Creating Urbanity –
Destroying Culture

Relationships Between Public and Private in
Kathputli Colony, New Delhi, India

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ABSTRACT
Through the story of Kathputli Colony, this essay; Creating Urbanity – Destroying Cultures, Relationships Between Public and Private in Kathputli Colony, New Delhi, India, discusses various degrees of public and private in urban architecture. It compares the architecture of the former Kathputli Colony with the new architecture proposed for the site.

Striving to become a “world class city”, Delhi has, through the Master Plan 2021, decided to raze all informal settlements and replace them with high-rises. Kathputli Colony was such an informal settlement; an urban environment built up by an architecture that responded to the needs and economic means of its inhabitants. Its design was the result of network connections and personal relationships merging public and private life.

The essay concludes that Kathputli Colony consisted of a heterogeneous architecture, that had more in common with pre-industrial urbanism and village-architecture, than with the modernist architecture of the high-rises with its clear separation between public and private, work and leisure.

Keywords:
Informal, slum, public, urban, architecture, open, closed, private, modernism, high-rise

POPULÄRVETENSKAPLIG SAMMANFATTNING
I uppsatsen Creating Urbanity – Destroying Culture, Relationships Between Public and Private in Kathputli Colony, New Delhi, India görs en historisk genomgång av den informella bosättningen Kathpuli Colony i New Delhi, Indien.


En ambition har varit att, genom ett kritiskt perspektiv, kunna bidra till diskussionen om hur städer byggs.
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1. INTRODUCTION

Kaṭhputli Colony in New Delhi started as an informal settlement, jhuggī jhorhpḍī, in the 1950s.¹ It is the first informal settlement in Delhi where inhabitants are not simply displaced or moved to some outskirts of the city but where the plan is to establish in-situ rehabilitation for those legit (following certain criteria) to get new housing. The name “kaṭhputli” from the Hindi word for “puppet” refers to the large number of puppeteers in the colony.² The inhabitants, making their living on a day-to-day basis, through craftsmanship, puppet shows and circus performances, lived in buildings that had been constructed over time and when being forced to move into the new buildings they fear not being able to maintain their craftsmanship’s or fit their big puppets in the new apartments.³ Others claim that this is how the development goes and that they “need to keep up with it”.⁴ The inhabitants of Kaṭhputli Colony have been forced to sign new contracts in order to be promised new residency when the high-rises are in place, but people have been refusing to leave the Colony.⁵ The Delhi Development Authorities (DDA) and the Master Plan 2021 forces the Kaṭhputli Colony inhabitants from one way of living to a very different one through this transfer.⁶

![Image 1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kathputli_Colony)

Image 1. Kathputli Colony residents in their home with big puppets.

Photo: Eleopnora Farani.

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¹ Shruti Dubey, “Understanding Participation in a Heterogeneous Community: The resettlement of Kathputli Colony”, in Surajit Chakravarty & Rohit Negi (Ed) Space, Planning and Everyday Contestations in Delhi, New Delhi, 2016, p.35.
1.1 Problem and Questions at Issue

Kathputli Colony was an urban environment built up through an architecture that responded to the needs of its inhabitants. Its design was the result of network connections and personal relationships that created merges between public and private, work and leisure.

In the strive to become a “World Class City” Delhi has, through the master plan 2021, decided to raze all informal settlements in Delhi and replace them with high-rises. The relationship between public and private in the high-rise architecture differs from that of the razed colony which will affect the lives of the former slum dwellers. To understand how this might come to affect the inhabitants’ lives this essay compares the architecture in the colony with that of the proposed architecture.

- How does the new scheme for Kathputli residents (architectural proposal by GPM architects) differ from the razed Kathputli Colony?
- What were the relationships between public and private, work and leisure, in Kathputli Colony versus in the proposed architecture?
- How does the new plan influence the residents’ abilities to exercise their arts/cultures?
- What kind of historical and ideological contexts does the architecture relate to?
- What does the relationship between public and private spaces tell us about values and ideas of a society?
- How can we understand global urban phenomena through the case of Kathputli Colony?

1.2 Purpose

As an architect one is very likely to encounter places, people and projects that are very, or entirely, new. It might be an international competition where the site, client and program exist in another part of the world. Or it might simply be a renovation of, or a new design for, a place in one’s proximity but to which one is without any relationship or considerable knowledge to begin with. Therefore, it can be good to familiarise oneself with possibilities as well as problems that one might generally face throughout one’s career.
Through visiting India, and choosing a site in Delhi as my object of study, I wanted to explore my own possibilities in understanding an unknown site, project and culture. I use Kathputli Colony in New Delhi, India, as the site of my research because it is the first informal settlement in Delhi to undergo an in-situ rehabilitation as part of the 2021 Delhi Master Plan. Looking at Kathputli Colony might therefore tell us something about the bigger transformation of Delhi that is happening right now.

The world is being urbanized at a high speed and questions on how to organize cities architectonically are more urgent than ever. This essay investigates how contemporary urban space, in one of the worlds megacities, is transformed and what consequences such transformations might have on the urban citizens. From this we might gain knowledge that can be useful in understanding urban transformations elsewhere.

The Italian-Brazilian architect Lina Bo Bardi, a great inspiration of mine, said that one should see “architecture not as built work, but as possible means to be and face (different) situations”. She pinpoints the importance of understanding architecture beyond the physical structures. This has been a guiding idea for this essay.

A main purpose with this essay is to highlight the differences between the architecture of Kathputli Colony and that of the proposed new buildings to replace it. Through looking at the relationships between private and public spaces, it opts to understand local, as well as global, phenomena of urban developments.

Another aim with this essay is to understand architectural spaces beyond shallow aspects such as façade materials and decorations. This is made through investigating relationships between public and private, and putting the history of Kathputli Colony in a historical context.

Although a fair amount has been written on Kathputli colony in the media, and the architectural aspects have been previously discussed in two books, the urban and architectonic environment has never been compared with other urban parts of Delhi or with the proposed plans for the area. The architecture of the Colony has not before been put in a broader historical context. This essay argues that such a comparison, and

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7 Lina Bo Bardi, *Arquitetura e movimento*, lecture notes, Dance School Salvador, August 11, 1958 ILBPMB.
8 Such as Dubey, 2016 and Chalana, Hou, 2016.
historic reading, is vital for further understanding the factors that govern today’s urban and architectural developments.

1.3 Method and Material

To go beyond my own Euro-centric worldview, I have been trying to find practices from the global south to draw inspiration from. Specifically, I have been looking at research done by teachers at my own former school; The School of Architecture and Urbanism at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. There they have made a specifically outspoken attempt to find new methods for urban research that question Euro-American critical theories.\(^9\) Inspired by their work, I wanted to use ethnographical field study methods (including interviews, observations, photographs, drawings etc) when collecting empirical information on site.\(^10\)

After the demolition of my object of study (which occurred a week after I arrived in Delhi) I had to change my method somehow. I could no longer map connections between spaces, activities and networks as planned. Instead, I focused on observing what I could as well as talked to people along my journey in the country.

Since fieldwork has been limited, as a consequence of the demolition of Kathputli Colony, I mainly rely on what is already described in literature, articles and film. In order to get a broader understanding of Indian architecture, I conducted a journey around several important cities to get a general understanding of residential architecture in the country.

To understand the proposed architecture that will replace the colony, I analysed the drawings and illustrations made by GPM architects.

The case of Kathputli Colony is something that is happening right now which is why I believe it is more relevant than ever to tell this story. Being in Delhi both before and after the demolition, experiencing spaces from different periods of time and with different local practices, has been a way to further strengthen my understanding of urban practices and transformations.

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\(^10\) I used the book *Etnologiskt Fältarbete* by Lars Kaijser and Magnus Öhlander, Lund, 2011, as a base to understand fieldwork.
This essay starts with an introduction where “purpose”, “questions at issue” and “problems” are concluded together with “method”, “theories” and “research overview”.

Kathputli Colony, and its origin, is described in the second part. The colony is in this part put in a bigger context where history of the colony is read in relationship to urban planning in Delhi historically. The architecture of the colony, and that of the proposed scheme, are described with focus on relationships between public and private and how the different spaces are, or could be, used.

Since I have myself been at the site in Delhi and travelled around in India, I have chosen to tell the story through the use of two perspectives where I start each new chapter with an observation of my own, followed by a more formal presentation of the subject. In this way, I hope to dramaturgically strengthen the storytelling as well as show the relevance of the essay in a contemporary context.

The analysis starts with putting Kathputli Colony in a historic context with focus on the separation of spaces for work and leisure and how citizens are controlled through urban planning. After that follows a comparison between Kathputli Colony and the proposed new architecture, it analyses how networks are being confirmed or counteracted through architecture. The focus is on the relationships between public and private, work and leisure, and how these are defined by local practices and spaces.

To understand the concept of space and how we shape and give it meaning, this essay uses the works of geographer David Harvey and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, who both sought to extend this concept beyond its physical structures. Kathputli Colony here becomes a place for conflicting ideas, a heterotopia which becomes a space in opposition to the rest of the society. The essay continues to understand Kathputli Colony from a global perspective where urban transformations of Delhi are controlled by networks and memories that are global.

I chose to write this essay in English, partly because most of my literature is in English and because it is a language that is spoken in India. It also makes it more accessible to a broader audience. This makes sense considering I am writing about questions that concerns both India and the rest of the world.
1.4 Theory

Architecture is an interdisciplinary field and this essay uses theories from sociology, geography and urbanism to understand contexts in which architecture is produced and what effects different architecture has on its inhabitants and surroundings.

Geographer David Harvey describes Neoliberalism as a theory of “economical practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating entrepreneurial individual freedoms”. Harvey defines the neoliberal state’s mission as “to facilitate conditions for profitable capital accumulation on the part of both domestic and foreign capital”. This ideology differs from more socialist ideas that dominated the Nehruvian era (1947-1989) in India. Until the 1990’s socialistic housing policies and inclusive planning dominated urban planning in both India and Europe. As Harvey notes’ new technologies have compressed “the rising density of market transactions in both time and space”. “Temporary contracts supplant” in this postmodern condition “permanent institutions in the […] cultural, family and international domains as well as in political affairs”. What this means when it comes to urban planning is that values such as short term profit and free market dominates over a continuation of cultural traditions and conservations of natural resources among other things. Cities are also players on a global market and objects of investments, which, referring to Saskia Sassen, means that they are created for that market rather than for their own citizens.

