the city and its populace. In the process, they contribute towards the building of alternative images of Delhi which are at once richer and less predictable for they refer to other social dynamics, other life experiences and other perspectives.

A DIFFERENT IDEA OF DELHI

Poor historical movies can be recognized by the fact that the actors live in decors which are exclusively contemporary to their times. Yet what characterizes every great city is not simply the way different architectural styles and forms of urbanism predominate in turn but also the way they coexist, both physically and ideologically. Delhi is a fantastic illustration of this principle, despite the oft-repeated temptation of its rulers to start from scratch by completely replacing much of the urban fabric. Both the city's architecture and its layout represent an interlacing of extremely varied styles, the coexistence of which is based on fragile foundations.

Hence it is only in the works of poets, novelists, historians, and above all, tourist guides, that Shahjahanabad is permanently destined to incarnate the rise and fall of the Mughal Empire, while New Delhi endlessly epitomizes the grandiose architectural folly of the declining British Empire. Such a perception ignores the fact that the uses and meanings of buildings change over time. For example, for over a century the Red Fort has served as a garrison, first for the British army, and later the Indian army. Furthermore it is from the entrance to the fort that the Prime Minister makes his annual Republic Day speech, thereby transforming the building into a symbol of Independent India. Similarly Rashtrapati Bhawan—once the British viceregal palace—is today the Indian presidential residence, much against the wishes of Gandhi, who had wanted it to be converted into a vast hospital complex.

In other words, with the exception of most religious buildings, the urban history of Delhi is as much about what has happened to monuments and neighbourhoods as about what they may have signified when they were first conceived. This point is brought out by Emma Tarlo and Narayani Gupta in their discussions of two very different aspects of the city's development. Emma Tarlo's ethnographic study of a resettlement colony for displaced squatters in East Delhi, reveals how the development of such urban spaces can not be understood unless we examine the relationship between policies, plans, life histories and critical events. She unpicks the numerous factors and circumstances that have transformed one particular colony both in terms of architectural composition and in terms of social demography. Here there is no straightforward transfer of plans into realities despite the level of authoritarianism behind resettlement projects.

At the other end of the spectrum, Narayani Gupta explores the controversies surrounding the preservation and/or destruction of Delhi's better known architectural heritage. She shows how the preservation of the colonial buildings and layout of Lutyens' New Delhi is largely the result of the extent to which political and administrative elites continue to invest in the area which is today one of the best preserved parts of the city. By contrast, Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi), has been less fortunate. Both its classification as a 'notified slum' and the intensification of commercial activities in the area, have been practically fatal to its architectural heritage. But it would be wrong to assume that the destinies of particular buildings are necessarily

dictated by their religious identity or origins. For example, the tombs of the sultans of Lodi have been well protected owing largely to their incorporation into a well maintained public garden, enjoyed by people of all religious persuasions.

It is not only with the marching of time that we find a discrepancy between what a particular building is supposed to represent and what it actually seems to convey. Such a discrepancy may exist from the very moment of a building's conception. It is, after all, only in the dreams of rulers, the sketch pads of architects and the advertisements of real estate agents that architectural projects are ever in total harmony with the intentions of their promoters and the ideologies and lifestyles of their inhabitants.

Menon's discussion of Delhi's architecture since Independence brings out this point quite clearly. He shows how Nehru's ambition for India's capital did not differ much from that of many of his predecessors to the extent that he wanted the new architecture of the city to reflect his own idea of the era and government he personified. However, as Menon demonstrates, there is not much specificity to Delhi's modern architecture which, more often than not, expresses the dominant influence of the state bureaucracy and the scanty imagination of most of the Indian architects freshly trained abroad.

Menon's conclusions are based on the findings of a collective research project aimed at identifying the specificity of Delhi's architecture since Independence. By studying the features of a wide variety of buildings rather than simply selecting the usual few exceptional examples, Menon was able to identify various trends. Until the 1980s Delhi's architecture was characterized by a bland international modernism with occasional half-hearted revivalist attempts. Moreover, Menon interprets the bizarre success of the Austrian architect, Karl Heinz, in Delhi as a reaction to the boring nature of official architecture at the time. Karl Heinz enjoyed the patronage of elites in the private sector with his parodies of Swiss chalets and Tuscan and Andalusian villas. It is only in the projects of the 1980s onwards that Menon identifies a more systematic determination to innovate among Delhi's architects. This is true both for public and private sector projects.