The work of Asher Ghertner, geographer at University of California at Berkeley, and especially his Rule By Aesthetics: World Class City Making in Delhi, where he discusses what ideologies and aesthetics control the urban development of Delhi, has been useful to understand the contemporary development of Delhi and the Delhi Master Plan 2021.

Anthony King, Professor of Art History and Science at the Bartlett (University College of London), looks at the story of the high-rise as a way in which to promote

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12 D. Asher Ghertner, Rule By Aesthetics – World Class City Making in Delhi, New York, 2015, p. 10.
13 Harvey, 2005, p. 4.
15 Ghertner, 2015.
cities on a global market and how this thinking affects the politics of urban planning.\textsuperscript{16}

Ravi Sundaram, Professor of Computer and Information Science at the University of Boston, and his book \textit{Pirate Modernity: Delhi’s Media Urbanism} has been the main work from which I have built an understanding of the urban development of Delhi from colonialism until today.\textsuperscript{17}

For a general understanding of Indian architecture history, I have used Christopher Tadgell’s \textit{The History of Architecture in India: from the dawn of civilization to the end of Raj} combined with on-site visits in the country.\textsuperscript{18}

Jyoti Hosagrahar’s \textit{Indigenous Modernities – Negotiating Architecture Urbanism and Colonialism in Delhi} has been helpful to understand the Mughal history of the city of Delhi.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{Rule by aesthetics}, as well as the work of Harvey, Sassen and Sundaram, lays the foundation of theories from which I make assumptions on what mechanisms govern the global market and the urban development in Delhi. My analysis is built on the assumption that Delhi is a city on a global market and that, that same market governs its development. With this perspective I assume that in understanding the development of Delhi we can also understand development elsewhere. Delhi then becomes a case through which we can understand global phenomena.

Kathputli Colony was a place of local cultural practices and architecture. To understand these practices, and the architecture, I made two site visits, one before and one after the demolition of the Colony. I use the anthology \textit{Space, Planning and Everyday Contestations in Delhi} in which Delhi, and also specifically Kathputli Colony, is discussed, critiquing the effects of neoliberalism on the urban environment by looking at the interstitial spaces of Delhi.\textsuperscript{20} The chapter “Understanding participation in a Heterogeneous community” makes a thorough foundation for understanding the history behind Kathputli Colony and its development.\textsuperscript{21}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item[20] Surajit Chakravarty & Rohit Negi (Ed) \textit{Space, Planning and Everyday Contestations in Delhi}, New Delhi, 2016.
\item[21] Dubey, 2016.
\end{thebibliography}
Chapter nine, “Making Sense of the Order in the Disorder in Delhi’s Kathputli colony” in Messy Urbanism – Understanding the “Other” Cities of Asia, looks at Kathputli Colony from an architectural perspective and describes some of the buildings in the Colony.22 This is useful, as all buildings have been destroyed.

Indian architect Charles Correa identifies the use of different spaces in his work The New Landscape, from 1985, and his definitions of multi-use areas has been useful in identifying and understanding the spaces of Kathputli Colony.23

I also use the essay The Metropolis and Mental Life by George Simmel as a theory to understand urbanity in relationship to cultures of rural life. In this essay Simmel compares the metropolis with villages.

Walter Benjamin describes the urban development of Paris in the 18th and 19th century and I will use his work to understand Kathputli Colony, and the transformation of the colony, through understanding the urban development in industrial Paris.24

For the concept of Development I turn to Colombian-American anthropologist Arturo Escobar and his reasoning on the concept as a way to critically understand colonial and postcolonial urban planning. He means that the view was that the poor countries could only develop by being provided with certain infrastructure.25

To understand the shaping of spaces further, David Harvey’s chapter “Spacetime and The World” in Cosmopolitanism and the geographies of freedom was important.26

Henri Lefebvres The Production of Space27 and Urban Revolution28 also work as theoretical basis for my analysis on how spaces are produced and interpreted.

I briefly use American journalist Jane Jacobs as a reference for reflections on modernism versus pre-modernism. Her work The Death and Life of Great American

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22 Manish Chalana & Jeffrey Hou, “Making Sense of the Order in the Disorder of the Kathputli Colony” in Jeffrey Hou, Messy Urbanism - understanding the ‘other’ cities of Asia, Hong Kong, 2016.
26 David Harvey, Ojämlikhetens Nya Geografi – Texter om stadens och rummets förändringar i den globala kapitalismen, Anders Lund Hansen and Magnus Wennerhag (Ed), translation Henrik Gundenäs, Stockholm, 2011.
cities has come to be one of the most influential critiques on modernist urban planning.  

I have, somewhat unconventionally, used Salman Rushdie’s fictional novel *Midnight’s Children* as an additional reference concerning the storytelling of the colony. Rushdie wrote his book after having travelled in India in the mid 1970s and describes Kathputli Colony, and its first demolition, in the novel. Although this should be considered fiction, I believe that in being inspired by his descriptions we can understand aspects of the colony to further understand the Colony beyond the rational and statistically measureable which I, in this essay, try to criticize.

### 1.5 Research overview

Not much research has been done on the Kathputli Colony. In *Space, Planning and Everyday Contestations in Delhi* from 2016, there is one chapter, “Understanding Participation in a Heterogeneous Community: The Resettlement of Kathputli Colony” which investigates the history of the area.

In *Messy Urbanism – Understanding the “Other” Cities of Asia*, one chapter; “Making Sense of the Order in the Disorder in Delhi’s Kathputli Colony” makes for a short review of three houses in the area and describes the architecture of the area as well as how spaces have been used.

Other than that most information about the neighbourhood comes from news media, i.e. is not research per se.

One documentary film, *Tomorrow We Disappear*, portrays the conflicts and struggles concerning the rehabilitation of the area from the perspective of the inhabitants of the colony.

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31 Dubey, 2016.
32 Chalana & Hou, 2016.
33 Goldblum and Weber 2014.
Image 2. Site map positioning the object of study; Kathputli colony in relation to Old Delhi, Lutyens New Delhi and the Delhi metropolitan area. The black dotted square highlights the zoomed in map used further on. Illustration by Tove Grönroos.
I took the underground metro from Connaught Place to Chadni Chowk and stepped up into the seventh city of Delhi, nowadays called Old Delhi. The bigger streets of Lulkuan Batar and Charkiwalan Gali, among others, are connected by narrow roads and shaded lanes, some only wide enough to fit two persons in width and it’s clear that this is made for moving on foot.

Old Delhi, or Shahjahanabad as it was called during the Mughal Empire, is organized in sectors depending on what you want to buy. These might have their origin in the Mohallas (neighbourhoods), connected through the Bazaars (markets).

There are neighbourhoods for seemingly everything. If you are having a wedding you go to the wedding market, and then there are those for textiles, jewellery, tea, clothes, food, shoes or kitchenware among other things.

That day I was in what appeared to be the construction market. Each tiny shop, most of them no more than two metres wide, specialized in one thing each; metal-
sheets, wires, pipes or wooden boards, etc. You can surely get anything you need there, as long as you manage to beat the heavy crowds on the narrow pavements.

It’s hard to imagine what this city looked like before the British came, as the buildings have been added on gradually, creating a visually messy collage, but the original footprint still remains. Narrow paths; galis, internal courtyards; kothis, or courtyard dwellings; kushas, and informal squatter houses; basti, surrounds palaces; mahal, all create what used to be mansions; havelis, for the Mughal nobility, khans or nawabs.35

It was difficult to get an overview of how everything was connected; the myriad of streets and patchwork of buildings. The galis with the electric wires hanging above made it hard to see the roofs, about 4-6 floor levels up, and reminded me of a Brazilian favela where I used to stay. Old Delhi is like a mix between a traditional city like Agra or Jaipur, in the size of the buildings and how the different roof terraces relate to each other, and an informal city. The narrow lanes reminded me of old towns in southern Europe or the Old Town neighbourhood of Stockholm. It was easy to understand how this can be a planner’s nightmare – seemingly impossible to control, regulate and re-organize.

The oldest building relics in Delhi go as far back as to the Maurya empire (300 BCE), after which it lives through different reigns until 1911 when it became the capital of the Brittish Raj (1858-1947).

Before being ruled by the British, Delhi was part of the Mughal Empire. The city was called Shahjahanabad (1639-1649), named after its emperor Shah Jahan, and to this day, the remnants of that time can still be seen in the city; in its mosques, gardens, forts and in the bustling bazaars of Old Delhi.36 The neighbourhoods of Old Delhi are a product of the transformation of its original typology, the Haveli, over time and due to the shift in power relations that came with the advent of British rule. The Haveli (which would number up to a hundred within Delhi) functioned as towns within the city itself.37

As trade and craft would come to thrive within the city, the smaller subdivisions of the Haveli, forced on by the British, would continuously be added onto in order to

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36 Hosagrahar, 2005, p. 15.
37 Hosagrahar, 2005 p. 23.
support the need for more storage, spaces of production, or for additional family members. Eventually, it would end up being the iconic myriad structure of what is now called Old Delhi.

As of right now, Old Delhi is part of an application, together with New Delhi, to make the city a world heritage. Old Delhi has, however, constantly been threatened by demolition and was for a long time considered slum.

The spread of jaundice in 1955, through sewage from one of the informal settlements to the drinking water, resulting in almost half a million people infected within a few months, added to the urgency of a new masterplan at that time. The Master Plan was believed to solve the problems with overpopulation, sanitation, congestion, etc.

Slums were, and still are, considered a threat to urbanity. In the master plans that have, since the creation of New Delhi, been meant to regulate the urban development of Delhi, slums have been defined and illegalized. This was part of a bigger project of separating the urban from the non-urban. Spaces where “proper urban citizens could be cultivated” were separated from “urban villages” in the outskirts of the city where people of a failed assimilation were displaced.

In the book Rebuilding Shahjahanabad, from 1975, Lt. Governor Jagmohan suggested that in certain areas of Old Delhi, “bums and bad characters are all that can be seen after nightfall” [sic] and that unless these areas are transformed they “will remain breeding grounds for criminals and rioters.”