All this suggests that the architecture and urban history of Delhi cannot be reduced to stereotypical descriptions any more than it can be reduced to meaningless debates about degrees of Hindu, Islamic, or Western influences. Neither is it necessarily possible to predict which circumstances and events most effect different aspects of the city's development. The future of Lutyens' Delhi today is, for example, threatened more by the progressive loosening of planning restrictions than it ever was by the transfer of power in 1947. Similarly, Shahjahanabad's architectural heritage has this century suffered more from the neglect of planners and the haphazard commercialization that comes with unrestrained economic development than from the dramatic transfers of population and ownership that accompanied Partition.

The increasing growth of economic activities in Old Delhi is a theme explored by Véronique Dupont in her study of the houseless population and by Denis Vidal in his study of the grain market of Khari Baoli. These

studies both show how increased commercial activity has led to a redefinition of the urban fabric and the transformation of specific neighbourhoods. For example, one indirect consequence of the spreading commercialization of the old city has been a lowering of the population density in Shahjahanabad. This had in fact long been considered a desirable, if unattainable, aim by policy makers who had argued for the need to reduce the population density in order to make the area more habitable. As it is, the reverse logic has come into operation. The spread of commercial activities has made the area so uninhabitable that many of the more prosperous Old Delhi residents have chosen to leave in search of accommodation elsewhere. At the bottom end of the economic spectrum, others have of course been forced out under the slum clearance scheme which has been in operation since 1958 and which played a particularly important role in restructuring the profile of different areas of Delhi during the Emergency years of 1975-7. In these two years alone as many as 7,00,000 people were displaced to resettlement colonies, most of which were located on the outskirts of the city.

Such large-scale acts of displacement remind us of the precariousness of the lifestyles, homes and environments of many of Delhi's inhabitants. According to the statistics analysed by Véronique Dupont, practically half the population of Delhi lives in illegal settlements: either in unauthorized colonies, the existence of which is not officially recognized, or in squatter settlements which are perpetually threatened with demolition. The human and sociological consequences of such a situation cannot be underestimated as Saraswati Haider's research demonstrates.

The situation of illegality in which so many in-migrants find themselves leads not only to a permanent sense of insecurity but also to an inability to ameliorate the situation. Most squatters feel it is not worth investing their meagre incomes in their immediate environment when their homes might be destroyed by the authorities at any moment. On the other hand, that moment might stretch out for several years, if not decades owing to the political games of local leaders and politicians who patronize squatter settlements. In the meantime, the inhabitants of such areas carry on living in what are often deplorable conditions.

Though it is commonplace to consider that urban life does at least have the advantage of providing an element of individual emancipation for those who migrate from rural areas, Saraswati Haider's bleak portrait of the lives of squatter women refutes this. Not only do most of the women she interviewed appear to deplore the conditions in which they live (a fact which is hardly surprising), but they also feel that their lives and horizons have become even more limited and confined than they were in their villages of origin. Such women seem to benefit neither from a weakening of the restrictions imposed by the extended family nor from any increased intimacy that one might expect to develop within the nuclear family.

Another point which comes to light from this study is that for the first generation of in-migrants, their villages and regions of origin remain the most significant point of reference even when they have been living in Delhi