Zoning and masterplanning was believed to solve problems of poverty and crime and had a clear moral mission embedded. Medical theories came mainly from France and England with the Miasma-theory leading these views. Miasma was something in the air, which you could smell in poor neighbourhoods, and which caused disease. In this way unhealthy environments were believed to be created

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41 In: Delhi development Authorities, Delhi masterplan 2021, 2017 (2009) this is made through in situ rehabilitations and “upgradings” and these areas are clearly designated.
43 Sundaram, 2010, p. 73.
through the physical environment, not only leading to disease but also to crime. With these ideas as a context it is easier to understand why informal settlements, in many ways similar in urban typology to that of Old Delhi, were, and still are, seen as the root to problems of disease and misery.

Instead of understanding the benefits that exist in these neighbourhoods, modernist zoning ideals of separations between work, living, public spaces and traffic were and, as we will come to see, to a great extent still are the role model.

Image 5. Old Delhi in the Hauz Qazi Chowk intersection between Lalkuan Bazar Road and Chawki Bazar Road. Google Maps satellite image.

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46 Sundaram, 2010, p. 47.
2.1 The Story of Kathputli Colony – *Life and Death of the Artists’ Village*

I first visited Kathputli Colony, an informal settlement in west New Delhi, on my second day in India on October 27, 2017. In 2009 the authorities had decided, as part of the 2021 Delhi Master Plan, to raze all informal settlements. One of these informal settlements was Kathputli Colony, but the inhabitants fought against the rehabilitation and tried to remain on the site and they were still there that day, eight years later, when I arrived.

People were sitting on the side of Shadipur road, the Bazaar, or in their shops. Some people were standing in the street talking while children played and waved hello to the tourist (me). Three goats stood on an elevated veranda. A half-naked child ran in the dilapidated remains of what seemed to be his home. A man was barbecuing meat on his shop-terrace. Many of the buildings lacked roofs. As so often in India the smell of fire was everywhere, here mixed with the sour smell of garbage. People were probably making coal for the winter or simply burning trash. Outside the camp, under the flyover, piles of rubbish had created small mountains that seemed to work as toilets; two children were using it as such when I left the area.

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47 Diary notes from site visit by author in Kathputli colony, New Delhi, 171027.
Some days later I read in the news that, three days after my visit, authorities had entered the area with bulldozers and police and demolished the neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{48} I went back to Kathputli Colony one week later, on November 9\textsuperscript{th}.\textsuperscript{49} It had been some days with intense smog, and we were advised not to go out or at least wear masks to protect ourselves from the poisonous air. The yellow-reddish light filtering through the smog added to the doomsday feeling that haunted me on my way over there. I took the metro an extra station to be able to see from above how much damage had been done (the metro goes next to the colony).

The entire area had indeed been razed, leaving no more than an ocean of bricks and some stubbornly resisting remnants of walls. People were collecting intact bricks for the construction of new homes while municipal employees circled the area in yellow hats. The long resisting inhabitants of Kathputli Colony once again had to give into the sovereign forces. It reminded me of a scene in “Midnight’s Children” in which the demolition of the colony in the 1970s was described; “By the End of that day, the slum [...] had vanished from the face of the earth”.\textsuperscript{50}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image7.png}
\caption{Kathputli Colony, after demolition, as seen from the metro flyover. Photo: Tove Grönroos 2017-10-09}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{49} Diary notes from site visit by author in Kathputli colony, New Delhi, 171109.
\textsuperscript{50} Rushdie, 2006, p. 602.
The Kaṭhputlī Colony in New Delhi started as a squatter settlement, *jhuggī jhopādī*, in the 1950s.⁵¹ The settlers were former nomads; travelling artists and circus people from Rajasthan. Before settling down, they used to camp on vacant plots in Delhi while travelling and performing at markets and public places like on the street and by monuments.

The area opposite the Shadipur Depot was at the time just swampland in the outskirts of the city,⁵² but as with much of Delhi the expansion of the city was partly made through a merging of villages, with traditional rural settlement, and urban areas.⁵³ Rural life continued in those areas but also in the old Mughal parts of the city, and still does today. One could say that Delhi consists of several cities, said to be

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⁵¹ Dubey, 2016 p. 36-41.
⁵² Dubey, 2016 p. 36-41.
⁵³ Charles Lewis, & Karoki Lewis, *Delhi’s Historic Villages*, New Delhi, 1997.
eight with New Delhi.\textsuperscript{54} It’s a merging of old and new cities and villages, and settlers filling in vacant spaces in between.

After the creation of India in 1947, streams of refugees from Pakistan and Bangladesh came to settle in the city and without enough housing, informal settlements started to grow around the city. Delhi was, and in many ways still is, lacking behind concerning infrastructure such as public transport and power- and water access. It remained for a long time “an elite-scape housing bureaucrats, politicians, and wealthy residents”.\textsuperscript{55} The poor of the informal settlements were more or less neglected, among them the Rajasthani settlers in Shadipur.

Designer and scenographer Rajev Seethi encouraged the artists, through the organization Sarthi working for traditional artists and craftsmen, to settle down and organize as a collective and so they did.\textsuperscript{56}

Networks were created through family and kinship ties on a local level. On a regional level the 1970s were dominated by zoning laws, housing schemes and refugee settlements.\textsuperscript{57} The great advantage with zoning was, or so the authorities believed, that it assembled the whole city under the same concept.\textsuperscript{58}

The first major displacements of slums had started in 1967 and the Kathputli colony was demolished for the first time in 1976.\textsuperscript{59} This occurred during the emergency years (1975-1977) when hundreds of thousands of people were forcibly moved to the outskirts in the east, south and west of the city.\textsuperscript{60}

In a sigh of relief after the emergency years, people started to squat again, with the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) officials ignoring the zoning regulations set up by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in favour of on-the-ground work.\textsuperscript{61}

The site itself, the settlement by Shadipur, was an important place for clients to get in touch with the Kathputli artists, so moving from the site therefore indirectly

\textsuperscript{54} Tadgell, 1994, p. 156.
\textsuperscript{55} Dubey, 2016, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{56} Dubey, 2016, p. 40-41.
\textsuperscript{57} Sundaram, 2010, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{58} Sundaram, 2010, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{59} Dubey, 2016, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{60} As Sundaram describes (2010, p.75) the Emergency years constitute a brutal time in the history of Indian settlers were “those displaced got their plots regularized after agreeing to undergo sterilization of the male members of the family”. They got the right to somewhere to live in exchange of their bodies.
\textsuperscript{61} Sundaram, 2010, p. 78.
destroyed the livelihood for them, and therefore they returned to the area and stayed in tents under the Patel Nagar flyover until they could resettled again.\(^62\)

After moving back, the artists united as one group, to become stronger as a community which called itself *Bhole Bisre Kalakar (long forgotten artistes committee)*. This is at a time when the concept of “neighbourhood” is starting to develop in combination with a significant working class presence (through workers’ unions etc.)\(^63\). The artists created an industrial cooperative, and demanded land rights at Shadipur as an “artistes village”; *Andandgram*.\(^64\) In the demanding letter to authorities they framed themselves as a group that once was scattered and now wanted Shadipur to be their home after having stayed there for 14 years.

Some years later, with the help of Rajeev Sethi, the community came up with a plan for the area, the *Andandgram*, which was supposed to be built on the entire land of the colony. They hired architects and had a strategy on how to create affordable housing that met the needs of the community. This plan however, was never realized.

In the 1980s people from other castes started squatting next to the artists on the empty part of the plot, which created a conflict concerning the development of the Artistes’ village.

In the following years there continues to be a significant conflict of interests between the *Bhole Bisre Kalakar* (the artists of the community and Sarthi through Rajeev Sethi) and the DDA and Member of Parliament representing the non-artists.\(^65\) The officials of the DDA did not want to give the artists the valuable land, and said that even if they would they could not afford building the houses, and the MP did not want to separate artists and non-artists. This forced the artists to unite with the non-artists in order to continue their claims for ownership of the land.

The role of the state shifts from, in the 1980s, being a provider of housing for the poor to, in the 1990s, being an enabler of the market for private agents.\(^66\) This might explain why, even when getting an offer of funding from a Rotary club in 1990, discussions and decisions on upgrading the Kathputli colony never materialized.

\(^{62}\) Dubey, 2016 p. 41.  
\(^{63}\) Sundaram, 2010, pp. 78 and 70.  
\(^{64}\) Dubey, 2016 pp. 41-43.  
\(^{65}\) Dubey, 2016, p. 46.  
\(^{66}\) Dubey, 2016, p. 47.
In 2009 the decision was made to once again demolish the colony. As part of the 2021 Master Plan (created in 2007) Kathputli Colony was the first of all informal settlements, labelled as *slums*, to be demolished to make way for new buildings.\(^67\)

Before, when informal settlements were demolished, people were simply displaced or moved to resettlements in the outskirts of the city. Now, however, the plan is to make in-situ rehabilitations for those eligible to get new housing.\(^68\) An in-situ rehabilitation in this case, means that the people who lived in the informal settlements get housing when the new buildings are in place. During construction of the new buildings, approximately two to three years, the inhabitants get temporary housing five kilometres away in Anand Parbat and thirty kilometres away in Narela,(footnote DDA?) This is where those of the 2800 families, who had not already relocated, moved after October 30, 2017, when the colony was razed.

Image 9. Kathputli colony before the demolition with the metro flyover in the background. Photo: Thomas Vanden Driessche

\(^68\) Dubey, 2016, p. 35.
2.3 The Architecture of Kathputli – *Private and public life in the city*

*Image 10.* Artist Puran Bhatt performs with a puppet (“kathputli”) in one of the courtyards in Kathputli colony. Photo: Joshua Cogan

Strolling down the Bazaar (Shadipur Road) in Kathputli Colony, the visitor, or inhabitant, was able to experience the merging of public and private space and life. On the side of the street, which was narrow, only 2-4 metres wide, were shops and entrances to peoples’ homes. It was possible to peek at peoples’ living areas through openings in imbricate brick walls and to experience the daily life of a puppet maker a few steps away from the street.

Most of the houses by the bazaar were designed to enable workshops/shops at the border of the street. Everyday items like food and toilet paper as well as toys, puppets and music instruments were sold from spaces closest to the street. The visitor/customer could consume goods and look into the shops but seldom entered. Constructed a few feet up from the street, raised up to avoid flooding during monsoon, they made for great display cases of commodities and while the customer was on a lower level it was easy to look at them and at the same time the sales-/craftsman was sitting on the floor of the room which was also his/her (but more commonly his) workshop.