for several years. This is perhaps the only really common feature of existence shared by the women of the squatter settlement studied by Saraswati Haider and the largely male 'houseless' population of the old city studied by Véronique Dupont. The latter also tend to retain their regions of origin as a key focal point socially, culturally and affectively. Yet the most interesting thing to emerge from research among those who sleep on the pavements and in the night shelters of the old city is that their situation is perhaps not as drastically socially or economically deprived as it at first appears. Véronique Dupont's findings suggest that houseless people do not constitute the poorest fraction of the population, either in Delhi where they are employed, or in their regions of origin where they usually have a permanent residence. By comparison to the squatter women studied by Saraswati Haider, the houseless population seem almost advantaged. Whereas the squatter women had usually come to Delhi against their own volition and virtually all regretted being there, the houseless men interviewed by Véronique Dupont were in Delhi as a result of choices they had made and usually had some motivation for being there. Most had been stimulated largely by economic reasons and, despite all the disadvantages accruing to their lifestyle in the city and the drastic financial constraints they endure, the majority of them had made a deliberate decision to live in a houseless condition in Delhi in order to be able to maximize their savings and avoid spending money on something as short-term as accommodation. In this sense, houselessness is part of a long-term economic strategy.

The decision that many in-migrants make to come to Delhi alone and take refuge on pavements and in night shelters can be better understood when one realizes the numerous pressures associated with even the most basic accommodation. Not only is there the difficulty of finding a place to live within easy distance from the workplace, but also the problem of the illegal status of most of the more affordable options. Those who choose to stay in an existing squatter settlement inevitably find themselves targets of varying degrees of economic and political blackmail. Many of Delhi's politicians gather their support by promising to regularize the situation of squatter families and to improve their standard of living in exchange for electoral support. At the same time, they often threaten them with dire consequences if they show signs of withholding support. If the politicians' many promises were fulfilled, then the deal would at least have some material worth. But, as squatters themselves realize, no politician would be so foolish as to redress the situation for this would mean relinquishing his or her hold over potential electors.

It is within this context that we can better understand how and why so many of the inhabitants of the resettlement colony studied by Emma Tarlo, did not resist the truly Faustian pact imposed on them during the state of Emergency. This was the time when many agreed to be sterilized or to pay others to get sterilized as a means of securing small plots of land on a so-called legal basis.

Tricks and machinations concerning land and property are by no means

restricted to the urban poor and their patrons. In fact, they are nowhere more apparent than in the antics of those wealthy Delhites who, in recent years, have started posing as 'farmers' on the outskirts of the city. Anita Soni takes us on a revealing tour of the Mehrauli countryside in so-called rural Delhi where new farms seem to be proliferating at an unexpected rate. But before we can delude ourselves into believing that this is a new ecologically sound form of urban development, we are shown what lies behind the walls of these so called farms. Here we find, not simple rural farmhouses but palatial villas, not fields of crops but swimming pools and luxury gardens. The proliferation of these false farms not only violates existing property laws but is also ecologically disastrous. And so an area which should have been reserved as a 'green lung' for the capital becomes yet another drag on the capital's scarce resources.

Unlike the migrant workers who came to the area some years earlier to work in the stone quarries, the wealthy owners of unauthorized farmhouses are well placed for staying put. Most have sufficient political and financial clout to be able to minimize the risk of eviction.

POLITICS, COMMERCE AND THE REIGN OF INTERMEDIARIES

It should by now be clear that the history and sociology of Delhi is about the relationship between people and place played out in different parts of the city at different moments in time. Yet, as we have seen, the dynamics of this relationship are often highly complex and have been subject to a variety of misconceptions and oversimplifications. This is as true for the political sphere as for the architectural and spatial.

Christophe Jaffrelot's research challenges the common assumption that the long-standing success of Hindu nationalist parties in Delhi politics can be adequately explained by the traumas faced by the Hindu refugees who came to the capital following Partition. Whilst it is true that the huge influx of refugees altered both the religious make-up and the voting patterns of the people of Delhi, it is insufficient to interpret the rise of Hindu nationalism purely as a consequence of the Partition experience. What Christophe Jaffrelot's research reveals is that Hindu nationalism was already gaining popularity both in the Punjab and in Delhi in the decades leading up to Partition. Its main support came from the Hindu business communities in both areas. One effect of Partition was to increase the concentration of these business communities in the capital and it is this, rather than the Partition experience per se, which has inflated the fortunes of Hindu nationalist parties in Delhi.

Interestingly a similar interpretation is suggested by V.B. Singh's study of the 1996 elections in Delhi. His analysis confirms that despite the sweeping upheavals in the political life of the country in recent years, the social base of the two main parties, the Congress and the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) has remained relatively stable. The success, and also the limitations, of the

BJP seems to be directly linked to the fact that wealthy upper caste people, and in particular, business communities, are over-represented in the capital.

Although V.B. Singh and Christophe Jaffrelot's research is restricted mainly to the rise of the Hindu nationalist movement in Delhi, it nonetheless has wider analytical implications. Both reveal that political events are not necessarily the most significant factor in influencing voting patterns. Rather, it would appear that political life in Delhi is also governed to a large extent by the ideology of the business communities and by the way historical and political events favour or diminish their grip on the city. To ascertain the precise nature of this grip, one has to go beyond the purely political to examine the social and economic dynamics at play in Delhi.

As Saraswati Haider demonstrates, we cannot fully grasp how electoral policy functions in Delhi without also considering the crucial role played by the intermediaries (*pradhans* and others) who link the capital's poor to its politicians.¹⁰ Similarly, whatever field of economic activity we have examined, whether the wholesale markets investigated by Denis Vidal, the stone quarries analysed by Anita Soni or the informal job market examined by Véronique Dupont, we find that intermediaries or brokers play an essential role.

Neither should it be imagined that direct state intervention necessarily diminishes the presence and puissance of intermediaries. As Anita Soni shows, the main consequence of the nationalization of the stone quarries on the periphery of Delhi, in 1976, was to add a new layer of intermediaries to the ones that already existed. However, the most extreme example of how intermediaries subvert state imperatives is found in Emma Tarlo's discussion of birth control politics in Delhi during the Emergency. Here we see the worst excesses of governmental authoritarianism diverted into a shocking new form of 'business transaction' as intermediaries created a new market in which land was traded for sterilization.

Given that the consequence of direct state intervention is to increase, rather than reduce, the presence of intermediaries, we might expect them to become obsolete with the current trend towards the globalization of the market economy. But Denis Vidal's study of the main grain market in Old Delhi suggests this will not happen. He shows that intermediaries, though they are in many ways parasitic, cannot simply be dismissed as impediments to the functioning of markets. While it is true that they generally gain a substantial profit from transactions, it is also true that they play a decisive role in defining supply and demand and in setting up business relations. This means that they play an important role in discovering new potential markets and facilitating the generalization of the market economy. Far from suggesting the diminution of Delhi's economic importance, the omnipresence of intermediaries is evidence of the extreme degree of commercialization prevalent in every aspect of life in the city.

It is time at last to challenge the long-standing opposition drawn between Mumbai as a city dominated purely by business concerns and Delhi as a city dominated almost entirely by politics and administration. This well-worn cliché has served to reassure those who wish to believe that economic life

has remained largely independent of bureaucracy, just as it has served to reassure others that it is the state which ultimately controls the destiny of the nation. However, the contributions in this volume confirm that it is illusory to think of 'economics' and 'politics' as autonomous domains in Delhi, as elsewhere, and that it is artificial to draw a separation between the state and administration on the one hand from the market on the other. It should therefore come as no surprise when we learn from Philippe Cadène's maps that with the spread of liberalization, Delhi is coming to occupy an increasingly large role in the economy of India, to the detriment, not only of Calcutta, but also, Mumbai.

TRAJECTORY OF THIS VOLUME

The essays in this book take us from the specific to the general, although the relation between the two is always apparent. This means that although we begin in Part I with the experiences of people who inhabit comparatively marginal spaces—a squatter settlement, a resettlement colony and the rural fringes of South Delhi—we learn how their lives are intimately bound up with wider historical, political and economic developments. Life-histories therefore become a means to understanding the history and identity of various localities within the city.