For India, this setting is not unusual; you see it in most informal or semi-informal settlements in the big cities as well as in old parts of cities like downtown

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69 Diary Notes from author visiting Kathputli Colony, 171027.
Srinagar (Shehr-e-Khaas)\textsuperscript{70} and Old Delhi (ShahJahanabad) to mention two: narrow streets with raised shops/workshops a few steps up from the streets.

Image 11. Section showing the relationship between the bazaar and buildings. Illustration by Amit Ittyreha.

Kathputli Colony differed from other informal settlements: it was home to a community of artists; Snake charmers, magicians, animal trainers and puppeteers.

Kathputli Colony was not an ideal place; the people were poor and the area extremely underfinanced. Nevertheless, there were qualities, both architectonically and relationship-wise, that were of great importance to the inhabitants that had been living in Shadipur for as long as sixty years.


\textsuperscript{70} Diary Notes from author visiting Kathputli Colony 171102.
Kathputli Colony was structured in a similar way to most informal settlements within *The Global South*. It consisted of a myriad of buildings that formed a weave of organically built form; the product of these neighbourhoods being continuously added onto as the situation of its residents/inhabitants changed over time, a phenomenon that is accentuated by the fact that its poor residents live their lives and to a great extent support themselves on a day-to-day basis.

The fact that economic resources are so meagre within these structures (informal settlements that over time have transformed into being formal settlements), produce a structure of very intimate spaces. Kathputli Colony was very densely built with few open spaces. That meant that informal gathering spaces were created elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

A family’s residence seldom exceeded just a few rooms, which were all tiny and used for several different purposes. The kitchen also acted as the bedroom, and so did the courtyard or terrace during the summer months. This multiuse of spaces does not only occur in informal settlements but is apparent everywhere in India. The use of the terrace or courtyard as sleeping space during the hot summer months is something you come upon everywhere in the country: for example, in hotels the terraces are sometimes used as sleeping space for the employees during night.

![Image 13. Roof terraces in Kathputli colony. Photo: Joshua Cogan](image)

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71 With that I mean for example *favelas* in South America or *shanty towns* in South Africa etc.
72 Chalana and Hou, 2016, p. 163.
73 As witnessed by the author for example in Jaipur, India 171114.
Indian architect Charles Correa defines these multiuse areas in the 1960s.\textsuperscript{74} Correa puts the different uses of spaces in a hierarchical order where the exclusively private space, used for sleeping, bathing and cooking, comes first. This is, part of the year done indoors, but as he estimates for Bombay; 75\% of these functions (as well as socializing with friends) could occur outdoor, in a private courtyard or on a terrace, “for at least 70\% of the year”.\textsuperscript{75} Because Delhi is further north the time for outdoor activities would decrease but his point can very well be made for Kathputli Colony as well. This means that people often had one room that worked as bedroom, storage and kitchen during the winter. And there was a \textit{chullah} (wood stove) in the courtyard when, during summertime, the courtyard was combined sleeping space, gathering space and kitchen.\textsuperscript{76}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Image 14.} An “area of intimate contact” as created by a courtyard. Illustration by Amit Ittyreha.
\end{center}

Secondly, Correa identifies “areas of intimate contact”. These are areas where children play, indirectly supervised by their parents or someone else, or where spontaneous meetings with neighbours can occur.\textsuperscript{77} In Kathputli Colony these areas occurred differently in different households, I will use a very common typology as an


\textsuperscript{75} Correa, 1985, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{76} Chalana, Hou, 2016, pp. 165-171.

\textsuperscript{77} Correa, 1985, p. 34.
example: the craftsman’s home. (image 15). This house had an elevated room next to a small courtyard, right by the street/path. The room had storage below and sleeping space combined with the workshop and shop above the storage; while the craftsmen were working in the shop, people could buy goods directly from the street or meet in the courtyard next to the street. In other cases in Kathputli Colony these meeting spaces were created between houses, in courtyards, crossroads or alike.

Image 15. A typical craftsman’s home in Kathputli colony. Illustration by Amit Ittyreha

Correa’s third space is what he calls “neighbourhood places”. These are meeting places where you become part of your community. In the case of Kathputli Colony this would be for example at the common water taps or in one of the three mosques or two Hindu temples.

The forth space is what Correa calls “principle urban areas” (Maidan or Open Space) used by the whole city. In Kathputli Colony this would have been outside the

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78 Chalana, Hou, 2016, p.171.
79 Correa, 1984, p. 34.
80 Chalana, Hou, 2016, pp. 163 – 164.
biggest mosque where the largest open public space in the area was, or potentially at the Bazaar.\textsuperscript{81}

An important part of Kathputli Colony, which is intimately connected with the arrangement of spaces, was the extended family as neighbours. In the artist’s section it was common with clusters of homes, inhabited by siblings or extended family, that surrounded one or several shared courtyards.\textsuperscript{82} This has been vital for the livelihood of many, since this means sharing daily tasks such as cooking, taking care of children or working together. Many of the colony’s inhabitants were more or less dependent on the closeness to family members for their survival.

As all of the spaces had been added onto over time, the fabric of the city was a fabric of seams, where one could read the spaces of dwellings from the outside as easily as from the inside. Most dwellings were made out of found materials, ranging from brick, stone, cement and metal to mud, jute sheets, plastic and timber for the poorest of the residents. The spaces in direct relation to the street were constructed on top of plinths, which to some extent protected them during the monsoon floods.\textsuperscript{83} This meant, that depending on income, people could extend their built structures, sell or rent out parts of their homes to others. Many in the artist’s section in Kathputli Colony rented out dwellings or had side businesses like restaurants or shops to make up for low season.

The fact that many of the dwellings opened up to streets or alleys without doors, hallways or porches, and that its semi-public spaces such as courtyards and rooftops were used for sleeping created a very slight difference from the public to the private. This is also accentuated by the vast number of people that resided within the colony, especially considering that the structures seldom went above one or two stories. Coming from the outside, it was hard to tell whether the squares, alleys and bazaars were a continuation of the private, or whether the living rooms and kitchens were a continuation of the public. Clothes hung to dry on lines strung over the alleys, and the rooftop terraces were directly accessible by ladders or narrow staircases from the streets.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{81} Chalana, Hou, 2016, p. 163.
\textsuperscript{82} Chalana, Hou, 2016, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{83} Chalana, Hou, 2016, p. 161.
\textsuperscript{84} Chalana, Hou, 2016, p. 162.
The colony was subdivided into several separate groups based on caste, religion, profession and religious affiliation.\textsuperscript{85} Despite its social segregation into distinct sub-neighbourhoods, Haris Gazdar and Hussain Bux Mallah argue that the struggle for \textit{slums} to acquire legal tenure of their lands (just like the struggle of the residents of Katputli Colony), can create bonds for that community that transcend caste, religion and ethnicity.\textsuperscript{86} This has been shown in the case of Kathputli Colony where the original residents were forced to include the other groups.

2.4 Delhi Masterplan 2021: the in-situ rehabilitation of Kathputli Colony – Remaking?

Using the map on my phone I take Minto Road from Asaf Ali Road heading for Connaught Place.\textsuperscript{87} This is not really a road for walking, it is apparent that this part of the city; New Delhi, was mainly made for cars. In Block-1 I pass a huge building; The Municipal Corporation of Delhi Civic Centre, a detached monolith in the landscape. The plots that follow seem to be working as laundry room; a whole garden is occupied by drying laundry hanging between the trees.

As with Chandigarh it is here, close to Connaught Place, evident that however organised a plan you try to implement in India – empty pockets will always be filled with people and activities that were not supposed to be there. The two parallel scales become especially clear in Chandigarh: The barbers that put up their small shops

\textsuperscript{85} Deep Chaniara mapped out the groups of the neighbourhood during his thesis project, 2017, \<https://www.deepchaniara.com/the-case-of-kathputli-colony> 180113.
\textsuperscript{87} Diary notes by the author, from site visit 171206.
with a table, mirror and chair in a roundabout or next to the road; the small ovens that are built in the pavement to roast nuts in; candy-shops and market places, even housing occupies the wide pavements in Chandigarh. This image is not only expositive for Chandigarh but can also describe New Delhi. The human scale, we might call it, sipping into the grand scale of the planned urbanity. The separation between Old and New Delhi, which is so clear looking at a map, seems impossible to maintain considering the population density. The swarming from Old Delhi leaks into Lutyens modernist plan. Breaking the order and bringing in the chaos that was supposed to be built away. The moralizing urban structure did not manage to discipline its citizens. The differences in scale are emphasised by the enormous flag in the middle of Connaught place. The size of it makes the heavy fabric wave as if in slow motion.

Image 18. Lutyens 1931 plan is part of what is today the capital of India New Delhi. The dotted red line from Old Delhi to New Delhi shows the walk described above. Illustration by Tove Grönroos.

Masterplanning in Delhi first starts under the hand of British architects Edward Lutyens and George Baker when New Delhi, was created (1931). The plan suggests a strong influence of the Haussmanian Paris ideals: wide boulevards such as Rajpath

88 Diary notes by the author, from site visit in Chandigarh 171103-171106.
connecting monumental sites like India Gate (Delhi’s *Arc de Triomphe*) and the
financial district of Connaught place, clearly demonstrating power. Meant to tell the
grand history of British rule, this plan, through its baroque monumentality, separated
clearly from the Mughal city and its traditions.\(^{89}\)

The idea of the masterplan has, since the British Raj, been a way to control and
organize the city. As discussed above, masterplanning came out of the idea that
architecture could transform social structures and behaviours. The idea was that if the
architecture was clean and rational it would change the behaviours of the urban
citizens, i.e. make them clean and rational as well.\(^{90}\)

Masterplanning grew as a tool for urban planning during what is usually called
modernism, or as Philip Jonson and Henry Russel Hitchcock named it in their 1932
exhibition at the Modern Museum of Art in New York; the International Style.\(^{91}\) New
York is a city that in a big sense represents the modernist ideals in its verticality and
rationality. Life, leisure and work is separated but not as clearly as in cities like
Chandigarh or New Delhi which were influenced by ideas developed out of the
modernist city but refined in an even clearer separation between activities.

These modernist ideals are still very present in urban planning in Delhi today
where building high-rises aims to release space on the ground and organize activities
through verticality and separation of living, working, shopping, transportation and
leisure.\(^{92}\)

The in-situ rehabilitation of Kathputli colony has a proposed architecture for the
site. Through a webpage, created and governed by the DDA, one is able to get some
information about, and to follow the process.\(^{93}\) This, together with the information on
the webpage of the architects,\(^{94}\) as well as information about their project found
elsewhere,\(^{95}\) has been the foundation for my knowledge of the planned buildings.

The information of that architecture is scarce and I was limited to one site plan,
one “standard-unit” apartment plan (both without scale directions) and five renderings

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\(^{89}\) Sundaram, 2010, pp. 35 – 40.

p. 165.

\(^{91}\) Hughes, 2005, p. 165.

\(^{92}\) As can be seen in the Mater Plan 2021, Dehli Development Authorities, 2017 (2009).

\(^{93}\) <http://www.kathputlicolonydda.com>, 171128.


\(^{95}\) Build.In, *Kathputli Colony In-Situ Slum Rehabilitation*, <https://ebuild.in/kathputli-colony-delhi-
(i.e graphic visualisations/perspective drawings) of the buildings as well as an interior animation-video.\textsuperscript{96}

On the website of the DDA, they state that they are providing apartments for around 2800 families, leaving 771 people not eligible, of Kathputli Colony, and that each apartment is 30,5 square metres big.\textsuperscript{97,98} In the video one can see other types of apartments as well but it is unclear if those are for former Kathputli Colony inhabitants or for other people. The arrangement between the DDA and the Raheja Developers has been that the developer shall produce these 2800 á 30,5 sqm apartments for DDA and in return they “are given land to develop 130 high and residential units and 17000 square meter residential area”.\textsuperscript{99} The in-situ rehabilitation-apartments are to be separated from those of the wealthier inhabitants through separate entries and exits and to be located in the vicinity of the high-end housing.

The new proposal consists of several high-rises, on the 5.2 hectares of land. These are around 17 floors high, each building block about 15-20 x 50-70 metres wide and long (by estimation from looking at the renderings, site plan does not include neither scale nor measurements nor does it show how the buildings are separated making it impossible to count them). The first floor is partly open, see-through structure possibly for parking garage, shops and display of the work of the Kathputli craftsmen (as described in the Site plan). Through this plan you will reach staircases and elevators with which you will reach the inner core of each floor of the building from which you will be able to enter your apartment.

\textsuperscript{96} Delhi Development Authority webpage for Kathputli colony, \url{<http://www.kathputlicolonydda.com/proposed-units.asp>} 171128.
\textsuperscript{97} \url{http://www.kathputlicolonydda.com/dda-scheme.asp} 180103.
\textsuperscript{98} Akshita Nagpal, \textit{Uprooted Lives: Delhi’s Kathputli Colony residents Watched Their Homes Razed to the ground}, The Wire, November 1, 2017, \url{<https://thewire.in/193337/delhi-kathputli-colony-demolition/>} 180114.
\textsuperscript{99} GPM Architects and Planners, \textit{GPM India}, \url{<http://www.gpmindia.com/urban_pages/kathputli.html>} 171020.


Image 25. Site plan
3. ANALYSIS

3.1 City and Village

Kathputli colony has a lot in common with villages in that the architecture is structured to strengthen family relationships and kinship ties. The physical structure with its low-rise buildings and small alleys reminds us more of old medieval towns than of contemporary urban areas. The colony also has a lot in common with Old Delhi; with its narrow pathways made for walking, the buildings added onto gradually and the mix between living spaces, work spaces and shops in the same building creating a diffuse separation between public and private, work and leisure. The internal courtyards, squatter houses and dwellings are built up gradually side by side in an organically structured scheme.

When Walter Benjamin describes the urban development of Paris, one can understand that the urban citizen is more or less created in the late 1700s when democracy invites the bourgeoisie to be part of shaping society. This is, according to Benjamin, when home and work for the first time is put in opposition to each other.\(^{100}\) It is when the interior and exterior starts to be clearly differentiated. Creating a separation between one’s private space and the public sphere becomes more and more important as the bourgeoisie grows. One needs to separate oneself from the common man through architecture; it is a way to imitate the nobility, to express power.

In this way, the industrial and post-industrial society becomes a society in which there is a clear separation between private and public, workspace and home. Understanding this it is clear that Kathputli Colony does not fit into the post-industrial urbanity.

This separation between life and work is clearly manifested through the proposed architecture scheme, for the rehabilitation of the Kathputli Colony, where the buildings are planned for living only. A clear separation between public and private is created where the private homes are isolated from the public. The merging of interior and exterior is at this time eliminated.

As I could see when visiting both Delhi and Chandigarh, there have been efforts made to separate private and public life through masterplanning. These plans however, created infills that constantly have been filled and where private and public

\(^{100}\) Benjamin, 1990.
life have merged. The Masterplan 2021 strives to accomplish a clear separation between public and private life, provided of course that informal settlements do not grow in the gaps created by space and time.101

The idea of “development” was something that, according to Arturo Escobar, was a discourse formulated in the 1940s and 1950s.102 “Archaic superstitions and relations” were to be destroyed through modernization, i.e. through industrialization and urbanization. Social, cultural and political progress should be made through material advancement, with this view, urban planning became an important tool for such development. Systems of relations were established which allowed for the creation of concepts and strategies that, according to Escobar, determined what could be “thought and said”. What he meant was that these systems of relations “established a discursive practice that sets the rules of the game: who can speak, from what points of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise”.

In the case of Delhi, we have seen that these systems of relations, the discourse, is to a great extent managed by the government with strong influence from Europe and the United States (through Lutyen’s New Delhi and the 1961 Master Plan to begin with).

3.2 Control and Alienation

What Benjamin describes when it comes to urban planning in Paris in the 19th century is a planning that strives for control of citizens. It is not only a way to sanitize the city but also to prevent further revolutions.103

I would claim that the same kind of analysis could be made of the scheme for the rehabilitation of Kathputli Colony. In this case it is made through the dissolution of a community and by forcing previously independent people to become dependent. In Kathputli Colony, both networks and architecture supported the peoples’ lives, both when it came to the private as well as working-wise.

In the new apartment they will depend on getting a certain income in order to cover rent. The payment is 1,12,000 rupees within two years of the eviction (a little less than 1800 US dollars) and that is not a small amount for a poor family.104

101 With space I mean the physical gaps created between buildings and with time I simply mean the gaps between the demolitions of settlements and the creation of new housing.
102 Escobar, 1997, p. 86.
103 Benjamin, 1990.
104 Nagpal, 2017.
addition to that they have to pay 30,000 rupees (around 500 dollars) over a five-year period to cover maintenance. Since the eviction occurred during high season residents saw a great loss of income, which might affect their ability to pay. Many of the colony’s residents depended for the whole year on income from performances during those three months of high season. This loss of income might force them from their current occupations as artists and craftsmen. Taking the independence away from these people is therefore a way of controlling them.

George Simmel argues that “The modern city […] is supplied almost exclusively by production for the market, that is, for entirely unknown purchasers who never appear in the actual field of vision of the producers themselves.” This focus on the market, Simmel seems to suggest, alienates people from each other. He describes the “metropolitan type” as someone who emotionally shields himself from the surrounding impressions and instead reacts in a very rational manner. He also suggests that this metropolitan type might therefore appear to the “small-town folk” as cold and that the indifference of the metropolitan type might actually be a “mutual strangeness and repulsion”.

Looking at Kathputli Colony the people are forced into this alienation when they are physically separated from each other and when their informal spaces of community are taken away from them. They are, through the rehabilitation, forced into becoming “urban citizens” and that then appears to mean; being separated from other citizens and instead of depending on a community starting to depend on the authorities. Instead of selling their goods from their homes, to people they can talk to, their goods will now be sold in shops, with probably other commodities as well, and it is unclear whether or not they will ever meet the customers.

3.3 Public & private – Comparison between Kathputli Colony and the proposal for new buildings

Analysing the proposed architecture from Charles Correa’s defined spaces that I applied on Kathputli Colony, we find that the first space - the exclusively private space, i.e. the apartments, can very well be used in multiple ways. It is possible to

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sleep on the verandah (although very limited space).\textsuperscript{108} Living room and bedroom can possibly be used as working spaces during the day (although the neighbours might complain about loud noises like drum playing). The verandah is unfortunately separated from the kitchen and does not include a chullah (oven), which means that cooking outdoors is not very probable (if even legal). Other than that it can be used for storage, sleeping and eating. Depending on the point of the compass however, it might be very hot in the mornings for those verandahs facing east (most verandahs are facing either east or west) and it will be harder to ventilate and get a proper wind flow through this space than at the roof terraces which had more flexibility; the direction of the sun could be covered with temporary textiles or shields depending on time of year and time of day etc.

“Areas of intimate contact”,\textsuperscript{109} are in the proposed architecture more or less totally erased. The alleys, that were used as common spaces, disappear and are replaced by the staircases/elevators in the building core and the bigger squares between the building blocks replace the small ones in the colony. The intimate courtyards are not included in the new scheme. Instead, there are large areas between the buildings to accommodate spaces for public activities. There are places for children to play or people to meet, like the “Green Area” or the “Children’s Park”, but these are vast spaces without any immediate connections to the family apartments. These spaces are not for spontaneous meetings; they are spaces for planned meetings where for example the supervision of children is controlled by parents sitting in the proximity of the playfield, thereby reducing the chance of combining supervision of the children with some other activity like cooking or working.

This of course draws our minds to the criticism made by Jane Jacobs in the 1960s on urban planning, where she discusses scale and presence of humans: the passive control of the street made by the presence of the inhabitants’ gazes and spontaneous meetings.\textsuperscript{110} Eyes constantly registering events, making the presence of police or CCTV excessive. Jacobs also talks about an order in the disorder, i.e. an

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{108} It is called a verandah but by European means it would rather be a balcony. A veranda in Europe is like a porch, a long outdoor space with a roof over it. In the proposal this verandah is only a couple of meters long and placed elevated from the ground on the different floors. The Indian word combining Sanskrit and Bengali does however simply mean a covered room that is outdoors but connects to the indoors.
\item \textsuperscript{109} As Correa called them in Correa, 1984, p. 34.
\item \textsuperscript{110} Jane Jacobs, 2004 (1961).
\end{itemize}
order that might not be apparent at first sight but which exists through intricate social networks in relation to the spaces.