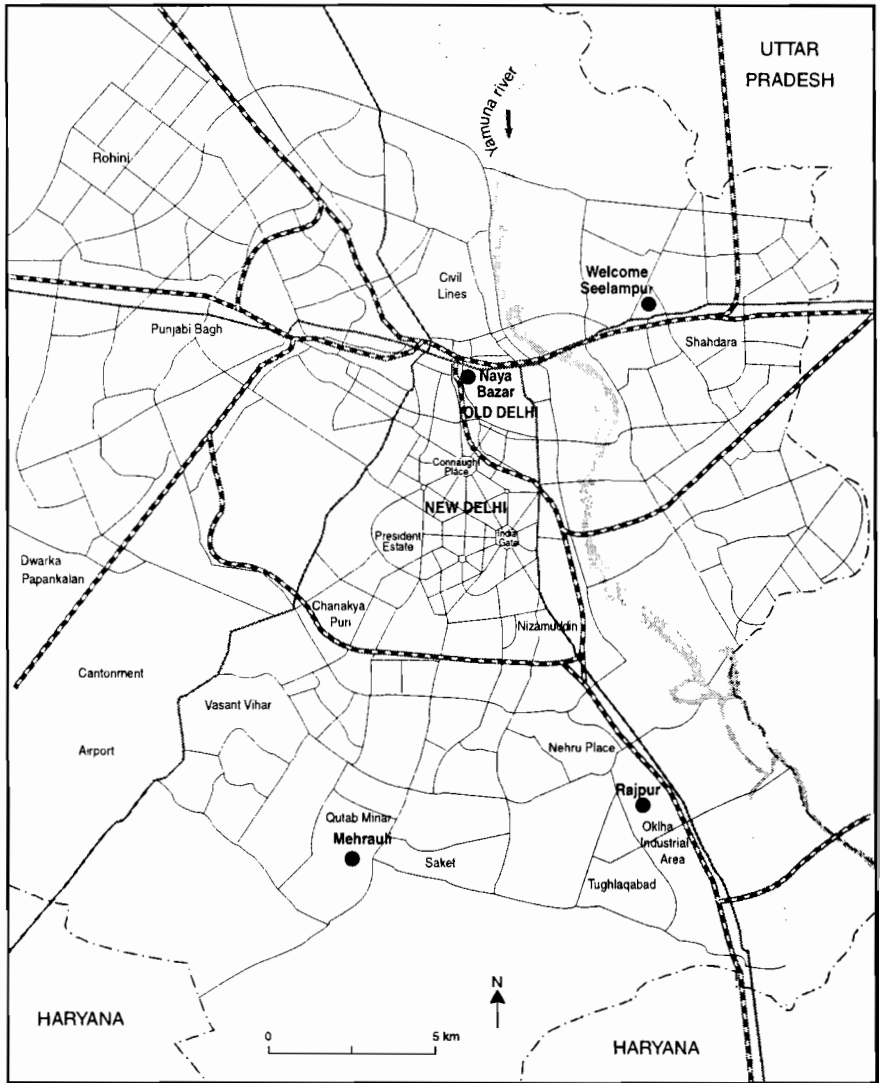
That particular locations are defined partly by the people and goods that move through them is a theme taken up in Part II which shifts the focus to the area commonly known as Old Delhi. It begins with visual and verbal vignettes from the lives of a few of the thousands of men who earn a livelihood in the transport industry. Whether driving buses, bullock carts, trucks or rickshaws, these transport workers are essential to the social and economic dynamics of the city. So too are the houseless people who sleep on the pavements of Old Delhi by night and perform a wide variety of manual tasks during the day. Tracing their movements enables us to understand the logic behind the apparently perpetual stream of people attracted to Delhi's crowded commercial core while an examination of the role of intermediaries in the wholesale grain market of Khari Baoli helps unpack the dynamics of business relations which link a few narrow streets in Old Delhi to national and global markets.

Part III leads us out of specific localities towards a wider consideration of the buildings which help to define the identity and reputation of the capital as a whole. What becomes clear, whether we are discussing modern architecture, conservation history or photographic representations, is the complexity of the relationship between architecture and power in India's capital city. In Parts IV and V we take another step back to document and analyse political, demographic and economic developments. Here we are less concerned with the histories of individual people or buildings than with general trends which help characterize voting patterns and migratory flows to and from the capital. Finally, through a series of cartographic representations, we are able to take distance from Delhi by placing it within the larger Indian urban structure.