The spaces between the buildings have more in common with what Correa would call “Principle Urban Areas” than with the “areas of intimate contact”.\textsuperscript{111} These spaces were something that was lacking in the colony, but in the proposed scheme these are more or less the only public spaces, with the exception of the commercial areas on the ground floor of the buildings. These commercial areas, however, would probably be what Correa calls “Neighbourhood places” where you meet your neighbours and becomes part of your community.

What we can see is that the public spaces in the proposed plan are either big outdoor areas between the buildings or the service on the ground floor. There is also the “multi-purpose hall”, the “Basti Vikas” (which seems to be some kind of shelter-program) and the “Religious space”. [sic] With the latter it is unclear what that means and for whom it is made. In the Kathputli colony there were three mosques and two Hindu temples; these spaces were connected to the groups (“sub-neighbourhoods”) that used them. However, in the proposed plan, it seems like there is to be only one religious space combining all religions or alternatively excluding one or many religions.

When you see the naming of different public spaces in the proposal for the rehabilitation of the colony it is hard not to understand them merely as tokens for qualities that the colony used to have. Since the spaces differ so much in scale and in terms of connections they may not get the same significance, as the spaces they are replacing. It is however not very likely since they do not have the same connections to the homes and because of the great shift in scale.

An important part of the Kathputli colony was the intimate contact with the extended family created through the proximity with, and relationships between, the dwelling units. Between these units’ courtyards and alleys, created spaces for meetings that had a semi-public character by including people of the extended family. In the proposed scheme, the apartments are separated from each other. They open up outwards, through the \textit{verandah} and the windows, and are closed to the sides and with only an entrance connecting apartment and building core. This means fewer connections between all the apartments and since no families have been promised

\textsuperscript{111} As Correa called them in Correa, 1984, p. 34.
Apartments next to each other there is a risk that the families are scattered. This will most likely affect whether or not they can afford to continue their present work since they were previously very dependent on the closeness to members of the extended family. This will most likely also affect their relationships on a more emotional level.\(^\text{112}\)

The Bazaar was also an important meeting place as the main street in the Colony. People from all sub-communities in Kathputli Colony could meet there. Since people both lived and worked in the dwellings on either side of the road, the constant flow of people passing by, in combination with the salesman and craftsmen, as well as children and other people living in the dwellings, created a vibrant atmosphere and public meeting place. In the new buildings, where housing is separated from work and trade, this kind of meeting place won't exist. The shopping areas in the new buildings, separated from both work and living, will create a place for shopping only which will most likely result in a less vibrant atmosphere. Cafés and restaurants might be the only places in these spaces where people will meet and socialise. Socialising then becomes reduced to something connected with consumption instead of being a part of everyday life, free of charge.

Another aspect is how the women and men had created semi-segregated spaces where for example women could be more independent. The architecture models, made by the Bhole Bisre Kalakar with Sarthi in the 1980s, had special “womens courtyards” for all women of the family to meet.\(^\text{113}\) Separating families might very well mean that the women become less flexible and isolated.

The possibility of extra income from renting out additional units, something that was rather common in the artists’ part of the colony, is in the new buildings not an option. It will also, probably, be difficult to have animals, such as goats, in the new buildings.

The separation between the seven groups in the colony, which created sub-communities within the larger one, is something that the proposed scheme does not take into consideration (at least based on the information I have).

\(^{112}\) To get perspective I point to architecture student Deep Chaniara who in his thesis project made thorough investigations on how the community is built up and made proposal for an alternative transformation of the area. <https://www.deepchaniara.com/the-case-of-kathputli-colony> 180113.

\(^{113}\) Dubey, 2016, p. 44.
3.4 An Expansion of the Concept of Space

As we have seen in the previous part of this essay, by looking at the relationships between public and private spaces, the lives of the Kathputli colony inhabitants will come to change, and they already have changed significantly. In their daily lives they had built up structures; physical, practical and emotional, that supported a certain lifestyle in which they could perform their artistry and maintain traditional family relationships and networks as well as traditional craftsmanship. The planned architecture for the area does not to any considerable extent take these networks and relationships into consideration. The architecture is based on a “Euro-American” modernist architectural tradition rather than indigenous traditions (to use Anthony Kings definition of a modernity with roots in the Mughal Shajahanabad and the pre-colonial architecture).\footnote{King, 2004, p. 142.}

To understand the concept of “space” and how we shape and give it meaning, I will use the works of geographer David Harvey and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, who both sought to extend this concept beyond its physical structures.

Lefebvre talks about production of space in his work with the same name.\footnote{Lefebvre, 1991.} He presents a tripartite division of space: physical space, imagined space and lived space (Lefebvre uses other terms but that is essentially what he means). The physical space is measurable whereas imagined space and lived space are more difficult to quantify.\footnote{Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 352 – 353.} As Harvey points out, the absolute space (to use Harvey’s term) i.e. the physical space, dominates political spatial practices. He argues that a state apparatus resorts to concepts of absolute space and time in order to gain control. In this way they make the relative (spaces of processes, movements and networks) and the relational (where space and time melt together. It is the space in which an event must be seen in an historical context where collective memories, dreams and historical as well as future events shape this space) seem absolute.\footnote{David Harvey Ofjämlikhetens Nya Geografi, Stockholm, 2011, pp. 33 – 34.}

Harvey exemplifies with Ground Zero which he says is an absolute space but which exists in a relative space-time and has a relational position.\footnote{Harvey, 2011, p. 34.} It is a good example since it points out that Ground Zero must be understood as more than its physical space, because its meaning as space is created through collective memories.
of the events on September 11, 2001, the relative position of New York as an important global city and the political aftermaths of the events, among other things that are not in themselves physical.

I would argue that the focus on the absolute space is most certainly visible in the case of Kathputli Colony, where the inhabitants anchoring in the history and traditions of the Colony are overseen in favour of an absolute space (the high-rises) that is supposed to solve all problems and overwrite history. What I mean with that is that if the DDA were to take into account what Harvey calls the relative and relational spaces, that existed in the colony, they would not have been able to transform the colony as they are now doing.\textsuperscript{119} They would, in my opinion, have needed to anchor the project to the memories of, and networks within, the colony. They did not take into consideration what Harvey calls the relative space, that existed in the colony, which is the point I make in my comparison between the layouts of spaces in the colony and those of the proposed scheme for the rehabilitation. The relative space is created through networks, movements and processes. The architecture became, in the colony, physical symbols for networks and relationships that existed there which in turn added value to the spaces. The demolished colony had been strengthened as a space of collective memories, through, among other things, the struggle against the authorities, which gave the space value. To take into consideration both the relative and the relational space would therefore have been to understand networks and relationships and incorporate these into the design of the new buildings. It would also have been to have a process, which engaged the inhabitants of the area, rather than to force a proposal on them.

In the rehabilitation of Kathputli Colony it is, obvious based on my observations, analysis and the existing history, that what drives the urban planning is the concept of an absolute space of modernist design. This however, also has relative and relational aspects to it where networks other than the local, and ideas of development (which can be seen as part of the relational aspect of space) govern the design of the buildings.

The \textit{slum} in this case, works as an antithesis to what is “urban”. I argue that the concept of \textit{slum} is based both on physical aspects of what constitutes a \textit{slum}, (informal, unregulated temporary buildings that over time become permanent) but

\textsuperscript{119} Harvey, 2011, p. 30.
very much also on mythical aspects of what is built into the concept of slum (disease, poverty, crime, low moral etc.) As the urban planning is performed by the authorities, they get to decide whose memories and dreams are to guide the development of the city. The rules of the game, as Escobar pointed out, are then set by the government, through the Delhi Development Authorities.\textsuperscript{120}

Hence, informal settlements are something that historically have been created as a counter-pole to the urban and it does not matter what collective memories are built into these spaces or what qualities they consist of because they do not fit into the discourse of the urban and must therefore be erased.

### 3.5 Kathputli colony as a place for conflicting ideas

Harvey also discusses the function of space as part of shaping political transformations.\textsuperscript{121} This is something we can see in the rehabilitation of Kathputli Colony, on several levels. First of all, in the creation of high-rises: a way to homogenize the city through the creation of similar housing for different citizens. The 2800 families eligible for apartments all get the same kind of apartment, regardless of their previous housing situations or needs.

The Colony itself, as it was, also worked as a physical space for political claims. It worked as what Michel Foucault would call a “heterotopia”.\textsuperscript{122} A heterotopia is something that works as a space for the divergent outside of the structural order of society. Lefebvre develops this by seeing the heterotopia as a space for change.\textsuperscript{123} The heterotopia in his view then has potential to create political change but is always under the threat from forces that wish to incorporate it into prevailing practices. In this case Kathputli Colony embodied abstract and temporary resistance such as cultural traditions and lifestyles. Here the colony as a physical space worked as a monument over historical events and cultural practices, consolidating social relationships. In this sense the physical becomes an important symbol for values and ideas that are otherwise hard to substantiate. Using the tripartite, either Lefebvre’s original or Harvey’s interpretation, helps us understand to what extent this “in-situ rehabilitation” is actually re-designing space.

\textsuperscript{120} Escobar, 1997, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{121} Harvey, 2011, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{123} Lefebvre, 2003 and in Lefebvre, 1991, p. 163, 294 and 366.
We understand that the stories and memories of the colony are taken into consideration only to some extent, rather as symbols than as incorporated parts of the design of the new housing. That their claims are taken into consideration at all might be, at least in part, due to their continuous political claims and the media attention they garnered. There will be display cases for Arts and Crafts and an amphitheatre for shows. This, however, seems more in line with what Lefebvre warns of when talking about the heterotopias being incorporated into dominant practices. The colony thereby loses its power as a heterotopia when so much of history and networks are being scattered.

Historically Delhi has seen brutal reshaping of spaces for collective memories over and over again. In New Delhi this was done under the British Raj through the English language and the renaming of places and streets and in that way rewriting history. After independence in 1947 the city went through a new transformation and different rulings has since then continued to transform it. As of right now Delhi strives to become a “world class city” (Master Plan for Delhi 2021) which will then govern what spaces are created and whose memories and dreams are taken into consideration.

Lefebvre criticized Soviet architecture of the 1920s and 1930s for reproducing modernist models of urbanism:

So long […] as the only connection between work space, leisure and living spaces is supplied by the agencies of political power and by their mechanisms of control – so long must the project of ‘changing life’ remain no more than a political rallying-cry to be taken up or abandoned according to the mood of the moment. 126

This could be understood as, if society should change and become more democratic (in the case of Soviet; communist) the authorities must be willing to change the way they control spaces. The spaces in this way become physical symbols of political realities and by looking at the history of the Kathputli Colony we can see a clear authoritarian state that wants to control its citizens through the built environment.

3.6 Real estate as global investment

As Saskia Sassen points out, cities are places for investments on a global market.\(^{127}\) It is a competitive market and each city needs to make a name for itself and become known. This could also be understood of Delhi, in its mission to become a “world class city”.\(^{128}\) The DDA is selling land to private buyers in order to maximise land use.\(^{129}\) The urban poor is understood to occupy valuable land and this land could instead be used for more profitable purposes and in that way release economical assets that would benefit the city. This is based on assumptions that it is possible to change peoples’ lives by infrastructure. It is however not at all certain that the results will be as wished. As we will come to see, these presumptions are built on speculations that incomes will raise for the population which might not at all be the case.

This is what is done in Kathputli Colony where the developers get the land in exchange for building apartments for the majority of the Kathputli Colony inhabitants. It is no coincidence that Kathputli Colony is the first site to be developed in the in-situ rehabilitation plan. The land is centrally located in Delhi, bordering the metro with two nearby metro stations as well as a bus station. On the neighbouring

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\(^{127}\) Sassen, 2000.


\(^{129}\) Chakravarty, Negi, 2016, p. 4.
plot on the other side of the metro flyover, there are plans to build India’s tallest skyscraper, the Navin Minar Raheja, also called the Raheja Phoenix, (by the same developer that are building the high-rises in Kathputli Colony), to be built by the same construction company (Arabtec Construction LLC) that built Burj Khalifa in Dubai.\textsuperscript{130}

Skyscrapers have been known to symbolize development and this is only one in a long tradition of display of power, and making a name for a city, using skyscrapers.\textsuperscript{132}

To speculate with land is no new phenomenon; it happened already with the Hausmann plan in Paris.\textsuperscript{133} The problem is that it is exactly what it sounds like; speculative. It is based on what Asher D Ghertner claims to be “empty income projections”.\textsuperscript{134} What he means is that there are projections made that show that the income will rise for the population but that those projections are untrue and that the poverty rate is actually increasing. Then “invisibilized poverty trends make the replacement of slums and low-income land uses by properties few can afford seem inclusive”. So the whole concept of these buildings is based on false predictions. Ghertner shows that in 2007 there was a need for 1,3 million housing units but at the same time almost a million units stood vacant because people could not afford them.

When it comes to the former Kathputli Colony settlers it is unclear whether they will be able to afford the rent. This puts a lot of pressure on the tenants to find ways to be able to afford either monthly rent or to pay back loans which could result in excluding the poorest from the programmes or eventually getting pushed out by higher income groups. The Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB) estimated that “only 40% of the families (in the list of 16 jhuggi-jhompri clusters identified for priority relocation) would be eligible for flats, hence leaving a large majority of dwellers without resettlement”.\textsuperscript{135}

The main purpose with the high-rises, seems in this context, not so much to house the Kathputli colony-inhabitants but rather as part of a bigger plan to put the city on the “world map”. The global networks as well as global ideas of what

\textsuperscript{130} Raheja Navi Minar project \textless http://www.rahejanavinminar.in/\textgreater 180109.
\textsuperscript{132} King, 2004, pp. 3 – 21.
\textsuperscript{133} Benjamin, 1990.
\textsuperscript{134} Ghertner, 2015, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{135} V’ronique Dupont and Tara Saharan, ”Delhi, India” in Einar Braathen (coordinator), \textit{Adressing Sub-standard Settlements – WP3 Settlement Fieldwork Report}, \textless http://www.chance2sustain.eu/fileadmin/Website/Dokumente/Dokumente/Publications/pub_2013/C2S_FR_No02_WP3_Adressing_Sub-Standard_Settlements.pdf\textgreater , p.8 180111.
development looks like, rather than local needs, networks and memories, hence
govern the urban transformation of Delhi.

As DDA is selling land to private buyers, they lose power and with Kathputli
Colony they traded land in exchange of getting housing for the poor. The question is,
however, whether or not they will be able to influence politics concerning the
buildings when they are finished.
4. EPILOGUE

4.1 Discussion: Urban Visions – Heterogeneous magic and rational homogeneity

Salman Rushdie’s description of the demolition of the Colony during the Emergency years’ mirrors ideas and sensations considering authoritarian power exertions, and what he describes could very well have been written today:

The vans and bulldozers came first […] A loudspeaker began to blare: “Civic beautification programme […] this slum is a public eyesore” […] troops are sent in against magicians, women and children […] what chances does communist wizards have against socialist rifles? […] because now the machines of destruction were in their element, and little hovels of the shanty town were slipping sliding crazily beneath the force of the irresistible creatures, huts snapping like twigs, the little paper parcels of the puppeteers and the magic baskets of the illusionists were being crushed into a pulp; the city was being beautified, and if there were a few deaths, if a girl with eyes like saucers and a pout of grief upon her lips fell beneath the advancing juggernauts, well, what of it, an eyesore was being removed from the face of the ancient capital.136

When Kathputli Colony was demolished in 2017, there were rumours of a woman being killed (although this was never confirmed) and a boy is said to have died in the aftermaths of the demolition.137 Through his description of the first demolition, Rushdie highlights the brutal reality by which these urban transformations occur. The planned transformations are completed, seemingly regardless of the price, which amplifies the conflict between authorities and citizens.

Even though Midnight’s Children is a novel, created from memories and mind-ghosts of Rushdie’s travels and imagination, the conflict that he describes mirrors – or at least gives us clues to – the struggles of the colony and its position in the urban layout of Delhi. This reinforces the idea of Kathputli Colony as a “heterotopia”; a place of struggle and resistance, and breeding ground for conflicting ideas and oppositional views.

The brutal forces used to transform the city seem to stand in opposition to ideas of community participation that were supposed to be a part of the in-situ rehabilitation of the informal settlements.138 One might think that in-situ rehabilitation is a process

138 Chakravarty, Negi, 2016, p. 3.
that demands close corporation with the tenants, or in this case, the squatters. As Shruti Duvi points out, participation has, in the case of Kathputli colony, to a great extent been limited to a process where the DDA proposes a scheme for new buildings and tries to convince the residents that resettling is the best option for them.\textsuperscript{139}

Through a webpage created and governed by the DDA, one is able to get some information and to follow the process.\textsuperscript{140} The struggle against resettling has been huge, postponing the demolition for many years, but not everyone has been against the rehabilitation plans. Mostly non-artists and a majority of the women have been more supportive of the project than the majority of the artists.\textsuperscript{141} It is unclear whether or not the (small) leprosy community, which existed within the colony, has been given housing. Since the colony was divided between seven different groups it is understandable that even though they had developed a unity in many aspects, they had different opinions, economic situations and preconditions. For the artists that settled in the colony first and had larger building units, the rehabilitation means getting lesser space and more difficulties to continue their livelihood. However, for many of the non-artists the rehabilitation means an upgrading in housing size and standard.

Since sanitary problems existed in the colony it meant greater problems for women (considering their position in the Indian society) and the new apartments might to a great extent solve these problems. This is not something this essay will go into further, because this has not been a focus, but it is important to point out that changes in lifestyles and housing situations might be an opportunity for women and others to break out of old hierarchies and orders. At the same time, as mentioned before, some women were able to work and have more freedom in the colony because of close connections to extended family and friends.

Whether or not people agree or disagree with the proposed scheme for the colony is however not the point here. The point is that, as this essay shows, the process has been brutal and without consent. It is built on preconceptions about how the state can exercise power over its citizens and the idea that only certain kinds of architecture are acceptable, and others are not.

\textsuperscript{139} Chakrovarty, Negi, 2016 p. 52.
\textsuperscript{140} DDA, \texttt{<http://www.kathputlicolonydda.com>\texttt{171128}}.
\textsuperscript{141} Chakravarty, Negi, 2016, p. 52.
It is a good thing that the people of the colony are even considered citizens which is something that historically haven’t been obvious. The work by NGO’s has strengthened the position of informal settlement dwellers in India. Soon, with a new system for identification, all people in India will get ID (as of right now the ID is the voting card) and by that become citizens. This does however also mean greater authoritarian control.

Authoritarian control over people is nothing new, and it has taken different shapes during different times. Colonial power changed India, and colonialism all over the world has forced people to leave their languages and cultural traditions. Whether it is a country forcing itself upon people of a different origin, or people of power chosen through election, there seems to be a problem built into the entire structure of society. This problem seems to transcend what kind of form of power structure that is ruling. These are speculations and nothing that have been investigated in this essay. However, today’s brutal transformations of Delhi might have the same effects, on traditions and memories, that colonialism has had.

Something that this essay has only touched on is how a building’s cultural value is established. It seems that the concept of cultural value has changed a lot from time to time and that, looking at Old Delhi as an example, the area was for a long time considered a slum and threatened by the same destiny as other slum areas such as Kathputli colony. I have not been able to find what factors made them change the status of Old Delhi, to be considered valuable, and made it part of the application for world heritage city. In the case of Old Delhi, it seems to be mostly architectural, urban planning aspects taken into consideration. That means that the status is more dependent on to the extent to which the urban layout is historically intact rather than if the area is used in the same way as before. With that kind of shallow factors governing urban development it is inevitable that buildings are reduced to museum-like objects where it seems less important how people use the spaces than that the architecture stays intact. Only history will tell what kind of society that creates in the long run.

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142 In discussion with Monalisa Mohanty founder and director of UDRC (Urban & Development Resource Centre), Faridabad, India, 071217.

143 Amy Kazim, India’s biometric ID scans maje sci-fi reality, Financial Times https://www.ft.com/content/46dcb248-0fcb-11e7-a88c-50ba212dce4d 180112.
Midnight’s children might be fiction, but there is also a point to that. Rushdie was clearly inspired by both the magic and the political counter-pole, that the colony constituted, to such an extent that he made it a rather big part of his The Best of the Booker prize winning novel. What kind of novels will come out of urban life as it loses its magic, its unpredictability and its resistant heterotopias of uncomfortably heterogeneous spaces and ideas?