Though we end with maps and statistics which enable generalisations about the city, it is hoped that readers will not forget the human stories which lie behind—and too often escape—such neat formulations. Delhi represents very different things to different people and, in many ways, this book is the proof of it. Not only are the experiences of the women and men whose lives are portrayed widely divergent, but so too are those of the contributors whose attitudes to the development of the city vary from deep frustration and concern to occasional bursts of optimism. As editors, we have not tried to wipe out this diversity for we feel that it is this which rendered the collaboration lively. We hope that readers will share our feeling that such diversity of perspectives enriches the volume and prevents it from creating yet another totalizing image of India's capital city.

NOTES

1. W. Dalrymple, *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi*, New Delhi: Harper Collins, 1993.
2. Khushwant Singh, *Delhi, a Novel*, Delhi: Penguin, 1989.
3. See: A. Baviskar, 'Towards a sociology of Delhi, Report on a seminar', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5 Dec. 1998, p. 3102.
4. See for example: Ibn Battuta (1325) in *Historic Delhi: An Anthology*, H.K. Kaul (ed.), Delhi: OUP, 1985; G.R. Hearn, *Seven cities of Delhi: a description and history*, Calcutta: Thacker and Spink, 1909; A Shafi, 'A tale of two cities: Old and New Delhi', *Islamic Review*, 34(4), 1933, pp. 244-5; A. Banerji, 'Fifteen cities of Delhi', *Link*, 6(1) 15, August 1963, pp. 51-2; M.R. Anand, 'The many Delhis', *Marg*, 20 4th, 1967, pp. 4-8; M.P. Thakore, 'Sixteen cities of Delhi?' *Indian Geographer*, 8(1-2), 1963, pp. 84-119; C. Sarkar, 'Several cities in one', *Hemisphere*, 1(3), March 1971, pp. 2-10; P. Vestal, 'Seven cities of Delhi', *News Circle*, 18(4), 1972, pp. 22-8; B. Ghosh, 'Successive Delhis: from the sensuous architecture of the past to the insignificance and inappropriateness of the present', *Design*, 24(3), 1980, pp. 25-36; P. Singh, 'The nine Delhis: Historical Perspective', in *Delhi: the deepening urban crisis*, Patwant Singh, and Ram Dhamija (eds.), New Delhi, 1989, pp. 13-18; A.K. Jain, *The cities of Delhi*, New Delhi: Management Publishing Co., 1994.
5. P. Spear, 'Delhi the "step-go" capital' in *Delhi through the ages; Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), Delhi: OUP, 1986, pp. 463-80.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 478.
7. C. Bayly, 'Delhi and other cities of North India during the "twilight"', in R.E. Frykenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-36.
8. G. Cullen, *The Ninth Delhi*, Delhi: Town and Country Planning Organisation, 1960.
9. Jagmohan, *Rebuilding Shahjahanabad: The Walled City of Delhi*, Delhi: Vikas, 1975.
10. See also the researches of Tarun Bose on political practices in Delhi and, in particular 'Power games in/and (un)authorised colonies', *Mainstream*, 1996.



MAP 1.1 DELHI LOCALITIES STUDIED AND OTHER LANDMARKS.



DELHI

Urban Space and Human Destinies

Edited by

VÉRONIQUE DUPONT . EMMA TARLO . DENIS VIDAL

MANOHAR • A Publication of the French Research Institutes in India

DELHI

Urban Space and Human Destinies

Edited by

VÉRONIQUE DUPONT, EMMA TARLO, DENIS VIDAL



MANOHAR



CENTRE DE SCIENCES HUMAINES



Institut de recherche
pour le développement

2000

First published 2000

© Individual Contributors 2000

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior permission of the editors and the publisher

ISBN 81-7304-366-3

Published by
Ajay Kumar Jain for
Manohar Publishers & Distributors
4753/23 Ansari Road, Daryaganj
New Delhi 110002

Published with the support of the
Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (Paris)

Typeset by
A J Software Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd.
305 Durga Chambers
1333 D.B. Gupta Road
Karol Bagh, New Delhi 110005

Print Perfect
A-23 Mayapuri, Phase II
New Delhi 110064