4.2 Reflections – Memories of Home

I grew up above the workshop where my father works, customers coming and going through our backyard, a space that also has become a semi-public meeting place for friends and extended family as well as for exhibitions and public gatherings related to the workshop.

When my great-grandfather lived in, and owned the shop, from the 1920s to the 1960s, he had around ten to fifteen employees and a big part of the extended family worked with him and lived in buildings next to his, which together created something resembling a village in the city.

When I wanted to write about Kathputli I thought I wanted to write about it because of the connection to old craftsmanship; that the death of ancient techniques, the storytelling through the work of crafts, was what interested me. I now realize that even though the crafts are important, these can have an afterlife through museums and films (as with the case of Kathputli Colony my father has had a few films made about him and his workshop) but rather that the important thing that is lost is an entire lifestyle. And that lifestyle includes qualities that “modern” life, through urbanism and architecture, does not value.

In India, and Kathputli Colony, I thereby got a sense of how life in Sweden was before. It has been a way for me, through architecture and through being in these spaces, to understand what it might have been like when my great-grandfather lived. What was gained and what was lost.

I do not want to say that one thing is better than the other. But as George Simmel describes; there is something alienating to (modernist) urbanism. Something that detaches us from our extended families, from public and semi-public spaces free of consumption.

The separation between spaces for living, working and leisure isolates us. It makes us more dependent on a sovereign system of control than on family and friends.
We long for places of public life, where democracy is created through the clash of ideas and opinions, but when we try to reproduce it, it seems almost impossible because we have already been so alienated from each other.

4.3 Conclusions

Through the material gathered, it has been possible to understand the rehabilitation of Kathputli Colony as both a local, and global phenomenon.

As a local transformation, it was possible to see how the lives of the Kathputli colony inhabitants will come to change, due to the change of living environments (i.e. the architecture). One important observation was the changes in how the architecture relates to network connections, especially extended family connections. The importance of these networks were emphasized in the now demolished Colony, and stands in stark contrast to the restriction of them, in the proposed architecture. In the razed colony work and leisure melted together, and different levels of public and private were created. In the new architecture proposal, on the other hand, public and private are clearly separated and most of the spaces for meetings, that existed within the colony, disappears. This essay traced these ideals, of separation between public and private, back to the 1700s. With modernism they were further accentuated and still governs urban planning in Delhi today. In this way an urban citizen is created that is alienated from the rest of the community.

From a global perspective the transformation of Delhi can be understood as part of a plan to put the city on the “world map” where global networks, as well as ideas of what constitutes development, govern local transformations. Buildings becomes symbols for development and only certain architecture works as such symbols. High-rises and sky-scrapers have a history of being used when cities try to get attention and does so in the case of Kathputli colony as well. This essay concluded that these kinds of transformations were, to a great extent, built on speculations. As global investments, the architecture could be understood rather as a way to promote the city, than to house the poor inhabitants who may, or may not, be able to afford rent.

Informal settlements on the other hand, have been an architectural typology that does not get considered urban, and where disease and crime are believed to grow. The colony showed to have much in common with villages in that the architecture is structured to strengthen family relationships and kinship ties. The physical structure
with its low-rise buildings and small alleys has more in common with medieval towns than with contemporary urban areas.

This essay seeks to understand the concept of “space” and how we shape and give it meaning. Kathputli Colony can, by an expansion of the concept of space, be understood as a space of resistance that stood in opposition to authoritarian urban control. In that way the Colony became an important monument for the divergent.

Architecture tells us about memories and stories that we may or may not have experienced ourselves. It is part of shaping collective memories, and in contemporary construction of memory in Delhi, Kathputli colony does not fit in and therefore needed to be demolished. This essay discusses how these kinds of demolitions might have the same effects on culture, as colonialism had, in how they brutally force people from one way of living to another. In striving to become urban, the city of Delhi, destroy cultures in how it impedes networks and ways of living through architecture.

The focus on spatial relations, rather than on ornament and materials, has been a way to understand architecture beyond concepts of style. In this way, this essay has been able to understand Kathputli colony as a community built up by a heterogeneous architecture that strengthen networks and family relations. In contrast, the homogenous high-rise architecture forces everyone to a similar lifestyle (culture).

Through a discussion on how urban transformations are implemented, this essay concludes that these are sometimes brutally forced upon people, and that participation in the process of Kathputli Colony has been limited to persuading the inhabitants to accept a proposed design rather than to engage them in the design process. This authoritarian control seems to be exerted independent of what form of power structure that is ruling.

Cultural value of architecture, and urban areas, is briefly discussed. Even though the subject is not thoroughly investigated in the essay, it shows that there are signs, that cultural value is more dependent on to which extent an urban layout is historically intact physically, rather than if the area is used in the same way as before.

Finally, I make a personal reflection on how to understand Swedish society historically, from investigating Kathputli Colony and the ways in which people lived there. The conclusion is that Kathputli colony might give us clues to what Swedish society could have been like before, and that there are aspects of that society that we might long for but have a hard time to recreate. The way cities have been planned
have made us more dependent on the state and we have lost intricate social networks and family relations on which we historically depended. This in the end, makes it hard to recreate social, public, life even when we try to do so through urban planning.

Concerning this essay and how it was done, I believe that I, even though the colony was demolished after my first visit, was able to answer the questions I wanted to. I believe that being in India both before, and after, the demolition added dimensions to the essay that otherwise would not have existed. It also made it possible to structure the essay dramaturgically, with a clear beginning and end, in a way that I believe helps the storytelling and it also helped in framing the essay, in what to include and what to not. To be in India, whilst writing, was helpful since I was then able to visit places, and talk to people, as questions came up connected to my research. Using my own experiences and being present in India made the research feel more relevant, urgent and less abstract. I visited libraries and book shops which was also helpful. In addition to what I was able to find through common search tools, concerning my research, I was also helped by friends, both in finding relevant literature used at other universities around the world, as well as to get in contact with people in India. One shall not underestimate social networks since search tools are a bit tricky and doesn’t always cover everything.

4.4 Summary

This essay, Creating Urbanity – Destroying Cultures, Relationships between Public and Private in Kathputli Colony, New Delhi, India, uses Kathputli Colony in New Delhi, India as a case to understand urban transformations.

The architecture of the Colony was compared with the architecture of the high-rises, in order to answer questions on how relationships between public and private, work and leisure, differed between the colony and the high-rises to replace it. The essay uses Indian architect Charles Correa, in order to understand the architecture of the colony, and the architecture to replace it by using his definitions of multi-use areas. Through the comparison between the colony, and the architecture to replace it, it was also possible to answer questions on how architecture relates to networks

and family relations, and how the different types of architecture might affect relations and networks as well as local cultural practices.

The architecture was put in a historic context in order to understand what mechanisms that govern urban planning and how urban planning relates to ideas of how society should work. In this way the essay could understand what kind of cultures are preferred over others.

Using theories on the concept of “space”, it was possible to understand how we shape and give architecture meaning, and how different ideas of space stands in opposition to each other. By using theories on what constitutes “urbanity” it was possible to understand origins of urban planning as well as what kinds of citizens that urbanity might create.

How society is shaped, using Salman Rushdie’s novel *Midnight’s Children* as a reference, is discussed. This part discusses questions that, the essay, only have touched upon, such as community participation in urban transformations, cultural value of historic areas and what colony inhabitants that may, or may not, benefit from the rehabilitation.

A reflection, using the authors own family-history as example, on how we might understand historic transformations in the Swedish society, ends the essay.
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5.4 Interviews

Interview with Monalisa Mohanty founder and director of UDRC (Urban & Development Resource Centre), recorded meeting, Faridabad, India, 171207

6. IMAGES

Front cover image. Thomas Vanden Driessche, <http://tasveerjournal.com/2013/06/24/the-magic-slum/> 180111


Image 2. Site map positioning the object of study; Kathpulti colony in relation to Old Delhi, Lutyns New Delhi and the Delhi metropolitan area. The black dotted square highlights the zoomed in map used further on. Illustration by author. Based on dwg file from from: <http://archileaks.se/databas/fil/315/> 180112

Image 3. Lalkuan Bazar in Old Delhi. Photo by the author. 171206

Image 4. Old Delhi in relationship to Lutyns New Delhi and the Kathputli colony Illustration by the author. Based on dwg file from: <http://archileaks.se/databas/fil/315/> 180112

Image 5. Old Delhi in the Hauz Qazi Chowk intersection between Lalkuan Bazar Road and Chawki Bazar Road. Google Maps satellite image <https://www.google.se/maps/@28.6502177,77.2269887,17.95z?hl=sv> 180107

Image 6. Kathutli colony with the Bazaar going through the area. Highlighted by author in satellite photo from Google Maps <https://goo.gl/maps/TVVaswdBMZt> 180107
Image 7. Kathputli Colony, after demolition, as seen from the metro flyover. Photo by the author, 171009

Image 8. The Kathputli colony in relationship to Lutyens New Delhi and Old Delhi. Illustration by Tove Grönroos. based on dwg file from: http://archileaks.se/databas/fil/315/ 180112

Image 9. Kathputli colony before the demolition with the metro flyover in the background. Photo: Thomas Vanden Driessche <http://tasveerjournal.com/2013/06/24/the-magic-slum/> 180108


Image 11. Section showing the relationship between the bazaar and buildings. Illustration by Amit Ittyreha. Collected from the book: Chalana Manish and Rishi Susmita, “Making Sense of the Order in the Disorder in Delhi’s Kathputli Colony” in Chalana Manish & Hou Jeffrey (Ed), Messy Urbanism – Understanding the “Other” Cities of Asia, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016, p. 161


Image 14. “Spaces of intimate contact” as created through a courtyard. Illustration by Amit Ittyreha. Chalana, Collected from the book: Chalana Manish and Rishi Susmita, “Making Sense of the Order in the Disorder in Delhi’s Kathputli Colony” in Chalana Manish & Hou Jeffrey (Ed), Messy Urbanism – Understanding the “Other” Cities of Asia, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016, p. 166


Image 18. Lutyens 1931 plan is part of what is today the capital of India New Delhi. Illustration by Tove Grönroos. Based on dwg map from: <http://archileaks.se/databas/fil/315/> 180112


Image 25. Site plan from DDA webpage for Kathputli colony <http://www.kathputlicolonydda.com/proposed-units.asp> 180112